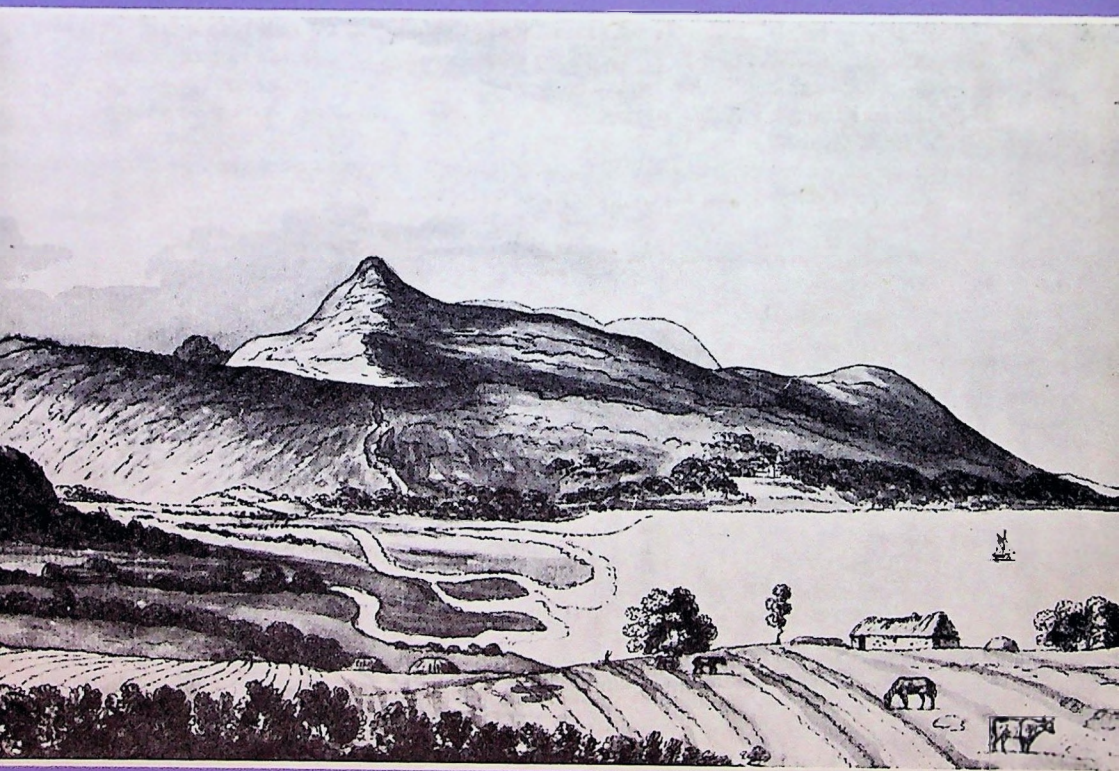# Scottish Studies

Volume 11 : 1967

part one

Open fields in Arran, 1772. Pennant Collection, National Library of Wales

Scottish Studies

I I

1967

Editorial Advisory Board

VOLUME 11 (1967)

PART 1

PART 2

Contributors to this Issue

J. F. AND T. M. FLETT
T. M. Flett, Professor of Pure Mathematics,
University of Sheffield

MARGARET C. STORRIE MA, PHD
Lecturer in Geography, Queen Mary College,
University of London

ALAN BRUFORD BA, PHD
Research Archivist, School of Scottish Studies

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN DRPHIL, BLITT
Reader, School of Scottish Studies

PER THORSON
Professor, Universitetet i Bergen, Nordisk Institutt,
Avd. for språk- og folkeminnegransking, Allégt 33, Bergen

I. A. FRASER MA
Assistant Lecturer, School of Scottish Studies

I. A. CRAWFORD MA
Lecturer, School of Scottish Studies

VICTOR GAFFNEY MA, PHD
51 East Trinity Road, Edinburgh 5

JOHN MACINNES MA
Lecturer, School of Scottish Studies

PETER JAMIESON
21 St. Magnus Street, Lerwick, Shetland

ANNE ROSS MA, PHD
7 Bradstock Road, Stoneleigh, Epsom, Surrey

ANTHONY DILWORTH MA
11 Marchmont Street, Edinburgh 9

DAVID MURISON MA
Editor, Scottish National Dictionary,
27 George Square, Edinburgh 8

R. D. S. JACK MA
Lecturer in English Literature, University of Edinburgh

CEDRIC THORPE DAVIE OBE, FRAM, ARCM
Reader, Department of Music, University of St. Andrews

STUART MAXWELL MA
Assistant Keeper, National Museum of Antiquities
of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh 2

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

The Scottish Country Dance

Its Origins and Development I

J. F. and T. M. FLETT

In our book, *Traditional Dancing in Scotland* (Flett 1964), we have shown that in Scotland the Country Dance was traditionally a dance of the Lowlands. It reached the remoter parts of the Highlands, the Western Isles and Orkney only between about 1850 and 1880, and essentially it did not reach Shetland at all. In this article we attempt to establish the origins of the Scottish Country Dance, and to trace its development in the eighteenth century.[1]

The history of the Country Dance in Scotland begins about the year 1700. For a hundred years before this date social dancing was condemned as sinful by the Presbyterian Church. There are remarkably few references to dancing in Scotland during this period, and most of those which do occur record the censure by various Church Sessions of people who had taken part in social dancing. For instance, in 1619 the Church Session of Elgin recorded that 'certain lasses had committed ane offense in dansing with ane pyper in Johne Hamiltoune's hous during the festuall days callit Youll' (*Records of Elgin* 1908). In 1649 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland gave strong encouragement to the Church Sessions by passing an act prohibiting 'promiscuous dancing' (*i.e.* dancing in which men danced with women), and this act was reaffirmed by the General Assembly in 1701 (*Acts of the General Assembly* 1843). Even Royalty had to conform: 'In the years 1681 and 1682, while the Duke of York [Later James II] . . . resided in Edinburgh, a splendid court was kept at the Palace of Holyroudhouse, to which resorted the principal of the nobility and gentry. . . . Balls, plays, and masquerades were introduced: These . . . were soon laid aside. The fanaticism of the times could not bear such ungodly innovations' (Tytler 1798).

Soon after 1700, a more tolerant attitude towards the lighter pleasures seems to have developed in Scotland as a whole, and although there was still some religious opposition, social dancing once again became possible. It is precisely at this period that Country Dances first appear in Scotland.

The term *Country Dance* today covers many different forms of dance, but to older people in Scotland it means a dance in which the dancers form two parallel lines, and each couple progress down the lines in turn. The progression can be made either one place at a time, as in the well-known Petronella and Duke of Perth, or directly from the

top to the bottom of the set, as in Haymakers' Jig and Strip the Willow. Cecil Sharp, in his study of the early English Country Dance, gave the name *longways progressive* to this type of dance (Sharp 1909–22). The traditional Scottish usage of the term 'Country Dance' to mean a longways progressive dance certainly goes back to about 1740, and probably earlier.

Nowadays a 'Country Dance' consists of a particular set of figures which can be performed to any tune of some specified type. However, until about 1850 a Country Dance consisted of a tune and a particular set of figures performed to that tune, and the name of the dance was that of the tune. The same tune may occur in two or more different sources with different sets of figures attached, and these were regarded as different dances, even though they have the same name. It was also a frequent occurrence for the same set of figures to be set to two different tunes; these too were regarded as different dances.

So far as we know, the first explicit mention of a 'Country Dance' in Scotland is dated 1698, in Martin's *Voyage to St Kilda* (Martin 1698). Martin (a native of Skye) describes a multiple wedding ceremony which he saw on St Kilda: 'Mr Campbell, the Minister, married in this Manner fifteen Pair of the Inhabitants on the seventeenth of June, who immediately after their Marriage, joined in a Country Dance, with a Bagpipe for their Music.' It seems unlikely that Martin's 'Country Dance' was a Country Dance in the technical sense, for in the Outer Hebrides, St Kilda's nearest neighbours, the only dances in use before about 1850 seem to have been Reels. It is therefore probable that he witnessed some form of wedding Reel, and that in his book he used a term that would be more familiar to readers in London, where his book was published.

The next explicit reference to Country Dances in Scotland is in 1723. In that year the first public dancing Assembly commenced in Edinburgh, and Country Dances were performed there (see Flett: 1967).

The Edinburgh Assembly was only nominally public, for it was confined to 'Persons of Quality, and others of Note'. It took place every Thursday, from four o'clock in the afternoon to eleven at night, the tickets being half a crown. Even at this late date it met opposition from the Church; the ministers preached against it, and one writer asserted that 'the foresaid Assembly . . . is dishonourable to GOD, scandalous to Religion, and of dangerous Consequence to Human Society'. But in spite of this opposition the Assembly flourished.

Until at least 1773, the only dances performed at the Edinburgh Assembly seem to have been Country Dances and Minuets. The Country Dances were almost certainly of longways progressive type, for in 1746 the rules of the Assembly stated that in the Country Dances only one set, consisting of not more than ten couples, was allowed on the floor at a time. In 1773 the number of couples in a set was increased to twelve.

From 1700 onwards the Country Dance slowly but steadily increased in popularity in Scotland. At first it seems to have been essentially a dance belonging to the upper classes, performed only in the larger towns and the country houses of the landed gentry.

By about 1750 it had spread to the smaller country towns—for example, in 1752 John M'Gill, a dancing-master in a Border town (probably Kelso) included in his repertoire 'Twelve of the Newest Country Dances, as they are performed at the Assembleys and Balls' (*Notes and Queries* 1855). However, this increase in the popularity of the dance seems to have been confined to the upper and middle classes; we have not been able to find any evidence, either in the popular literature of the time or in the memoirs of foreign visitors, that Country Dances were performed by the ordinary people of Scotland during the first half of the eighteenth century.

It is in fact not until about 1775 that we have the first real evidence of Country Dances being performed by the ordinary people of Scotland. Dr Currie, in his biography of Burns, describes the type of dancing school which Burns attended in Ayrshire in 1776: 'the school is usually a barn, and the arena for the performers is generally a clay floor. The dome is lighted by candles stuck in one end of a cloven stick, the other end of which is thrust into the wall. Reels, strathspeys, country-dances, and hornpipes are here practised . . .' (Flett 1964:28). Currie's account is clearly drawn from his own experience, and almost certainly refers to the time of his youth in Dumfriesshire, c. 1775.

In addition to the various references to Country Dances mentioned above, there are also a number of actual descriptions of Country Dances in eighteenth-century Scottish manuscripts. The first such description is that of the dance John Anderson my Jo, the instructions and music for which are given in the Agnes Hume MS of 1704 in the National Library of Scotland (Adv. MS. 5.2.17). John Anderson my Jo is the only dance described in the manuscript, and although the term 'Country Dance' is not mentioned explicitly, the dance is clearly of longways progressive type, the instructions being as follows:

'The first man and 2 ly turn right hands round and into their place and the second man and first ly the same. Then d:[2] back all four and turn S.[3] Then all hands round till the 2 couple come in the first place.

'The tune is to be played over through once over every time so the first couple has time to take their drinks to be danced with as many pairs you please.'

Apart from the Agnes Hume MS, we know of five extant eighteenth-century Scottish manuscripts containing descriptions of Country Dances, namely the Holmain MS, the Duke of Perth's MS, the Young MS, the Castle Menzies MS, and the Bowman MS. All the dances described in these are of longways progressive type.

The Holmain MS is a little notebook which was found in the charter chest of the Holmains, an old Dumfriesshire family. It contains instructions, without music, for twelve dances. These instructions were reprinted in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Carruthers 1924–5), and from a study of them we can say that the manuscript was written c. 1710–30. It was obviously written by an amateur, for very little use is made of technical terms in the dance instructions.

The Duke of Perth's MS and the Young MS were both written by David Young. The Duke of Perth's MS was discovered in 1954 in Drummond Castle, Crieff, by Dr

H. G. Farmer, the musical historian. It is a manuscript of some 170 pages, bound in ornately tooled leather, the contents being divided into two parts. The first part contains music and instructions for 48 Country Dances, and is entitled: *A COLLECTION of Countrey Dances Written for the use of his Grace The Duke of PERTH. 1737. By Dav. Young.* The second part, entitled *A Collection of the Best Highland Reels, Written by David Young. W. M. & Accomptant*, contains a number of Reel tunes which are of considerable interest to the musical historian but which do not concern us here.

The Duke of Perth for whom this manuscript was written later achieved fame as one of Prince Charles's generals in the Jacobite rising of 1745. He was born at Drummond Castle in 1713, where he lived until he was 7 years of age. His mother then took him to France to be educated there, and he did not return until 1734, at the age of 21. From 1734 until 1745 he lived at Drummond Castle and applied himself to the improvement of his estates. After the failure of the '45, he fled into the Highlands. He eventually succeeded in obtaining a passage to France, but his existence as a hunted fugitive had taken too great a toll of his strength, and he died on board the ship which was taking him to safety.

The second manuscript collection of Country Dances written by David Young, which we shall call the Young MS, is entitled *A Collection of the newest Countrey Dances Perform'd in Scotland. Written at Edinburgh by Da. Young. W. M.* 1740. This was discovered in 1957 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Don.d.54), and contains music and instructions for a further forty-eight Country Dances, all different from those in the Duke of Perth's MS. It is the only one of these manuscripts which gives the phrasing of the dances, *i.e.* the musical lengths of the various figures of the dances.

It is probable that David Young merely copied the instructions for the dances in these two manuscripts from other sources, for several different styles are discernible in the manner in which these instructions are written. The instructions of about one quarter of the dances in the Young MS are written in a highly technical style, and the person who contributed these was probably also responsible for at least twenty (and possibly many more) of the dances in the Duke of Perth's MS. Another half of the dances in the Young MS were obviously written down by an amateur with some technical knowledge, but this second writer does not seem to have contributed to the Duke of Perth's MS.

The writing and ornamentation in these two manuscripts are of great beauty. In view of this, it is possible that the 'W.M.' following David Young's name in the manuscript stands for Writing Master.

David Young is well known to Scottish musical historians as the writer of the McFarlan MSS in the National Library of Scotland (N.L.S. MS 2084–5). There were once three volumes of these, but the first is missing. They are adequately described by the title-page of the second volume, which reads: *A Collection OF Scotch Airs with the latest Variations. Written for the use of Walter McFarlan OF THAT ILK. By David Young W.M. in Ed^n.* 1740. The music of the third volume was also written by Young, but the

title-page and index of this volume are in another hand. This third volume is undated, but it was probably written before 1743.

In the McFarlan MSS Young frequently added his initials after the titles of the tunes. We take this to mean that he was the composer of the 'latest variations' rather than of the original airs, though the latter possibility cannot be discounted entirely. A number of these variations are extremely elaborate; for instance, the Reel of Tulloch has no fewer than twenty-one parts. Many of the tunes in the Duke of Perth's MS and the Young MS occur also in the McFarlan MSS, often with further variations added.

The two remaining manuscripts contain instructions only. The Castle Menzies MS, which is headed *Register of Dances at Castle Menzies, 1749*, is in the Atholl Collection in the Sandeman Public Library, Perth (Castle Menzies is in Perthshire, near Aberfeldy). The manuscript contains instructions for eighteen dances, probably written by an amateur with a little technical knowledge.

The Bowman MS is in the Laing Collection in Edinburgh University Library (Laing MS 564a). It is a small leather-bound notebook, signed Alexᵣ Bowman, containing the instructions, without music, for 122 dances. It is undated, but from the contents we can date it as belonging to the period from 1745 to *c*. 1770. The instructions are very brief and make consistent use of technical terms, and it is probable that Alexander Bowman was a professional dancing-master.

We mention here one further manuscript of this period, unfortunately now lost. This was written by the Border dancing-master John M'Gill, and was entitled: *The dancing steps of a Hornpipe and Gigg. As also, Twelve of the Newest Country Dances, as they are performed at the Assembleys and Balls. All Sett by Mr John M'gill for the Use of his School, 1752*. Some information about this manuscript, including the names of ten of the Country Dances, is given in an article written by the son of one of M'Gill's pupils (*Notes and Queries* 1855). The article is signed W. J., and the author was probably William Jerdan, well known in literary circles in the nineteenth century, whose father was brought up in Kelso.

The first printed Scottish collection of Country Dances is later in date than any of these manuscripts. It was published in Edinburgh in 1774, and was entitled: *The Dancer's Pocket Companion, being a Collection of Forty Scots and English figures of Country Dances, with two elegant copperplates, showing all the different figures made use of in Scots or English Country Dancing. Properly explained by William Frazer, Dancing-Master, Edinburgh, 1774*. To our regret this too is lost, and we have only the information given in the title above, which is quoted from Laing and Sharpe's *Illustrations to the Scots Musical Museum* (Johnson 1839). Apart from this, the only other Scottish collection of eighteenth-century date known to us is John Bowie's *Collection of Strathspey Reels and Country Dances*, published in Perth in 1789, which contains instructions for about half a dozen dances.

So far we have discussed the Country Dance only in relation to Scotland. However,

for a proper understanding of the origins and development of the Scottish Country Dance, it is essential to consider also the history of the Country Dance in England.[4]

The term 'Country Dance' in England seems first to have been applied to the ordinary social dances—the folk dances—of the village people of the English countryside. These folk-dances (which were, of course, not necessarily of longways progressive type) were introduced into English society during the reign of Elizabeth; for instance, in 1602 the Earl of Worcester wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury that 'wee are frolyke heare in Cowrt; mutche dauncing in the privi chamber af contrey dawnces before the Q[ueen's] Majesty' (Cunningham 1962). Some of the early references to Country Dances at the English Court may refer simply to exhibitions of folk dances by country entertainers, but there is positive evidence that English society took part in such dances in the record of '2 books of country dances' in the inventory of Hengrave Hall made in 1602.

It is probable that these countryside dances lost a good deal of their simplicity in the transition from a rural to an urban environment. They may also have been influenced during this early period by dances introduced to England from Italy (see Wood 1937). What is certain is that various forms united in a distinct type of dance which became known as the English Country Dance. Already in 1597 we find the English writer Morley referring to 'our countrey daunce' (Cunningham 1962). In France, too, this type of dance was recognised as peculiar to England: 'Il faut au surplus remarquer que de tout temps en chasque contree ou Prouince on a eu une danse affectee, comme les Anglois les mesures & contredanses, les Escossois les Bransles d'Escosse, . . . ' (de Lauze 1623).

The earliest printed instructions for English Country Dances which have come down to us are those in *The English Dancing Master*, published by John Playford in London in 1651. At first sight the year 1651 may not seem to have been a particularly propitious date for the appearance of a book of dances, but the Puritans of England, unlike their Scottish counterparts, did not condemn ordinary social dancing; their objections were primarily directed at Morris and similar dances with a ritual background.

Playford's book seems to have had a good reception, and a second edition appeared in 1652, only one year after the first. Thereafter edition followed edition, the third in 1665, the fourth in 1670, and so on. Each edition was a little different from its predecessor, fresh (though not necessarily newly composed) dances being incorporated, and some of the old ones being omitted. All the editions after the first were entitled simply *The Dancing Master*.

John Playford retired in 1684 and handed over his music publishing business to his son Henry. After the death of Henry Playford *c.* 1706, the business seems to have passed largely into the hands of John Young, who continued to issue further editions of *The Dancing Master*, the last being published *c.* 1728. By this time the modest volume of 1651 containing about a hundred dances had become three volumes containing in all nearly 1,000 dances (the work first appeared in two volumes *c.* 1714, and in three *c.* 1728).

The dances in the original edition of John Playford's work probably represented the current English tradition of the time, and indeed a few of them can be found in earlier English manuscripts (see Cunningham 1965). It is evident that the dances were contributed by a number of people, for the instructions for the dances are written in several distinct styles. On the other hand it is probable that most of the fresh dances added to the later editions were composed especially for the work by professional dancing-masters. In one case we have actual evidence for this, the twenty-four dances in the Appendix to the ninth edition of 1696 having been 'made by Mr Beveredge, and ... other Eminent Masters'. Further evidence of the intrusion of the professional dancing-master lies in the increasing use of technical terms in the successive editions.

It can be seen from the original edition of Playford's collection that the English Country Dance of 1651 was very variable in form, for the book contains round, square and longways dances, for various numbers of dancers. The most numerous are the longways dances, the majority of these being progressive. From the succeeding editions of the book, it can be seen that the longways progressive type of dance slowly gained in favour at the expense of all the other types. By 1700, the fresh dances added to each new edition were all longways progressive in form, and most of the other types had dropped out.

One reason for the increase in the popularity of the longways progressive dances in England during the period from 1650 to 1700 was the innovation of public dancing assemblies. These called for an increased repertoire on the part of the individual dancer, and thus reduced the popularity of the more complicated dances. The simpler of the round and square Country Dances were rather dull in comparison with the simpler longways progressive dances, since the latter had the added variety contributed by the progression down the set. Thus the longways progressive dances came to be preferred to the other types.

During this same period English Country Dances spread into various parts of Europe. The Earl of Perth, in a letter home from Venice in 1695, wrote of the Italians that 'they dance scurvily when they pretend to French or English dances (for here they dance country dances at all their balls)' (Jerdan 1845). Even France, the home of courtly dancing, succumbed to the English Country Dance, and it is noteworthy that it was the longways progressive type of dance which became popular there. The first collection of Country Dances published in France, Feuillet's *Recüeil de Contredances* (Paris 1706) contains a number of English Country Dances, the instructions being given in Feuillet's own system of 'Chorégraphie'. In this collection a Country Dance is actually defined as a longways progressive dance, and Feuillet says of Country Dances in general that 'Les Anglois en sont les premiers inventeurs'. Feuillet's collection was translated into English by John Essex in 1710, primarily as an example of the use of the 'Chorégraphie' system, for as far as the dances were concerned this was taking coals to Newcastle.

For many years after the publication of John Playford's *English Dancing Master* in

1651, the firm of Playford had a virtual monopoly in the publication of Country Dances. This monopoly ceased in 1705, when John Walsh, a rival London publisher who had set up in business in 1695, began to issue collections of Country Dances. Walsh immediately broke with the Playford's tradition of large collections by publishing a collection of twenty-four dances. He followed this with *Twenty four new Country Dances for the year 1706*, and thereafter he issued a fresh collection of twenty-four dances each year. The dances in these annual sets were almost certainly composed especially for the collections; in effect the compilers simply took the 'Top Twenty-four' tunes of the day and set Country Dance figures to them. In some cases the composers are stated; for instance, the dances for 1710, 1711, 1716, 1717 and 1718 were composed by a Nathaniel Kynaston, while those for 1721 were composed by Mr Birkhead of the Theatre Royal in London.

In addition to his annual sets, Walsh also issued larger collections of Country Dances, some of which consisted simply of a number of the annual sets bound together. Others of these larger collections went under the title of *The Compleat Country Dancing-Master*. Early editions of this were mainly copies of one of Henry Young's editions of Playford's *Dancing Master*, but a later series, of which Volume I was published in 1731, were completely new collections.

In 1733 Walsh published a collection of nearly seventy dances entitled *Caledonian Country Dances. Being a Collection of all the celebrated Scotch Country Dances now in Vogue, with the proper Directions to each Dance. As they are perform'd at Court, & publick Entertainments.* Eight further collections of *Caledonian Country Dances* were issued by John Walsh's son, who succeeded to the business on his father's death in 1736. The first of the younger Walsh's Caledonian collections, Book II of the complete series, was published in 1737, and the remainder followed at fairly regular intervals, Book III *c.* 1740, Book IV in 1744, and Books V–IX between 1748 and 1761.[5]

By no means all the dances in these 'Caledonian' collections have Scottish names. In Books I and II less than three-quarters of the dances do so, in Book III only about one quarter do so, and in Books IV and V the proportion is even lower. Moreover, it is probable that, of the dances in these collections with Scottish names, only a few actually originated in Scotland. It is at any rate certain that some of the dances in these collections were composed by the compilers of the collections, and only a mere handful of the dances possess Scottish characteristics (see Part 2 of this paper, Appendix II).

It is not difficult to explain why these 'Caledonian' collections were published at this time. Scottish tunes had first been introduced into England in any numbers about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and by about 1730 were very much the vogue. In publishing the first two or three books of *Caledonian Country Dances*, John Walsh and his son were simply catering for this demand for Scottish music. Later, the flow of tunes from Scotland slackened slightly, but by this time John Walsh junior had probably found it both convenient and profitable to publish collections of Country Dances distinct from his annual sets.

The elder Walsh had no serious rivals in his later years, but John Walsh junior had to face more serious competition, from John Johnson, who set up in business in London about 1740. Johnson published various collections of Country Dances, including six volumes each containing 200 dances, a collection of *Caledonian Country Dances* (this was first published in 1744 and reissued in 1748), and a series of annual sets of twenty-four dances. Most of the dances in Johnson's *Caledonian Country Dances* are taken word for word from the Walshs' collections, and the value of this work as an original source of Scottish Country Dances is negligible.

By 1750 there were four publishers issuing collections of Country Dances, the younger Walsh, Johnson, Hare and Rutherford, all in London. Of the two newcomers, only David Rutherford, a Scotsman, is of interest here. He began a series of annual collections in 1749, later gathering these annual sets into volumes each containing 200 dances. The same process was followed by another London publisher, Thompson, who began his yearly collections in 1751. After 1760 other London music publishers began collections of dances, for example, Straight and Skillern, *c.* 1767, Longman and his various partners, *c.* 1768, William Campbell, *c.* 1786, and Preston, also *c.* 1786.

The fashion of publishing annual sets of 24 Country Dances, begun by the elder Walsh in 1705, lasted well into the nineteenth century, one of the last such collections being that issued by John Townsend in Manchester *c.* 1838. Between 1750 and 1800 nearly thirty firms are known to have published large or small collections, and in the entire period during which the Country Dance was popular in England, the instructions, with music, for some 10,000 dances were published. All these dances are of longways progressive type, with the exception of some of the early dances in Playford's *Dancing Master*, and one other dance, the Scottish Bumpkin (see Flett 1965).

It is an obvious inference from these histories of the Country Dance in Scotland and England that the Country Dance which appeared in Scotland *c.* 1700 was of English origin. We have seen that by the year 1700 the English Country Dance had undergone a hundred years of continuous development, and the form which had emerged as dominant was the longways progressive dance. Thus by 1700 the Country Dance had attained in England precisely the form in which we first meet it in Scotland. The natural explanation is that when Scottish society began to dance again about the year 1700, after a century's abstention, they adopted the dances which were fashionable at that time in neighbouring England, and these were the longways progressive Country Dance and the Minuet.

An alternative theory which has been suggested is that the Country Dance which appeared in Scotland about 1700 goes back to pre-Reformation Scotland, and that it had been somehow preserved throughout that hundred years when social dancing was a sin. But it is stretching coincidence too far for us to believe that in 1700 it blossomed forth, after a hundred years of stagnation, in precisely the form which the Country Dance had reached in English society after a hundred years of continuous development.

It has also been suggested that the Country Dance was imported to Scotland from France, but even if this were so, it would still have been essentially the English Country Dance which was thus imported, for, as we have seen, the early eighteenth-century French contredanse was itself of English origin.

We may thus conclude that the Country Dance, as a dance form, originated in England. The question remains whether, following the introduction of Country Dances to Scotland, there developed a distinctively Scottish type of Country Dance. In a subsequent part of this paper we trace the development of the Country Dance in Scotland during the eighteenth century, and we show that there did arise a type of dance which was characteristically Scottish. At the same time we investigate also the interpretation of the dance instructions in the early Scottish collections of Country Dances.

NOTES

1 The most extensive study of the history of the Scottish Country Dance is that by Professor H. A. Thurston in his *Scotland's Dances* (Thurston 1954), a pioneer work in this field. This present article is based to a considerable extent on material which has come to light since the publication of Professor Thurston's book, and our account for the period 1700–1750 is more complete than his.

2 Probably 'double', *i.e.* four steps backwards, ending with feet together.

3 Probably 'single', here meaning 'by oneself'.

4 For accounts of the early history of the Country Dance in England see Sharp 1909–22, Wood 1937, Nicol and Dean-Smith 1943–45, and Cunningham 1962, 1965.

5 The dates of the Walshs' Caledonian collections have been misquoted by a number of authors. We are indebted to Mr William C. Smith for the dates given in the text, and for the following supplementary information:

   Book I. The first edition was advertised in the *Daily Journal*, 21 Nov. 1733, the second edition in the *Country Journal*, 1 Nov. 1735, and the third edition in the *London Daily Post*, 3 Nov. 1736.

   Book II was advertised in the *Country Journal*, 24 Sept. 1737.

   Book III was published in 1740 or later; three books were advertised in the *Daily Advertiser*, 17 Oct. 1743.

   Book IV was published in 1744. Three books were advertised in Walsh's *Twenty-four Country Dances for 1745*, which was published late in 1744. Four books were advertised in the *London Evening Post*, 20–22 Dec. 1744.

   Book V was advertised in the *General Advertiser*, 24 Dec. 1748, Book VI in the *General Advertiser*, 18 Sept. 1751, and Book VIII in the *Public Advertiser*, 20 Jan. 1757.

   We have seen Books II, III, and V, the second and third editions of Book I and the second edition of Book IV. We have not seen Books VI–IX.

REFERENCES

The following list does not include manuscript or printed collections of Country Dances whose titles are given in full in the text. Further information about the printed collections can be found in Kidson (1900), Nicol and Dean-Smith (1943–45), Smith (1948), and Thurston (1954).

ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
 1843 *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, Church Law Society, Edinburgh.
CARRUTHERS, A. S.
 1924–5 'Some old Scottish dances.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 59:158–61.
CUNNINGHAM, J. P.
 1962 'The Country Dance—early references', *Journal of the English Folk Song and Dance Society* 9 (1960–4):148–54.
 1965 *Dancing in the Inns of Court*, London.
FLETT, J. F. and FLETT, T. M.
 1964 *Traditional Dancing in Scotland*, London.
 1965 'The Bumpkin.' *Scottish Studies* 9:85–90.
 1967 'The Fair Assembly.' (*The Scots Magazine* (New Series) 86, 540–45 (March 1967).
JERDAN, WILLIAM (Ed.)
 1845 *Letters from James Earl of Perth*. Camden Society, London.
JOHNSON, JAMES
 1839 *The Scots Musical Museum*. Edinburgh.
KIDSON, F.
 1900 *British Music Publishers*. London.
de LAUZE, F.
 1623 *Apologie de la Danse et la parfaicte methode de l'enseigner tant aux Cavaliers qu'aux dames.* Paris [?].
MARTIN, MARTIN
 1698 *A Voyage to St Kilda*. London.
NICOL, E. J. and DEAN-SMITH, M.
 1943–5 'The Dancing Master, 1651–1728' *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 4 (1940–5):131–48, 167–79, 211–12, 231.
NOTES AND QUERIES
 1855 W. J. 'Dancing and dancing tunes.' *Notes and Queries* 12:159–60.
RECORDS OF ELGIN
 1908 *The Records of Elgin* Vol. 2. New Spalding Club, Aberdeen.
SHARP, CECIL J.
 1909–22 *The Country Dance Book* Parts 1–6. London.
SMITH, WILLIAM C.
 1948 *A bibliography of the musical works published by John Walsh during the years 1695–1720.* London.
THURSTON, HUGH A.
 1954 *Scotland's Dances*. London.
TYTLER, W.
 1798 'On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the Last Century.' *Archaeologia Scotica* 1:499–504.
WOOD, MELUSINE
 1937 'Some notes on the English Country Dance before Playford.' *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 3 (1936–9):93–99.

Scottish Gaelic Witch Stories

A Provisional Type-List

ALAN BRUFORD

The cataloguing of *sagen* or local legends is a subject currently much discussed by students of oral narrative. Since the present demand seems to be for more national material before any all-embracing international classification is attempted, and also because of the practical need in the card-indexes of the School of Scottish Studies for some system which will weed out recurrent plots and motifs from the tangled mass of Scottish, and especially Gaelic, local traditions of supernatural and historical events, I hope in this and future issues of *Scottish Studies* to publish an interim catalogue covering some of the better-known types of *sagen* about the supernatural. The numbers assigned here are provisional (though spaces have been left, as is normal practice, for further types to be added), and if a better, internationally accepted system is devised in the future these types can be absorbed as a block or one by one as may be necessary. The frame of reference is not designed to cover all recorded stories of the supernatural: I do not intend, for instance, to do more than skim the surface of the vast mass of ghost stories, where there are few recurrent plots and every other informant will tell of experiences which befell himself or a neighbour. On the other hand I have not restricted the catalogue to stories found all over the Highlands like the 'Migratory Legends' of Christiansen's Norwegian study (Christiansen 1958)—stories have been included which are very popular in a small area, and even some stories told of a single historical character or event, so long as they contain supernatural motifs which are unlikely to be true and might sometime be associated with a different person or occasion.

In this first instalment, before tackling the mass of stories about fairies and other supernatural beings, I have attempted a catalogue of common stories about witches and other human beings with extraordinary powers. Though it is often a mistake to catalogue narrative material by characters rather than by the characters' activities— a mistake which makes Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index* (1955–8) often annoying and sometimes useless, since the same motif may be found in totally different places according as the characters are dwarfs, trolls or fairies[1]—stories about witches can reasonably be taken as a separate group: witches are mortals who can be caught and killed or at least recognised as one of your neighbours, and this fact is essential to the plot of nearly all the stories listed below. Fairies, like witches, are believed to have the power of stealing

B

the 'substance' of milk by magic, but they cannot be detected and punished while doing it, though they may be foiled by the theft of their magic chain (Campbell 1890:2 80)—which is quite a different story. There are stories where it is doubtful whether a character is a supernatural *cailleach* or a mortal witch; in these cases I have taken her to be a supernatural except in Type 3 below, where the hag is sometimes a mortal who is killed, though at other times a supernatural who ransoms herself with a reward or simply vanishes. Origin legends where, for instance, standing stones are said to have been dropped by a witch are not included. It must be admitted, however, that the terms of reference of this particular study have been chosen with an eye to making up an article of manageable size, and there may well be fewer stories about, say, benevolent wizards like the MacMhuirichs than should have been included.[2]

My intention, at least, has been to cover those tale-types in which a witch or wizard is a protagonist, not a secondary character. No story has been considered a type unless known to me in two or more versions, and it may well prove that many others have to be added later. I have only included what seem to me *stories*, with a definite plot-shape. Many witch traditions are no more than dramatised recipes for the prevention of witchcraft. The directions: 'If you think that a witch is taking the substance of your milk, boil the urine of the cow affected in a pot and the witch will come to your door' may be presented most often in story form: 'A woman's cow gave nothing but thin, watery milk. She consulted a wise woman, who advised her to boil the cow's urine in a pot. It had not been boiling for an hour when a neighbouring woman came to the door and begged her to take the pot off the fire and she would never harm her again.' This is simply an instance of belief, like the many tales still to be collected of local women who have injured people by the evil eye. On the other hand when the witch is seen milking the cow in the form of a hare, shot, followed home and exposed, or when she draws milk from a pot-chain to impress the minister and kills his cow by continuing at his order, the dramatic form is more important than the belief which it illustrates, and the story falls under Type 1 or Type 7 respectively. (This form of Type 7 is actually a borderline case, and it is only because Norwegian variants end with the girl's death because of the trick she has learnt from her mother, that it is included alongside Gaelic tales where the same ending follows a demonstration of another trick.) Again in Type 1 it is not the witch's transformation into a hare that makes the story, but the manner of her exposure when she is found wounded in the same way as the animal which was shot. So I have not included another anecdote (Campbell 1902:33; IFC 1027:213-4) where a woman tells her grandson to offer to show hunters a hare for sixpence, and the boy shouts 'Run, granny!' to the hare when it appears—this simply illustrates the belief that women could become hares, and the hare's fate is not even told.[3]

I have concentrated on material in Gaelic, though many of these stories may also be found in Scots, and some Scots versions have been referred to. Indeed, witch tales, as against fairy tales, seem often to be imports to the Highlands from Lowland Scotland, where most of the actual witch persecution took place, along with the word for 'witch'

itself.[4] Thus Type 4 implies the Lowland social structure of farmers and farm-labourers, and in Type 21 the magic words themselves are nearly always in English though the story is told in Gaelic. This article, however, merely sets out to be a type-catalogue—a historical study of the material must be left till later.

I have only listed and analysed those versions of a story known to me from the indexes of the School of Scottish Studies. Many recordings in the School's archives have not yet been fully enough indexed to be recognisable as representatives of a type, nor have many MSS and printed books or periodicals containing relevant matter been examined, though I am grateful to the work of Mr Robin Kerr, the School's Honorary Archivist, his predecessor the Rev. Angus Duncan, and Mr Ian Whitaker, formerly Research Fellow, which has led me to many useful sources. I shall be very glad if readers of this article can point out to me further versions of the story-types listed below, whether in Gaelic, Scots or English, or indeed other Scottish witch stories which should be included in future lists.

The system of analysing and summarising the stories is loosely based on that in Christiansen 1958—a general summary, with each detail numbered, is given first, and under each version the numbers of the details included are listed, each followed by any divergence in incident from the basic type, or amplification of names. Versions of each type are listed in alphabetical order of counties, and of islands within counties, but Lowland counties are separate at the end, and versions from the islands of Inverness-shire and from Lewis are listed under 'Hebrides', treated as a county: so the order of Highland counties is Argyll, Hebrides, Inverness, Perth, Ross, Sutherland. Within counties or islands the order is chronological by date of publication or recording. Informants' names and townships, and the source of the story if from outside the area where it was recorded, are given where known, but early collections such as Miss Dempster's in the Folk-Lore Record and the Rev. J. G. Campbell's (1902) do not usually give such details. Campbell's material has generally had to be listed under the area to which the story applies. English versions, usually summary, like those in the last-named sources, are marked (E). Stories from collections such as MacLean 1923 or Robertson 1961 which draw extensively on earlier published material are not included unless they are clearly new versions.

Following the catalogue, examples of some of the more interesting stories are given in Gaelic from Lady Evelyn Stewart-Murray's MSS (Murray 1891—see *Scottish Studies* 9:153 and 10:162.) An asterisk after the English summary indicates that the Gaelic will be found below.

The Witch Foiled, Discovered, and Punished

Most of the commoner stories about witches end with the unmasking of the villainess and her death or reformation. This reflects the general hatred of the practice of magic and the preference of folk audiences for what, to the hearer, is a happy ending. It also

points up the difference, noted above, between stories about mortal witches and those about purely supernatural beings which cannot be punished.

1 *The Witch Hare*

As a recent broadcast programme confirmed, this is probably the most persistent and widespread of all stories about witches in the British Isles, though details even of such a simple plot are often missing, especially in recent tellings. It presumably corresponds to No. 3055 in Christiansen 1958, 'The Witch that was Hurt', though he considered the type too ill-defined in Norway to summarise. Some borderline cases have been included here.

Summary: A man sees a hare (A1) or other animal (A2) milking his cow (A3) or otherwise acting suspiciously (A4). He shoots at it but always misses (B1) until on a wise person's advice he loads a sixpence or silver bullet (B2): when he aims at it he sees a woman in its place (B3), but he shoots it (B4); or it is wounded by his dogs (B5) or otherwise hurt (B6). He follows the limping animal to a neighbour's house, where it goes under the door (C1) or tracks it there by the trail of blood (C2); or when he gets home he hears that the neighbour is ill (C3) because... (C4). He finds the woman on her sick-bed wounded in the same place as the animal (D1); she dies (D2) or never harms him again (D3).

Argyll. (1) SA 1958/80 A2 (Mrs MacLucas, Benderloch) A1. B1.2 groat. B3 never seen again. (2) *Coll.* PN 57 A (John MacFadyen. E) A1.3. B4 with arrow. C1—she walks with a limp ever after.

Hebrides. (1) Cumming 1886:175 (E. Location unnamed—possibly mainland) A1.B4. Woman seen with arm in sling—told as true. (2) *N. Uist.* Log 1239 (1) (Angus MacLeod, Sollas) A2 cat. A4 attacks him. B5. C3. D1.3. *Cf.* Type 9. (3) *Skye.* Folk-Lore 33:213 (E) A1. B1.2.4.—'His own wife lay dead before him.' (4) *Vatersay.* SA 1960/89 A5 (Mrs Kate Gillies—heard from a Mid-Argyll man) A1.3. B4. C1— woman seen wounded in both hands in house next day.

Inverness. (1) Folk-Lore 50:77–78 (E. Strathspey) A1. B1.2.4. Turns into woman at once. D2. Dying curse—her killer killed by his gun exploding.

Perth. (1) TGSI **25**:132 (E) A1.3 running towards byre door. B4—shot by gamekeeper. C3. Blind in one eye. (2) TGSI **26**:43–4 (E) A1.4 casting spell to get increase of neighbour's croft. B3.1.2.4. C1. D1.3. (3) *Op. cit.* 46–7 (E) A1.4 eating oats. B5 chased by drover's dog. C1. D3./Variant ending: B2.4. D2. (4) Murray 1891 No. 108 (Mrs McGlashan, Killiecrankie) A1.3. B1.2. C1. D1.3. (5) *Op. cit.* No. 123 (Donald Douglas, Dowally) A1.4—seen when going out with first load of dung, crops then fail. B1. Advised to cut bit off wife's nightshift while she sleeps and use it as wad. B4. C1. D1.3 given 7 ears of barley with which he will get back 7 years' lost crops.* (6) *Op. cit.* No.

142 (Joseph Stewart, Wester Invervac) A1. B1.4—dog catches but cannot kill it, man shoots and wounds it. C1. D1. 'You have wounded me, but you could not kill me.'

Sutherland. Henderson 1911:105–6 (E)[5] A1 pursued by 2 black hounds. B6 cut in half with peat-spade:head end takes form of woman, then body vanishes. C3.4 kicked by horse. D2.

From the edge of the Highland line is a *Morayshire* version collected by Dr Walter Gregor:Crombie MSS. A1. B1.2.4. C2. D1. There is an *Orkney* version in Roberston 1961:112–3. A1.3. C1. D1.—chased by dogs and found panting and muddy:burned. More remotely related Highland versions are in Campbell 1902:33, Murray 1891 No. 125, and Polson 1932:142, 154–5. I shall not attempt to list the other Lowland, English and Irish parallels—some recent English ones are in Tongue 1965:71–74.

2 *The Weaver and the Dirk*

Like the last, this is a story of shape-changing, and its dénouement is the same, though the villain is usually a man. The best-known version is localised in Gairloch,[6] but the story is also found in other areas with variations in details apart from the lack of proper names. For the association of witchcraft with weavers—who might live in rather remote places and so were liable to suspicion—compare Type 6.

Summary: People are found murdered (and robbed) at a certain ford or hill (A1). The hero (A2) goes that way to catch the murderer and before reaching the ford visits the house of a weaver (A3). His host asks what he will do if attacked by the murderer: hero names all the weapons he will use except his dirk (or *sgian dubh*) which he calls by a riddling name (B). At the ford he is attacked by an animal (C1); his gun misfires, sword sticks in scabbard, etc., but he wounds the creature fatally with his dirk and follows it back to the weaver's house (C2) or just goes back there when the animal vanishes (C3). Weaver found in bed (D1), his wounds exposed (D2), and despatched (D3).

Hebrides. (1) *Skye.* Folk-Lore 33:309 (E) A1 Red Burn near Kingsburgh. A2 herd-boy. A3 witch. B 'Cruachan' (meaning dirk on hip, understood as hill). C1 pig or wild boar. C2. D husband tells boy to let her die. Boy rewarded. (2) *S. Uist.* DJM MS 34:3183 (Mary Ann MacInnes, Stilligarry) A1 Cnoc Ruadh. A2 Uisdean Mór mac 'ille Phàdruig. A3 'yellow-footed weaver'. B '*Catriona piuthar mo sheanamhar*'—Catherine my great-aunt. C1 yellow goat. C3. D1 under loom. D2.3. (3) SA 1960/17 B2 (Angus MacLellan, Frobost) A1. ford. A2 gamekeeper—not deliberate? A3. B ...[7] C1 black cow. C3. D1.2. (disembowelled).

Perth. (1) Murray 1891 No. 78 (Archie Campbell, Blair Atholl (?) from grandfather in Rannoch) A1 lonely place on way to town. A2 boy from Lochaber (calls himself '*Sìil Dhubh*' to weaver). A3. B '*Bana-chait cùl na cruachan*'[8]—she-cat behind the hips/ stacks. C1 he-goat. Taunting dialogue. Goat turns into weaver when killed?*

Ross. (1) Campbell 1890 2:110–1 (John Campbell, Strath Gairloch. E) A1 *Tom Buidhe Ghearrloch*, the yellow knoll of Gairloch. A2 Uisdean Mór mac Ghille Phàdruig. A3 'yellow-footed weaver'. B 'My mother's sister'. C1 (hornless yellow) goat. C3. D1 under loom. D2.3. (2) *Ibid.* 112 (Alexander Macdonald, Inverasdale. Brief English summary) A1.2.3. same details. B '*Catriona piuthar mo sheana-mhàthar*'. C1 *gabhar mhór ribeagach fheusagach*—a great shaggy bearded goat. D1.2.3.

3 *The Swelling Hag*

This very popular Gaelic story is told indiscriminately of mortal witches, especially Gormshùil Mhór, the Lady of Laggan (*Bean an Lagain*), and of the female supernaturals referred to as *Glaistig*, *Fuath* or simply *Cailleach*. It appears in almost the same form in episodes III to V of AT 303 in some Gaelic versions, and it seems not impossible that the international tale is the source of the Gaelic story. Certainly the presence of the hero's dog(s), if not their binding with a hair, is an integral part of the international tale, and this part of AT 303 can be found as an independent tale.[9] The witch coming to the hunter's fire could then be a reversal of the hero investigating the light of the witch's fire in the international tale. AT 303 with this ending seems relatively rare in Scottish Gaelic, but there seem to be other instances of motifs becoming associated with stories other than the international one from which they sprang (*cf. Béaloideas* **31**:27.) Where the hag is a mortal witch, the end once again is like that of Type 1 in many cases. The dialogue between the hag and the hunter has a standard, aphoristically flavoured form in the fuller versions.

Summary: A hunter, sheltering alone in a bothy (A1) is visited by a little old woman who asks leave to warm herself at his fire (A2), or by an animal (A3) which later becomes a woman. She asks him to tie up his dogs, which are threatening her, with a hair which she gives him: but he ties it round a beam (B1) or throws it into the fire (B2) and only ties the dogs with his garter (B3). She asks for snuff and is given it on the point of his dirk (C1). She begins to swell. He remarks on this and she replies that her clothes are just loosening as they dry (C2). When she is of more than human size she attacks him— she calls on the hair to tighten but it only cuts through the beam (B1)—the dogs burst loose and attack her (D1) or are set on her by a seemingly harmless mention of their names (D2). (i) they chase her out of the hut: much later only one dog comes back (E1). Next day the hunter finds the woman, whom he recognised, in bed (E2), or a neighbour is reported ill (E3). She is torn by dogs' teeth. She remarks that if the old dog had had the sharp teeth of the young one, or the young one the intelligence of the old one, she would never have escaped alive (F1): she dies (F2) or is killed (F3). OR (ii) she is a supernatural: she asks him to let her go and promises that he will have a deer to shoot next day (G1) or other sequel (G2).

Argyll. (1) MacDougall 1910:226–9. A1 tailor at shieling with young couple. A2.

C1—refused. Found throttling girl, struggles with tailor and calls on other witches for help, but driven away by cock crowing.

Hebrides. (1) *Barra.* IFC 1030:90–4 = SA 1965/17 A6 (Neil Gillies) A1 boy sheltering in mill kiln. A2. B—asked to move dogs. D2. E1—mother predicts that only the bitch will return, mad—she is calmed down by drinking over three basins-full of milk and dies next day—there is not a hair left on her. (2) *Raasay.* IFC 1027:46–52 (Peggy Maclean) A1 a Maclean. A3 cat = Witch of Laggan. B—not tied with hairs. D1. E1 very weak. E3 Lady of Laggan. Breasts torn off. F2. Type 19 follows. (3) *S. Uist.* DJM MS 66:6210 (Mary Ann MacInnes, Stilligarry) A1.2. C2. B3 old string instead of *snàthlann* (magic thread). D1. E1— both return hairless. E3. (4) SA 1959/43 A3 (Angus MacLellan, Frobost) A1 gamekeeper. A3 frizzle hen (*cearc ghreannach*) = Gormshùil Mhór = Lady of Laggan. D1. E1 older dog, carrying one of her breasts: dogs had drawn blood, so she could not change shape again. E2 breast returned. F1. She runs away—Type 19 follows.

Inverness. (1) Stewart 1823:189–96 (E) A1 famous witch-hunter in Gaick forest. A3 cat = Goodwife of Laggan. B1. D1. E1 both return and drop dead: she tore out their teeth and escaped as a raven. E3 breasts wounded. F2 repentant. (2) MacDougall 1910: 230–3. A1 in Strathdearn. A3 hen. B3. D1. F1. E3. F3. (3) *op. cit.* 236–8. A1 Domhnull Mac Iain. A2 Glaistig. B3. B2—it crackles and flies out of chimney. D1. G1. (4) Polson 1932:147–9 (source unnamed. E) A1 famous witch-hunter. A3 cat = good wife [*sic*] of Laggan. Says she is a witch but will repent if sheltered. B1 hair *rope!* D1. E3. F2. Type 19 Follows.

Perth. (1) Murray 1891 No. 11 (John Reid, Glen Fender) A1 shepherd at home. A2. B1 chair leg. D1. E1 older dog. E3 neighbour who would inherit some land if shepherd died. F1.2. (2) *Op. cit.* No. 63 (Annie McDonald, Baluan) A1 Muireach Mac Iain. A3 hen = Lady of Laggan. B1. D1. E3 Lady of Laggan. F1.2 soon after promising not to do any more harm. Type 19 follows.* (3) *op. cit.* No. 163 (Mr Cameron, Rannoch) A1 Sir Donald Cameron. A2 Cailleach Beinne Bhrice. B—refuses to tie dog. C1 accepted. G1.2 he dies soon after failing to come to another rendezvous with her.

I know of no parallels outside the Highlands. For some related tales see TGSI **25**:259–60; Campbell 1902:38 (with AT 113A) and 49–50 (with Type 1); MacDougall 1910: 242–7.

4 *Servant into Horse*

This is a popular tale, quite elaborate and fairly consistent in form. It seems to belong to Scotland, possibly to the Lowlands rather than the Highlands. It shares with the preceding tales the motif of the witch hurt in one form and showing the wound in another. Calum Maclean, in *Scottish Studies* **3**:189, quotes an instance where a witch was actually executed for the crime of turning her daughter into a horse and having her shod.

Summary: A farmer's wife is a witch, and regularly turns one of the farm servants into a horse to ride at nights. He is exhausted every morning, but does not know why (A1). His companion offers to take his place at the outside of the bed (A2) and stays awake until the witch comes and transforms him with a magic bridle (A3). She rides him to a coven meeting in . . . (B1), and leaves him tethered outside: he manages to regain human form by shaking off the bridle (B2) and when the witch comes back he uses it to turn her into a mare. On the way home she speaks to him and tries (*e.g.* by asking what he says before going to bed) to make him mention God's name, so as to break the spell (C),[10] but he does not reply. He takes her to a smithy and has her shod (D1) and then brings her home: he tethers her in the yard and sells her to her husband, who wants the fine horse (D2) or more often takes off the bridle and leaves her (D3). When the farmer takes off the bridle (D2) or when the servant comes to see his sick mistress and pulls off the covers of her bed (D3) she is discovered to have horseshoes on her hands and feet. Sequel (E).

Argyll. (1) *Tiree.* Henderson 1911:109–14 (Rev. J. MacCallum) A1.2.3 shaken in face. B1 big house with stable. B2 pulls it off with forefeet. D1.3. E shoes taken off on pledge of good behaviour.

Hebrides. (1) *Skye.* Folk-Lore **33**:307 (E) A1.2 stays awake and watches one night, changes places next. A3 halter. B1 inn—horse left on roof. B2. D1.3. (2) TGSI **37**:193–4 (Frances Tolmie's papers. E) A1 knows why—tells master, Goodman of Ullinish, that he wants to leave and when pressed, why. B2 on wise man's advice seizes bridle when witch comes to his bedside. D1.3 allowed to run away, and found in bed with horseshoes. E soon dies. (3) MacGregor 1930:237–8. Same as preceding except that the servant does not tell the tacksman of Ullinish who the witch is, and they decide what is to be done between them. (4) Log 1534 (Angus Lamont) A1.2 watches first night, second night seizes bridle—B2. D1 forefeet only. D3. E turned back to horse and shoes taken off by smith. (5) *S. Uist.* SA 1958/29 A3–B1 (Angus MacLellan, Frobost) A1.2 first servant stays awake and watches, next night goes back to own place and stays awake. A3. B1 overseas. B2 bridle taken off and hidden, but found. C crossing sea. D1 weeps while being shod. D3. E burnt.

Perth. (1) Murray 1891 No. 63 (Annie McDonald, Baluan) A1.2.3 witch is Lady of Laggan. B1 wine-cellar in France. B2. C. D2. 1 at master's orders, before bridle taken off. E husband has her turned into a horse again and shoes taken off: she is not reformed —Type 40A follows.* (2) *Op. cit.* No. 124. (Donald Douglas, Dowally) A1.2.3 at Balnaguard farm. B1 Holland. B2. C crossing sea. D1.2.

Lowland versions include: *Kirkcudbright.* (1) Campbell 1890 **2**:69–71. A1.2.3—the witch is Jenny MacGowan, the farmer's *daughter*. B1 Auld Kirk of Buittle. B2 next week when servant finds bridle in kitchen. D1.3. *Selkirk.* (1) Wilkie 1916:102–3 (from MS *c.* 1800) A1 blacksmith's apprentice at Yarrowford. A2 brother. A3. B1 cellar. B2.

D1 missing fore shoe replaced and other forefoot re-shod before riding in ploughed field. C3. E burnt.

An Irish parallel from Co. Derry (Lloyd 1910) is summarised in English by Henderson (1911:115–6):A1.2 stays awake himself on advice of wise woman—she cannot enchant him when he is awake. B2 finds bridle at head of witch's bed when she is asleep. C1.3. E she dies through loss of blood. This resembles the Skye version (Hebrides 2–3) and may well be an import from Scotland.

5 *Man Drowns Witches*

As with Type 7, this story seems to exist in two fairly distinct versions, one from the West Coast and islands, one from the mainland. The latter, with its account of a visit to the Sabbat, may well be derived from a Lowland original; but the ending of both versions is more natural in the simpler coastal variant. Some still further simplified versions of the central motif are noted from Campbell 1902.

Summary: A woman is invited by her witch neighbours to come with them to the witches' Sabbat (A1) or on a fishing expedition on sieves (A2):but she sends her husband in her place. Or the husband joins his wife and other witches (A3). [With A1 opening:] The other witches leave broomsticks in bed in their place (B1):the Devil presides at the Sabbat and lights the night with his glowing eyes (B2). The witches go sailing on a loch (A1) or the sea (A2) in sieves. The man drowns them by uttering God's name (C1) or by cutting or letting go the line which holds them to the shore (C2). Sequel (D).

Argyll. (1) *Mull.* Campbell 1902:18. A3.C1 husband comes on board sieve in the name of the Trinity. (2) *Tiree. Op. cit.* 18. A3 husband sees wife and other witches passing in eggshells. C1 wishes them God-speed.

Hebrides. (1) *Barra.* IFC 1030:36–9 (John MacPherson) = MacPherson 1960:203–4 (E) A3 fisherman in Skye joins wife and tailor's wife fishing on riddle in shape of rats. C1 man (on shore):'We have enough, thank God.' (2) *Lewis.* Campbell 1902:15–6. A3 tailor sees wife and other witches go up chimney in creels and return with fish:asks to join them. C2 cuts thread deliberately. (3) *Skye. Op. cit.* 18. A3 husband follows wife and 7 others who go to sea on sieve in form of cats. C1 the Trinity. (4) Folk-Lore **33**:210. A2. C2 lets go string deliberately.

Perth. (1) Murray 1891 No. 111 (Donald (?) Douglas, Dowally) A1 woman in North promised wealth if she comes. Husband dresses in her clothes. B1.2 sitting on crag. C1 *an Nì Math.* D husbands who find broomsticks in place of their wives in bed told where to find wives' bodies.*

In a Strathdon story collected by Dr Gregor (Crombie MSS) the same fate befalls a benevolent witch who volunteers to ferry a neighbour's husband across the flooded river on a corn-riddle, but is drowned by his cry of 'God save you!'

6 *The Devil's Girdleful*

The three versions of this story known to me have the same climax, but it is led up to
by widely differing details: I have therefore described each version fairly fully. There is
clearly some connection between this and the early Irish stories where a man (Lugh)
puts the head of his enemy (Balor) on a pillar-stone rather than over his own head as
he was asked, and the pillar is split by a drop of venomous blood. (See Ó Cuív 1945:6,
8–9 and 54, lines 1336–40. *Cf.* also O'Sullivan 1966:170.)

Summary: Someone (A1) goes to the house of a witch (A2) in search of . . . (A3). During
the night the witch is heard speaking to the Devil (B1) who is to be rewarded for his
services (B2) by taking the first person or thing that goes into a certain belt (B3). In
the morning the witch's client puts the belt on a bush or stone (C1) which disappears in
flames (C2).

Hebrides. (1) *Lewis.* Polson 1932:56–8 (E) A1 girl in Lewis. A2.3 a charm to help her
to overcome her rival in love. B1 second night, in next room of dark house. B3 witch
gives belt to girl as present for her rival, who will be taken. C1 girl thinks this too much
and puts it on standing stone. C2 sound of clanking chains, fire and howling: stone
found next day split and scorched. (2) *Skye.* SA 1957/97 A4 (Rev. Norman MacDonald)
A1 boy and two girls returning from Portree to Staffin. A2 weaver-woman on moor.
A3 shelter from storm. B1 boy cannot sleep and sees weird light: gets up fearing fire
and sees witch and Devil talking on other side of loom. B2 twenty years serving witch.
B3 cloak belonging to one of the girls, which is drying by the fire. C1 boy grabs
cloak before girl can put it on and wraps it round an old tree. C2 into the sky.
Perth. (1) Murray 1891 No. 134 (James Robertson, Balnald (?)) A1 Pitlochry man. A2
(male) weaver in Strathtay. A3 web (*èideadh*) of cloth. B1 goes down to waterside and
calls on Satan thrice. B2 making cloth—voices heard throughout night at work. B3
customer's belt, which he brought out with him. C1 whin bush, when he reaches
moor. C2.*

7A *The Witch's Daughter and her Father*

Several different variants of this story can be found in Norway: it is No. 3035 in Chris-
tiansen 1958. I have divided it between versions where the girl is killed for a witch by
her father (7A) and those where she is merely observed by a minister and no punishment
is related (7B). In Norway her demonstration of witchcraft usually consists in drawing
milk from a piece of furniture, which in Scotland always seems to be associated with
Type 7B, but variants include stopping ploughs and plough-teams, which seems to be
the Lowland and mainland form of 7A, and occasionally raising storms and sinking
ships, which is the usual variant in the West Highlands and islands. Evidently the
distribution of the story has been affected by socio-economic factors—ploughs have
never been much used in the West except on the richest land, but sinking a ship in a

community where there are many fishermen is the worst of crimes. *Cf.* a version of the last from Donegal (O'Sullivan 1966:226–7).

Summary: The daughter of . . . (A1) has learnt witchcraft from her mother (A2). One day when out walking (A3) with her father she offers to show him her powers: she stops a plough and horses in its tracks (B1) or sinks a ship (B2) by . . . (B3). She succeeds in several cases but fails once because the plough or ship contains rowan wood (C). Her father has her killed before she can do any more harm, by . . . (D).

Argyll. (1) *Mull.* Campbell 1902:22–3 (E) A1 Mull farmer. A2.3. B2.3 looking at them backwards between her legs. C. D. burning her and mother.

Hebrides. (1) *Barra.* MacPherson 1960:204–5 (E) A1 man in Sleat, Skye. A2.3 working on croft. B2.3 looking at it (?) D kills her at once with a spade, and her mother after. (2) *Skye.* Folk-Lore **33**:211 (E) A1 stepdaughter of widower. A2.3. B2.3 by turning limpet shell upside down in a tub. D stabbing her and letting her bleed to death. (3) *S. Uist.* SA 1953/274 A14 (Donald MacMillan, S. Glendale) A1 man in South of Skye. A2.3 cutting peat. B2.3 pointing with stick: ship wrecked on beach below them (no sequel). (4) *Vatersay.* SA 1965/18 A3 (Nan MacKinnon) A1 MacLean of Duart, Mull. A2 from teachers. A3. B2. D burning her.

Perth. (1) Murray 1891 No. 112. (Donald (?) Douglas, Dowally) A1 farmer near Aberdeen. A2 mother's mother. A3. B1 his seven ploughs. C. D by bleeding/drawing blood (*thug e fuil dhi gu bàs*).*

7B *The Witch's Daughter and the Minister*

Judging by Christiansen's summaries (1958:41–4) the minister is the usual witness of the girl's nefarious activities in Norwegian versions of this story, and as some Scottish tales are clearly related to the Norwegian type I have included them under the heading 7B, though there is barely enough of a plot to qualify as a story rather than a mere instance of witch behaviour. The point of the story is evidently what happened to the minister's cow, not what happened to the girl, who is generally probably regarded as a widow's daughter and subject to no authority but that of her witch mother. At least there is no trace of the efforts made by the minister in the Norwegian versions either to save or to burn the young witch.

Summary: Minister finds witch's daughter alone at home (A1) drawing milk from the pot-chain (A2), or she volunteers to give a demonstration of this (A3). Presently blood comes (B1) and she says she dare not go on or the minister's cow will die (B2) but she is told to go on (B3). When the minister gets home his cow is dead (C).

Hebrides. (1) *Raasay.* IFC 1027:177–9 (Peggy Maclean) A1 in Loch Alsh.[11] A2. B2.3.C. (2) *Skye.* Folk-Lore **33**:210–1 (E) A1 granddaughter. A3.2. C—not told to go on; cows found almost dead with exhaustion.

Ross. (1) Campbell 1902:9 (E) A1 'Mr Lachlan' of Kintail,[11] incognito, and witch herself. A3. B3.1. C.

8 *Witch Delays Birth of Child*

This is the Scottish treatment of a motif as old as the Greek myths of the birth of Heracles.[12] A rather different version appears in the ballad 'Willie's Lady' (Child 6) where the witch is the mother of the child's father, not of his jilted lover, though her motive is the same, hatred of the wife:she is outwitted not merely by a report of the baby's birth, but by the christening of a wax doll, which makes her cry out in pique like the jilted girl in the stories below:the father thus learns what caused the spell and removes it himself. The sole source of this ballad was Mrs Brown of Falkland in Fife. The Gaelic version is found both as a tale told for its own sake and attached to the biographies of historical characters such as Ailean nan Sop and Iain Mùideartach; the birth of the hero with a full set of teeth also occurs independently in the biographies of Gaelic strong men, without any suggestion of witchcraft,[13] and possibly the witch tale has subsequently been attracted to these biographies by this resemblance.

Summary: A woman is jealous of her former lover's wife (A1) and delays the birth of her child with the help of her mother, who is a witch (A2). A helpful stranger (B1) discovers the situation, and tells the woman as if by chance that her rival's baby has been born (B2). She reproaches her mother (C1) and destroys the spell (C2) which explodes when burnt (C3). A son is then born to her rival who already has large teeth (D1); he is called ... (D2).

Argyll. (1) *Mull.* Campbell 1902:45–6 (E) A1 wife jealous of husband's mistress, a servant girl. A2 unrelated witch. B1 husband's Fool. B2 pretends to be drunk on dram got in girl's house to celebrate birth. C2 bone. C3. D1.2 Ailean nan Sop.

Buteshire. (1) *Arran.* Folk-Lore Record 2:117 (E) A1.2. B1 passing packman. B2. C1.2 pulls nail out of roof-beam.

Hebrides. (1) *Benbecula.* SA 1959/49 A4 (Patrick MacCormick, Hacleit) A1.2 in Skye B1 old man. B2. C1.2 bone. D1 two teeth. (2) *S. Uist.* SA 1959/43 A2 = SA 1960/129 A2 (Angus MacLellan, Frobost) A1.2 delayed a year and three quarters. B1 old man. B2. C1.2 clew (*ceairle*) of black thread. C3. D1.2 Fearchar Fiaclach.

9 *Attack by Slighted Lover*

It seems as well at least to leave room for a type covering other stories of the jilted witch's daughter and her vengeance, though at present the material is rather too ill-defined to list. Generally the girl attacks the man in animal form, as in Types 1, 2 and sometimes 3:but storytellers tend not to make it very clear what the motive for the attack was, merely saying that the woman had a grudge against the man, or used to persecute him. In some, perhaps most of these cases a sexual motive may be assumed.

Two explicit versions from Skye are in *Folk-Lore Journal* 4:266 (as told by a guide at Sligachan to Sir James Frazer) and MacGregor 1930:236-7 (referring to the Elgol area). The witch takes the form of a horse in these. What may be a version of the same story is on SA 1953/184/1, from Norman MacDonald, Elgol. Compare also Campbell 1902:30 and Hebrides (2) under Type 1.

10 *Dubh a' Ghiuthais*

This is perhaps an aetiological tradition rather than a witch tale: it purports to account for the blackened stumps of trees found in the bogs of the North Highlands,[14] and in one form the villain is not a witch at all but a dragon. As a witch she is a sort of soft-hearted version of the destructive *Muiligheartach* who attached the Fenians, and the story of her burial is typical of local legends about princesses of Lochlann told throughout the Highlands and islands. However, the story both illustrates a type of witch activity and has a definite plot, so I have included it here.

Summary: Dubh a' Ghiuthais/An Dubh Ghiubhsach[15] (A1) was a witch from Lochlann (A2a), the daughter of the king of Lochlann who had learned magic (A2b) or a dragon (A3). She was sent by the king of Lochlann, who was jealous of the Scottish forests (B1) to fly through the air and burn down the woods in the Central and Northern Highlands (B2). She was induced to come to earth out of the cloud which hid her, by a man in ... (C1) who gathered together cattle of all sorts and separated the young from their dams, so that they set up a great bellowing (C2), and shot with an arrow (C3); or she was caused to fall by someone naming God (C4) and killed by the fall. Her father sent a ship for her body but it was prevented from leaving by contrary winds (D1) and she was buried at (D2) where her grave may still be seen.

Hebrides. (1) *S. Uist.* SA 1953/274 A12 (Donald MacMillan, S. Glendale) A1 An Dubh Ghiubhsach. A2a. B2.

Inverness. (1) Campbell 1895:101-7 (E) A1 An Dubh Ghiubhsach. A2b. B1.2 carrying fire in selvage of her dress. C1 Crò Chintàile. C2 she was a great dairymaid and always came to the cry of cattle. C3 silver bullet. D2 Achnacarry. (2) SA 1952/127/6 (John MacDonald, Spean Bridge) A1 nameless. A2b. B1 because they spoiled his market for timber. B2. C—somebody with more powerful magic than hers brought her to the ground and she was burned.

Ross. (1) Polson 1932:144 (E) A1 'Dona'. A2b for this purpose. B1.2. C1 Lochbroom parish. C2.3. D1.2 in a shipload of Norwegian soil (and alternatives: C4 blessed in name of Trinity over Badenoch; C1 killed at Melvaig, Gairloch). (2) SA 1955/164 B6 (Miss Munro, Laide) A1 Dubh a' Ghiuthais. A2b. B1.2 in form of big white bird: all she touches burns. C1 Lochbroom. C2 she has a soft heart for animals. C3. D1.2 Kildonan, N. end of Little Loch Broom.

Sutherland. (1) TGSI 16:150 = MacBain 1922:191–2 (E) A1 Dubh-Ghiubhais. A2a
king's foster-mother—'it must have been'. B1.2. C1 Badenoch. C2—she is just curious.
C3 sixpence. (2) Campbell and Henderson 1911:xxii–iii (E. From Miss Dempster's
MSS) A1 Dubh Giuthais. A3. B2 Sutherland, Ross and Reay country. C3 by St Gilbert
of Dornoch. D2 between Skibo and Dornoch.

There are some traditions to do with the stealing of milk or its *toradh* which might be
considered as story types: for instance, one which records how a witch was carrying
off milk in a stalk of tangle (seaweed) and was prevented by a man cutting the seaweed
which was wound round her body[16]; and the story of the witch who tried to steal
her neighbour's butter by borrowing a coal when she was churning, but was prevented
by a tailor who took a coal each time and put it in a tub of water beside him.[17] For the
moment, however, I have not assigned them numbers.

19 *The Hunted Ghost*

It seems appropriate to round off this section with a story of the witch's fate after
death.[18] Christiansen (1958) assigns the number 5060 to this type, and calls the hunter
a fairy: there seems in English versions to be some connection with legends of the 'Wild
Hunt' (see Briggs and Tongue 1965:52–4). In the Highlands, however, the hunter is
clearly the Devil, except in Angus MacLellan's version where he is euhemerised into
the hero of the preceding section of the story, who was also a hunter with two dogs.
In all the versions I have found so far the witch is the Lady of Laggan, and this story
follows Type 3, which tells of her death.

Summary: A man travelling by night in . . . (A1) meets the ghost of a woman (the Lady
of Laggan) fleeing to a churchyard (A2); she asks him whether she can reach it by a
certain time (A3). Later he meets two black hounds, and then a horseman (B1), who
asks whether he has seen a woman and whether he thinks the hounds will catch her
before she reaches the churchyard (B2). Presently he is overtaken by the horseman
returning with the woman slung across his saddlebow: she did not reach the churchyard
in time (C).

Hebrides. (1) *Raasay.* IFC 1027:46–52 (Peggy Maclean) A1 a wood. A2 Tomnahurich.
B1.2. C. (2) *S. Uist.* SA 1959/43 A3 (Angus MacLellan, Frobost) A1.2 to boundary
(*crìoch*) of district. B1 gamekeeper following on horse. B2. C—he catches her and she
was the last witch burned in Scotland.

Inverness. (1) Stewart 1823:196–8 (E) A1 neighbour coming home meets woman in
black. A2 Dalarossie. A3 by noon. B1.2. C one dog hanging on her breast and one on
her thigh. (2) Polson 1932:149 (E) A1 two travellers meet bloodstained woman. A2
'the churchyard'. B1.2. C dog's teeth fixed in her body.
Perth. (1) Murray 1891 No. 63 (Annie McDonald, Baluan) A1 in middle of moor

coming from Strathdearn. A2 Dalarossic.[19] A3 twelve o'clock (or sunset[19]). B1.2. C dogs clinging to her.*

Imitating the Witch

A number of comic stories connected with witchcraft may be placed under this heading: the dividing line between witches and fairies is at its thinnest here, but it is normally clear that the witch is a mortal whose magic can successfully be copied by other mortals.

20 *Man Tries to Fly*

I have placed this before the commoner Type 21 because Christiansen's summary of the parallel Norwegian Type 3045 (1958:46) suggests that 20 might be found as an introduction to 21. There are probably many more versions to be found.

Summary: A man (A1) watches a witch or witches (A2), unaware of his presence, fly out of the chimney or smoke-hole of a house (A3) on a sieve or . . . (A4) using certain words. Later he imitates her, using the same object (B1) but makes an error in the words (B2) and is dashed to and fro among the rafters (B3). He mentions the name of God and falls to the ground (C1) with consequences . . . (C2).

Argyll. (1) Campbell 1902:16–7 (E. 'South Highlands') A1 tailor. A2 old woman. A3.4 creel—comes back with it full of herring. B1 one day when she is away. B2 (?)3. C1.2 dislocated hips.

Hebrides. (1) *Skye.* Folk-Lore 33:214 (E) A1 gentleman's servant. A2 three witches. A3 climbing up pot-chain. A4 wearing mutches. B1 at once, using another mutch. B2 forgotten. C falls off roof. (A garbled version, leaning on Type 21.) (2) *Vatersay.* SA 1965/18 A4b (Nan MacKinnon) A1 in big hall. A2 one of the *Doideagan Muileach.* A3.4 sieve. B1. on her return. B3. C1.

21 *'Off to London'*

This is a very popular story in Gaelic: though the form is quite constant, it is almost as well known as Type 1 and at one time, at least, seems to have been as widely distributed throughout the British Isles. As in most Scottish Gaelic versions the witches' spell is in English, the story is probably an import to the Highlands from further south. Early versions are: *Scotland*—James Hogg's ballad *The Witch of Fife*, from *The Queen's Wake* (Hogg 1822 1:70–90; 1873:13–7)[20]; compare also the story of Lord Duffus and his fairy cup (Pitcairn 1833 3:604 n.). *England*—*The Witches' Frolic* from *The Ingoldsby Legends*[21] (Ingoldsby 1870 1:163–82). *Ireland*—*Hie over to England* (Hardy 1837:134–48). For this and other Irish versions see O'Sullivan 1966:278–9. The early versions are summarised for comparison at the end of this section. Scottish Gaelic versions are mostly

localised in Skye (a famous haunt of witches) or more often in Kintail on the mainland opposite. The hero's return complete with the gallows seems to be peculiar to the Highlands.

Summary: A man spends a night in a house (A1) where he happens to see witches (A2) take out and put on certain caps[22] (A3), say . . . (A4) and disappear (through . . . A5). He finds another cap and says the same words (B1) and finds himself with the witches in a cellar in London (B2). He gets drunk and is left behind when they go home (C1), caught by the owner of the cellar (C2) and condemned to be hanged (C3). As a last favour he asks for the cap to be put on his head (D1), says . . . (D2) and is carried home (D3) with the gallows and rope still attached (D4): the gallows was made into . . . (D5).

Argyll. (1) Polson 1932:167 (E. Told of 'a remote district of Argyllshire') A1 benighted traveller in hut. A2 unwilling hostess and two others. A3 white mutches. A4 'Off to London'. A5 through smoke-hole. B1 he snatches mutch from the third witch. B2. C1 can't find mutch and falls asleep. C2.3. D1 having found it in his pocket. D2 'Off to Argyll'. D3.4.5 woodwork of cottage.

Hebrides. (1) *Barra.* SA 1965/97/4 (Father Calum MacNeil. E) A1 Kintail man looking for keel for boat, lost in woods. A2 two old women. A3 hoods *(curraicean).* A4 'London!' B1.2 public house in London. C1.2.3. D1.2 'Kintail!' D3 'Wakes up in Kintail'. (2) *Skye.* Folk-Lore 33:209–10 (E) A1 sick in own bed. A2 wife and two neighbours. A3 mutches ('curches as they are called in these parts') A4 (not given) B1.2 inn in London. C1 'found himself drunk' at once? C2 accused of theft. C3. D1 (just remembers it and puts it on). D3.4. (3) SA 1953/157/2 (Somhairle Thorburn, Glendale) A1 shepherd in own bed while clothes dry. A2 three cats which become women. *(Cf.* Type 30.) A3 cap—each of them shakes it and drops it for next to pick up. A4 'London again!' A5 through smoke-hole *(forleus).* B1 catches cap, shakes and holds on to it. B2. C—they themselves set out to hang him in the room and are about to push chair from under him when he shakes cap. D2 'Lodhargil again!' D3.4 (gallows in room!) (4) SA 1958/45 A3 (Murdo MacLeod, Glendale) A1 lost in mist in Glen Lodhargil. A2 three women of the house. A3 blue/green caps *(curraicean gorma*—once *liath).* A4 'Away to London!' A5 out at top of house. B1.2 public house in London. C1.2.3. D1.2 'Away to Lodhargil!' D3.4.5 foot ploughs *(casa croma)* for all Glen Lodhargil and Glendale. (5) *S. Uist.* SA 1960/10 A4 = MacLellan 1961:101 (E) A1 shipwrecked Kintail fisherman benighted while looking for new keel for boat. A2 hostesses, three very old women. A3 bonnets *(curraicean).* A4 'London!'/'London again!' A5 chimney. B1.2 'whisky cellar' in London —women stretched drunk there and all spigots open. C1.2.3. D1.2 'Kintail again!' D3.4 hangman comes too, thrown into sea. D5 keel for boat. (6) *Vatersay.* SA 1965/18 A4a (Nan MacKinnon—mere mention of words) A2 one of the Doideagan Muileach. A4 '*Lunnainn air na lunnan.*' (London on churn-staffs/rollers.)

Inverness. (1) IFC 1030:15–9 (Donald MacKellaig, Morar) A1 shipwrecked Kintail fisherman stormbound while looking for new keel. A2 unwilling red-haired hostess

and two others. A3 red bonnets/mutches. A4 'London!' B1.2 bar in London. C1.2.3. D1.2 'Kintail again!' D3.4.5 keel for boat.

Perth. (1) Murray 1891 No. 37 (James MacDonald (?), Baluan—native of Arisaig, in Skye as a boy). A1 Skye man going south goes into bothy. A2 three women in bothy. A3 black caps or mutches (*curraichdean/muidseachan* alternatives in MS). A4 'Off to London'. B1.2. C1.2.3. D1.2 'Off to Kintail'. D3.4. (2) *Op. cit.* No. 113 (Donald (?) Douglas, Dowally—heard it in a boat off Skye.) A1 master of boat sheltering from storm. A2 hostesses, two old maids. A3 green caps. A4 'Away to London'. A5 go to door and vanish. B1.2 follows light through keyhole to cellar. C1.2.3. D1.2 'Kintail again'. D3.4 hangman comes too but drops off over Perth. D5 mast of boat.* (3) *Op. cit.* No. 185 (Mr MacLean, Gate Rannoch—born in Skye). A1.2 two women in Kintail. A3 (one?) black cap. A4 'We'll go to London'. B1 imitated later with same cap (*cf.* Type 20). B2 'store' with drink. C1.2 keeper of store. C3. D1.2 'We'll go back to Kintail again'. D3.4.5 keel of boat and loom, still to be seen.

Ross. (1) Robertson 1961:92–6 (E—retold from 'Ruraidh Mor', Ullapool). A1 Kintail man lost on way home looking for wood for boat. A2 hostess and two sisters. A3 red caps. A4 'Here's off to London'. A5 through smoke-hole (*farleus*). B1.2 street in London —goes into alehouse and meets witches. C1 given bill as last to leave! C2 manager. C3. D1.2 'Here's off back to Kintail'. D3.4.5 stem of boat, rope as anchor cord—it is a lucky boat for fishing.

Lowland Scotland. (1) Hogg 1873:13–7. A1 'silly auld man' (witch's husband) in 'Maisry's cot'. A2.3 'set a foot on the black cruik-shell' (hook of pot-chain?) A4 'word of awsome weird'. A5 out at lum. B1.2 bishop's cellars in Carlisle. C1.2.3. burned. D1 wife comes flying with *red cap* and word. D3. (2) Pitcairn 1833 3:604 n. A1 Lord Duffus in open air. A2 hears invisible fairies (?) A4 'Horse and Hattock'.[23] B1.2 king of France's cellar. C1.2—the king lets him go and gives him the 'fairy' cup found in his hand.

England. Ingoldsby 1870 1:163–82. A1 Rob Gilpin[24] sheltering in abbey ruins in May 1606. A2 two old women and young Madge Gray. A3 ride broomsticks. A4 'Hey up the chimney!' A5 (up chimney). B1.2 vicar's cellar. C1 after breaking spell that keeps household asleep, by mentioning scriptural character (toasting Noah). C2. At trial Madge Gray seizes broomstick produced as evidence and she and Robin ride it up chimney. D3 found in ruins in morning.

Ireland. (1) Kennedy 1866:166–8 (condensed from Hardy 1837:134–8) A1 'Shemus Rua'. A2 half a dozen old women including his housekeeper Madge. A3 red caps, and riding twigs. A4 'By yarrow and rue/And my red cap too/Hie over to England'.[25] A5 up chimney. B1 seizes Madge's twig and cap. B2 through keyhole to castle cellar in England. C1.2.3. D1 reminded of cap by old Irishwoman in crowd. D2 as A4, following repentant speech. D3. (2) Béaloideas 10:172–5 (Reprint of *Royal Hibernian Tales*,

C

chapbook, before 1825) A1 Manus O'Mallaghan looking for strayed calf. A2 hears invisible fairies. A4 'get me a horse'. B1 'get me a horse too'. B2 Spain, Rome and Connaught, with adventures in each—brought back by fairies.

22   *The Overflowing Milk*

The 'Sorcerer's Apprentice' story—not AT 325, but the tale depicted in Dukas's popular overture—has for some reason not been allotted an Aarne-Thompson number, perhaps because it is associated with locally famous enchanters and so considered a *sage:* but as I cannot even find it in the Motif-Index it may have been overlooked. An English version, almost certainly of traditional origin, is the basis of *A Lay of St Dunstan* in the *Ingoldsby Legends* (Ingoldsby 1870 1:227–40). It is not unlike Christiansen's Type 3040, where the witch's maid takes seven spoonfuls of cream instead of three to make butter and the cream overflows—each spoonful is the cream of a whole parish's cows. This may also be found in Scotland in the same form, but I have no example of it, and only one Gaelic example of Type 22 itself, though probably more could be found.

Summary: Someone (A1) watches a magician or witch (A2) procuring milk (A3) or something else (A4) by magic. He later copies their action (B1) but because he cannot remember the spell to stop it (B2) the milk overflows and keeps on overflowing, until … (C).

Hebrides. (1) *Skye.* Folk-Lore **33**:212 (E) A1 old man going to Uig. A2 six cats under bridge which become women. A3 (not clear). B1 (not clear—wife goes to milk his cows and—) B2. C unable to repeat witches' words: but he recognised one of the witches and persuades her to take off the charm.

Lowland Scotland. Selkirk. (1) Wilkie 1916:112–3 (MS *c.* 1800) A1 tailor's apprentice. A2 farmer's wife of Deloraine. A3 by turning pin in wall. B1.2 (no spell heard). C mistress returns and says tailors have drained every cow in Yarrow (*cf.* Type 7B).

England. Ingoldsby 1870 1:227–40. A1 lay-brother Peter. A2 St Dunstan. A4 making broomstick bring chair. B1 makes it bring beer. B2. C Peter is drowned before the Saint stops the flow.

A story very like the last is Christiansen's No. 3020 (1958:28–35), telling of the servant's misuse of the magic book: but so far I have only seen one Scottish version, from Miss Dempster's Sutherland collection (*Folk-Lore Journal* **6**:153–4. E).

The Witch Disobeyed or Vengeful

There are a few stories where the witch is not defeated in the end, though in Type 30 at least it is the witch's mortal fear of discovery which leads to her vengeance. The

general moral is presumably to beware of all dealings with witches and magicians, but if you must deal with them, to do what they ask.

30 *The Witches as Cats and their Vengeance*

This story is normally localised in Skye, where the spot where the boy was killed is shown: but some similar tales with the same basic motif of the witch avenging her betrayal are included.

Summary: A boy alone at home (A1) sees three cats come in (A2) which turn into women whom he recognises (A3) and drink the milk in the house (A4). When they see he has been watching them they warn him not to tell anybody upon pain of death (B1), but he tells his mother (B2), who years later quarrels with one of the witches and lets out the secret in taunting her (B3). Soon after this the boy goes out on an errand (C1) and is found dead (C2).

Argyll. (1) *Tiree.* Campbell 1902:30 (E) A1 man by shore. A2 attacked by black sheep. A3 when he aims at it with a sixpence in his gun (*cf.* Type 1) it becomes a woman who had formerly persecuted him in the form of a cat. B1.2 lets out secret when drunk. C drowned within a fortnight.

Hebrides. (1) Henderson 1911:107–8 (E. Island unspecified) A1 young man, while rest of household at wedding. A2.3 girls. A4. B1.2.3 she taunts the mother of the girls. C1.2. (2) *Skye.* Folk-Lore **33**:213 (E) A1 in bed. A2.3.4 cream. B1 he feigns sleep, but they say that if the news gets out he is to be killed. B2.3. C 'The boy was set running about the country with his tongue hanging out and could not stop till he died'. (3) MacGregor 1930:232–4 (E) A1 dozing, in house between Dunvegan and Stein. A2.3 and conspire together. B1.2.3. C1. in dark. C2 at *Càrn a' Ghille* between 'Faery Bridge' and Stein. (4) SA 1957/97 A2 (Rev. Norman MacDonald) A1 shepherd boy in Vaternish sheltering in a bothy. A2 swell to size of calves (*cf.* Type 3). A3. B1.2 after two of the witches are dead. B3 survivor. C1 fetching doctor for his wife late at night. C2 gashed as if with steel blades. (5) *Op. cit.* A6 (same) a girl in Skye sees witch putting *corp creadha* in a burn (to kill enemy). B1 no penalty named. B2 tells someone. C1 travelling by night, attacked by raven which settles on her head and picks out all her hair. (6) *S. Uist.* SA 1965/116 B2 (Mrs Archie Munro, Lochboisdale—heard from a Skye man) A1.2 two cats. A3. B1.2.3. C1 on postal round. C2 with face scratched.

31 *The Three Knots*

This is one of the most impressively 'migratory' legends of the Highlands, being told of witches in many different areas in a fairly constant form, though the end varies and sometimes this is only one motif of a longer story. The basis of the plot—the gift of a fair wind lost by curiosity—is of course as old as the Odyssey (10:1–76), but I know of no very close parallels to this story from other parts of the British Isles.

Summary: A boat's crew from . . . (A1) is delayed in . . . (A2) by contrary winds, and gets a wind from a witch (A3) by purchase (A4) or other means. She gives them a string or thread (B1) with three knots in it: they are to untie one knot for a breeze and one for a fair wind, but they must on no account touch the third (B2). When they are nearly home (C1) one of them disobeys and unties the third knot (C2) and a sudden gale drives them back to the place where they started from (C3) or wrecks the boat on the spot (C4) or . . . (C5) Sequel (D).

Argyll. See Hebrides (3).

Hebrides. (1) *Barra.* MacPherson 1960:205–10 (E) A1 Barra. A2 Coll—winds abate at nights. A3 old woman who reveals that they are being delayed by a woman at home who had been given the use of the skipper's grazing while he was away. B1.2.—to sail by night. C1 in Castlebay loch. C2.4. D greeted by witch who delayed him—accused her and she leaves village. (2) *Benbecula.* SA 1959/49 A3 (Patrick MacCormick, Hacleit) A1 three MacLeods from Loch Skiport, S. Uist. A2 Skye. A3.4 gift—one is courting witch's daughter. B1 three clews of thread (*ceirlean snàth*). B2. C1 near L. Skiport. C2.4. (3) *Harris.* Campbell 1902:19 (Harris and other sources. E) A1 boatman from 'one of the southern islands'/Harris. A2 Lewis. A3.4 present of tobacco—he is courting witch's daughter. B1.2 implied by names given to each knot. C1.2.4 boatman drowned/(Harris) boat smashed though already beached. (4) *Lewis.* Polson 1932:151 (Lewis only island named. E) A2 Stornoway. A3.4. B1.2. C1.2.4. (5) *S. Uist.* SA 1953/274 A15 (Donald MacMillan, S. Glendale) A1 youths from Uist. A2 Skye. A3. B1.2. C1.2.3. (6) SA 1960/9 A4 (John Campbell, Smerclett) A1 S. Uist. A2 Skye. A3 woman staying with hostess, who reveals that hostess was jealous when they gave her some of their food. B1.2 to sail by night. C1 already landed. C2.5 his sou'wester is blown away! (Not very clear.) (7) SA 1965/116 A7 (Ruairidh Munro, Lochboisdale) A1 Barra. A2 Skye. A3 (wise woman). B1.2. C1.2.4. (8) *Vatersay.* SA 1960/97 A3 (Ealasaid Sinclair) A1 Mingulay. A2 Coll—winds abate at nights. A3 hostess tells them (as Hebrides (1)). B1 big rope. B2—to sail by night. C1.2.4. D skipper gets home—when witch who delayed him sees smoke from his house she burns her spells (*cf.* Type 8.)

Ross. (1) Miller 1858:281–9 (Easter Ross. E) A1 fishermen from Cromarty in 1738. A2 Tarbat Ness. A3 Stine Bheag of Tarbat. A4.B1 big water stoup stopped with straw. B2 'touch not the wisp'. C1 mouth of Cromarty Bay. C2 throws straw overboard. C3. D finally Stine is persuaded to give them another 'wisp'. (2) Dixon 1886:168–9 (Gairloch area. E) A1 Mr McRyrie/McIver of Poolewe, before 1800. A2 Stornoway. A3 recommended by man met in street. A4. B1.2. C1 at head of Loch Ewe. C2.4 crew unharmed but many houses unroofed. (3) Robertson 1961:97–8 (E) Same as (1) which is no doubt the principal source, but variant end: C4 all but one of crew drowned.

Sutherland. (1) *Celtic Magazine* 13:93–4 (E) A1 fishermen from Farr. A2 Assynt. A3 Mór Bhàn. A4. B1 knots tied in the sheet rope. B2. C1 fifty yards from shore. C2.5

the man who untied the knot vanishes at once and his body is found near the shore next day. (2) Log 382 (Thomas Gunn, Kinlochbervie) A1 Lewis. A2 Gairloch. A3.4. B1.2. C1 mouth of Loch Stornoway. C2.3.

Other Stories about Witches

In the stories listed here, the witch is benevolent or malevolent, depending on which side the audience's sympathies lie, in Type 40: in Type 41 she is benevolent or malevolent according to her treatment by the hero.

40A *Witches Sink a Ship*

This tradition is generally found in connection with one of two occasions, one historical and one pseudo-historical. There are of course many other stories of witches sinking ships—some of their methods are mentioned in summaries of Type 7A—but in these particular cases most versions have a fairly complex and well-defined form: quite apart from whatever sympathetic magic may be going on on the shore, the witches appear in person on the doomed ship in the form of birds or animals, and it is only when so many have arrived that their combined magic power exceeds that of the captain that the vessel goes down. In the better-known variant the captain is Iain Garbh Mac Gille Chaluim, John MacLeod of Raasay, who had a reputation as a persecutor of witches: his drowning in 1671 within sight of the shore seems to have caught the public imagination, and being an avoidable accident[26] was naturally attributed to the witches' vengeance, though various additional motives are sometimes given. The number of witches supposed to have been present is eighteen in the best versions, and this may have to do with the fact that seventeen of the MacLeods were lost.[26] The names mentioned include the Doideag Mhuileach, associated with the Spanish Armada of 1588, as well as Nighean Dualachan, elsewhere (SA 1953/183 A2) associated with the Napoleonic Wars: but the last straw is most often the arrival of Gormshùil Mhór, the Lady of Laggan. Exactly the same thing is told in the other tradition, so we may suspect a borrowing, especially since some of the other details are vague and romantic. This story has been woven by some storyteller round the loss of a galleon of the Spanish Armada off Tobermory: this is said to have been the ship of a Spanish princess who had fallen in love with (Lachlann Mór) MacLean of Duart in a dream and come in search of him. His wife was jealous and blew up the ship: and when the news reached Spain 'Captain Forrest' was sent to take vengeance on the women of Mull (Campbell 1902: 27–8). The part of the story which concerns us here tells how Captain Forrest's ship was sunk by the Doideag Mhuileach and other witches.

Summary: A witch (A1) undertakes to sink the ship of … (A2) coming from … (A3), on behalf of … (A4). She leaves a helper (B1) performing a ritual (B2) at home. Meanwhile she comes in the form of a bird or animal (C) to the mast of the ship. The

captain has sufficient magic power to overcome a certain number (D1) of witches: but a larger number (D2) settle on the ship in the form of . . . (D3), the last being . . . (D4) in the form of . . . (D5). The ship is then sunk by . . . (E).

Argyll. (1) *Mull/Tiree.* Campbell 1902:28–30 (E) A1 Doideag Mhuileach. A2 Captain Forrest. A3 Spain to Mull. A4 Lady MacLean. B1 chance visitor from Tiree. B2 raising wind by hoisting and lowering quernstone on rope run through hole in rafters. D1 eight/nine. D2 sixteen/eighteen. D3 gulls/hoodie crows/black cats. D4 Gormshùil Mhór from Mey (Moy?) E.

Hebrides. (1) Campbell 1902:25–7 (Source uncertain. E) A1 Iain Garbh's foster-mother on Trodda. A2 Iain Garbh. A3 Lewis to Raasay. A4 friend who in jest wished him drowned/enemy who bribed her. B1 self, while boy watches boat. B2 with one foot on pot-chain, agitates dish floating in milk-pail by spells. D2 twenty—'all the witches in Scotland'. D3 birds, some of which become frogs. D4 Gormshùil Chròtach 'from Cràcaig, Skye' was there from first with Doideag Mhuileach and Spòga Buidhe from Màiligeir, Skye. D5 ravens. E Iain Garbh aims at raven on gunwale and cleaves boat with sword. (2) *Skye.* TGSI 29:270–2 (E) A1 Iain Garbh's foster-mother. A2 Iain Garbh. A3 Lewis to Raasay. A4 MacDonald of Sleat, her other foster-son, who covets his lands in Skye, and promises her land. B1 daughter. B2 stirring tub of water with egg-shell in it. C black cat. E wind blowing from two directions at once. (3) MacCulloch 1927:247–8 (E) A1 Skye witches. A2 a MacLeod of Raasay. A3 through narrows of Sound of Raasay. C cat. D3 cats. E weight of cats, who then swim ashore. (4) *S. Uist.* SA 1959/43 A3 (Angus MacLellan, Frobost) A2 Iain Garbh. D1 he has black magic (*sgoil dhubh.*) D2 Doideag Mhuileach comes first: Iain Garbh warns boy in boat to be silent. D4 Gormol Mhór (Lady of Laggan). D5 white crow. E boy cries out and boat is swamped. (Type 3 follows.)

Inverness. (1) Stewart 1823:184–9 (E) A1 all the witches: old woman encourages him to set out. A2 'John Garve'. A3 Lewis to Raasay. A4 witches' vengeance. D3 cats. D4 (by implication, Lady of Laggan). D5 larger black cat. E cats overturning vessel. (Type 3 follows.)

Perth. (1) Murray 1891 No. 63 (Annie McDonald, Baluan) A1 Lady of Laggan and her coven. A2 Iain Garbh. A3 Glasgow to Raasay. D1 (apparently) twelve. D2 twelve 'on mast'. D4 Lady of Laggan. E Iain Garbh cuts through boat with his own sword-strokes and sinks it. (Type 3 follows.)*

Ross. (1) SA 1958/169 A8 (John Finlayson, Lochalsh) A1 Nighean Dualachan in Skye. A2 Iain Garbh. C seagull. D1 seven. D2 (not clear—distorted recording—'a red-haired one, a black-haired one, etc.'). D3 gulls (?) E apparently weight of gulls sinks ship, but perhaps really their magic power.

Further references are in Campbell 1890 1:158 (perhaps source of Hebrides 3); MacGregor 1930:234–5 (two versions, one like Hebrides 1, one like Hebrides 3);

Henderson 1911:92 (mention of an article in the *Northern Chronicle* for 1910, which I cannot obtain, with a variant of the Mull story, where the witches become ravens).

40B *Witches Fail to Sink a Ship*

This should perhaps have been placed in the 'Witch Foiled' section, but it is so clearly a reversal of 40A in which the magic power of the witches does *not* exceed that of the helmsman that I have placed the two together. The ending is the discovery of the wounded witch already familiar to us from Types 1 to 4, but only one complete version is known to me: the others are mere mentions hardly worth the name of stories. Further tales of witches in bird form attempting to sink ships may be found in Campbell 1902:23–24.

Summary: Someone (A1) sails from . . . (A2) to . . . (A3). Two crows come, one alights on mast and other flies round (B1): one asks other to sink ship (B2), but other replies that it cannot because . . . (B3) is at the helm. One of the company (C1) shoots at crow: on arrival he finds a woman (C2) wounded, and she tells him . . . (C3). Sequel (D).

Hebrides. (1) *Benbecula.* IFC 1031:96–8 (Angus MacLellan, Hacleit) A1 Alasdair nam Mart (MacDonald of Boisdale). A2 S. Uist. A3 Skye to marry MacLeod's daughter. B1.2 says Alasdair nam Mart will be drowned. B3 MacMhuirich. C1 MacMhuirich. C2 one of the maids of MacLeod's daughter. C3 the maids wanted to prevent the marriage lest they lost their livelihood. D MacMhuirich rubs round wound with his gun-barrel and it heals. (2) *S. Uist.* DJM MS 1:12–3 (Duncan MacDonald, Peninerine) A1 MacMhuirich. A2 mainland, A3 S. Uist. B1.2 'do what you have to do!' B3 mac Iain Duibh 'ic Iain 'ic Mhuirich. D after three repeats of dialogue they leave. (3) SA 1965/116 A5 (Archie Munro, Lochboisdale) A1 Uist men. A2 returning from Skye. A3 to Uist. B1 Skye witch with grudge against one of crew sends her daughter as crow to sink ship, but she returns saying she got no chance all day. B3 Lachlann Dubh mac Dhomhnaill MacMhuirich.[27]

41 *The Witch in the Eggshell*

It is perhaps stretching a point to include this as a story, for the final episode is usually little more than an explanation of the central motif. It is very popular in South Uist, however, and though details such as the witch's destination are fairly constant and suggest a common original, others such as the nature of her vessel can vary considerably. A similar tale from Tiree is included for comparison.

Summary: A boat from . . . (A1) passes an eggshell (A2) in the sea near . . . (A3). One of the crew (B1) wants to sink it, but another (B2) prevents him. When they reach their destination (C1) the latter is thanked by a woman (C2) for saving her: she explains that she was going to . . . (C3) to steal the substance of milk (C4): or other sequel (D).

Argyll. (1) *Tiree.* Campbell 1902:42. A1 Tiree boat coming from Ross of Mull with peat. A2 two rats sailing on pieces of dry cow-dung. A3 Treshnish Isles. B he overturns them with a piece of peat. D storm rises at once and he barely escapes drowning.

Hebrides. (1) *Canna.* IFC 1029:337 (Angus MacDonald) A1 boy returning from Barra. A2 scallop shell. A3 on way to Canna. D voice from shell says 'Go on—I will be in Canna before you'. (2) *S. Uist.* SA 1953/36 A9 (Roderick Bowie) A1 Kilbride, S. Uist. A2.3 on the way to Eriskay. B1.2 the skipper, Murchadh. C1 later when Murchadh is fishing in Skye. C2.3 Kilbride. C4. (3) SA 1952/274 A13 (Donald MacMillan, S. Glendale) A1 S. Uist. A2 small (hermit?) crab (*partag*) sailing on shell of larger crab (*crùbag*). A3 in Sound of Eriskay. B1 youngest son of skipper. B2 father. C1 Loch Roag in Skye [*sic*]. C2.3 Kilbride. C4. (4) SA 1960/9 A4 (John Campbell, Smerclett) A1 four fishermen from S. Uist. A2.3 heading for Kilbride. B1.2. C1 'Locha Mór' (?) in Skye. C2. one of two women in house where they stay. D given a share of men's food—Type 31 follows. (5) SA 1965/120 A13 (Duncan Currie, Lochboisdale) A1 S. Uist. A2.3 on way to Skye for house-beams. B1 Lachlann Dubh MacMhuirich.[27] B2 his servant. C1 Skye. C2.3 Uist. C4.

A story on roughly similar lines is in Polson 1932:152–3, from Ross-shire: a Torridon man feeds three cats who come to his door one evening; later when fishing in Loch Roag, Lewis, he is hospitably entertained by three women who say they were the cats—they had been in Torridon in the form of whales to chase fish into the Lewis fishermen's nets!

Texts

The examples of stories which follow from Lady Evelyn Murray's collection are in the order of the MS: the type represented and the number allotted to this particular example is given at the head of each, so that the English summary may easily be located above. Only a minimal amount of editing has been done, as described in *Scottish Studies* 10:163, but with the following additions: Doubtful spellings pencilled in the MS are indicated by italics—in most cases they give broad endings or nominative forms where narrow or genitive would be more regular, and very likely represent what Lady Evelyn heard. In a few infinitives and the word *maighstir* an italicised *h* has been supplied by the editor. Alternatives of spelling or wording and explanations written above the line in the MS are given in brackets after the word or phrase concerned: standard forms supplied in square brackets after a dialect word are by Lady Evelyn in No. 63 (except *grannda*), editorial in the later stories. Pencilled underlinings of certain irregular forms, probably added to the MS by a later hand, have been ignored or replaced by [*sic*]. In order to avoid an excess of apostrophes the only particle whose absence is indicated before a verbal noun is the possessive adjective: infinitives can normally be told from participles, as in speech, by aspiration. The apostrophes of the MS have also been dropped from forms such as *gu'n, na'n, mu's, cha'n* ('*eil*).

No. 63. *Bean an Lagain*. Types 4, 40A, 3 and 19 (Perth 1 under all but Type 3, where it is Perth 2).

(4)   'S droch bhoirionnach bh' innte 'bha ri móran olc [*sic*], bha i ri iomadh nì nach gabhadh ainmeadh [ainmeachadh]. Aon nì sònruichte bhiodh i deanamh: bhìodh i dol na h-uile oidhche d'on Fhraing, 's bha i coinneach' an sin dhà dheug dhe na bana-chompanaich aice. Bha iad toirt oidhchean 'g òl fìon' anns na seillearan, 's deanamh móran olc. Bha i tighinn dachaidh anns a' mhadainn an còmhnuidh. An dòigh air an robh i dol an sin, 's e bhi marcachd an sgalag aice an cruth eich. Bha sin dol air adhairt car uine gus an robh an gille òg so fàs cho bochd, 's a shlàinte briseadh air, 's gur gann b' urrainn da seasamh air a chasan. Bha ise tighinn h-uile oidhche agus falbh leis, agus cha b' urrainn da 'thuigsinn ciod e bha cur as da. Anns a' mhadainn bha e 'g éirigh 's a [e] cho sgith *pronnte* (*proinnte?*), 's cha robh e (iad) tuigsinn air an t-saoghal ciod e bha cur air.

Ach oidhche air chor-eiginn, thuirt an ath sgalag ris ais [esan] laidhe an cul na leapa, 's gun laidheadh aise [esan] 'na àite an nochd. (Aon oidhche thuirt an gille bha cuide ris: 'Laidh thusa annam thaobh-sa dhe'n leabaidh nochd, agus laidhidh mise ann do thaobh-sa.') Dh'fhuirich an sgalag 'na dhùsgadh, gus an d'thàinig an t-àm do Bhean an Lagain tighinn stigh. Thàinig ise mar b'àbhaist di, rinn i ris mar chleachd i ris an fhear eile. Anns a' mhionaid bha e air a chasan, 's a [e] air 'thionndadh 'na each, ach dh'fhuirich a thur aige leis nach do chaidil e, agus riamh cha do dhìochuimhnich e na facail thuirt i.

Dh'fhalbh i leis, ruig i 'n Fhraing, 's chuir i stigh da'n stàbull e. Chaidh ise an sin, mar a chleachd i, choinneach' a bana-chompanaich fhéin anns na seillearan fìon', 's iad ris na h-uile olc b'urrainnear smuaineach' air. Dar bha ise ollaimh [ullamh], thàinig i far an robh an t-each anns an stàbull, ach eadar an dà thìm rinn e 'n gnothuch air an t-srian thoirt à *cheann*. Bha e fritheal' oirre dar thàinig i, 's bhruidhinn e rithe. 'S a' mhionaid 's an do bhruidhinn e rithe, bha ise air 'tionndadh 'na capull. Chuir e an t-srian innte 's mharcaich e dhachaidh leatha. Theireadh i ris air an rathad, dol dachaidh, gu dé bhiodh iad 'g ràdh ann am Baideanach aig àm dol laidhe? 'Coma leat-sa sin an dràsda, marcaich thus' an ainm do mhaighstir!'

Ruig iad dachaidh, 's chuir e anns an stàbull i. Cheangail e an t-srian gu téaruinte innte, o's nach b'urrainn di 'toirt as, 's dh'fhalbh e laidhe an sin.

Anns a' mhadainn dh'éirich a mhaighstir, 's chunnaic e gun robh capull briagha anns an stàbull. B'ioghantach leis nach robh an sgalag ag éirigh, ach dh' aithnich e gun robh e as a' bhaile. Chaidh e thun an doruis, 's ghnog e. Thuirt an sgalag ris: 'Tha mi tighinn.'

Fhreagair a mhaighstir: 'Na bìodh cabhag ort; tha mi tuigsinn gun robh thu as a' bhaile an raoir.'

'Bha mi sgrìob bheag (car beag) as a' bhaile,' thuirt e.

' 'S anabarrach briagha an capull 'tha thu air faighinn.'

'Cheannaich mi 'n raoir i, ach reicidh mi riut-sa i.'

Rinn iad bargan, matà, 's cheannaich a mhaighstir an so an capull, 's thuirt e ris an sgalag: 'Théid thu 'Chinn Ghiùsaidh, 's gheibh thu cruidhean aotrom oirre.'

Dh'fhalbh an gille leatha. Fhuair e cruidhean aotrom oirre. Thug e dhachaidh 'Lagan i. Thachair a mhaighstir air, 's thaitinn i ris anabarrach math, 's thuirt e ris an sgalag: 'Tha mi anabarrach toilichte leis a' chapull sin.'

Fhreagair an sgalag e:'Tha mi buidheach à [sic MS] sin, ach,' thuirt e ris, 'gad a
reic mi an capull riut, cha do reic mi an t-srian.'

'O,' thuirt e, 'cha dean e diubhar; thoir aisde an t-srian.'

Thug e 'n t-srian aisde, 's bha 'bhean aige an sin air a bhialthaobh 'na seasamh, agus
ceithir cruidhean oirre. Chuir e uamhas anabarrach air an duine aice, 's dar chunnaic
e mar 'bha 'chùis, thuirt e:'O bhó, 'n ann mar so 'tha na cùiscan a nis!' 's thuirt e ris
an sgalag:'Cuir an t-srian iunte, rach 'n a' cheardaich leatha, 's thoir na cruidhean dhi.'

Rinn e mar 'dh'iarr a mhaighstir air, 's dh'fhalbh e leatha, 's thug e na cruidhean dhi.
Thàin' e dhachaidh leatha an sin. Thug e aisde an t-srian,[28] 's bha i 'na Bean an Lagain
mar 'chleachd i, ach cha deach i riamh tuille an Fhraing.

(40A)   Ra ghoirid an dèidh sin, bha Iain Garbh Mac 'ic Caluim Ràsa ann an Glasco leis a'
bhàta aige, 's bha e air an rathad dol dachaidh do Ràsa. Thàinig am barr a' chrainn aige,
dà bhana-bhuidseach dheug. Bha iad tighinn bailcach cruaidh air, 's iad feuchainn ris
a' bhàta aige chur fodha. Bha dà bhuaidh aig Iain Garbh fhéin a bha 'gan cumail dheth.
Chunnaic iad nach deanadh iad an gnothuch air, agus ghuidh iad Bean an Lagain
thighinn dheanamh còmhn' riu. Thàinig Bean an Lagain. Bha e faicinn gun robh i dol
dheanamh an gnothuch air. Bha e 'ga cumail dheth leis a chlaidheamh cho math 's
b'urrainn da. A h-uile buille 'bha e toirt leis 'chlaidheamh, bha e gearradh 'bhàta troimh.
Ach cha d'rinn Bean an Lagain an gnothuch air:'s e e fhéin 'chuir fodha am bàta.

(3)   Dh'fhalbh i as, à sin, an dùil gun do mharbh i Iain Garbh. Thim [??MS Fhim] na
h-ath oidhche, thàin' i stigh air Muireach mac Iain ann am bothan monaidh. Bha
Muireach mar 'chleachd e, sealg e fhéin 's fear eile. Chuir e am fear eile dhachaidh
shireadh biadh [sic], 's smuainich e gum fuiricheadh e fhéin an oidhche sin, 's gum
bìodh latha eile seilg aige.

An dèidh dhorch'-oidhche, thàinig coltach cearc thun an doruis. Thuirt i ris gun
robh 'n oidhche anabarrach fuar:am faigheadh i thun an teine g'a garadh?

'Gheibh, bheathaich mhusach,' thuirt e.

'O, Mhuireach,' thuirt i, 'nan ceangladh tu na coin agad—oir tha iad cur eagail orm.'

'Chan eil nithean agam 'cheanglas iad', thuirt Muireach.

'Bheir mi dhuit,' thuirt i, 'dà ròineig 'cheanglas iad.'

Fhuair Muireach na ròineagan, 's cheangail e air na cabair iad. Thàinig i an sin stigh
thun an teine. Bha i sìor-fhàs mór dar bha i aig an teine.

'O bhó, bheathaich ghnàda [ghrannda], 's tù tha fàs gnàda mór!'

'O, Mhuirich, tha blàthas an teine toirt air m' iteagan atadh.'

Bha i sìor-fhàs mór na mhù, gus an robh i gu bhi aig mullach an tighe. Bha Muireach
coimhead rithe, 's i cur anabarr eagail air. Thuirt e rithe:'S tù tha gnàda mór.'

Fhreagair i:'Bithidh fhios agadsa air sin, Mhuirich, mus an tig a' mhadainn; oir bha
mi 'n raoir na bhàs Mhic 'ic Caluim Ràsa, 's bidh mi nochd ma do bhàs-as [sic].'

Anns a chéile ghabh iad. Bha i coltach ri 'gnothuch dheanamh air Muireach. Theireadh
i:'Teannaich, a roineag, agus tachd.' Bha na roineagan teannach', 's na cabair a' cnacadh.[29]
Ma dheireadh bhruidhinn Muireach ris na coin, 's leum iad oirre. Fhuair Muireach as
agus dh'fhalbh e dhachaidh.

Dar ruig e, bha a bhean cur 'n òrdugh air son dol choimhead air Bean an Lagain, 's
i air faighinn fios gun robh i bailcach tinn. Thuirt Muireach rithe:'C'àite a' bheil thu dol?'

Thuirt i: 'Tha mise dol choimhead air Bean an Lagain: tha i fuathasach trioblaideach.'

Thuirt e rithe: 'Thoir dhomh-sa biadh, 's théid mise choimhead air Bean an Lagain.'

'Gu dé dheanadh thusa coimhead air Bean an Lagain? Tha pailteas biadh [sic] an sin, agus gabh e.'

Ach thuirt e rithe: 'Théid mise cuide riut, thoir dhomhs' mo bhiadh.'

Dh'fhalbh iad, 's dar ruig iad Lagan, dh'aithnich ise guth Mhuirich, agus ghuidh i orra gun a leigeadh stigh. Thuirt Muireach an dorus fhosgail, air deo [neo] gum briseadh e e: agus thog e 'chas, agus chuir e an dorus troimhe. Rug e air aodach na leapa, 's thilg e mhàn dhi e. Bha ise an sin, 's i air riabadh leis na coin. Thuirt i ri Muireach, nan robh fiaclan an t-seana chù aig a' chù òg, nach d'thàinig ise dhachaidh an raoir. Thuirt Muireach rithe gur fhad' bho bu chòir dhi bhi air a marbhadh: 'Ach tha mise air tighinn gu teine chor [chur] riut, mur geall thu nach dean thu dolaidh air neach air bith gu bràth.'

'Cha ruig thu leas, a Mhuirich; cha bhì mise fad' beò co-dhiubh.'

Gheall i dha nach deanadh i dolaidh air gu bràth tuille, 's ra ghoirid an déidh sin chrìoch i.

(19)   Bha gille tighinn à Srath *Éire* phòsadh. Bha monadh aige ri chroisig', 's dar bha e nunn mu theas-mheadhon a' mhonaidh, thachair boirionnach air—spiorad Bean an Lagain bh'ann. Dh'fharraid i dheth: 'Am bi mise ann an cladh (aig a' chladh) *Dail Earrais* mu 'n dà uair dheug?'[19]

'Bì,' thuirt e, 'ma leanas tu romhad mar tha thu dol.'

Dh'fhalbh i ann an cabhaig seachad air. Cha robh e tiota mus an d'thàinig dà chù dhubh seachad air, 's an déidh sin thachair fear air muin eich (marcachd air each) air. Dh'fharraid fear an eich dheth an deach boirionnach agus dà chù seachad air. Thuirt e gun deach.

'An saoil thu gum beir na coin oirre mus an ruig i an cladh?'

Thuirt e gun robh e creidsinn gum beireadh.

Rug na coin oirre dìreach aig balla a' chladha. An ceann treis an déidh sin thàinig fear an eich air ais seachad air, 's boirionnach tarsuinn air a bhialthaobh air an each, 's an dà chù dhubh an sàs innte; 's chan eil fhios c' ionadh chaidh i. Bha deireadh agus toiseach Bean an Lagain gu h-olc. Fhuair a maighstir greim oirre.

[From] *Annie McDonald (Baluan)* Thurs. 19/3/91.

No. 78. *Rud thachair ann an duthaich Ghaidhealach.* Type 2 (Perth 1)

Ann an àite uamhalt (*ualt*) eadar an duthaich 's am baile, bha móran do dhaoine air am marbhadh dar bhìodh iad tighinn dachaidh, an déidh bhi anns a' bhaile aig na gnothuichean aca. Bha gille òg anns a' choimhearsnachd. Smuainich e gun robh e baileach mìorbhuilteach nach bìodh airgiod no nì luachmhor ri fhaighinn timcholl orra. Smuainich e 'n sin gur e duine h-éiginn bha ris, air neo gur e nì mì-shaoghalt' bh' ann nach toireadh e airgiod 'sa' bith dhiubh.

Chuir e 'fhé' 'n òrdugh feasgar anns an fhoghar. Dh'fhalbh e thun an àite, gum bìodh e ann beagan an déidh laighe gréine, shealltainn am faiceadh e ciod an rud bha marbhadh na' daoine so. Thachair gun robh e aig an àite tuille 's tràth dh' fheasgar. Chaidh e chur seachad tacan d'a thìm comhladh ri figheadair bha anns an àite. Thòisich am figheadair air feòrach' dheth ma

mhóran nìthean, 's c' àite a *thog* e 'choiseachd air 'n fheasgar so. Dh' innis e da'n fhigheadair an gnothuch 'bha aige 'san àite ud. Thuirt am figheadair ris gur e rud baileach ceart a bh' ann.

Dh'fhoighnuich*d* e dheth an sin c' ainm bh' air an rud *'chroch* mhàn ri 'chliathaich chlì. Thuirt e gun robh an claidheamh.

' 'S c' ainm [th'] air an rud tha 's an osan agad?'

'Sgian dubh.'

Smaoinich e 'n so gun robh am figheadair foighneachd tuille 's chòir da nìthean. Dh'fhoighnich*d* am figheadair dheth an so c' ainm bh' air an rud bha air a chroch' air a chliathaich cheart. Thuirt e ris gun robh bana-cha*it cùl na' cruachan.*[8] 'S dh'fhoighnich*d* e dheth có as a bha e. À Lochabar. 'S an sin: 'C' ainm th' ort?'

'Sùil dhubh.'

Dh'fhalbh e 'n sin thun an àite. Cha robh e fad' 's an àite dar thàinig boc-gaibhre. Chaidh e fhé' 's am boc anns a chéile. Bha 'm boc cur air, 's cha b' urrainn da 'n claidheamh tharruing as an truaill. Leig am boc an sin e. Dh'fheuch e ris an sgian dubh tharruing. Cha tigeadh an sgian dubh as an truaill aige na 's mù. Thuirt am boc ris an sin:

' 'S fhad an eigh o Loch *Obha*:

'S fhada cobhair bho Shùil Dhubh:

'S a' bhana-cha*it tha 'n cùl na cruach,*

'S fhada bhuat i 'n diugh.'

'Tapadh leat, a bhuic [MS mhuic],' thuirt e, 'ma tha i fada air falbh, cha bhì i fada tighinn.' Tharruing e 'n sin a bhiodag, 's mharbh e 'm boc leatha. Có b' fhear a dh'aithnich e (anns a' bhoc) ach am figheadair.

[From] Archie Campbell (Mains.) (Fri.) 3/4/91. [He heard it from] his grandfather (Rannoch).

No. III. Type 5 (Perth 1)

Bha triùir *do* (*bhana-*)*choiteirean* ann am baile anns an taobh tuath, agus bha dìthis dhiubh deanamh móran na b'fhearr na bha 'n treas aon (*ann*), agus bha an treas aon (*ann*) 'g a sàrach' gu dona. Agus thuirt an dìthis eile, nan tigeadh i cuide riu, gun soirbheadh [MS soirbh*ig*] i anns an t-saoghal so, 's gum faigheadh i aon dad bhìodh i sir', nan rachadh i air beulthaobh an droch spioraid agus i fhé' thoirt thairis da, agus an t-ainm aice chur anns an leabhair aige leis an fhuil aice. Agus thuirt i: 'Chan urrainn domhs' sin dheanamh, folbh gun fhios do 'n duine.'

'O, chan eil sin duilich dheanamh: ma choireas thu an gas-*sguabaich* [MS gath-] anns an leabaidh, chan aithnich e gu bheil thu air folbh.'

Agus cha b' urraidh dhi sin dheanamh, agus dh'innis i do 'n duine, agus thuirt an duine rithe ise fuireach [sic] aig an tigh, agus gun rachadh e fhé' ann. 'S an oidhche bha iad dol thachairt, chuir ais [esan] aodach na *bean* [sic] air, 's dh'fholbh e cuide riu, agus thàinig iad gu loch. 'S bha taom mór 'bhuidsichean air cruinneach' ann, bho'n a bha iad dol fhaotainn aon eile cuide riu, agus air taobh eile an loch' bha craig mhór ann, 's bha 'n diabhol 'na shuidhe air mullach na craige. 'S bha aca dol air adhart uile gu léir air an loch an *ridleachan*; agus thuirt ais riu, nan rachadh iad fhé' air adhart an toiseach, gum faiceadh e cia mar 'thigeadh iad air adhart. Agus bha 'n dà shùil aig an diabhol deanamh soluis dhaibh—bha e 'na shuidhe air a' chraig. Agus dar fhuair e (*an duine*) air adhart iad stigh air teis-miadhon an loch', thuirt e: 'Gun gléidh an Nì Math sinn!'

Agus dar 'thuirt e so bha dorchadas ann, agus chaidh h-uile gin mhàn an grunnd an loch': bha iad bàite. Agus dar chaidh e dachaidh, bha na coimhearsnaich gabhail ionais [iongantais] nach robh na mnathan aca 'g éirigh (an diugh); agus thuirt e gun robh iad an grunnd 'leithid so 'loch', agus gum faigheadh iad an *gas-sguabaich* anns na leapaichean 'n àite *na' mnathan*. 'S dar chaidh iad ann, 's e sin fhuair iad.

[From]—Douglas (Dowally)[30] Fri. 8/5/91. [He heard it from] Hugh Fraser, watchmaker in Dunkeld [who] died long ago—was from the North.

No. 112. Type 7a (Perth 1)

Bha tuathanach ann, rathad Ob*eraidhn* [Obair-dheathain,] 's bha seachd paidhrichean each aige, 's cha robh aige ach 'n aon nighean, 's theasd a màthair dar bha i 'na leanabh, agus chaidh 'togail cuide ri 'sean-mhàthair (*màthair a màthar*). 'S dar thàinig i dachaidh cuide ri 'h-athair, chaidh iad mach latha choimhead far an robh iad ris a' chrann, 's bha seachd paidhrichean each *crann*. 'S thuirt ise ri 'h-athair:'B' urr*adh* dhomhs' h-uile crann a tha 'n sin stad ach aon chrann.'

' 'S ciamar nach urr*adh* dhuit an crann sin stad?'

'Tha geinn ann do'n chaorainn [MS do na chaorann], agus chan urr*adh* dhemh 'stad le sin,' (thuirt i).

Agus thuirt e:'Có dh'ionnsaich sin dhuit?'

'Dh'ionnsaich mo shean-mhàthair.'

Agus thuirt e rithe 'dheanamh matà, agus stad i na sé paidhrichean each; agus an sin chaidh iad dachaidh, 's thug e fuil dhi gu bàs, nach deanadh i dolaidh do ghin tuille.

Id. [*i.e.* same teller and date as No. 111]

No. 113. Type 21 (Perth 2)

Bha oidhche fhiadhaich le clamhainn agus sneachd ann, agus bha bàta ann thàin' gu tìr, agus bha fear agus dà ghiullan anns a' bhàta, 's fhuair an dà ghiullan stigh gu teine ann an tigh beag aig fòir na mara, ach chan fhaigheadh am fear fhéin thun an teine. Chaidh e mach thun an doruis, 's chunna e solus air mullach craige, agus chaidh e thun an tighe far an robh an solus, 's dh'fhoighnich e am faigheadh e stigh, agus thuirt iad ris gum faigheadh. Agus 's e dà sheann-mhaighd*ean* bha anns an tigh, 's rinn iad leabaidh dha anns a' chearn; agus dar bha e 'na laidhe grathunn, thuirt an dorn' té ris an té eile:'An dùil thu [sic] bheil e 'na chadal fhathast?'

'Chan eil fhios a'm, ach cuiridh mi coinn*lean* ri 'shròin, agus mur eil e 'na chadal, fosgaileas [sic] e 'shùilean.'

Agus dar 'chual' am fear bha anns an leabaidh dé thuirt i, chum e 'shùilean dùinte, 's thuirt ise ris an té eile: 'Tha e trom 'na chadal, cha d'fhosgail e 'shùilean.'

Agus chaidh iad an sin null gu taobh eile an tighe, 's dh'fhosgail iad bocs' crìon, 's thug iad currachd uaine as, agus chaidh iad mach thun an doruis. 'Away to London!' thuirt iad; 's dar bha iad air folbh grathunn, dh'éirich am fear bha 'san leabaidh, agus chaidh ais [esan] choimhead an robh gin tuille anns a' bhocs', agus fhuair ais currachd uaine cuideachd ann. 'S chaidh e mach thun an doruis, 's thuirt e:'Away to London!'

Agus thàin' e mhàn ann am baile mór, agus chunna e solus troimh *toll iuchair*, agus chaidh
e stigh, 's bha 'n dà sheann-mhaighd*ean* an seilear 'g òl fìon'.

'Dé chuir thus' an so?' thuirt iad: bha iad gu math crosda ris. 'S bha iad 'g òl an sin, 's dh'òl
am fear cuideachd, 's cha robh cuimhne aige air folbh: ach chum e cuimhne air dé thuirt
iads' dar dh'fholbh iad. Agus am fear bu leis an seilear fìon', thàin' e mhàn anns a' mhaduinn,
's fhuair e am fear so 'na chadal anns an t-seilear.

'Fhuair mi nis thu, mhearlaich!'—agus chaidh 'thoirt air beulthaobh na cùirt', 's chaidh 'dìt'
gu chroch'; agus dar bha e air a' chroich, shir e mar fhàbhor orra nan toireadh iad dha 'churrachd
uaine dh'fhàg e anns an t-seilear. 'S thug iad da i, 's chuir e air a cheann i, 's thuirt e: 'Kintail
again!'

Dh'fholbh e fhé 's a' chroich 's an crochadair; 's dar bha iad tighinn thairis air Peairt, thuit
an crochadair, agus fhuair e am bàs; agus thàinig am fear eile mhàn an Kintail leis a' chroich,
air an tigh far an robh an dà sheann-mhaighd*ean* fuireachd. 'S bha a' chroich rithist aca 'na
[MS *an*] *crann-siùil* anns a' bhàta-*iasgaich* aca aig *Kintail*.

Id. [*i.e.* same teller and date as Nos 111-2]. *Heard about* 30 *years ago, in a little fishing-boat
coming down to Balmacara from Broadford.*

No. 123. Type 1 (Perth 5)

Bha tuathanach ann an Dail Chàrn: 's e Friscalach bh' ann. Agus h-uile bliadhna 'bha e dol
mach leis a' cheud chairt-*inneir*, bha maigheach tachairt air aig Drochaid a' *Bhog*, agus bha e
tilg' oirre. Bha e toirt leis 'ghunna anns a' chairt-*inneir*, 's dar chìtheadh e 'mhaigheach, bha
e tilg' oirre, 's cha robh e bean*ach(d)* dhi. Ach bha e dol cheannach mìn,' car sheachd bliadhna,
agus am fear bho'n robh e ceannach na mìne, bha e gobhail iongantas gun robh e ceannach na
h-uibhir mhìn', 's 'leithid 'thalamh aige fhé'. Agus thuirt e ris gun robh maigheach tachairt
air h-uile bliadhna, a' cheud[31] chairt-inn*eir* 'bha e cur mach, ach dar bha e tilg' oirre, nach b'
urrainn da 'mharbhadh. Agus thuirt am fear sin ris, nan gearradh ais cuifean à léine na *bean* dar
bhiodh i 'na cadal, agus a chur anns a' ghunna, gum marbhadh e i [a' mhaigheach].

Agus rinn e so, agus thachair a' mhaigheach air mar b' àbhaist dhi, agus thilg e oirre, 's
leòn e i. 'S thilg e 'n gunna bhuaithe, agus tharruing e an déidh na maighich, agus chunna e
dol stigh i an tigh bha 'n Gabhainn (*Guay.*) Agus chaidh e stigh. Thuirt iad ris nach b'urrainn
da a' bhean fhaicinn an diugh, gun robh i baileach *soithich* (*suthaich*) (*tinn*), 's thuirt ais: 'Imir'
mi 'faicinn.'

Agus chaidh e stigh far an robh i 'na laidhe anns an leabaidh, agus thilg e 'n t-aodach mhàn
dhi, agus chunna e far na bhuail e i leis an urchair. 'S thuirt i ris a laimh chur 'n àird' bràigh
an doruis, 's gum faigheadh e seachd cinn còrna, 's gun tigeadh tairbhe nan seachd bliadhna
air ais rithist.

Donald Douglas (Dowally). Id. [*i.e.* same date as Nos 117-22, Tues. 12/5/91. Heard from]
old people—when young. Not happened more than 100 *years ago.*

No. 134. Type 6 (Perth 1)

Chaidh duine null as an Lios *Beag*, taobh eile 'n uisge aig Bail' Chl*uichridh*, gu figheadair an
Strathtatha. Ruig e ma dhorch' oidhche, agus bha e dol fhaighinn na h-éididh (*web*) deis 's

a' mhadainn, agus choir e dheth 'chrios. Thus am fìgheadair leis an crios, 's chaidh e mhàn gu taobh an uisge. Ghairm e Sàdan[32] trì tàir(g)nean, agus thòisich e air gu dé bha 'ga chumail, 's thuirt e [Sàdan] ris gun robh e an Éirinn 'n oidhche sin, 's nach b'urraidh dha tighinn cho calamh. Thuirt e ris gun robh 'n éididh aige ri dheanamh an oidhche sin—an robh e dol thoirt da còmhn'? Thuirt e gun robh, ach gu dé an duais 'bha e dol fhaighinn? Thuirt e ris gum faigheadh e 'cheud làn (*fill*) 'rachadh anns a' chrios.

Agus chaidh am fìgheadair dachaidh, 's choir e laidhe an duine fhé' leis an éididh, agus chaidh e an *deilidh*[33] na bea*irt*; agus bha do thartar an sin—dh'éigheadh fear: 'Thuit an spàl!' Dh'éigheadh fear eile: 'Ma thuit, tog e!' Dh'éigheadh fear eile: 'Bhris toinntean!' 's dh'éigheadh fear eile: 'Ma bhris, càraich e!' Thug iad an sin *deanaich* ra na h-oidhche. Bha 'n éididh deas 's a' mhadainn.

Dar bha 'n duine folbh leatha, bha 'm fìgheadair 'g iarraidh air 'chrios chor air. Thuirt e nach coireadh—gun robh e tuille 's blàth—gus am bìodh e air mullach 'mhonaidh. 'S dar bha e air mullach a' mhonaidh, chuir e mun cuairt air preas conaisg (*coinisg*) e. Dh'fholbh am preas 's an crios 'na' lasair . . . , ('s cha robh nì tuille ri fhaicinn).[34]

Id. [*i.e.* same as Nos 132–3: James Robertson (Surfaceman), Bail' 'n Allt. Sat. 16/5/91].

<center>NOTES</center>

1 See for instance under *Cross* (Thompson 1955–8:6 178) where what amounts to a single motif appears six times as 'dwarfs fear the cross F451.5.9.1', 'devils' power avoided by the c. G303.16.3', 'fairies fear c. F382.1', 'ghost cannot pass c. E434.8', 'sign of c. breaks witch spell G271.2.1', 'troll helpless before sign of c. F455.7.2.' There may be cross-references (*cf.* E452, 'Ghost laid at cockcrow (dawn)', *ibid.* 2:456–7, which gives parallels for dwarfs, fairies, ogresses and witches), but why need there be more than one number in the first place, and must one coin a new number if the cross drives off, say, a giant or a dragon? Compare von Sydow's comments on Aarne's treatment of animal fables (von Sydow 1948:127–45, especially 131–2), which were made as far back as 1937.

2 At least two stories about the MacMhuirichs are to be included among the fairy traditions. The well-known story of MacMhuirich's contest in raising a wind (*e.g.* MacLellan 1961:94–5) has some resemblance to Type 31, but is in effect a rigmarole whose main point is in the words, like other tales of bards and repartee, *e.g.* that printed by John MacInnes in *Scottish Studies* 10:104–8.

3 In the Scottish/Manx Gaelic versions quoted; but the 'Type 1' ending is found in a Devonshire version quoted in Hartland 1890:194–5.

4 *Cf. Scottish Studies* 3:191. The article by Calum Maclean referred to (3:189–200) gives a good general picture of the present state of Highland beliefs in witchcraft.

5 Reprinted from the *Northern Chronicle*, Inverness, to which it was contributed by Mr D. M. Rose from the telling of the man concerned.

6 A possible totemistic symbolism in this story is suggested by the Rev. William Matheson in TGSI 39/40:223–4. In most versions the villain is simple said to appear as a goat, by implication therefore a she-goat (*gabhar*, feminine), though he is a man: and in Angus MacLellan's story (Hebrides 3) he becomes a cow. This may imply a further taunt against the MacKenzies.

7 The central motif B is missing on this recording. The collector, Dr Calum Maclean, gives the story the title *Cobhar mu Chruachain*, which suggests that the pun on *Cruachan* (as in Hebrides 1 and Perth 1) was used, but he may just have been giving the title of the Skye version which he knew himself. Unfortunately no other recording of this story from Angus MacLellan seems to exist.

8 Letters italicised pencilled in MS: perhaps really *bana-charaid*, kinswoman?

9   See *Cailleach na Ribeig* from the Campbell of Islay collection, printed by Craig 1955:47-9, collected by Hector Maclean in 1859 from Donald MacKillop, Berneray (Harris).

10 The motif occurs in James Hogg's ballad about Michael Scott, *The Warlock of Aikwood.* (This is attributed to Hogg by Davidson (1949:160-5) but I cannot find it in his Complete Works (Hogg 1873).) *Cf. Scottish Studies* 7:106 and 113 for a Gaelic version and a reference by Sir Walter Scott to the motif.

11 Probably these both refer to the same minister.

12 Earliest version in *Iliad* 19:95 ff. Summary of various versions in Graves 1955, section 118d.

13 Information from Mr John MacInnes, who has heard the motif of characters of the last century in Lewis and Skye:he also confirms that the story is told of Iain Muideartach, as implied by Calum Maclean's questions in SA 1953/274, though I have not found an example of this. The Fearchar Fiaclach of Angus MacLellan's version (Hebrides 2) does not seem to be historical.

14 An alternative story from Badenoch (TGSI 16:149 = MacBain 1922:191) attributes the burning of the forests to the orders of Mary Queen of Scots.

15 The medial consonants merely indicate hiatus and are variously spelt.

16 Campbell 1902:9 (Tiree); SA 1965/18 A10 (Vatersay).

17 SA 1960/89 A2; SA 1965/18 A6 (both Vatersay). Crombie MSS (Braemar).

18 There are other anecdotes about the death and burial of witches:*e.g.* Murray 1891 No. 30, which tells how a witch's coffin could only be taken out of the house by the back window she had been used to slip through on her nefarious errands.

19 MS:'Dail Earrais' (pencil). A pencil note to the story gives a version from 'A. Rose': 'Chaidh fios air sagart thighinn choimhead oirre, agus thuirt e rithe nach coisrigeadh e i, ach na'n ruigeadh i Cladh Dail da Rossie mu'n rachadh a' ghrian fodha màireach, gu'm biodh i sàbhailte.' 'They sent for a priest to come and see her, and he told her that he would not give her Extreme Unction, but that if she could reach the churchyard of Dail da Rossie before sunset the next day she would be saved.'

20 This is 'founded on popular traditions' according to Hogg's note (1822:1 349; 1873:13).

21 The Ingoldsby Legends (first published 1840-48) are a valuable source for English folk-tale and easily overlooked:in studying AT955 (*Scottish Studies* 10:168-70) I should have referred to the ballad *Bloudie Jacke of Shrewsberrie* (Ingoldsby 1870:2 209-26) as another early English example—'the story of "Bloudie Jacke" was furnished by Mr Hamilton Reynolds and is doubtless a genuine tradition' (*op. cit.* 226). See also Type 22.

22 Usually Gaelic *currac* (*currachd*) which can mean almost any type of female headgear, including the mutch specified by some versions.

23 In Pitcairn (1833:3 604) the story is given (from a letter to John Aubrey by one Stewart, who had it from the then Lord Duffus) to illustrate the use of 'Horse and Hattock' by witches according to Isobel Gowdie's confession (also *ibid.* 608). This is one of the areas in which beliefs about witches and fairies seem to have overlapped. The compilers of the Scottish National Dictionary take 'hattock' to mean 'a little (*sc.* fairy) hat' which would bring out the close connection with the 'Off to London' story. Ireland 2 is the nearest parallel to this variant of the story.

24 Rob (or Robin) seems a curiously Scots name in an English story:Barham's son names no source for this ballad, but the formula 'Hey up the chimney!' is unique and failing other evidence the story must be presumed to come from Kent. That the principal witch in both this and Kennedy's version (Ireland 1) is called Madge is an odd coincidence.

25 Alternative formula noted by Kennedy:'Borraun, Borraun, Borraun!'

26 Fraser 1905:498-9. 'Whither by giveing too much saile and no ballast, or the unskillfullness off the seamen, or that they could not mannage the strong Dut[ch] canvas saile, the boat whelmd, and all the men dround in view of the cost. The Laird and 16 of his kinsmen, the prime, perished. . . . Drunkness did the [mischeife].'

27 For Lachlann Dubh, *cf. Scottish Studies* 10: 107–8.

28 Pencil note at end of story in MS: 'Willocks have still got srian.—Mrs A. Campbell.' For Willocks and his healing bridle see TGSI 34:148–9—the usual story is that it came from a water-horse.

29 Pencil note at end of story in MS gives a metrical dialogue:

[Cailleach:]   Teannaich agus tachd, a roineag!

(Answer:)   'S duilich dhomh, 's mi air eìbhleag.

                    [Hair] was thrown on fire.   *A. Rose.*

30 Blank left for Christian name: but almost certainly this is from the Donald Douglas, Dowally, who told Nos. 123–5 and No. 225.

31 MS: '*Air* a' cheud . . .' but *air* ringed in pencil, probably at time of writing.

32 MS: -*sabhdair*, pencilled and *bh* ringed in pencil. This suggests to me that the *bh* was merely supplied to suggest a long *a*, and *sabhdair* (liar) was the nearest word Lady Evelyn could find in the dictionary to what she had heard. But it is surprising that she had never heard the Gaelic for Satan, unless 'Sabhdair' is a deliberate bowdlerisation in the manner of 'The Deuce' and 'The Dickens', or unless the dash before means that something is left out and she is trying to write a longer word such as an t-*Àbharsair*.

33 Probably *deilbh*, warping, setting up the loom. I am grateful to Mr John MacInnes for this and many other suggestions on the interpretation of Lady Evelyn's text.

34 Space for a word after *lasair* and (pencilled) bracketing of final phrase as in MS.

REFERENCES

A T   Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, second revision. *FF Communications* No. 184. Helsinki 1961. (References only to type numbers.)

BÉALOIDEAS
        The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society. Dublin 1928–(in progress).

BRIGGS, K. M. and TONGUE, R. L.
    1965   *Folktales of England*. Chicago and London.

CAMPBELL, J. F.
    1890   *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, second edition. Paisley and London.

CAMPBELL, J. F. and HENDERSON, G.
    1911   *The Celtic Dragon Myth*. Edinburgh.

CAMPBELL, J. GREGORSON
    1895   *Clan Traditions and Popular Tales of the Western Highlands and Islands. (Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, Argyllshire Series, No. V). London.

    1902   *Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*. Glasgow.

CELTIC MAGAZINE, THE
        Inverness 1875–88.

CHRISTIANSEN, R. TH.
    1958   *The Migratory Legends: a Proposed List of Types with a Systematic Catalogue of the Norwegian Variants. FF Communications* No. 175. Helsinki.

CRAIG, K. C.
    1955   *Gille nan Cochall Chraiceann*. Stirling.

CROMBIE MSS
        MS collection mainly dealing with the folklore of the North-East of Scotland, and mainly collected by Dr Walter Gregor. Now property of the Folklore Society, London. Unpaginated: indexed and summarised for the School of Scottish Studies by Mr Robin Kerr.

D

DAVIDSON, THOMAS
    1949   *Rowan Tree and Red Thread*. Edinburgh.
DIXON, J. H.
    1886   *Gairloch*. Edinburgh.
    DJM MS   MS notebooks of traditional material from South Uist collected for the School of Scottish
              Studies by Mr Donald John MacDonald, Peninerine. Pagination continuous throughout.
FOLK-LORE
              A Quarterly Review. London 1890–(in progress).
FOLK-LORE JOURNAL, THE
              London, 1883–9 (incorporated in *Folk-Lore*).
FOLK-LORE RECORD, THE
              London 1878–82
FRASER, JAMES
    1905   *Chronicles of the Frasers—The Wardlaw MS*. Ed. W. MacKay. Scottish History Society
              (1st series) vol. 47. Edinburgh.
CUMMING, C. F. GORDON
    1886   *In The Hebrides*. New edition. London.
GRAVES, ROBERT
    1955   *The Greek Myths*. 2 vols. Harmondsworth.
HARDY, P. D.
    1837   *Legends, Tales and Stories of Ireland*. Dublin.
HARTLAND, E. S.
    1890   *English Fairy and other Folk Tales*. London.
HENDERSON, GEORGE
    1911   *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*. Glasgow.
HOGG, JAMES
    1822   *The Poetical Works of James Hogg*. 4 vols. Edinburgh.
    1873   *Works of the Ettrick Shepherd*. New Edition: Poems and Life. Edinburgh and Glasgow.
    IFC   MS volumes of traditional material collected for the Irish Folklore Commission.
              (Volumes referred to above collected in Scotland by the late Dr Calum Maclean:
              microfilm copies in the School of Scottish Studies.)
'INGOLDSBY, THOMAS' (R. H. BARHAM)
    1870   *The Ingoldsby Legends, or Mirth and Marvels*. Annotated edition, ed. R. H. Dalton Barham.
              London.
KENNEDY, PATRICK
    1866   *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*. London.
LLOYD, JOSEPH (SEOSAMH LAOIDE)
    1910   *Lúb na Caillighe*. Dublin.
    LOG   Directly-recorded discs in the Sound Archive of the School of Scottish Studies (mostly
              recorded by the Department of Phonetics, Edinburgh University, 1948–51).
MACBAIN, ALEXANDER
    1922   *Place Names—Highlands and Islands of Scotland*. Stirling.
MACCULLOCH, J. A.
    1927   *The Misty Isle of Skye*. 3rd edition. Stirling.
MACDOUGALL, JAMES
    1910   *Folk Tales and Fairy Lore*. Ed. George Calder. Edinburgh.
MACGREGOR, A. A.
    1930   *Over the Sea to Skye*. London.

MACLEAN, J. P.
    1923   *A History of Mull*, vol. 1. Ohio.

MACLELLAN, ANGUS
    1961   *Stories from South Uist*. Translated by J. L. Campbell. London.

MACPHERSON, JOHN
    1960   *Tales of Barra Told by the Coddy*. Ed. J. L. Campbell. Edinburgh, for the Editor.

MILLER, HUGH
    1858   *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland*. 5th edition. Edinburgh.

MURRAY, LADY EVELYN STEWART
    1891   MS collection of folklore from northern and central Perthshire, donated to the School of Scottish Studies by the Duke of Atholl (see *Scottish Studies* 9:153).

NORTHERN CHRONICLE, THE
           Inverness. 1881–(in progress).

Ó CUÍV, BRIAN (Ed.)
    1945   *Cath Muighe Tuireadh*. Dublin.

O'SULLIVAN, SEÁN
    1966   *Folktales of Ireland*. Chicago and London.

PITCAIRN, ROBERT
    1833   *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland*. 3 vols. Bannatyne Club. Edinburgh.

PN   Series of place-name tapes in the School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive.

POLSON, ALEXANDER
    1932   *Scottish Witchcraft Lore*. Inverness.

ROBERTSON, R. MACDONALD
    1961   *Selected Highland Folk Tales*. Edinburgh and London.

SA   Main (chronological) series of recorded tapes in the School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive.

STEWART, W. GRANT
    1823   *Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders*. Edinburgh.

TGSI   *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*. Inverness. 1871–(in progress).

THOMPSON, STITH
    1955–8 *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*. Revised and enlarged edition. Copenhagen.

TONGUE, R. L.
    1965   *Somerset Folklore*. Ed. K. M. Briggs. Folk-Lore Society, *County Folklore*, vol. 8. London.

VON SYDOW, C. W.
    1948   *Selected Papers on Folklore*. Copenhagen.

WILKIE, THOMAS
    1916   *Old Rites, Ceremonies and Customs of the Inhabitants of the Southern Counties of Scotland*. Ed. James Hardy. *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club* 23:50–135. Edinburgh.

Landholdings and Population in Arran from the Late Eighteenth Century*

MARGARET C. STORRIE

The island of Arran is situated in the Firth of Clyde astride the Highland Boundary fault zone: diversity of scenery is due to a wide range of geological and lithological forms. This variety has produced two contrasting divisions approximately equal in area, in an island only nineteen miles long by about nine wide. North of a line from Dougarie in the west to Brodick in the east, old and resistant Highland rocks dominate, much glaciated. Rugged mountains reach a height of 2,866 feet in Goat Fell, and accessibility is impeded except through the glens or valleys of the north-west to south-east Chalmadale and North Sannox (watershed nearly 640 feet), and of the west-south-west to east-north-east Glen an t-Suidhe and Glenshurig (watershed 770 feet) (Fig. 1). The southern portion contains a greater variety of younger lithological types at lower altitudes. Its undulating plateau-like surface is dissected by several rivers and their valleys, such as Clauchan Glen, Kilmory Glen and Glenashdale. A greater number of possibilities exist for communications, settlement and occupation.

Today the north is essentially characterised by large grazing farms and there are only a few other small holdings, all with mainly irregular field boundaries: settlement, if not dispersed, is frequently related to a former clachan. The southern part of the island shows much greater regularity of field patterns, and settlement is generally dispersed. There the pre-enclosure boundaries and cultivation rigs of the openfield can only occasionally be seen on the ground or from air photographs, within the newer regular fields, as in the Sliddery valley. Along the eastern side of the island, a further change has been the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century growth of the non-agricultural villages of Brodick, Lamlash and Whiting Bay, essentially service centres and tourist resorts. The villages apart, this distinction between north and south is the result of a two-stage agricultural revolution. During the second half of the eighteenth century John Burrel attempted to introduce some of the ideas and theories of the agricultural revolution for the owner, the seventh Duke of Hamilton. But it was not until the second decade of the nineteenth century that changes were really evident in the landscape, and then only in the southern half of the island. The patterns finally resulting in the north and south also symbolise Arran's position astride Highland and Lowland Scotland.

* Reference can be made to the Ordnance Survey Seventh Series One-Inch Map Sheet No. 66 for Arran.

Open fields in Arran, 1772. Pennant Collection, National Library of Wales
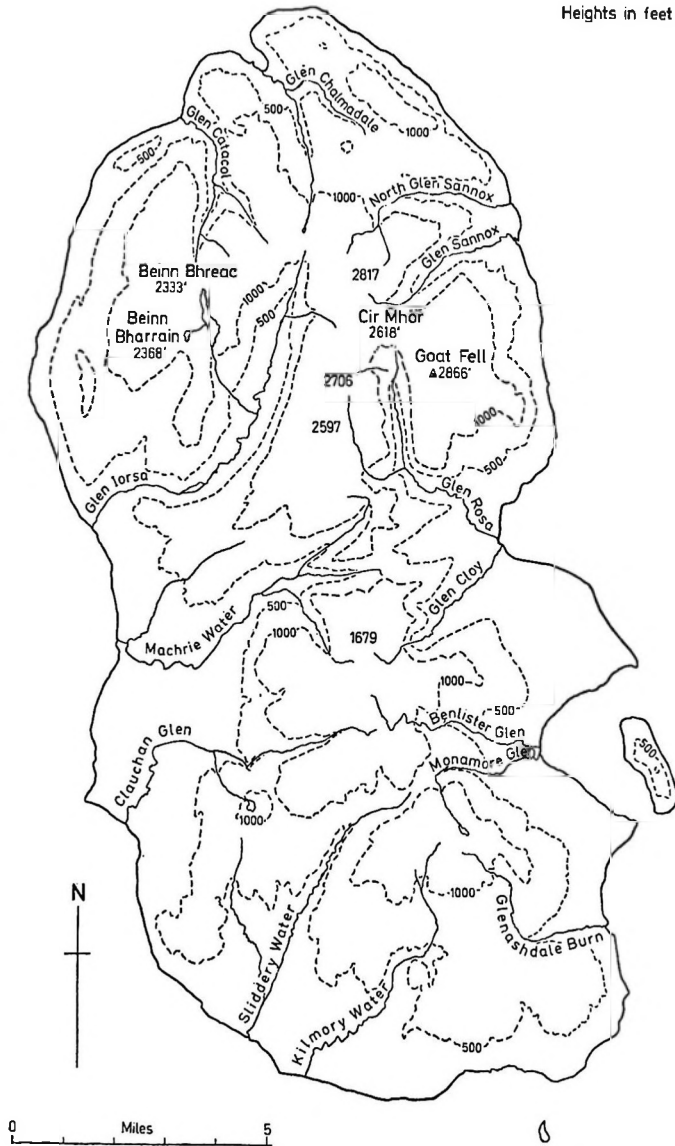
FIG. 1 Relief in Arran. Compiled from O.S. Seventh Series One-Inch O.S. Sheet no. 66. (See p. 49.)

Landholdings in Arran in the late eighteenth century

According to Mackenzie (1914:170) each holding in Arran was at the close of the eighteenth century being worked communally by a group of tenants jointly responsible for the rent. Each was worked in three divisions, infield or croftland, outfield and common pasture, the arable land being divided annually in strips amongst the tenants. Mackenzie's general picture is borne out by a study of contemporaneous rentals and leases, as well as by later documents, but requires some modification. The distinction between infield and outfield was not always strict. The numbers of people jointly responsible for the rent were usually much smaller than the total number of tenants and subtenants actually paying rent. Rentals and leases essentially concerned the principal tenants, in Arran often termed 'tacksmen'. But reference to subtenants, whether non-existent or numerous, was omitted in such MS sources. The increasingly numerous principal tenants and subtenants working the land conjointly (and more inefficiently) as the eighteenth century progressed became, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century, the principal problem facing those responsible for the introduction and application of the ideas of the Agricultural Revolution in Arran as elsewhere along the West Highland seaboard (Storrie 1965:138-9).

Mackenzie mentioned the beginnings of the revolution in Arran thus:

> In 1766 the seventh Duke of Hamilton was a minor, and his tutors or trustees, considering that the leases of farms in Arran were now beginning to expire—the greater number by 1772—commissioned Mr John Burrel, factor at Kenneil, and Mr Boyd Anderson, to undertake the improvement of the island.   (Mackenzie *op. cit.*: 173-4)

Burrel's instructions included a detailed list of eighteen 'articles' that tenants should be obliged to observe (Brodick MS A 2). In summary, leases were to be for nineteen years from Martinmas 1766 (for examples see Brodick MS B): each tenant was to have his own holding, individually enclosed; help was to be given for planning and erecting buildings on the new holdings; soumings of cattle and sheep were to be strictly enforced; improvement and cultivation of new ground were to be encouraged; dykes and enclosures, peat cutting and seaweed cutting were all taken into account. Burrel's Journal from May 1766 to 1772 included details of the sketches and surveys, and occasionally of soil testings, carried out on holdings on Arran (Brodick MS A 1).

From May to October 1772 John Burrel toured throughout the island. In his reports of individual farms, he usually gave the number of tenants 'presently possessing this farm'. For example, he described the 'half Merkland' of Gargadale as being 'presently possessed by three tenants Henry Henderson Neil Mcbride and Isobel Stewart'; and added that he proposed to make the holdings into one farm (*op. cit.* Report 44). In the case of the 'three Merkland' of Bennecarrigan,

> presently possessed by eleven tenants. . . . I now determine to divide this great farm into five in order that it may be possessed by five tenants in place of eleven. . . . (*op. cit.* Report 46).

He added that a small portion of the land of Bennecarrigan was to be planned for fishers' lots.

A large map on a scale of about four inches to the mile appears to have been compiled on the basis of Burrel's survey (Brodick MS C). The features shown on this map are:

(i) the existing clustered settlements or clachans
(ii) the generalised rigs or strips of the common arable (infield and outfield are not clearly distinguished on the map)
(iii) the common muirs or grazings
(iv) the superimposed network of enclosures and plantations proposed by Burrel to indicate the new divisions into consolidated farms.

An untitled document (Brodick MS C) which the present author assumes to be a complementary key to this magnificent map listed:

1   Old Names of the Farms
2   Old Acres (Arable, Meadow, Pasture and Total)
3   Old Souming and Sowing (in Cattle and Bolls)
4   Old Rent (including ten per cent on the Rents Grassum)
5   Names of the Divisions as Now Designed
6   Acres they Contain (Arable and Meadow, Pasture, Pasture of the Moor, and Total Acres in Each Division)
7   New Souming and Sowing (in Cattle and Bolls)
8   Estimated Rent of Each Division
9   Acres Designed for Fishers and others
10 Acres proposed to be planted and Value of these at 10/- per acre
11 Arable, Meadow, Pasture and Moor, Total and Rent.

The details in this list broadly coincide with those depicted for the holdings on the sketches and maps—the names, the old rigs, old dykes, all drawn feintly. Superimposed much more boldly on the map were the proposed new plantations roughly indicating the extent of the new holdings (redrawn in Figs. 2 and 3). Further sources which complement the map include the rentals for 1766 and 1773, and the volumes of Burrel's Journal (Mackenzie *op. cit.*:357-8 and 359-66; Brodick MS A). The rental for 1766 mainly listed 'Principle [*sic*] Tenants Names' under each holding. That for 1773, however, gave the same areal names, but each with its new division, and the words 'New Tacksmen's Names' were added, one to each division in the majority of cases.

The main difference between the two patterns was that the new holdings were drawn across different kinds of land, *i.e.* it was proposed that each consolidated holding should contain arable, meadow, pasture, and rough pasture, although the latter was sometimes left in common. Only in a few places, however, such as the Letters near Lamlash, did the lines of the lots or lotments coincide with those shown on later plans. But the natural division of the island into northern and southern portions was apparent in Burrel's proposals. The holdings in the north and west were to comprise large grazing holdings, with only a few smaller divisions marked. In the south, the proposals were
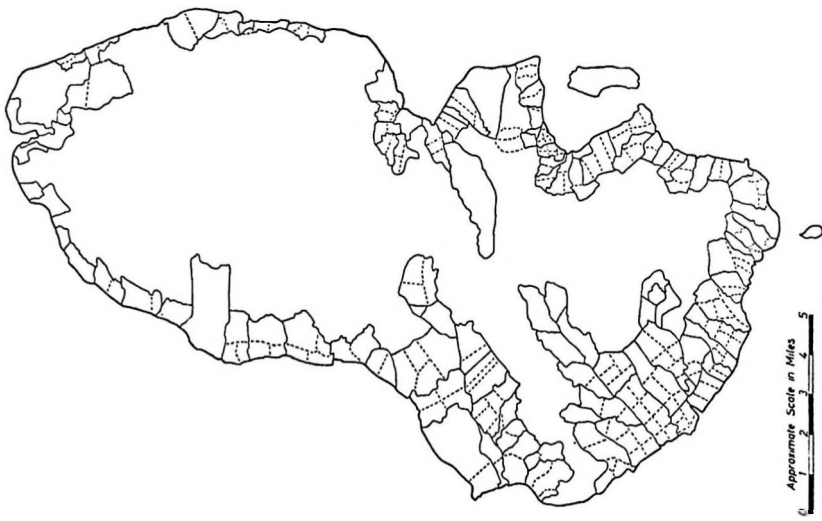
FIG. 2 Re-drawing of plan of Burrel's proposals for re-arrangement of holdings in Arran, about 1772. Solid lines indicate boundary of townships; pecked ones indicate proposed divisions, to be demarcated by planting of woods. (Brodick MS C.) (See pp. 52, 61.)
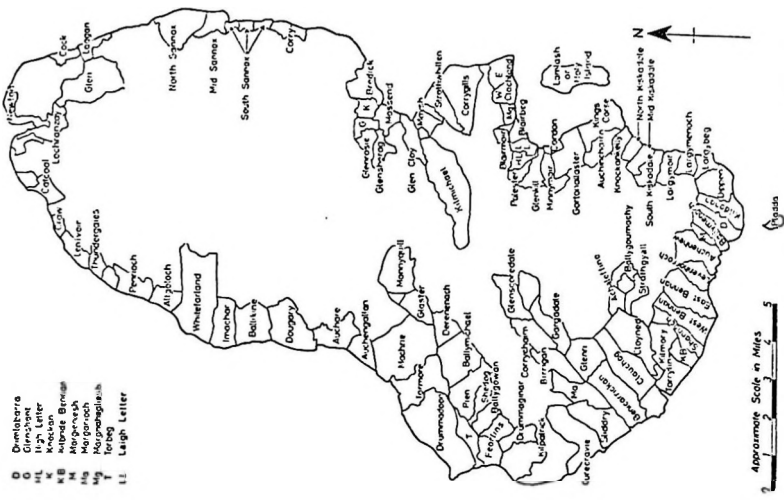
Approximate Scale in Miles
0   1   2   3   4   5

FIG. 3 Names and boundaries of townships in Arran, after Burrel. (See p. 52.)

Approximate Scale in Miles
0   1   2   3   4   5

for somewhat smaller holdings, with only a few larger grazing farms on the moors inland from the coasts.

These proposals of Burrel, as first attempts at improving the island, seem now to be eminently appropriate as far as the landscape and economy were concerned. However, it appears that the main work accomplished was the formation of head-dykes, and Mackenzie claimed that

> ... the farms remained undivided and in joint tenancy despite the project of 1772, or reverted to this condition by the breakdown of the enclosing scheme.
>
> (Mackenzie *op. cit.*:195).

A comparison of Burrel's rentals and the map with later rentals of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and with the literature, plans and rentals of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, confirms that this first attempt at improvement accomplished little. The lines along which the landholdings and settlement pattern of Arran developed to give its present-day appearance show little resemblance to those of the plan, apart from the enclosed area near the Duke's residence on Brodick Bay, and one or two other minor features.

A list of the 'New Setts for 1783' gave single tacksmen's names for 'the old farms', rent and soumings, and date of new nineteen-year leases as from 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785 or 1786 (Brodick MS D). Footnotes at the end contained references to exclusion of subtenants and cottars. In 1784 the factor, John Cochrane, described tacksmen and subtenants being rouped, of tenants being replaced by others, of 'Bad Tenants' and so on (Brodick MS E). For instance, referring to the farm of Bennecarrigan, Cochrane said:

> This farm was sett in 1776, to John McCook for £121. He, after continuing in it for three years, became bankrupt, his effects were rouped, and the Duke lost by him, a full year's rent. This farm was in 1779 sett to twelve Tacksmen, most of these not being in condition to possess a twelfth, they have subsett the one half of each of their possessions, by which means, there are numbers of people in the farm, who possess only a Twentyfourth part of it. Since the twelve Tacksmen came to the farm, they have been continually wrangling with one another, and it was with the greatest difficulty, that the Factor could get any rent from them. ....
>
> Upon the whole after a review and survey of the State of Affairs in Arran, It appears to me clearly evident in general, that the opinion of the Factor is exceedingly well-founded with regard to the hurt arising to the real interest of the Duke in this part of his Estate, from two circumstances. The first is the too great number of Tacksmen in the farms. The second is the houses being almost always in a cluster together. These two inconveniences ought therefore to be certainly remedied as soon as possible.

For 1784 a 'rental of the Lands to be sold' included the lands to the north-east of the island, but they did not appear on subsequent rentals (Lennoxlove MS A). A 'Rental of the Lots around the Island of Arran for 1786' lists the 'Lots marked on plans' but so far these plans have not come to light (Brodick MS F). The lots seem to be some of the

'acres' designed for fishermen as mentioned by Burrel, but they do not appear to coincide either with the Burrel list, or with later maps by Bauchop and Yule.

That the agricultural situation in landholdings and tenants deteriorated further towards the end of the century is amply illustrated both in unpublished reports and in various estate documents of the time. The writer of the Old Statistical Account mentioned the increase of population and the increasing dependence on the potato instead of corn (Sinclair 1793:8 578). Note was also made of the temporary and permanent emigration, especially of menfolk, to naval, fishing and other forms of employment (*op. cit.*:9 170). The young people were frequently represented as not being able to find sufficient employment on the island, and going to adjacent shores. A report from the factor in 1800 stated that

> The factor deems it necessary to premise, that the original plan adopted by Mr. Burrel for managing that estate [caused] the tenants...[to] run into great arrears, of no less than Three Years rent, and of necessity [they] soon became bankrupt.... When William Stevenson commenced Factor on the Estate at Whitsunday 1792 the whole tenants on the Estate were one and a half years rent in arrears; he by persevering, care and exertion... brought the whole Tenants ... to liquidate arrears.... At Martinmas 1795 when the Leases of about two-thirds of the Estate came to be expired, it was for the interest of the Duke of Hamilton deemed highly necessary, not to let such a large proportion of the Estate for Leases of nineteen years at one time to Arran tenants, and especially to those who were not likely to improve in their mode of farming.   (Brodick MS G)

At that time arrangements were made for new leases of five, eight, eleven, thirteen or nineteen years to tenants 'Who were from their character or circumstances likely to introduce some practical improvements'. A rental for 1800 illustrates the distribution of single and multiple tenancies in Arran in 1800: there had been few changes in distribution during the two previous decades, but most holdings were farmed by greater numbers of people (Brodick MS H).

Landholdings after 1800

Contemporaneous leases and decreets of removal illustrate the rapidly changing population numbers which were simultaneously rendering changes in the landholdings pattern more necessary and yet at the same time more difficult. Such MS sources give indications of the then Duke's attempts to effect change (Brodick MS J). Decreets of removal gave the Scottish landlord the power to remove tenants when required, and in 1804 in Arran, for example, decreets were served against a total of 708 tenants in eighty holdings. Few of the decreets were acted upon immediately, but the way was open for change. In the township of Shannochie which Burrel had proposed to divide into four holdings, for instance, the list of tenants in the 1804 decreet contained fifteen names, and these may have excluded unnamed subtenants. It is against this background of rapidly increasing numbers of tenants and population in the early nineteenth century (Fig. 10a), here as in other parts of the West Highland seaboard, that the agrarian changes which were

instigated in the first two decades of the century in Arran must be seen. This state of affairs also helps to account for the relatively large number of small lots or holdings which were the real result of the Agricultural Revolution in Arran. It is these outlines, little changed visibly, that characterise the present-day landscape, although population has declined and some holdings have been assimilated or have amalgamated.

Aiton in his agricultural review of Arran tells of his first travels there in 1810:

> [I] was truly sorry to see such a valuable island as that of Arran, and so much of it capable of great improvement, remaining, in the nineteenth century, under the same barbarous system of management that it had been under for two centuries back.   (Aiton 1816:viii)

The printing of Aiton's report was delayed, and he found, on making a second tour of the island in 1813 that

> ... liberal plans of improvement had in that interval been adopted by the noble proprietor, and were beginning to be acted upon in Arran. ...   (Op. cit. xi)

He described how

> The Marquis [son of the late Duke] and his father have laid off a great number of farms of from 100 to 500 acres each, that are already either arable, or which are capable of being rendered so; and these are now letting to industrious tenants ... from Ayr, Renfrew and Lanark ... [they] have also laid off that part of the island which is best adapted to store husbandry into convenient sheep walks. ... At the head of the different bays, and other places best adapted for fishing stations, small cottage tenements, of from 5 to 10 acres ... are laid off, to be occupied by fishermen, or others employed occasionally on the sea, or in mechanical or manufacturing occupations. ... That as many of the native inhabitants as possible may be induced to remain in the island, and encouraged to become industrious, the barbarous plan of joint or alternate occupancy is to be abolished at the end of the leases now running, and which terminate with crops 1814.   (Op. cit. 84–85)

Other writers (e.g. MacCulloch 1819:317, 1824:25) reiterated the details of the changeover from the antiquated to the new order, and Mackenzie went so far as to say that

> in 1815 ... the improvement of the Duke's property in the island was taken in hand and pursued for the next twenty years with firmness and system ... Runrig came to a violent end on the Hamilton lands, though it lingered elsewhere a while longer and may be said still to exist at Balliekine.   (Mackenzie op. cit.:213)

A detailed examination of extant estate documents shows that a few changes were carried out early in the nineteenth century. They were the clearances and conversion to sheep walks of some of the interior farms in the south-west, and the creation about 1811 of several groups of lotments at bay heads in the east of the island, e.g. at Kingscross, Haigh and Laigh Letters, South Newton and Mossend (Lennoxlove MS B) (Fig. 4). Kingscross was divided into seven lots from 54 to 70 acres; Haigh Letter into twenty lots of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 acres (though the majority were to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres) together with cow grazing on the moor; Laigh Letter into twelve lots with an average size of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres. It
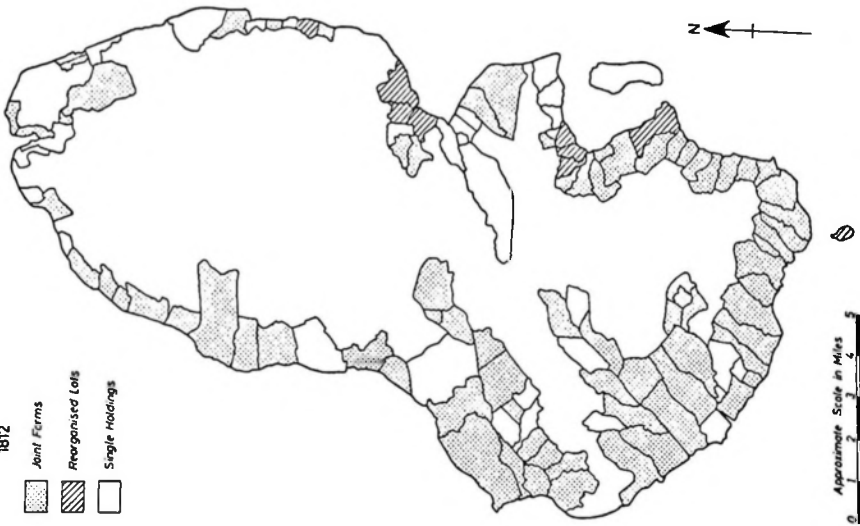
FIG. 4 Distribution of single and multiple tenancies for 1812 (Brodick MS M, and Lennoxlove MS B). The new lots mentioned in the text are shown around the east coast bays. (See p. 56.)

1812

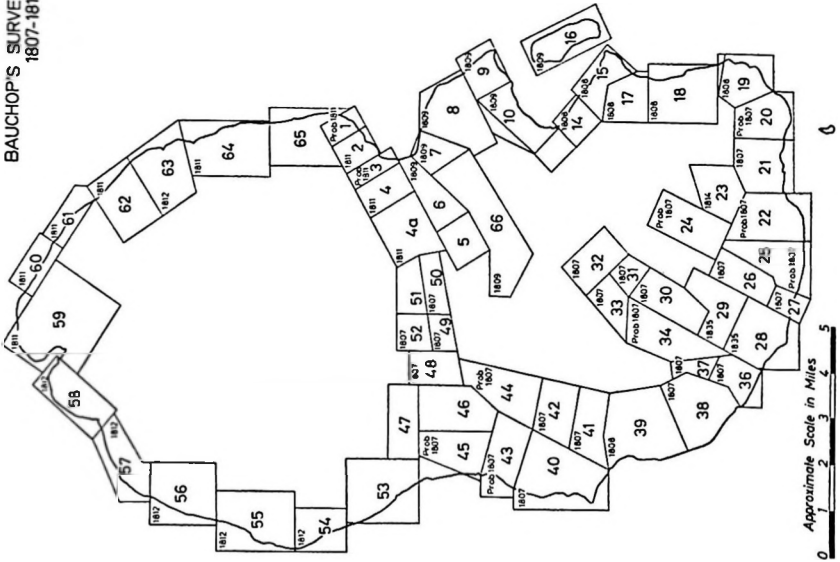| | Joint Farms |
| | Reorganised Lots |
| | Single Holdings |

BAUCHOP'S SURVEY 1807–1812

FIG. 5 Progress of Bauchop's survey, and distribution of extant plans. (Brodick MS K.) (See p. 58.)

seems from the manuscript that it was sometimes difficult to let these new lots as rentals were higher than the tenants had previously been accustomed to paying.

One of the most useful sources available to anyone studying the impact of the agricultural revolution on an area is a set of surveyor's maps showing the old patterns with the proposed new patterns superimposed. For this Arran is amply endowed (Brodick MSS K to M). Between 1807 and 1812 a set of large plans covering most of the settled areas of the island, and a few of the interior areas, was prepared by Mr Bauchop, on a scale of about twenty inches to the mile (Brodick MS K). The distribution of extant plans, and the progress of Bauchop's survey are shown in Fig. 5. Re-drawings of plans no. 22, 25, 28, and 29 are given in Figs. 6 and 7, and show the former cultivation pattern of interspersed infield/outfield and common muir, with an associated clachan; these features were drawn in black on the plans. A key with details accompanied each holding. Superimposed in red ink on most of the original plans for the southern part of the island were the new holdings or lots, each separately numbered and sized. Holdings with no red markings were those which became grazing farms around the edges of the interior, and the joint farms of the north-western area which did not belong to the Duke by this time.

These large scale plans were used by Bauchop to compile smaller scale maps showing the proposals for the island superimposed on the former pattern (Brodick MS L). Yule in 1814 produced a map on the scale of about two inches to the mile showing 'The Mode of Crofting and Letting in 1814, compiled . . . from R. Bauchop' (Brodick MS M). This map, which contains certain material additional to that on Bauchop's plans and maps, omits previous patterns, and shows only the proposed changes. Fig. 8 illustrates the outlines of these changes for proposed reorganised holdings, while Fig. 9 shows the pattern of landholdings in Arran after reorganisation in 1814/1815. Contemporaneous rentals affirm that the changeover in the areas proposed did take place fairly rapidly at least in regard to landholdings: settlement may often have taken longer to disperse from the old clachan, and in some cases has never totally done so.

The northern interior remained common pasture for the joint farms along the north-western coast. Apart from a few regular lotments at North and South Newton near Lochranza in the north, and those of North and South Corrie on the north-east coast, there were only a few other single small holdings such as Cock. The north-western part of Arran had become the possession of the Westenra family by this time, and despite the example shown in the southern part of the island, this north-western portion remained unchanged by the time of a report in 1838 (Lennoxlove MS C). This related that

> The whole property is at present divided into eleven farms occupied by fifty tenants, there being on each farm several tenants whose sheep and cattle pasture in common and who possess their arable land in runrig.

Contemporaneous plans (Brodick MS P) confirm this communal farming. To this day these farms of the north-west show no regular pattern of fields and holdings, and they

FIG. 6 Redrawing of plans no. 22 and 25 of Bauchop (Brodick MS K) to show former joint townships, and new lots, in Kilbride Bennan, Shannochie, West Bennan and East Bennan. Settlement is still shown as being clustered as in the former clachan. (See p. 58.)
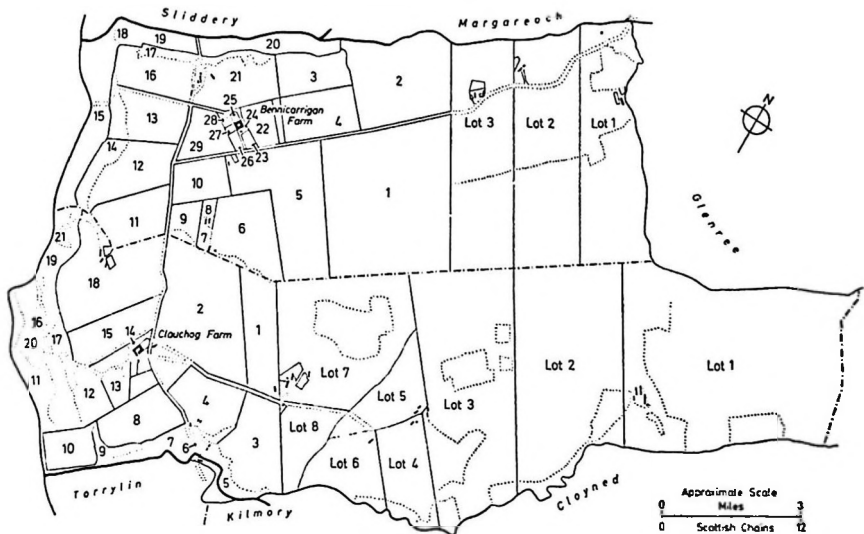

FIG. 7 Re-drawing of plans no. 28 and 29 of Bauchop showing new organisation of Bennecarrigan into farm and small lots. (Brodick MS K.) (See p. 58.)
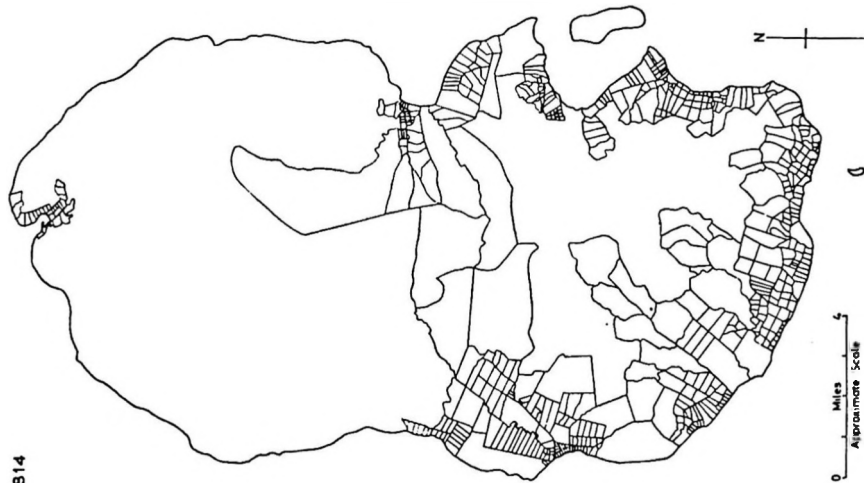
1814

1815

Sort Farms
Reorganised Lots
Single Holdings
Special Grazings
Other Grazings

0 ————— 5
Approximate Scale in Miles

0 ————— 4
Miles
Approximate Scale

N

FIG. 8 Re-drawing of Yule, 1814 (Brodick MS N). The contrast between northern and southern Arran, and between interior and coast is clear. (See pp. 58, 61.)
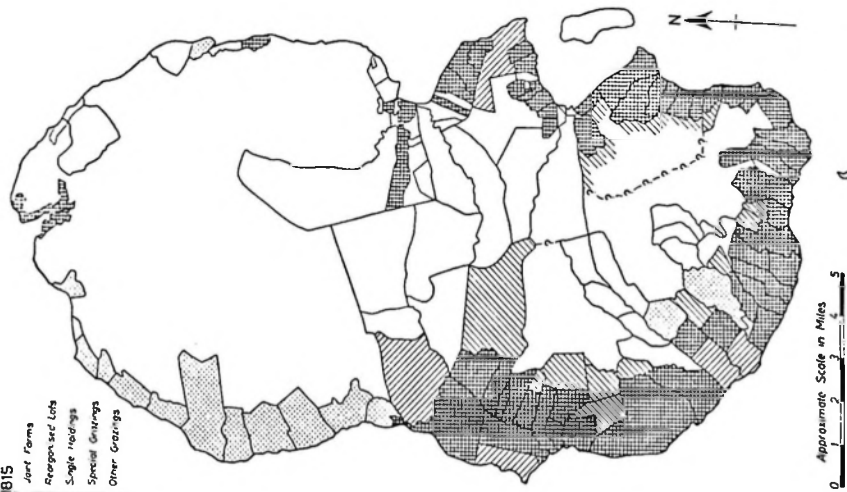
FIG. 9 Arran landholdings after the 1814/1815 reorganisation. (Brodick MS O.) The joint farms of the north-west remain, in contrast to the re-organised small holdings of the south, and the grazing farms of the interior. (See p. 59.)

have gradually dwindled in numbers of tenants in the twentieth century, until most are now single holdings such as Balliekine (Storrie 1967). In the north-east, apart from the above-named lots, the main change was in the clearance of the joint townships in the North Sannox valley in the late 1820s (Brodick MS O).

In the southern areas, only a few joint townships remained after 1815, *e.g.* at Cloyned, Glenrie and Levancorrach. The whole of the central interior and the upper parts of some of the south-western valleys comprised large sheep and grazing farms. Around the edges of these sheep walks, several portions of pasture were planned either as individual grazing farms or as common muir (moor) for some of the nearby proposed lots. It is not clear from either the maps or rentals which of these in fact was intended, though rentals of the 1820s refer to these blocks of land as 'vacant hill grazings', while rentals after 1830 refer to them as common grazings (Brodick MS O). The greatest changes of all, which have had the greatest impact on the present-day landscape of Arran were the creation of coastal small holdings or lots. The contemporaneous rentals confirm replacement of shares in common land for tenants and subtenants by consolidated lots for a reduced number of tenants, sometimes different tenants. About two-thirds of the newly-planned holdings appear to have had no common grazings. A comparison between Burrel's proposals (Fig. 2) and those of Yule's map (Fig. 8) underlines the difficult population problem facing landlords of estates along the seaboard of West Highland Scotland when they tried to implement the theories of the agricultural revolution. The reorganisation of 1814/15 necessitated clearances in a few instances, but more frequently only involved reduction in number of tenants. The holdings that resulted were much smaller and more numerous than those which Burrel had proposed forty years previously.

Even despite these reductions in population on the land, the population of the island as a whole continued to increase after these changes (Fig. 10a), and the rentals of the years immediately after 1815 occasionally showed evidence of a feature expressly forbidden—the increasing subdivision of holdings which were to have been tenanted by one person and his family. When the fourteen- and nineteen-year leases expired, the process of increasing the size of the farms was taken another stage, many small possessions being amalgamated (Mackenzie *op. cit.*:214). The rental for 1830 confirmed this feature of subsequent amalgamation (Brodick MS O). In 1837 the factor described the agricultural pattern of Arran since the changeover, stating that the Duke's property then consisted of 458 farms of which 53 were fairly large, and the rest smaller possessions of two to forty acres. He discussed the care that had been taken to prevent subletting, and continued:

> Ever since 1815 the improvement of the property has gone on progressively, but during the last seven years with increased speed. Many of the smaller possessions have been converted into farms of greater size. (Paterson 1837:149)

From a study of subsequent rentals, it emerges that since Paterson's time, numbers of tenants have decreased at varying rates in different areas. The present landholdings,

E

though much reduced in number, are closely related in layout and appearance to the plans and maps of the 1815 period, as can be seen on later maps and plans (Ordnance Survey 1867 and 1896). Whereas, for example, Kilbride Bennan was laid out for twelve tenants, there is now only one farm there, with field boundaries relating to the twelve holdings. In some cases the clachans remained in the midst of new patterns of fields. In others, settlement later dispersed on to new holdings. By 1965 the main change in the landholdings pattern had been the appearance of the lands bought by the Forestry Commission, which were partly used for grazing and partly for plantation. In 1964 these lands amounted to nearly 14,000 acres (Forestry Commission 1964:Table 29). They were in three main blocks, in the north-east, centre and south-east of the island, with a small subsidiary area in the south. Under plantation in 1965 were over 3,500 acres, and another 1,500 were to be planted in the next few years. According to a survey conducted by the author in 1965, about twenty, or about one-sixth of the total number of other landholdings were over 500 acres, and included large grazings and shootings of several tens of thousands of acres in extent. There were also over 100 farms up to 500 acres in size whose average size was about 120 acres, although nearly three-quarters of them were in fact under 100 acres, and half of them were under 50.

Population since 1800
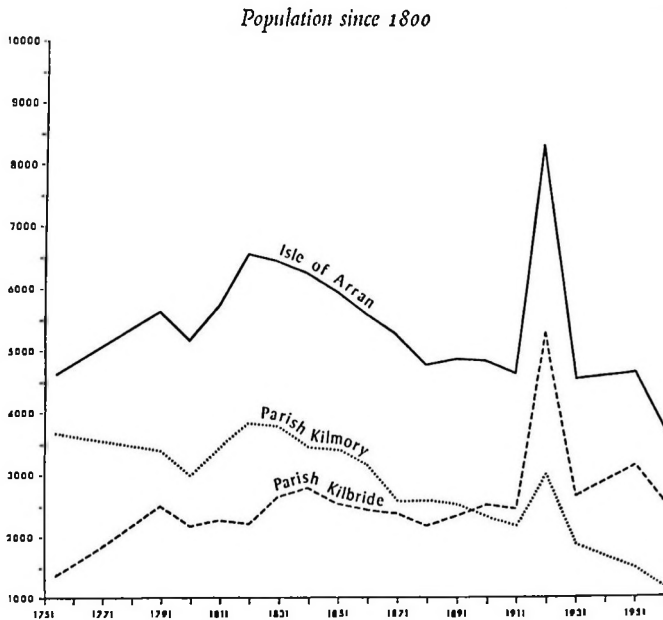
FIG. 10a Absolute population change in Arran and its two parishes, 1755–1965. (Kyd:1952; Census of Scotland volumes to 1961; author, 1965.) The Census for 1921 was taken in June, and was not a true representation of the total permanent population resident on Arran at that time. (See pp. 55, 61, 63.)

Despite migration across the Clyde, and emigration beyond, population in Arran increased from Webster's 4,600 in 1755 (Kyd 1952:32) to over 5,000 by 1801 (Fig. 10a). Its concentrations in 1801 (Fig. 11) accorded with the distribution of tenancies in 1800 (Brodick MS I). Population was essentially peripheral, with valley extensions inland. Settlement and population were predominantly in the southern half of the island, apart from the clusters on each joint farm in the north-west.

The increase from 1801 to 1821 (Fig. 10b) corresponded to that in most areas of the
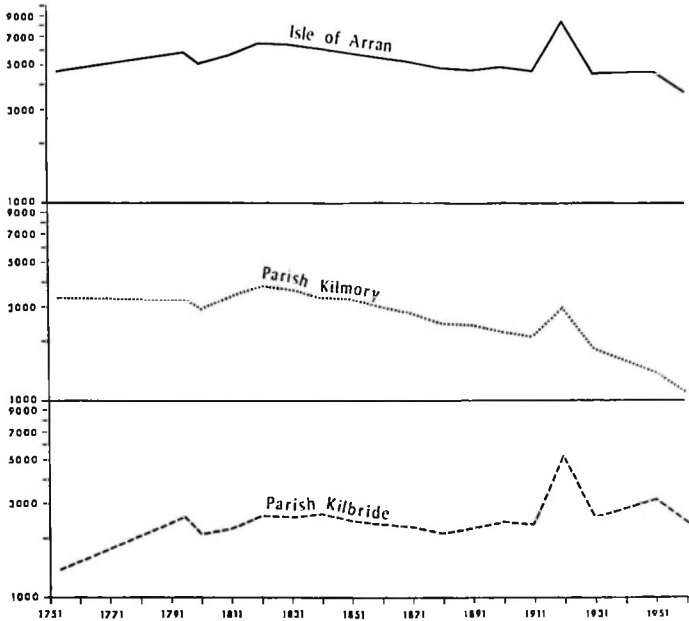
FIG. 10b Rate of population change in Arran for the same period as Fig. 10a (logarithmic scale).

West Highland seaboard. Thereafter, decline was gradual in Arran throughout the nineteenth century. With the increasing growth and importance of the eastern villages, connected with the rise in steamer traffic and the growth of the Clyde tourist industry, the two parishes of Arran showed divergent trends. Kilmory, the western rural half of the island, continued to decline, recently at a rapid rate, whilst the eastern parish, Kilbride, increased in population towards the end of the century, but declined even more rapidly than Kilmory between 1951 and 1965. The Census for 1921 was taken during the summer holiday season, and is therefore not a true representation of population in Arran.

FIG. 11 Distribution of population in Arran in 1801. (Brodick MS I.) (See p. 63.)

FIG. 12 Distribution of population in Arran in 1841. (Based on New Register House, MS 1841.) In this figure and the next one, the increasing size of eastern villages is seen. (See p. 64.)

FIG. 13 Distribution of population in Arran, 1891. (New Register House MS 1891.) (See p. 64.)

It is not possible to make a detailed study of the period of maximum population between 1821 and 1831 as Census information is not available for analysis; 1841 is the first census for which detailed information can be obtained (Storrie 1962:152) and as the population then was still considerably above that of 1801, a distribution map showing population distribution for 1841 has been compiled (Fig. 12). The major difference between 1801 and 1841 was the beginning of the greater concentration of population around the east coast bays in Brodick, and Lamlash, and in Lochranza in the north. This trend was emphasised by 1891 (Fig. 13). There had also been a reduction of rural population in the north, west and south. The growth of the eastern villages is not here examined in detail, but the other differences accord with the agrarian changes discussed earlier. Changing population and employment patterns corresponding to changing emphasis in the economy of Arran through the nineteenth century likewise emerge from a study of the census records. These have been analysed in detail for 1841 and 1861, and are summarised below, compared with results obtained during a 1965 survey by the author.

Household size in Arran

Although total numbers of population in Arran have decreased substantially, the numbers of households have not fallen at a corresponding rate (Table I). But the

TABLE I

Household size in Arran. (A household includes family and employees)

Number of persons per household	1841	1861	1965
1	67	83	443
2	127	160	477
3	139	165	172
4	175	160	125
5	190	149	53
6	150	117	30
7	122	101	9
8	79	71	4
9	48	48	1
10	27	30	—
11	11	16	—
12	4	8	—
Over 12	9	10	1
Total number of households	1,148	1,118	1,315

(Based on H.M. New Register House MS 1841 and 1861; author's survey 1965.)
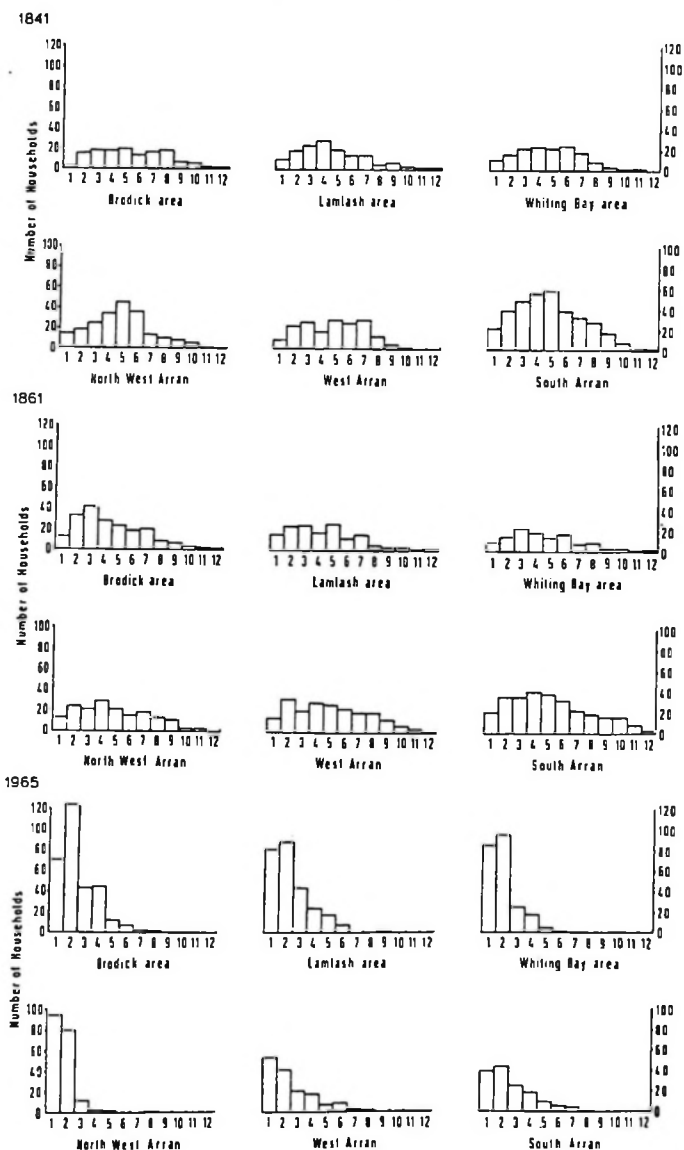
HOUSEHOLD SIZE

FIG. 14 Household size in Arran 1841, 1861 and 1965. Households with over 12 persons have been omitted: they usually number only one or two per area in 1841 and 1861 and there was only one in all Arran in 1965. Horizontal scale gives household size in numbers of people. (New Register House MSS: author's survey, 1965.) (See p. 67.)

numbers of people belonging to each household (*i.e.* family and employees) show a very different pattern. The average numbers per household for 1841 and 1861 were 5·3 and 5·0 respectively, compared with 2·3 for 1965. Between 1841 and 1861 an increasing tendency towards smaller numbers of people per household is apparent, although in both periods, the rural areas tended to have relatively more large households, especially in the west and south (Fig. 14). By 1965, 70 per cent of the households contained only one or two people; 22·6 per cent contained three or four, and 7·4 per cent had more than four people (Table I). Moreover a study of the regional differentiation (Fig. 14) reveals that the greatest concentration of small households is now to be found in the village areas and in the north and north-west. The west and south still have a wider range of household size.

Age groups and sex ratios

For Arran as a whole changing proportions of age groups are shown in Table II. The imbalance of 1965 is contrasted both with the nineteenth century in Arran, and with twentieth-century Scotland as a whole. A study of the data illustrated graphically for the regions of the island further illustrates this point (Fig. 15). In 1841, the predominant age group was that between 15 and 44 years of age: this was most pronounced in the rural areas of the north, west and south. People under 15 years of age outnumbered those in categories over 45. By 1861, the group 15–44 years was becoming less predominant, except in the rural west. Both 1841 and 1861 contrast strongly with 1965 when the numbers over 45 years far exceeded those under 15, and in some cases, even all those under 45 (*e.g.* the Whiting Bay area). In 1965 the areas with relatively more balanced age structures, though imbalanced in comparison to Scotland as a whole (Table II) comprised the Brodick area and the farming areas of the west and south (about half of the population is over, and half under 45). The Lamlash and Whiting Bay areas showed an increasing tendency towards an ageing population and small proportions of younger people (respectively 296:211 and 346:269 people over and under 45 years), while in the northern area of Lochranza and Corrie, there were 283 people

TABLE II
Percentage age groups in Arran

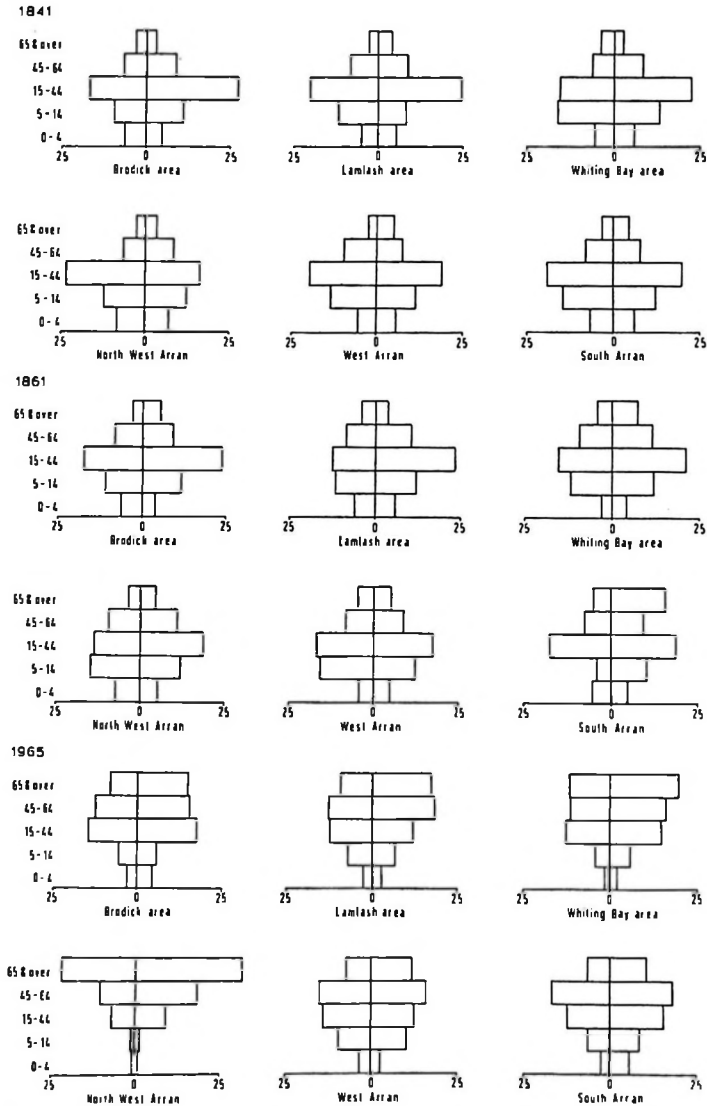|	ARRAN			SCOTLAND
	1841	1861	1965	1961
Over 65	7·7	10·7	26·7	10·6
45–64	16·5	23·3	29·5	24·4
15–44	38·2	36·0	26·0	39·2
5–14	25·2	18·5	12·4	16·8
Under 5	12·4	11·5	5·4	9·0
	100·0%	100·0%	100·0%	100·0%

AGE AND SEX GROUPS

FIG. 15 Age and sex groups in Arran, 1841, 1861 and 1965. Groupings, from top to bottom of diagrams, are over 65; 45–64; 15–44; 5–14; under 5 years of age. Males are on left, females on right of diagram. (Source as for Fig. 14.) (See p. 67.)

over 65 and only 71 under that age: there were scarcely any young persons under 15 years.

Together with age structure differences there were also differing sex ratios (Table III).

TABLE III

Sex ratios (male to female) in Arran

	ARRAN			SCOTLAND
	1841	1861	1965	1961
	M : F	M : F	M : F	M : F
Over 65	100: 96	100: 93	100:163	100:157
45–64	100: 92	100:100	100:126	100:114
15–44	100: 86	100:127	110:107	100:105
5–14	100:116	100:116	100:116	100: 96
15–44	100: 86	100:127	110:107	100:105
5–14	100:116	100:116	100:116	100: 96
Under 5	100:128	100:165	100:114	100: 96

Again the 1965 structure in Arran differed from both nineteenth-century Arran and twentieth-century Scotland. Females outnumbered males in all categories in 1965, with higher than national ratios, especially in the older age categories.

Employment in Arran

In analysing the data for 1841 and 1861 for male employment the age groupings of 15–44 and 45–64 years of age have been used, as for 1965, though these categories are not perhaps so appropriate for nineteenth-century employment and population structures. In both 1841 and 1861, there were considerable numbers of males under 15 and over 65 in employment in Arran, but these have been excluded from the following results. Those under 15 years of age were predominantly in agricultural employment, while those above 65 had more varied occupations. The broad categories of employment discussed are shown in Tables IV and V.

TABLE IV

Employment of males between 15 and 64 years of age in Arran

	1841		1861		1965	
Agricultural	865	59·6	804	66·3	213	31·3
Maritime	239	16·3	255	21·3	23	3·4
Crafts	258	17·7	50	4·2	95	14·1
Shops, Inns, etc.	35	2·4	47	4·0	113	16·6
Professional	29	2·0	24	2·1	48	7·1
Miscellaneous	28	2·0	24	2·1	188	27·5
Total in employment	1,454	100·0%	1,204	100·0%	680	100·0%

Compared with 1841 and 1861, the almost complete disappearance in 1965 of maritime employment is noted (Table IV), together with the halving in importance of 'agricultural' employment. 'Services' were included in the 'miscellaneous' category, and

accounted for 44·1 per cent of the men of working age in 1965. Shopkeepers and hoteliers also showed an increase in numbers and importance, while 'craftsmen' have declined. There is an almost complete absence of manufacturing employment in Arran today, apart from a small creamery in the south of the island at Torrylin. The regional analysis for 1841, 1861 and 1965 (Table V) shows the different ways in which various

TABLE V

Regional data for employed males under and over 45 years of age in Arran

Categories for 1841 and 1861 are as follows:

Agricultural	farmers, agricultural labourers of all types, crofters, cottars, servants, estate workers, gardeners, and foresters.
Maritime	seamen (merchant and coastal), fisherman, coastguards, etc.
Crafts	weavers (woollen, linen and cotton), quarriers, and stone masons, plumbers, joiners and carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, bakers.
Shops, Inns, etc.	include dealers and hawkers.
Professional	schoolmasters and teachers, ministers of religion, bankers, etc.
Miscellaneous	policemen, insurance agents, miners, clerks, etc.

By 1965, the 'maritime' category comprises lighthouse keepers, piermen and coastguards; 'miscellaneous' includes employees of the Post Office and County Council, drivers, a few creamery workers, and additional services such as hallkeepers, groundsmen, etc. This accounts for the large proportions of the total which the category 'miscellaneous' comprised in 1965.

	BRODICK		LAMLASH		WHITING BAY		NORTH AND NORTHWEST		WEST		SOUTH	
Age in years	*15-44*	*45-64*	*15-44*	*45-64*	*15-44*	*45-64*	*15-44*	*45-64*	*15-44*	*45-64*	*15-44*	*45-64*
1841												
Agricultural	48	21	34	19	80	33	47	34	137	68	249	95
Maritime	11	2	25	19	9	6	118	20	11	4	9	5
Crafts	21	10	38	22	8	4	21	8	42	16	54	14
Shops, Inns, etc.	3	—	15	1	1	—	2	1	3	3	2	4
Professional	3	2	7	3	1	—	2	1	3	3	2	1
Miscellaneous	2	1	7	3	—	1	4	1	3	2	4	1
1861												
Agricultural	76	39	40	30	47	24	48	38	132	49	195	86
Maritime	17	11	9	10	19	12	46	26	5	2	5	10
Crafts	40	16	22	9	17	9	7	11	34	47	26	17
Shops, Inns, etc.	10	3	8	2	7	5	1	1	2	2	6	3
Professional	8	1	5	6	—	1	5	1	4	4	2	1
Miscellaneous	9	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	2	—	2	1
1965												
Agricultural	18	17	6	9	16	11	4	5	28	27	33	39
Maritime	1	1	2	5	3	1	1	—	—	—	—	4
Crafts	19	14	18	15	5	5	5	4	2	5	2	2
Shops, Inns, etc.	18	19	7	12	8	9	1	2	4	2	—	1
Professional	3	8	10	6	7	6	2	1	3	3	—	1
Miscellaneous	43	28	24	21	19	16	8	13	13	13	5	10

areas have been affected by the above changes. Employment in the north and north-west has declined since 1841 and 1861 when the area had a high proportion of men engaged in farming, fishing and crafts. The rural farming areas of the west and south have had agricultural reductions in employment in common with national trends. Again a national feature, the villages have shown decline in crafts, especially shoemaking, tailoring and weaving; on the other hand, they have increased their provision and pro-portions of 'services' in part related to twentieth-century standards of living, and in part related to the island tourist industry.

In 1841 and 1861 female employment was considerable comprising farm-workers and dairymaids, domestic help of various kinds (maids, cooks, laundrymaids, dressmakers), and occasional teachers, nurses and other professional women. Most households had one or more of these categories. In 1965, however, the female labour force of working age was much restricted, though it should be noted that the figures in Table VI do not reveal part-time employment, which is important in the villages during the tourist season. In the rural areas there is virtually no female employment except in agriculture and occasionally in professional service.

TABLE VI

Female employment in Arran in 1965

	ARRAN 1965			
Age in years	*All ages*	*15–64*	*15–44*	*45–64*
Boarding house, hotel, etc.	93	64	29	35
Other domestic	94	82	42	40
Shop, Post Office and clerk	121	111	61	50
Professional	33	33	18	15
Miscellaneous	23	16	9	7
Nil	1,295	564	233	331
Total	1,659	870	392	478

(1965: author's survey)

According to a survey carried out by the author in July 1965, population then resident in Arran was 2,993. In comparison to the 1961 Census, which gave a total of 3,712 for Arran, this represents a decline, over four years, of nearly 20 per cent. This is a higher rate of decline than the 20 per cent decrease between 1951 and 1961 (Fig. 10b). Even if one were to allow a 5 to 10 per cent negative error in the collection of population data in 1965, *i.e.* if the 1965 survey omitted that proportion, it can still be shown that the rate of decline was greater than on average during the 1951–61 period. Whether this represents an increase in the rate of emigration, or a decrease in the numbers of

people settling on the island, both certainly combined with a greater rate of natural decline, has not been established. A relatively low number of people, by Highland standards, was found to be in the categories 'periodically away' and 'permanently away'. These included persons still technically belonging to resident island families, but residing away from home for short spells (*e.g.* students) or for prolonged spells (*e.g.* in the merchant navy). The method by which the survey was conducted means that the totals of 33 and 106 respectively are only minimum estimates. They suggest that at least 150 families, or about 11 per cent of the total of 1,315 families, had at least one member of the family residing away from home in 1965.

The three main villages and their immediate hinterlands in 1965 contained about 1,850 people, or 62 per cent of the island's resident population (Table VII). The northern half

TABLE VII

Population groupings in Arran in 1965

	Number	Per cent
Brodick area	728	24·4
Lamlash area	615	20·5
Whiting Bay area	507	16·9
North and north-west Arran	353	11·8
West Arran	387	12·9
South Arran	403	13·5
Total	2,993	100·0%

(1965:author's survey)

of the whole of Arran contained only 353 people, or just under 12 per cent; and the other rural areas on the west and south accounted for the remaining 26 per cent. This uneven distribution of population has repercussions on employment, services, transport, and the other elements of the 'Highland Problem' which is discussed so continuously at the present day. Arran and Barra have had similar depopulation rates of around 20 per cent in recent years, yet Arran has not been treated in the past or at present as part of the Highlands and Islands, particularly in respect of legislation. Arran, like other counties with characteristics of the 'Highland Problem', *e.g.* Moray and Banff, was not included in the seven 'Crofting Counties' of the Crofters (Scotland) Acts of 1886, 1955 and 1961. With the establishment of the Highlands and Islands Development Board in 1965, the same seven counties were included in its area, at least for the time being. The problems of an imbalanced population and employment structure in Arran are of the same order and type as in many parts of the crofting counties. Again, Arran's position so close to the Lowlands of Scotland has probably contributed to easier and more rapid depopulation. Arran has often claimed that its scenery represents the 'Highlands in miniature'. But the Highland problem of depopulation which it exemplifies is of major dimensions. (See Storrie and Jackson, 1967, for further discussion on this point.)

REFERENCES

Printed Sources:

AITON, W.
1816   *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Bute with Observations on the Means of its Improvement.* Glasgow.

CENSUS OF SCOTLAND
1961   *Population Leaflets*, no. 11

CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) ACTS
        The Crofting Counties are Zetland, Orkney, Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll.
1886   49 and 50 Vict.
1955   3 and 4 Eliz, 2 ch. 21
1961   9 and 10 Eliz. 2 ch. 58

FORESTRY COMMISSION
1964   *Annual Report for the Year ended 30th September 1964.* H.C. 218 Session 1964–5.

HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT
1965   13 and 14 Eliz. 2 ch. 46

KYD, J. G.
1952   'Scottish Population Statistics.' *Scottish History Society*, 3rd Series, 44 Edinburgh.

MACCULLOCH, J.
1819   *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, Vol. 2.
1824   *The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*, Vol. 3.

MACKENZIE, W. M.
1914   'History and Folklore'. *The Book of Arran*, Vol. 2. Glasgow.

ORDNANCE SURVEY
1867–9   Plans on the scale of twenty-five inches to one mile.
1896 *et seq.* Maps on the scale of six inches to one mile.

PATERSON, J.   'An Account of the Island of Arran.' *Transactions of the Royal Highland and*
1837   *Agricultural Society.* New Series 5:125–54.

SINCLAIR, SIR J. (Ed.)
1793   'Parish of Kilbride.' *The Old Statistical Account* 8:578–82. 'Parish of Kilmory,' *op. cit.* 9:165–71. Edinburgh.

STORRIE, MARGARET C.
1962   'The Census of Scotland as a source in the historical geography of Islay.' *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 78:152–65.
1965   'Landholdings and settlement evolution in West Highland Scotland.' *Geografiska Annaler*, 47, Series B, 2:138–61.
1967   'Ballickine: survivor of two revolutions.' *Folk Life*, in press.

STORRIE, MARGARET C. and JACKSON, C. I.
1967   *Arran 1980–81: 2,021?* Edinburgh. (Scottish Council of Social Service.)

MSS. Sources:

H.M. NEW REGISTER HOUSE

Copies of census enumerators' schedules for 1841, 1861 and 1891.

BRODICK MSS.

The following MS sources form part of a larger collection of material relating to Arran from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, consulted with the kind permission of The Lady Jean Fforde, Strabane, Brodick. They are included in list 0331 of the National Register of Archives (Scotland), but not specifically numbered therein.

A 1766–82   John Burrel's *Daily Journal*, Vol. 1 (1766–73); Vol. 2 (1776–82).

B 1766–82   Leases from John Burrel.

C late 18th c.   'Plan of the Island of Arran, property of His Grace Douglas, Duke of Hamilton and Brandon. . . .' A separate key is presumed complementary. Scale, about four inches to one mile.

D 1783–4   'List of the New Setts of Farms in the Island of Arran.'

E 1784   'Review of Farms in the Island of Arran at present in His Grace the Duke of Hamilton's own hands.' By J. H. Cochrane.

F 1786   Rental of the Lots around the Isle of Arran.

G 1800   'Report to His Grace the Duke of Hamilton about the Arran Estate.' By the Factor.

H 1800   Rental of the Island of Arran.

I 1801   Copy of the census enumerator's MS for Arran.

J Late 18th &   Decreets of removal against tenants.
early 19th c.

K 1807–12   60 plans, scale about 18 inches to one mile, by R. Bauchop.

L 1812   'Map of the Island of Arran in the Shire of Bute, scale, about 3·5 inches to one mile, by R. Bauchop.'

M 1812   'Rental of the island of Arran.'

N 1814   'Map of the Island of Arran showing the Mode of Crofting and Letting in 1814, by J. Yule. Compiled from surveys made in the Years 1807 . . . 1812 by R. Bauchop.' Scale, about one inch to two miles.

O 1815 *et seq.*   Rentals and Accounts of Charge and Discharge.

P 1837   'Plan of the Lands of Dougary and Auchingallan, the property of the Hon. Henry R. Westenra, M.P.' Similar plans for the other townships of the northwest.

LENNOXLOVE MSS

Consulted by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, the following three items are part of a larger collection.

A 1784   Rental of the Lands intended to be sold.

B 1811   Memorandum Book for Arran 1811. Memorandum as to the Rents to be paid to the Marquis of Douglas for certain farms in Arran.

C 1838   'Copy, Report of the Survey and Valuation of the lands in the Island of Arran belonging to Mr Westenra, by Mr Adam.'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Notes on Collection and Research

Scottish Place-Names : 28 Old English wīc

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

In his last major piece of research, the late Eilert Ekwall examined in detail some of the problems of semantic development posed by the Old English (OE) word *wīc*, so common in English place-names (Ekwall 1964). The present short article is intended to draw attention to the Scottish material and to look at a number of Scottish names in -*wīc* in the light of the English evidence and of Ekwall's conclusions. It is meant to provide additional information rather than to study the question completely afresh. The material presented varies considerably as to the completeness of the early references quoted, for whereas the Border Counties (Williamson 1942) and Midlothian (Dixon 1947) have been studied extensively and in great detail, similar investigations for other parts of Scotland in which names in -*wīc* occur are lacking. Owing to the minor type of settlement to which *wīc* originally applied (see p. 82 below), several names appear to have been 'lost' or have not been identified.

Scottish names which fall within the category under discussion are:

Berwick-on-Tweed[1] (Northumberland):*Berwic* 1095, 1095–1100, 1144 ESC[2]; 1160 RRS. *Berewic* 1130–3, 1142 ESC; 1153–9, 1153–62, 1159, 1162–5 RRS. *Berewyc* 1153–9 RRS. *Berewyce* 1120 ESC. *Berwyk'* 1162–5 RRS. *Barwykke* 1124–30 ESC. *Berwich* 1136 ESC; 1154–9, 1153–62 RRS. *Bereuuich* 1144 ESC. *Beruvich* 1162–5 RRS. *Berwiche* 1128 ESC.—Ekwall's first reference is *Berewich* 1167, from the *Index to the Charters and Rolls in the British Museum*.

North Berwick ELO:*Norh'berwic* 1160–85 N.B.Chrs. *Nortberwic c.* 1178–95, 1204–30 N.B. Chrs.; (seal) 1296 CDS. *Norberwic* 1199–1202, 1204–30 (also *Noberwic*) N.B. Chrs. *Northberwic* 1204–30 N.B. Chrs.; 1296 CDS; 1407 *et frequ. ad* 1508 ER; 1430, 1458 RMS. *North Berwic* 1452 RMS. *de Northberwico* 1303–4 CDS. *Berewic* 1165–72 N.B. Chrs. *Nordberewic* 1175–94, 1204–30 N.B. Chrs. *Norberewic* 1178–88 N.B. Chrs. *Norberewic'* 1200–50 N.B. Chrs. *Northberewic'* 1211–14 N.B. Chrs. *Northberewich* 1215–26 N.B. Chrs. *Nortberewyche* 1287 N.B. Chrs. *Northberwyk* 1311–12 CDS; 1373 RMS; 1410, 1442 ER. *North Berwyk* 1373 N.B. Chrs.; 1426 RMS. *Northberewyk* 1335–6 CDS. *Northberewyke* 1337 RMS. *North-berwick* (?) 1147–53 (1705) RRS. *Northberwick* 1296, 1389 CDS; 1573 RMS; 1645 *et frequ. ad* 1690 Retours. *Norberwick* (p) 1278–9 CDS. *North Berwick* 1611 *et frequ. ad* 1690

Retours, etc. *Northberuick* 1609, 1614, 1620–32 RMS. *Northbervick* 1642, 1659 Retours. North(-)Berrick 1690 Retours.

Also: *Northberwick-manis* 1573 RMS. *Northberuik-manis* 1581 RMS.

Northberwik-law 1547; *Northberuiklaw* 1588, 1591; *Northberwicklaw* 1609, all RMS.

From OE *berewīc* 'barley farm', referring to a grange or an outlying part of an estate (Smith 1956:I 31; Ekwall 1960:39). This name has many English parallels, from Cornwall to Northumberland. It is not necessarily a compound name as 'OE *berewīc* occurs a common noun in charters' (Ekwall 1964:13). By the time the East Lothian name is recorded, with one exception, the word *north* is already prefixed to distinguish it from Berwick-on-Tweed. This opposition is explicitly stated in 1287 N.B. Chrs. where *Nortberewyche* appears side by side with *Sutberwyche*. It is implied in *South Berwick* 1296 CDS, *Southeberwyk c.* 1335 CDS, *South Beruik* 1428 RMS, and *Southberwic* 1464 RMS. Both places, particularly Berwick-on-Tweed must have been of some importance when these distinguishing epithets were prefixed. They cannot have been simply 'granges' anymore.

Whereas Berwick Burn and Bridge on the border of East Lothian and Berwickshire also seem to contain OE *berewīc*, Berwick ABD (parish of Fintray; earlier *Berrek* on Robertson's Map), is almost surely an imported name (Alexander 1952:19).

Birswick DMF: No early evidence. Possibly OE *b̄yres-wīc* 'byre farm'.

Borthwick (Mains) ROX: *Bordewich* 1165–9 Melr. Lib. *Bortwic* temp. Alexander II Melr.Lib. *Borthewyk* 1335–6 CDS. *Borthwyck* 1336–7 CDS; 1374 HMC (Drumlanrig). *Borthwyke* 1391 HMC (Roxburghe).— Also Borthwickshiels nearby: *Borthsykschelys* 1374 RMS. *Borthwic Scheillis* 1489, 1491 TA. *Borthuiksheills* 1575 Retours. *Borthuikscheillis* 1608, 1619, 1623 RMS. *Borthwickscheills* 1670 Retours. *Borthuicksheillis* 1694 Retours.

Borthwick MLO: *Borthwyk* 1361, 1362, 1388 ER. *Borthwik* 1362 *et frequ. ad* 1426 ER; 1447, 1484, 1486 St Giles Reg.; 1488, 1489, 1494 ADC; 1494 ADA; 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507 TA; 1546 RPC. *Boirthwik* 1565–6 RPC. *Borthwike* 1414, 1415, 1425, 1426 ER; 1482–3 St Giles Reg. *Borthuik c.* 1393–7 LC; 1494–5, 1512, 1566–7 St Giles Reg.; 1496, 1506, 1507 TA; 1514 Edin. Chrs.; 1538 *et frequ. ad.* 1622 RMS; 1551 Yester Writs; 1565–6, 1569, 5171, 1574 RPC; 1567 Mort. Reg.; 1573 *et frequ. ad* 1645 Retours. *Boirthuik* 1567, 1568 RPC. *Borthik* 1511 TA. *Borthwic* 1368 APS; 1403 *et frequ. ad* 1434 ER; 1457 St Giles Reg.; 1470 Mort. Reg.; 1473, 1488 TA. *Borthuic* 1473 Edin. Chrs.; 1502 TA. *Borthvic* 1504–5 St Giles Reg. *Borthic* 1473 TA. *Borthwick* 1571 *et frequ. ad* 1743 LC; 1659, 1676 Retours. *Borthuick* 1596, 1612 RMS.

*Borthwick BWK (near Duns): *Borthwic* 1501 RMS. *Borthuick* 1652 Blaeu. ?*Borthwick* Retours 1694.—*Westerborthik* 1503 RMS. *Wester Borthuik* 1627 Retours. *Wester Borthwik* 1663, 1676, 1691 Retours. *Westir Borthwick* 1668 Retours; *Wester*

Borthick 1686 Retours. *West Borthuik* 1541, 1609 RMS; 1600, 1610 Retours. *West Borthwik* 1610 Retours. *Wast-Borthuik* 1624 Retours.—*Est-Borthuik* 1511 RMS. *Eist Borthuik* 1576 RMS; 1617 Retours. *Eister Borthuik* 1632 RMS.—*Borthwick Eister et Wester* 1692 Retours. *Eister et Wester Borthwicks* 1693 Retours.—*Borthwicks butt* 1691 Retours. *Borthwick's butt* 1962 Retours.

*Borthwick SLK: *Borthwic* 1410 RMS. *Borthuik* 1538, 1544, 1571 RMS.

OE *bord wīc* 'home farm' = the farm which supplied the board or table of the lord of the district, is the usually accepted explanation because of the numerous Borelands (<Bordland) or Bordlands in formerly Gaelic speaking territories of Scotland. However, the same word OE *bord* may imply 'board = plank = wood', rather than 'board = table'. In this meaning it is regarded by Smith (1956:I 42 and:II 280) as the possible source of some English wood-names like Bordley (West Riding of Yorkshire) and Borthwood (Isle of Wight). Borden in Kent and Bordesley (2) in Warwickshire and Worcestershire may also belong here (Ekwall 1960:53). Our name may therefore mean 'wood farm' rather than 'board farm = home farm'. The decision as to whether the first or the second alternative is more likely, does not lie with the linguist but rather with the local historian. It is, however, worthy of note that the *Bordland* of Scotland does not appear to have any counterpart in English settlement names and that the concept of a particular farm or piece of land supplying the lord's own needs seems consequently not to have been known there.

The question whether the four names listed above did in fact arise independently or whether they all go back to the same source is a complex one and largely hinges on our knowledge and interpretation of the rise of the Borthwick family.[3] We know that Borthwick Hall MLO (*Halheriot* 1611 RMS. *Borthwick Hall* 1773 Armstrong's Map) is a comparatively modern name 'derived from a cadet branch of the Borthwicks of Borthwick Castle and Crookston, for long owners of Halheriot' (Dixon 1947:197). Similarly, the Midlothian Borthwick itself may be an introduction from another county since Sir William de Borthwick had received a special license to construct a castle in the Mote of Lochorwart. The change of name seems to be reflected in the RMS entry of 1538:'Apud Glenfynlais, 21 Aug.—Rex confirmavit Willelmo Domino Borthuik—terras de *lie* Moit de Lochquhorat, et castrum ejusdem castrum de Borthuik tunc nuncupat . . . vic. Edinburgh; terras de Borthuik, vic. Selkirk; . . .' Whether the mention of the lands of *Borthwick in Selkirkshire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also presupposes the temporary ownership of land by the Borthwicks in that county or whether that name preceded the family name is also difficult to decide. At present, the most acceptable version is probably Black's (1946:90) who derives the family name 'from the old barony of Borthwick along Borthwick Water in the parish of Roberton, Roxburghshire'; and in the light of our present evidence the Roxburghshire Borthwick may be regarded as the original one. Only the (now apparently 'lost') Berwickshire examples may possibly also be independent creations, but further detailed research is obviously required.

F

Darnick ROX:*Dernewic c.* 1136 Melr. Lib.; 1143–7 RRS. *Darnyke* 1565 RMS. *Darnyk ibid.*; Retours 1601. *Darnik* 1588, 1605, 1607, 1621 RMS. *Dernik* 1607 RMS; 1611 Retours. *Dernick* 1640, 1645 Retours.

OE *derne wīc* 'hidden farm (or dwelling)', probably in woodland or overgrown with vegetation. In England there is no identical equivalent but OE *derne* 'hidden, secret, obscure' occurs in several names compounded with OE *brōc* 'brook, stream', *ford* 'ford', *halh* 'nook or corner of land', and *stall* 'place' (Smith 1956:I 131). Nearest geographically is the hybrid name Darncrook (Northumberland) in which *derne* is combined with Old Norse (ON) *krókr* 'nook, bend'.

Dawick PEB:*Dawik* 1501–2 Yester Writs; 1534 *et frequ. ad* 1604 RMS. *Dawyk* 1606 RMS. *Dawick* 1621 RMS. *Dawick* 1649, 1668, 1681, 1696, 1699 Retours. *Dayik* 1580 (1582) RMS. *Daik ibid. Dayk* 1606 RMS (in the same document as *Dawyk*) —Also *Wester Dawik* 1556 RMS, *Wester Dawick* 1699 Retours, and *Estir Dawik, Ester Dawik* 1536 RMS, *Eister Dawik* 1603 RMS.

The fact that this name is apparently not recorded before the sixteenth century confines the quest for an etymology to the realm of speculation. Two words which come to mind as suitable candidates for the first element are OE *dā* 'doe' and OE *dawe* 'crow-like bird, jackdaw'. Both are recorded in Scotland from the fifteenth and sixteenth century onwards, respectively. The first would have parallels in English Daccombe (Devon) and Doepath (Northumberland) (Smith 1956:I 125), whereas the second does not seem to have been recorded in English place-names. Derivation from the land-measurement *davach* which has been suggested, is not very likely in view of the geographical situation and the phonological evidence.

Fenwick ROX: *ffenwic* (pers. name) *c.* 1280 (*c.* 1320) Kelso Lib. *Fenwyk* (pers. name)? 1311–12 CDS; 1374 HMC (Drumlanrig). *Fennyk* 1511 RMS. *Fynnik* 1547, 1592 RMS; 1615 Retours.
(?) Fenwick AYR:*Fynnickhill* 1620 Retours. *Finnick* 1652 Blaeu. *Finwick* 1687 Retours. *Fennick* 1775 Armstrong's Map.

The Roxburghshire name is most likely OE *fenn wīc* 'mud farm' or 'marshland farm'. Identical with the two English Fenwicks in Northumberland and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The Ayrshire name is not as straightforward although this particular meaning derives support from the well-known Fenwick Moor. The present status of a parish name also indicates a certain antiquity (there are Laigh F., Little F., and F. Water in Fenwick). Such considerations do not, however, solve the problem whether the medial -*w*- is generic or not. An element of doubt is introduced by a cluster of names from Lennox in Dunbartonshire. There we have *Fynwik* 1545, 1549 RMS and *Fynwick* 1655 Retours, with subdivisions like *Fynwikblair* 1548 RMS, *Fynwik-Blair* 1565 RMS, *Finweik-Blair* 1580 RMS, *Finwikmalice* 1548 RMS, *Fynwickblair alias Fynwick-Malice* 1625, *Fynwick-Blair alias Fynwick-Malice* 1655, *Finvickblair alias Finvick-malice* 1662, *Finwickblair alias Finwickmalice* 1680 (all Retours), or *Fynwik-Drummond* 1565 RMS,

Fynweik-Drummond 1580 RMS, *Fynvick-Drummond* 1625, *Fynvick-Drummond* 1662, *Finoick-Drumond* 1680 (all Retours). The geographical position and a related name recorded in RMS from 1424–1513 as *Fynneich-tennand*, *Fynnekyntennand*, *Fenykin-tennand*, *Fenekintenand*, would make the -*w*- a secondary spelling device and point to a Gaelic origin for the name.[4] The Ayrshire Fenwick might belong here rather than together with the Roxburghshire name, but see Prestwick below.

Fishwick BWK:*Fyschewike* 1095 (15th) ESC. *Fiscwic c.* 1100 ESC. *Fiswic* 1126 ESC. *Fiswihc* 1124–53 Nat. Mss. Scot. *Fischewik* 1591 RMS. *Fischwik* 1604, 1609 Retours. *Fischevik* 1605 Retours. *Fischuik* 1608, 1609, 1620 Retours. *Fischeweik* 1558 (1587), 1621, 1631 RMS. *Fischweik* 1632 Retours. *Fisweik* 1630 Retours. *Fishweik* 1642, 1663, 1676 Retours. *Fischweek* 1632 Retours. *Fischewick* 1610 RMS. *Fischwick* 1565 (1619) RMS, *Fishwick* 1655 Retours. *Fischik* 1548 (1549) RMS. *Fischeik* 1632 Retours. *Fisheik* 1632 Retours.

OE *fisc wīc* 'dwelling where fish were cured or sold'. Fishwick in Lancashire is of the same origin. Dr Williamson points out (1942:43) that *Fiswic* is mentioned as a *piscatura* in a Durham Charter of *c.* 1135. There may have been fish-ponds at Fishwick.

Handwick ANG:*Handwik* 1487, 1529 RMS. (?) *Hanwicke* 1567 CDS. *Eister, Wester et Middill Handweikis* 1630 RMS. *Eist et West Handweikis* 1631 RMS, *Easter et Wester Handweicks* 1692 Retours.

Apparently a name in -*wīc*, but an etymology is difficult to provide because of the late nature of the evidence. Perhaps OE *hana* 'a cock' might be the first element (see Smith 1956:I 233). In that case Handorth (Cheshire) would afford a parallel in the development of the dental stop after *n* (Ekwall 1960:216). There are, however, other possibilities, amongst them OE *hān* 'hone, stone' and a personal name *Hana*. Unless some earlier material comes to light it will be impossible to settle for one or the other (and we can hardly expect spellings which are much earlier, in this area).

Hedderwick ELO:*Hatherunich* 1093–4 SHR xxxvii, 119; 1094 ESC. *Hathervic* 1165–1214 Melr. Lib. *Hatherwyk* 1335–6 CDS. *Hatherwyke* 1337 CDS. *Hathirweik* 1573 RSS. *Hatherwick* 1652 Blaeu. *Haddiruik, Haddirwik* 1574 RMS. *Hadderweik* 1604, 1670 Retours. *Hadderwik* 1607 RMS. *Hedderweik* 1607 RMS. *Hedderweik* 1614 *et frequ. ad* 1655 RMS; 1637, 1645, 1649, 1688 Retours. *Hedderwick* 1653 RMS. *Hedderweick* 1680 Retours.

Hedderwick BWK ('lost' in Lauder):*Hatherwik* 1509 RMS. *Hadderweik* 1587, 1594 RMS. *Hedderweik* 1649, *Hedderweick* 1688, *Hedderwick* 1696 (all Retours).

Hedderwick ANG:*Hathyrwich* 1267–81, *Hathirwyk* 1296–1320, 1375, *Hadirweike* 1490, *Hathirwik* 1492 (all Benholm and Hedderwick Writs in Scottish Record Office, GD4/244*–237). *Hadderwik* 1608 RMS. *Heddirwik* 1585 RMS. *Hedderweik* 1619, 1625, 1650. *Hedderwick* 1630, 1648, 1659, 1696. *Hedderweek* 1695 (all Retours).

Heatherwick ABD:*Haddirweik* 1600, *Hedderweik* 1598 *et frequ. ad* 1631, *Hetherweik* 1617 (all RMS).

OE *hǽddre wīc 'heather farm'; identical with Heatherwick (Northumberland). Whereas the Aberdeenshire name is probably to be regarded as being in the same category as Berwick ABD, i.e. an imported name (see p. 76 above), there is no reason to suspect that Hedderwick ANG is not an original name, especially with Handwick in the same county. This does not mean that it was not coined in imitation of the East Lothian or Berwickshire model, rather than created spontaneously as a compound name from two living appellatives. Transplantation in this sense is therefore possible. However, the reference to *terras de Haddiruik vocat. Auld-Haddiruik* (1574 RMS) for the Lothian Hedderwick hardly presupposes a **New-Haddiruik* further north, but rather refers to local circumstances.

Hawick (parish) ROX: *Hawic* 1165–9 Melr. Lib.; 1214 Chron. Melrose. *Hawyc* 1264–9 ER. *Havewyk* 1296 CDS. *Havwic* 1296 CDS (seal).[5]—In the parish is *Hawickshiel: Hawikschawes (vel Hawikscheillis) Over et Nethir* 1616 (1624) RMS.
　　Probably OE *haga wīc* 'hedge (or enclosure) farm'; again the identical English equivalent is located in Northumberland. The reference is presumably to an enclosure formed by trees, or the like.

Prestwick (parish) AYR: *Prestwic* 1165–73 *et frequ. ad* 1239 Pais. Reg.; 1227 Glas. Reg. *Prestwyc* (p) *c.* 1272 Pais Reg. *Prestwyk* (p) 1335–6, 1336–7 CDS. *Prestwik* 1330 ER; 1504 *et frequ. ad* 1551 RMS. *Prestwik* 1468 RMS. *Prestuik* 1609, 1629 RMS. *Prestuick* 1620, 1625 RMS. *Prestwick* 1653 RMS. *Prestweik* 1600 RMS. *Prestik* 1556 *et frequ. ad* 1614 RMS. *Prestike* 1621 Retours. *Prestick* 1603, 1631 RMS; 1661, 1680 Retours. *Prestinck* 1652 Blaeu. *Prestrik* 1658 RMS. *Presik* 1599 RMS.
　　Also nearby (a) Prestwickshaws: *Prestwikschawis* 1500 *et frequ. ad* 1556 RMS. *Prestwik-schawis* 1517 1556 RMS, 1599 Retours. *Prestwikschewis* 1517 RMS. *Prestwikschawes* 1496 RMS, 1616 Retours. *Prestuikschawis* 1603, 1609, 1620, 1629 RMS. *Prestuickschawes* 1624 (1627) RMS. *Prestikschawis* 1587 RMS. *Preistikschaw, Preistischawis* 1593 RMS. *Prestick-shawes* 1680 Retours. (b) Prestwick Moss: *Prestuikmos* 1587 RMS. *Prestwick Moss* 1621 Retours. *Prestwickmoss* 1662 Retours. (c) *Pulprestwic* 1165–73, 1177–99, 1172 Pais. Reg.
OE *prēost wīc* 'priest's dwelling', or *prēosta wīc* 'priests' dwelling', probably the former in the meaning of 'manse'. Undoubtedly the same as Prestwick (Northumberland and Berkshire) and Prestwich (Lancashire), for which see Ekwall 1960:374. In the general context of names in *-wīc*, a name so far west is perhaps rather surprising at first sight but if one adds Fenwick (see above), possibly Previck (see below), Maybole in the same county further south (see Nicolaisen 1964:171), the curious Eaglesham in nearby Renfrewshire and, even if the ultimate origin of the same may be different and non-English, the district name Cunningham (*loc. cit.*:157), one has an intriguing group of names containing 'early' English elements like *wīc, bōtl* and *hām*, in this corner of Scotland (the obviously Norse Busby RNF is just as puzzling). These names seem to point to some kind of Anglian overlordship or sporadic influence in the area at a fairly early

date. The evidence is too patchy on the ground to represent anything more than that.

(?) Previck AYR ('lost' near Annbank): *Previk* 1428 *et frequ. ad* 1629 RMS. *Prewik* 1572 RMS. *Privick* 1647, 1680 Retours. *Previck* 1603 *et frequ. ad* 1623 RMS; 1648 Retours; 1652 Blaeu. *Preuick* 1652 Blaeu.

This name may contain -*wīc* although there is no certain proof of this. The first element may be a form of the plant-name *privet* as in the Devonshire name Prewley (Smith 1956:II 74; Gover *et al.* 1931:I 207), or the word *pear* as in Preshaw (Hampshire) which is *Pershawe* in 1412 (Ekwall 1960:373). Even if the botanical evidence were acceptable, the name would still be unsatisfactory.

Sunwick BWK: No early evidence.[6]

Probably OE *swīn-wīc* 'pig farm', although without proper documentation this is difficult to establish, especially as there is no identical equivalent in England, only several other compound names containing OE *swīn* (Smith 1956:II 172), and as no English name shows the development *swīn-*>*sun-*, the only similar instance being Somborne (Hampshire)<OE *swīn-burna*. Sunwick is, however, almost certainly a name in -*wīc*. Its meaning can be paralleled by many English examples of *wīc* combined with the name of a domestic animal, like Bulwick (Northamptonshire) 'bull farm', Chelvey (Somerset) 'calf farm', Cowick (Devon, Yorkshire) 'cow farm', Gatwick (Surrey) and Gotwick (Sussex) 'goat farm', Shapwick (Dorset, Somerset) and Shopwyke (Sussex) 'sheep farm', and others (Smith 1956:II 262).

Morphologically it is of interest to note that all our modern Scottish names end in -(*w*)*ick* and not in the palatalised form -(*w*)*ich* which is so common in the Midlands and in the south of England (Greenwich, Swanage, West Bromwich, etc.). This is in keeping with Ekwall's observation that 'palatalization has not been carried through to the same extent in the North' (1964:57), although it is sometimes recorded. It is unlikely that Anglo-Norman eleventh- and twelfth-century forms like *Berwich* 1136 etc., *Beruvich* 1162-5, *Berewich* 1167 for Berwick, *Bordewich* 1165-9 for Borthwick, and *Hatheruuich* 1094 for Hedderwick mean anything else but -*wĭk* in pronunciation. *Berwiche* 1128 and *Berewyce* 1120 (= *Berwĭke*), as well as *Barwykke* 1124-30 for Berwick may be reduced forms of the dative plural *berewicum* because of the numerous unpalatalised plural names in England (Ekwall 1964:33). Smith, in comparing *ditch* and *dike* also states that '-wich is regularly developed from the nom. sg. and -*wick* from the obl. cases like dat. pl. *wicum*' (1956:II 261). It is therefore possible that many of our Scottish names in -*wīc*—the earlier examples anyhow—may have been originally plural in form, referring to a collection of dwellings. Later sporadic spellings like *Borthwyke* 1391 for Borthwick ROX and *Borthwike* 1362 for Borthwick MLO, are hardly reflexes of the same phenomenon as they only occur once each and alternate with *Bortheyk* and *Borthwik*, respectively, in the same period. Similarly *Fyschewike* 1095 for Fishwick is hardly conclusive, especially as it appears in a fifteenth-century copy. *Fiswihc* is puzzling, but probably for *Fiswich* (= *Fiscwik*). Generally speaking our Scottish documentary evidence is far

too late to allow any definite conclusions as to the grammatical number of the names involved. It in no way contradicts what is known about names in -*wīc* in Northern England.

Only one modern spelling indicates the loss of the -*w*- in pronunciation, Darnick; it is, however, also implied in Hawick, with *haw*-<**haga*-. For North Berwick it is first shown in *North Berrick* (1690 Retours), for the Midlothian Borthwick *Borthik* alternates with *Borthuik* in the last decade of the fourteenth century, and *Borthic* and *Borthuic* in 1473, Fenwick ROX has *Fynnik* in 1547 and *Fenwick* AYR does not show a -*w*- in spelling till the *Finwick* of 1687, obviously not a pronunciation spelling. Prestwick, although the modern pronunciation is [ˈprestwik], has *Prestik*, *Prestike*, and *Prestick* in the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries. *Fischik* 1548 also shows loss of -*w*- in pronunciation.

As regards the meaning of *wīc* in place-names, only one of the many possibilities discussed by Ekwall and others is really relevant in Scotland, 'dependent farm'; with the exception of Prestwick in which -*wick* may mean 'dwelling' rather than 'farm', and Fishwick which seems to qualify for Smith's definition as 'a building for a particular occupation' in a non-farming sense. Berwick 'barley farm or grange', Birswick 'byre farm', Handwick '(?) cock-farm', and Sunwick 'pig-farm' imply certain agricultural activities. Borthwick, if meaning 'home farm', would also belong to this category; if 'wood dwelling', to the next group which also comprises Darnick 'hidden dwelling', Fenwick 'mud dwelling', Hedderwick 'heather dwelling', and Hawick 'enclosed dwelling' in which reference is made to the geographical surroundings of the places involved. Although the neutral translation 'dwelling' has here been used, we may confidently think of these places as 'dependent farms' (probably 'dairy-farms')[7] as well, and even Prestwick may belong here. Either the specific agricultural purpose of the place or the rather remote situation suggested by qualifying words such as 'hidden', 'mud, marsh-land', 'heather' and 'wood' point to places that were originally of minor importance. As Ekwall remarked (1964:42), 'Berwick on Tweed is the *berewīc* that has reached the highest status', but North Berwick, Borthwick MLO, Fenwick AYR, Hawick, and Prestwick are nowadays also quite important towns or parishes, or both. The modern status is here probably due to the fact that names in -*wīc* apply to comparatively early English settlements. In the Border Counties, 'all the examples are situated on or near large streams and on low-lying ground. They are grouped in Berwickshire and Roxburghshire on the plain of the Merse and in the valleys of the Tweed, Teviot and Borthwick Water' (Williamson 1942:42).

Even without the provision of a map it is clear that, with the exception of the Ayrshire and Angus examples, names in -*wīc*[8] occur well within the area outlined by the geographical distribution of other early English elements (see Nicolaisen 1964:161–7, Figs. 5–9). Many of these names are therefore undoubtedly early and belong to the first few centuries of Anglian settlement in Scotland. We must bear in mind, however, that some of them, as in England (see Smith 1956:II 260 and Cameron 1961:148) may

be post-Conquest. Handwick and Hedderwick ANG may be classed as such, but one is inclined to regard both Prestwick and Fenwick AYR, particularly the former, as earlier (see p. 80 above). On the whole, these names have all the hallmarks of a fairly settled population engaged in profitable agriculture, especially cattle-grazing and dairying, and one should therefore not place them before the eighth century, *i.e.* at least two or three generations after the siege of Edinburgh in 638. It would be interesting to examine their geographical relationship to names in OE *-hām*, for instance, or to names in *-ing(a)hām* and *-ingtūn*.

NOTES

1 This name is included here although it is now technically and administratively outside Scotland. However, as the county-name derived from it, Berwickshire, applies to a Scottish county and as the settlement to which the name was first given was for a long time on Scottish territory, there seems to be some justification in including the name here. Only those early spellings are cited which antedate Ekwall's earliest reference (1960:39). They correct the erroneous impression that the earliest form ended in *-wich*.

2 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 which is also available as a separate reprint should be consulted.

3 Because of the ambiguities involved, early spellings of the family-name Borthwick have not been included under any of the geographical names. The variations are more or less the same as in the place-names concerned. CDS, for example, has the following spellings: *Borthwyk* 1404–5 *et frequ. ad* 1425, *Borthwyke* 1408, *Borthwike* 1423, *Borthwic* 1398, 1484, *Bortwic* 1471, *Borthwyc* 1398 *et frequ. ad* 1425, *Borthwik* 1404, 1410, 1459, *Borthwick* 1404 *et frequ. ad* 1569, *Borthewyke* 1411, and *Borthewyk* 1411, 1426–7, 1427.

4 This is not the place to speculate on the eytmology of Fenwick if it is of non-English origin. Apart from the Lennox names, the Renfrewshire *Fennok* 1444, 1521, 1580 RMS, *Finnocke* 1658, *Fynnoakbog* 1606, *Fynnockboge* 1628, *Finnochbog* 1658 (all Retours) should, however, be noted.

5 This documentation is, of course, by no means complete as Hawick is recorded frequently in medieval documents. Only some of the earliest and more significant spellings are given here.

6 It is tempting to relate the name *Snuke*, about five miles S.W. on the River Tweed, to Sunwick. Early forms for that name are *Snuke* 1550, *Snwik* 1578 (1582), *Snwke* 1609, *Snuik* 1621 (all RMS), *Sneuck* 1652 Blaeu. However, there is no real evidence that these two names are identical in origin, although the absence of early forms for Sunwick is strange.

7 Ekwall has, however, pointed out that the meaning of OE *wīc* 'in individual names is often elusive and very difficult to determine. The wisest course will frequently be to leave the question of the exact meaning open' (Ekwall 1964:5).

8 It is by no means claimed that all Scottish names ending in *-wick* have been listed in this article. In some cases it is doubtful whether the name in question belongs to this category. The Kirkcudbrightshire parish name Southwick, for instance, does not show a medial *-w-* until the sixteenth century (*Southuic* 1507 RMS), whereas earlier spellings, like *Sutheyk*, *Sutheyc*, *Suthayc*, *Suthayk*, *Suthaik*, *Suthayck*, *Sothehack*, *Sotheayk* (all 13th century CDS) show no hint of it. A similar name is recorded for Cunningham in Ayrshire (*Southuik* 1576, *Southweik* 1596, *Southuik* 1614 all RMS; *Southheuk* 1661, *Southheuck* 1685 both Retours), but the second element can hardly be *-wīc*.

REFERENCES

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM M.
    1952   *The Place-Names of Aberdeenshire*. Third Spalding Club. Aberdeen.
BLACK, GEORGE F.
    1946   *The Surnames of Scotland*. New York.
CAMERON, KENNETH
    1961   *English Place-Names*. London.
DIXON, NORMAN
    1947   *The Placenames of Midlothian*. Typescript Ph.D. Thesis. Edinburgh.
EKWALL, EILERT
    1960   *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*. 4th ed. Oxford.
    1964   *Old English wic in Place-Names*. Nomina Germanica 13. Lund.
GOVER, J. E. B.; MAWER, A.; STENTON, F. M.
    1931   *The Place-Names of Devon*. 2 vols. E.P.N.S. VIII ad IX. Cambridge.
NICOLAISEN, W. F. H.
    1964   'Celts and Anglo-Saxons in the Scottish Border Counties.' *Scottish Studies* 8:141–71. Edinburgh.
SMITH, A. H.
    1956   *English Place-Name Elements*. 2 vols. E.P.N.S. XXV and XXVI. Cambridge.
WILLIAMSON, MAY G.
    1942   *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties*. Typescript Ph.D. Thesis. Edinburgh.

Thurso : a Reply

PER THORSON

Dr W. F. H. Nicolaisen showed me the courtesy of reviewing my Viking Congress lecture (1965) on the name *Thurso* before the paper was published. He will also, I hope, allow me to reply to his review.†

As Dr Nicolaisen is aware, my derivation of *Thurso* from **pórshaugr* is dependent on the medieval Latin forms of the name which he quotes and discusses. His remarks on these early forms, however, have not shaken my belief in their cogency as evidence in the direction I suggest.

† *Scottish Studies* 10: 171–6.

Commencing with Hoveden's '*Turseha*', I am grateful to my critic for pointing out that it occurs, in the Chronicle, in the connection *ad Turseham*, which may—but need not—represent the Latin accusative. Further, Dr Nicolaisen is inclined to disregard *h* in *Turseha(m)* on the ground that Hoveden has, in other names, many superfluous *h*'s. It is creditable to point out this circumstance too, although I wish the matter could be more systematically looked into. Might not, for instance, some of the English names which the Chronicler provides with a seemingly gratuitous *H-*, be reactions against incipient *h*-dropping?

Even if the *h* in *Turseham* could be proved to be graphic only,[1] this should not cause any great surprise, seeing that *e.g.* the ON place-name termination *-heimr* was in the late Middle Ages reduced to *-eimr*,[2] just as OE *-hám* still earlier became *-ám*.[3] The fact is that the ON base-form in *-haugr*, which I advocate, is bound up with the diphthong manifested in the Latin forms, quite as much as with their more or less unstable *h*. There is *au* in *Turishau* and **Thorsau* (the latter for the original's *Thorsan*, by an emendation of mine which Dr. Nicolaisen accepts). It can hardly be a wild proposition to bring the third Latin witness, *Turseham*, into line with the former two, by considering *-m* as a mistake for *-u*.[4] The result will be **Tursehau*, whose resemblance to *Turishau* is striking enough.

I fail to see how the Latin evidence can support ON *ǫ́, á* 'river' as second element in our place-name. If, for example, the final vowel of '*Turseha*' be resorted to as a possibly long *a*, this is delusive proof, for the Norse river-term, whether denoted by *á* or by *ǫ́*, was pronounced with the labialised vowel.[5] The coalescence of *á* with *ǫ́* about 1200 entailed the use of *á* as a common symbol for the two originally different sounds, whence spelling like *skál* 'bowl' for older *skǫl*, etc. Since *á* ('river') represents a secondary and not very informing notation, I prefer giving the word as *ǫ́* in keeping with early Old Norse. My spelling therefore does not imply that the rounding took place in Caithness, as presumed in Nicolaisen's Note 4.

Dr Nicolaisen is 'inclined to think that, because of Ptolemy's *Tarvedu(nu)m*<Early Celtic **Tarvo-dûnon* "bullfort" for one of the headlands near *Thurso*,[6] the original river-name was **þjórsá* "bull's river".' To account for 'the original river-name' he starts from a Celtic **Tarvo-dubron* 'bull's water' (or simply *Tarvos* 'bull') which was, in his opinion, translated into ON **þjórsá*, the Norse name being, 'before saga-times', re-interpreted as *þórsá* 'Thor's river'.

The present writer finds it hard to believe in this hypothetical process of translation and re-interpretation. Besides, the theory that *Tarvedu(nu)m* designated a headland near Thurso is highly questionable. In Captain F. L. Thomas's construction of Ptolemy's map,[7] *Tarvedum* is assumed to be Cape Wrath.

As appears from my Viking Congress lecture, I have no scruple, on the strength of *Skinnet* in its early forms, in establishing *Skínandi* as the ancient Norse name of Thurso River. I see no reason why that name should not have applied to the river at large—also to the Halkirk-Thurso stretch, where its flow may well be called 'shining'. In Norway

there are, according to O. Rygh's *Norske Elvenavne*, a dozen river-names with the present participle termination *-andi, -ande* (including *Skínandi*), each occurring, in the majority of cases, in more than one locality. The signification of such names depends, as we expect, wholly on that of the verbal stem. To illustrate this, reference may be made to the opposite names of two confluent rivers in eastern Norway: *Hyggjande* 'the circumspect, calm one' and *Verpande* 'the throwing, gushing one' (Rygh, *op. cit.* pp. 112 and 295, respectively).

NOTES

1 *Cf.* its notorious absence in the second syllable of *Thorsan*/*Thorsan. As for *Turishan*, Dr Nicolaisen does not controvert its *h*.

2 *Norske Gaardnavne, Indledning:* 54.

3 Example *Cloppam* (1060 A.D.), *i.e. Clapham* in Bedfordshire (quoted from Ekwall's *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*).

4 The scribe may have been influenced unawares by the ending *-am* in two immediately preceding names, *Moreviam* and *Cathaniam* (both obvious Latin accusatives).

5 The primary ON form of the river-term was actually *ó*, while *ǿ* is due to analogy (see A. Noreen, *Altisl. u. altnorw. Gram.*, 4th edn., § 77).

6 Alex. MacBain identified the headland with either Holborn Head or Dunnet Head, while W. J. Watson preferred the latter (*cf.* his *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*: 36).

7 See the Royal Scottish Geographical Society's *Early Maps of Scotland*, 2nd edn. (1936), opp. p. 17.

A Scheme for the Systematic Collection of Place-Name Material in the Hebrides

I. A. FRASER

Recording of place-name material on tape has been undertaken by the Place-Name Survey of the School of Scottish Studies since 1960, and spasmodically by other field workers in the School since 1958, but at no time has there been an attempt to carry out a systematic survey of names from oral tradition. Recordings were made as the need and opportunity arose, and a vast amount of work was done by Dr Nicolaisen in recording material in areas where Gaelic was fast dying, or almost extinct, *e.g.* Perthshire, Arran, and Inverness-shire east of the Great Glen.

When I joined the Place-Name Survey in 1965, it was my responsibility to undertake field work in the true Gaelic-speaking areas. Obviously there was scope here for work of a more systematic nature, especially in areas where Gaelic was still widely spoken.

Lewis seemed the most suitable area to start such a systematic survey, especially as we had many contacts there. The first recordings of place-name material in Lewis were made in June 1966, with the aid of Mr Norman MacLeod, schoolteacher in Lionel,

Ness. Using six-inch Ordnance Survey maps sent to him by Dr Nicolaisen, Mr MacLeod had visited over a dozen informants, and, township by township, had built up a coverage of the place-names of Ness and Point. It remained for Dr Nicolaisen and myself to contact these informants, and record the pronunciations of the names on tape. This particular piece of work had been slowly built up by Mr MacLeod over many months, but the system had its merits in that it allowed the informant to examine the map at his leisure and thus to produce a list of unmapped names which would be fuller and more accurate than if he had been visited and interviewed in one evening by a field worker. The informant could consult knowledgeable friends and neighbours, and gather together much more local information if he had the map in his possession over a period of weeks or months.

Consequently, more maps were distributed, giving full coverage of Lewis and Harris; this involved about fifty six-inch sheets in all. It was thought that the schools, especially Junior Secondary schools, should be able to play a big part in the work. Teachers in those schools which were approached greeted the project with enthusiasm, and some nine schools in Lewis and Harris accepted maps, covering their respective areas. In a few cases teachers undertook the work privately; in others, like Back, Leurbost, Tarbert and Leverburgh schools, senior pupils were asked to act as contributors. Here, each pupil is responsible for collecting place-name material from his own particular township, and acting as a field-worker in his or her own right. In this way, the pupils acquire an interest in the place-name tradition of their native community, which they might otherwise not have received.

Private individuals were approached as well, after careful enquiry beforehand. All of those asked to assist were most co-operative, and Lewis place-names are being collected at present by over a dozen such individuals.

To take full advantage of this system, and to speed it up as much as possible, it is necessary to keep in constant communication with those in the field. During my second trip to Lewis, in September 1966, I visited several informants who had accepted maps in June, and who had not completed their maps and lists. Progress was inspected and any problems were discussed, and although some visits consisted of a few minutes' conversation in a hay-field or in a loom-shed, I thought it worth-while to show interest in the progress made by informants since the work involves many hours of their time. Personal contact in a systematic survey of this nature is vital, since it tends to reduce the time taken to complete a piece of work. Short, frequent, field-trips are therefore more desirable than occasional long ones, and in the long run are more likely to pay the best dividends.

Thus, a close watch is kept over the field, and it is possible to distribute maps systematically for a very large area in a fairly short time. (This was done for most of Lewis and the whole of Harris in less than a fortnight.) If contact is made and maintained by personal means the end product, in the form of recorded material, should be comprehensive and accurate, although it might take many months before all the material is collected and recorded.

I propose soon to extend this system to two other areas—Skye and Ardnamurchan. If results in Lewis and Harris are encouraging, there is no reason why this system should not be used in other parts of the Gaelic-speaking areas.

Whale Bone Artifacts and Some Recent Finds in Berneray, Harris

I. A. CRAWFORD

Recent ploughing (1964) in the area of Borve, Berneray (Harris) has resulted in certain artifacts being collected as surface finds. The objects were five in number, of which only four are illustrated, and were found on the site of the baile of Scalabrig which was cleared in 1853 according to local informants. Other bailtean like Sheabie (*Siabaidh*) are thought to have been cleared at this time. (See *Post Medieval Archaeology* I 1967 forthcoming.) Further details obtained locally indicated that seven houses were on the site at the time of clearance—and that subsequently the walls were removed. Probably then the objects derive from floor or midden levels associated with these buildings.

Inventory of Objects found at Scalabrig site (NGR: NF/909.817) (Plate I)

o. A large whale vertebra 1 ft. × 1½ ft. diameter which has been deeply scooped to form a massive bowl. This may well have been a barley humbler or knocking 'stone'. (Comparable objects N.M.A. GNA 234 and 235, were recovered at Foshigarry.) This was not available for illustration.

1. (Plate I.) A heavy whale bone blade or sock of 'hoof-shaped' profile, up to 3 in. in cross-section, 9 in. long and 5 in. broad, it is dressed to a fine edge at one end and has deep V incisions at the opposed end. The trimmed edge is highly polished and occasionally deeply scored and gives an appearance of much usage. As the illustrations show this blade has an asymmetric sheer. This sheer resembles the characteristic wear which occurs on iron digging and delving spades (Fenton 1962–3). The V incisions may well indicate hafting by lashing but there are no obvious signs of rub marks indicative of the lashing itself across the face of the blade (nor are there on the comparable material). Blades of split whale bone, when thick enough to incorporate the cancellous tissue, have, by virtue of this depth of cut, two faces: a smooth original bone exterior (in this case probably the upper face when hafted) and a cellular, fibrous, interior—probably the lower face in this case. The latter face has been so polished by friction as to have a fine hard shine almost obliterating the cellular quality of the material.

I consider this may very well have been the blade of a digging or delving spade (a plough sock is also a distinct possibility). Thick and durable, it might not have been sharp enough to cut thick turf or to cope with stony ground, but on light machair soil
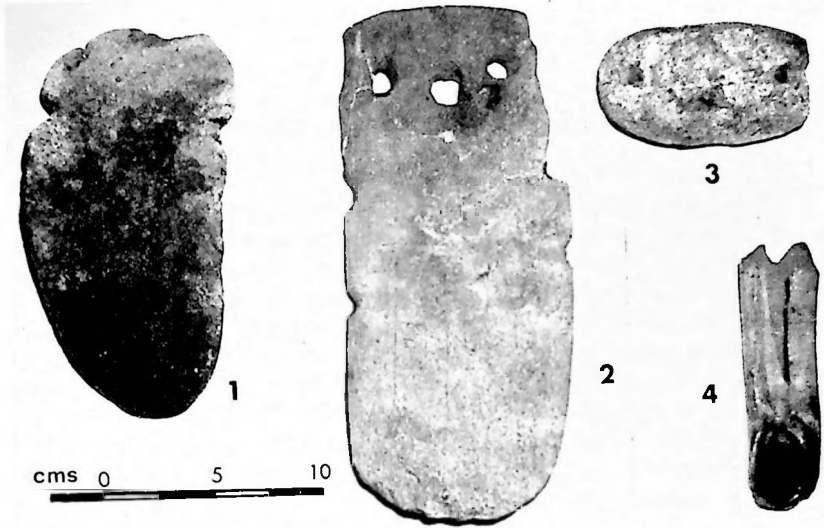
Plate I Four whalebone artifacts (see pages 88 and 89)
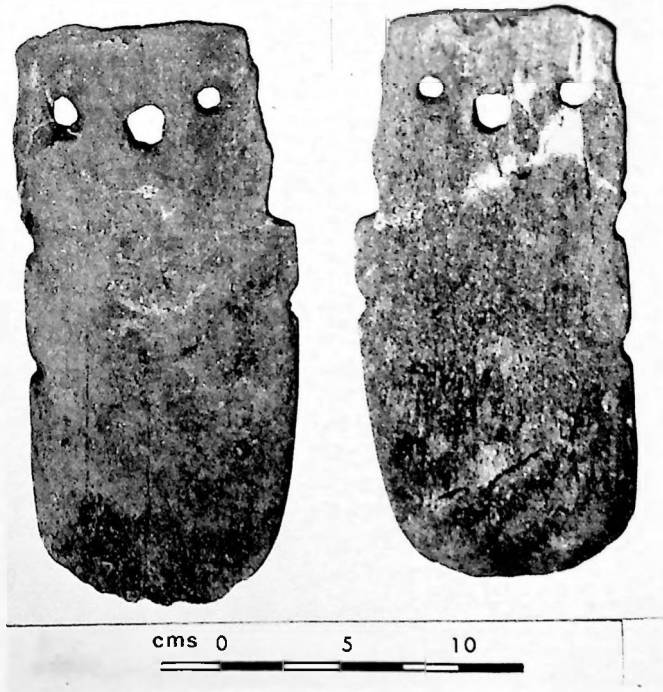
Plate II Whalebone artifact No. 2 (see page 89)

or indeed on peat it could keep ground in cultivation, and after all, given the raw materials, it would be very easily replaced. The asymmetric wear does strongly suggest the turning-over of ground.

There are many close parallels from Foshigarry (Beveridge 1930-1 and Callander 1930-1) especially N.M.A. GNA 207.

2. (Plate II.) A long (11 in.) spatulate blade 6 in. wide of whale bone, much less robust than No. 1 being only $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in cross section. There is slight trimming at one end, slight polishing and scoring on the 'interior' surface and there are two pairs of V notches (not in one case directly opposed) at the mid point of the blade with three large perforations (each 1 in. in diameter) at the opposed end to the trimming. Again this seems to have been a hafted blade and to have been lashed to the haft—but additionally to have been pegged in place as well. This would certainly not have been a plough sock and is unlikely to have been a spade blade: on the grounds of durability and strength it is too delicate an object. An almost identical object was retrieved from the Broch of Burrian—purpose unknown (N.M.A. GB 254); a similar object, termed a scoop, was found in Iron Age levels at Jarlshof (Hamilton 1956: Fig. 27 No. 6). I cannot state a function for this type of object although the possibility of its use as an oar-blade occurs to me, bearing in mind timber shortage in the Outer Hebrides.

3. (Plate I.) An oval lump of steatite with a bi-perforated hole at opposite ends. Very probably a sole weight on a net or possibly a loom weight or tether weight (identical objects occur at Jarlshof (Hamilton 1956: Plate XXXVII Nos 3 and 4)).

4. (Plate I.) Portion of a long bone (species unidentified) highly polished by friction. This appears to have been the middle unit of a tripartite implement with a head fitting in the narrow end and a shaft (presumably wooden) inserted in the open slot at the opposed end. (A. Fenton has however suggested in conversation that this could be a polisher for leather harness.) This object is split longitudinally and shows signs of binding or lashing.

Objects 3 and 4 are not relevant to this discussion but are included as they were found with the others. They will not be discussed further.

The intention in publishing these items is primarily to record their existence (they have been retained in Bernera), but also to discuss very briefly the possibility that they may indicate the survival of some aspects of early technology into the pre-clearance phase in the Outer Hebrides. In this connection it is items 0, 1 and 2 which are of particular interest, as they indicate the continuing intensive use of whale bone. The stranding of whales whether by accident or design has been a common feature of North-West Atlantic societies until the present day. The phenomenon exists yet in Faroe, did so until recently in Shetland, and there are Hebridean references and illustrations (Daniel 1818). Sites like Foshigarry, N. Uist (Beveridge 1930-1) show use of cetacean bone covering a wide range of objects, and recent finds (unpublished) excavated from

seventeenth-century levels at Udal, N. Uist, show similar if less intensive usage. Given availability of material of course there is no reason why whale bone should not persist in use until the mass production, distribution and cheapness of metal work rendered it obsolescent, and this would not be so in the Outer Hebrides until the nineteenth century.

The whole question of the use and significance of whale bone artifacts requires more detailed treatment than is intended here and this must be attempted at some later date. I should likes however, to make one or two points at this stage. Firstly it is conceivable that in whale bone blades we may have a more or less accurate presentation, in more durable form, of iron blades (and possibly, plough socks) which are themselves rarely found now owing to corrosion. This is particularly important in the case of Foshigarry where a really considerable range of material exists. Beveridge (1930: 303) writes that perhaps the outstanding feature of the site is the abundance of worked cetacean bone 'more than forty specimens of flat or slightly curved slabs usually measuring when complete about 8 in. or 9 in. in length by 3 in. width by $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness with the peculiar characteristic that each bears four or occasionally six V-shaped incisions in its sides symmetrically arranged at both edges in precisely opposite pairs'.

Beveridge sees these as 'almost obviously' weapons or clubs and perhaps axes—these ideas seem highly unlikely guesses. Callandar (1930–1:351) is on better ground when he describes the objects as blades, although some are massive enough to be termed socklike, and he also points to the relatively few parallels at the Broch of Burrian and Howmae, North Ronaldsay, and Saverock, Kirkwall (Callandar 1930–1:352) especially No. 10, Fig. 12 in the site report.

There are some indications then of a more versatile whale bone technology than has been envisaged, of the interesting possibility that we may have bone skeuomorphs, giving some indication of vanished iron objects, and finally of possible continuity in use and form from the Iron Age to pre-clearance phase. A note of caution should be sounded on the last consideration, archaeological dating on the Scottish West Coast being still highly imprecise: the Scalabrig material could have been ploughed up from a level (or levels) underlying the pre-clearance baile. In a sense this is the situation at Foshigarry where an extensive pre-clearance baile (Crawford 1965:55) overlies (actually by some 15 ft. according to Beveridge) the presumed Iron Age site with its wealth of whale bone. Artifacts at Udal (see above) are fairly securely dated to the seventeenth century A.D.

Further consideration of these objects must await the excavation of more comparable material from well dated contexts.

I am indebted to my friend, Mr Ian Fergusson of Borve, Berneray (Harris), for taking considerable trouble to show me these objects and their provenance in Berneray.

NOTE

Plates I and II are reproduced from the School of Scottish Studies Photographic Archives B V 3a 1 6837 and 6838.

REFERENCES

BEVERIDGE, E.

1930–1 'Excavations of an Earth House at Foshigarry' etc. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 65:303–22.

'Earth Houses at Garry Iochdrach and Bac Mhic Connain in North Uist.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 66:32–66, and Fig. 12, No. 10.

CALLANDER, J. G.

1930–31 'Excavation of an Earth House at Foshigarry . . . with Notes on the structures and the relics. . . .' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 65: 322–57.

CRAWFORD, I. A.

1965 'Contributions to a History of Domestic Settlement in North Uist.' *Scottish Studies* 9: 34–63 and Fig. 1.

DANIELL, W.

1818 *A Voyage round Great Britain, III.* Plate opp. p. 78. London.

FENTON, A.

1962–3 'Early and Traditional Cultivation Implements in Scotland.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 96:269–76 and Fig. 14.

HAMILTON, J. R. C.

1956 *Excavations at Jarlshof, Shetland.* Edinburgh.

N.M.A.

National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

Shielings of the Drumochter

VICTOR GAFFNEY

Though the Drumochter was a grazing area, the shielings[1] proper of the Badenoch and Atholl people stopped short of the summit where the Forest of Drumochter and Forest of Glengarry (or 'West Forest of Athole') marched. These 'forests' were hunting country of the Dukes of Gordon and Atholl respectively but those who were given commissions as forester (*e.g.* the Macphersons of Breakachy to the north and the Robertsons of Auchleeks and Blairfettie in Atholl) generally enjoyed some rights of pasturage for their cattle. In practice there was a good deal of encroaching on the forest ground by the foresters' own subtenants and others. There were penalties for trespass but these did not deter Badenoch people shieling in glens to the east from allowing their cattle to cross the Truim to the forest ground. Herds generally let their cattle go as far as would allow them to return 'in due milking time'. If the forester appeared, however, they were 'all in a surprise and a hurry'![2]

The most coveted side glens were Coire Dhomhain and Coire Chaoruinn. These are now on the Atholl side of the county march but in the eighteenth century they were used indiscriminately by Badenoch and Atholl people based on shiels some distance away, and by drovers. This was in fact 'controverted' or disputed ground, the Badenoch people claiming as far south as Craig nan Ubhal or even Dalnaspidal (once a shieling
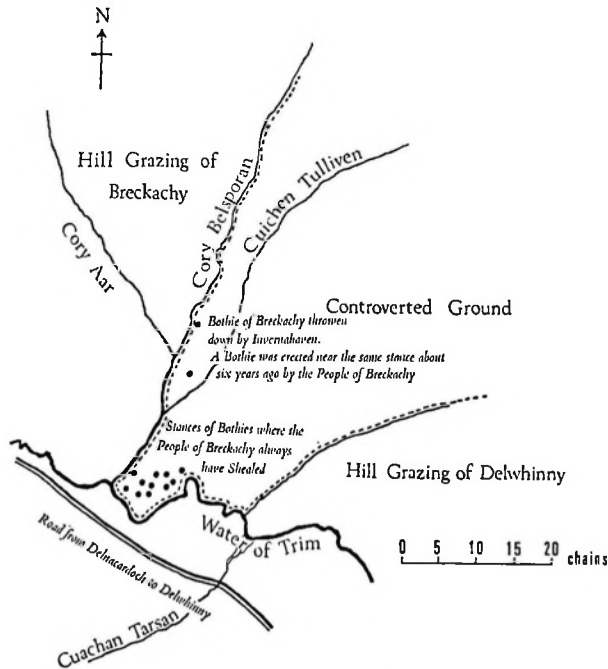
Plan showing contraverted pasture between the grazings of Breakachy and of Dalwhinny. Redrawn from G.D. 44/48/33.

of Auchleeks) while Atholl folk maintained that the hummocks or 'shians' in the boggy ground below An Torc (The Boar of Badenoch) were the 'Craggananual' traditionally associated with the march. Cattle frequently strayed—'in starts' as the herds said—on to the wrong ground, Atholl beasts sometimes wandering as far as the north end of Loch Ericht and Badenoch animals as far south as Dalnaspidal.

Various perambulations of the marches and attempts at a proof took place; depositions of witnesses survive from the years 1729, 1730, 1731, 1735 and 1767. In 1767 the process was brought at the instance of the advocate for the Crown, the Lochgarry estate being then in the hands of the Barons of Exchequer as a result of the forfeiture of Donald Macdonell for his part in the '45. Despite the mass of evidence then gathered no settlement was reached. In 1797 the dispute was put in the hands of two arbiters. They disagreed, however, and in 1819 it was submitted to a single arbiter, Henry Cockburn (later Lord Cockburn).

Donald Macdonell's connection with the district probably helped to confuse the issue still further because he was for a time in possession of the territory on each side (i.e. north and south) of the Drumochter. As factor for the Duke of Gordon in Badenoch

Duke of Gordon's Lands

Duke of Gordon's Lands in Badenoch

N

No. 71 from Stirling

Here the Water runs Northward to Spey

Great Depression

Summit

Macronich hill

Summit

Benulaman

Cuimbhikillonabhi being the Cairn where The three Hunters meet

Cory Gein

Cory Craigch of Maimbam

Freuch Cory

Turk Hill

Crakannoul

Cortleberg hill

Cory huing Burn

Cory Huira

Craigfluin

Melvilliz hill

Wignough more

Duke of Atholl Lands in Atholl

Wignough brg

Glasvilmore

Glassilberg Top

BANEMORE

Freuch Cory

Burn of Cory Gein

This Hope is well sheltered and makes a fine sheep walk

Stealing, about which the Tenants of Dalnacardoch Graze their Cattle

Melnachaugh Doichea

Mellandorchon or Dun Dogs hill

Line blamed at as much by The Duke of Gordon

The Heath on this Hope is intermixed with Good Grass and is well sheltered from the Northerly winds

GELIHURN

Cory Lurtnic

Cory Lurtnic Burn

MELNABOVIE

Ridge of the Hill

Cory Lurtnic

LANDS of GLASHE and GHOREA

Sir Robert Menzies Proprietor

Glashe

Deep Slack

Cory Evan

LANDS of ALTESAN Sr Robt Menzies Proprietor

Shallon Water

Burn of Altesan

Alttanysnard

KERCHALL of the GIRTH of the LOCH

Part of the STRLAN ESTATE called Altnaphadan

LOCH GARY

Meadow

Dalenapuile

Dualg Water

Gary Water

The Heath on this side the Water of Duals afford plenty of Heath intermixed with Grass, especially along the course of the Burns; But the Summits in general yield Poor Pasture; being of a Mossie bottom, and naturally Cold and Steril

Military road to Fort Augustus

No. 70

No. 59

No. 65 from Stirling

Cory Markshee

Cory make Shee Burn

Alttanghmore burn

Duke of Atholl's Lands

Plan of the high hill grazings of Loch Garry in Atholl, after a survey by William Tennoch c. 1790. Redrawn from R.H.P. 60.

40 Chins
30
20
10
5 0

24 feet to an inch

▲ A Mile stone
● Shieling

G

and Lochaber and son-in-law of Gordon of Glenbucket, the Duke's commissioner in Badenoch, he no doubt found it easy to come into possession of the Drumochter grazings some years prior to the '45. He was also a vassal of the Duke of Atholl. In 1738 he was granted a feu of the Lochgarry grazings by James, Duke of Atholl, and he thereupon took the designation 'of Lochgarry'. He was also in possession of Cullachie at the Fort Augustus end of the Corrieyairack Pass, wadset to him by his cousin, John Macdonell of Glengarry (the Inverness-shire glen).

Donald Macdonell was a useful man to have on the Atholl-Badenoch bounds. He had joined the Highland Regiment or Watch in 1742 and was successful in hampering the activities of the reivers who used the pass as a corridor for booty.

The forfeited estate was in 1784 returned to his son, Colonel John Macdonell, who had seen service in Canada as major in Fraser's Highlanders and became colonel of the 76th Regiment.

The drovers mentioned are two Macintoshes, both Duncan, one of Essie and the other from about Inverness. They were met by the Duke of Atholl's ground officer and shown the 'glens' where they were to pasture their cattle: Coire Dhomhain, Coire Mhic-sith, Coire Luidhearnaidh and Coire Chaoruinn. For each they paid £5 sterling. The cattle went straight from there to the trysts. MacLeod of Ose was another drover who was placed in Coire Dhomhain, but by Macpherson of Ralia. Yet another was Alexander Cumming of Coire, south of Loch Rannoch and on the Struan estate, who was not popular with the Drimchastle tenants who found his cattle too close to their ancient shielings of Allt Easan and An Cearcall.

At least two old plans exist of this piece of territory: John Lesslie's (1767) and another by Alexander Taylor (1770). Each gives some indication of the sites of shieling bothies. Macpherson of Ralia stated in 1797 that in 1773 he had demolished bothies built by Atholl people 'on the Duack side' (Allt Dubhaig). Traces of these and other bothies are unlikely to have been obliterated unless the sites were taken over for modern cottages, as seems to have happened at Cockburn Cottages on the Badenoch side of the summit. Some bothy remains may well be close to the modern highway and others near the old military road. Four shiels at the Allt Fuar Mhonadh were on ground which is now between the two roads.

Places of Shielings

Places are given in north to south order; positioning to right or left of the page indicates whether they lie east or west of the pass. (Variants of the place names, as they appear in eighteenth-century documents, are given in brackets after the Ordnance Survey version.)

ALLT COIRE UILLEIM (Shieling of Ault William). 'East of the military road from Dalwhinnie to Dalnacardoch and nine or ten miles from Uvie to which it belongs' (CR8/194).

ALLT COIRE NAN CISTEACHAN
(Aldnakistichan). Macpherson of Uvie
shieled here before going to shiel at Gerary.
   Noted (CR8/194) as shieling of Crubenmore.

DAIL A' CHAIRN (O.S. 6 in.) (Dellichurn).
Breakachy tenants used this pasture. Grazing
extended into the hill above it. Given
(CR8/192 and 194) as a shieling of
Pressmuckrach 'lying in Forrest of Drumchter
along east side of Great Highland Road
and seven miles south'.

ALLT BEUL AN SPORAIN (Beallsporran
Altvealsporain, Aldsporran, Coirbialsporran).
Shieling of Breakachy and Corachy 'lying
in Drumachter on west side of Highland
Road and about nine miles south'. Atholl
people were known to come thus far with
their cattle at times (v. Plan No. 33, GD44,
Sec. 48).

'GERARY' (Ghiararie, Leikghairarie, Riadghiar
Arie). A shieling place of Breakachy; range
of Pasture to the top of Leachtgerarie, east to
Gearlecht to foot of Altdarie, east to
Altvealsporain. Leckghairarie was 'forest'
ground but Breakachy tenants shieled there
because Macpherson of Breakachy was
forester. Horses were often 'taken'
(trespassing) in Cory Machronich
(A'Mharconaich, N.G.R./NN 598764).

'STRATHDOWNAIG' (Pass of Drumochter).
Cf. O.S. Creagan Doire Dhonaich
('Craigdarichonie') This was part of the
normal range of pasture of the Gordon
tenants of Badenoch.

ALLT CREAGACH (Aultanchraggan,
Auldancraigiech, Altancraggach). Tenants of
'Prestmukcrach' (part of the tack of
Breakachy) shieled there but they often sent
their 'yeld' cattle to Corrydoan and
Corrychurn—also to Feaduaig (presumably
the source of the Allt Dubhaig).

Badenoch people, we are told, pastured their cattle 'on the brea face above the shieling of Corryduaig'.

Pitgowan Macphersons were often here in the early part of the season and later at Gerary.

AN TORC or BOAR OF BADENOCH (Torcht, (Turcht). 'Opposite to Altancraggach'; 'a mile south from Gerary'.

Tenants of Breakachy shieled at the foot of it; the 'Face of Torcht' was normal range of pasture for Breakachy and Pressmuchrach people.

The 'Shiel' was between the 'face of Torcht and the King's Road'.

John Macpherson of Invernahaven, when a boy of 12, spent a night in an empty shiel there with an uncle 'at the hunting'.

Gregor Macpherson in Corachie (part of Breakachy tack) shieled there for several years; 'a party of soldiers passing burnt the timber of his shiel house'. There were 3 or 4 more 'hutts' there.

The marshy ground below An Torc had in it 'small eminences' called 'shians' by the Badenoch people. Some Atholl people maintained these were Cragganannual and not the rocks on the Atholl side of the march which Badenoch people claimed as the march.

A'BHUIDHEANACH (Buinach, Buyannach). Both Badenoch and Atholl peoples shieled here. It was said to be in Auchlecks' tack of the Lochgarry grazings.

COIRE CHAORUINN (Aultachurn, Altchierin, Coiriechiern Corriechierin). Lochgarry cattle pastured here; Pressmukerach cattle too.

John Duff, Delnamien (Dail-na-mine, N.G.R./NN 75697) took possession of a hut built by the military when making the 'high road' and shieled here for a year or two until it was pulled down by Badenoch people.

Auchleeks tenants shieled at the 'Inver of Altchurn'. They had a bothy by the burn and Donald Robertson had one on the opposite side 'close by the burn'.

COIRE DHOMHAIN (Corrydoan, Corriedoinn). Sometimes 'near a thousand head of cattle' in it. For 15 to 20 days each year Alex Oig Roberston would have six or seven hundred cattle there. Pressmukerach cattle were frequently to be found there and Robertson of Flichity, who had a tack of Drumochter for 3 years, kept cattle there until they went to the fairs. Many cattle were lost over the rocks of Corriecraggach and Mackronach. Atholl herds, trying to establish a march there, were said to graze on the north side, without bothies, spending nights in the open. Tenants of Drimchastle shieled on south side, a little east of the Burn of Claisdourach ('Clashdourchoin'—the first tributary glen above main highway on south side of Coire Dhomhain). There were Atholl bothies at Clashindourechoin—'close to Mealdourchoin'.

BRUACH NAN IOMAIREAN (Bruichnanimirchin in Corriedoin, Bruchnahimrichin). Duncan Robertson of Auchleeks' great-grandfather, who had his shiel there, also had grazings at Edendon and Stranphatrick.

At 'the junction of Fraoch Coire and Coire Dhomhain ("Inverfruochcorry") John Roy McClieasch or McKeneth, bowman to Macpherson of Breakachy, Laggan, was known to have his bothy'; the 'laroch' of John Oig McAllum McGregor's bothie was also to be seen there.

CRAIG nan UBHAL (Cragganoule). 'A small rock in the hill face'; a march stone nearby had charcoal under it but the stone was 'pulled down at the making of the road'.

A 'chair stone' (Cragananeil) referred to. Donald Mcpherson in Cailley (1767) had been shown by a very old man, Donald

McGillivray, where Bacht McLealan had
sworn to the marches on his knees 'by a
stone having the form of a chair in it below
Craggananoule which stone was removed by
the military and still lyes at the side of the
road'.

ALLT DUBHAIG (Strathduaig, Breaduaig,
Corryduaig, Feaduaig). Badenoch people
sometime grazed their cattle on this side of the
Drumochter 'in the fore part of the year
before the Lochgarry people went to their
shiels'; there was no 'poindler' there to
interrupt them.

ALLT FUAR MHONADH (Auldfourvoine,
Altfuarvonnie). Many Atholl shiels there
before 1745. Among those who shieled there
were James Robertson in Dalreoch, James
McPhaderich in Braikrie, and Donald
McIntosh in Blairfettie. There are five bothies
between the Wade road and the modern
one.

ALLT RUIDH NAN SGOILEARAN
(Riinascolairin, Rii na siolairin). Angus
McDonald in Trinafour, Charles Robertson
in Tomcraigiech of Auchleeks and Duncan
Robertson Dow in Croftdow of Struan
were among those known to have shieled
there. The latter was on one occasion sent
from his shiel to invite Lochiel to a hunt
arranged by Lord George Murray. (Remains
of what look like circular shiels are on the
north side of the Burn.)

ALLT COIRE EASAN [S.W. Loch Garry]
'Auldessan'. Colonel Alex. Roberston of the
Dutch Service told of his father shieling there.

AN CEARCALL [N.E. Loch Garry].
Riidowchiarcle, 'The Ciarcill'. John Roy
Robertson was one who herded there—
Alex. Oig Robertson in Dalnacardoch's
cattle—until the end of June when Sir
Robert Menzies's people and the Atholl
people who shieled at Dalnaspidal arrived.
He then moved north to Coire Dhomhain.

ALLT COIRE LUIDHEARNAIDH
(Corryliurnie, Liurnie, Corryleirnie). Part
of the grazing of Lochgarry included in
Auchleeks' tack of the grazings.

ALLT COIRE MHIC-SITH (Corrymackshie).
Auchleeks and Blairfettie cattle grazed here
as well as at Cearcall, Luirnie, etc. (Several
clusters of bothy remains at N.G.R./NN
647737.)

DALNASPIDAL (Dalinspiddle, Dellspidell)
Badenoch cattle and horses often grazed as far
south as this, it was claimed.

Lord George Murray pitched his tent here
when he arranged a hunt for his friends in the
Drumochter.

NOTES

1 *Scottish Studies* has adopted this spelling without prejudice to the etymology.—EDITOR.
2 Unless otherwise stated, throughout this note information has been drawn from the depositions
in GD 44/27/13.

REFERENCES

Printed Source:

ATHOLL, JOHN MURRAY, DUKE OF
1908   *Chronicles of Atholl and Tullibardine*, 5 vols.

MSS Sources (in Scottish Record Office):

GD44   Gordon Castle Muniments.
                Forfeited Estates Papers, Lochgarry (Donald Macdonell) 1745.
CR8   Fochabers Estate Office Records.

Plans:

R.H.P.60   Register House Plan. 'Plan of the high hill grazings of Loch Gary in Athol, by
                Wm. Tennoch' [c. 1790].
R.H.P.2496   Register House Plan. 'Plan of contraverted ground in Drummuchter between the
                Duke of Gordon's estate of Badenoch, Sir Robert Menzies's estate of Rannoch
                and the annexed estate of Lochgarry, parishes of Laggan and Blair Athol' [by
                Alexr. Taylor, 1770].
GD44/27/13   Contains 'Copy, Eye Sketch of the Contraverted Marches betwixt the Annexed
                Estate of Lochgarry Perth Shire, & His Grace the Duke of Gordon's Estate of
                Badenoch in Inverness Shire, taken Sept. 3rd 1767 by John Lesslie'.
GD Sec. 48, Plan No. 33
                'Contraverted Pasture betwixt Grazing of Breakachy and that of Dalwhinny'.

Oran Mór Sgorbreac

JOHN MACINNES

These two melodic variants of *Oran Mór Sgorbreac* were recorded from the late Mrs Kate Beaton, Woodend, Portree, Skye, and from Mr John MacLean, Oban, a native of the island of Raasay. A text of the song with translation and commentary has already appeared in *Scottish Studies* 6:235. I am grateful to my colleagues Miss Morag MacLeod and Mr James Porter for transcribing the music.

John MacLean   SA 1953/43 A.4.

Mrs Kate Beaton   SA 1953/166

Shetland Weather Lore:
from the MSS of Laurence Williamson of Gardie (1855-1936)

PETER JAMIESON

Laurence Williamson of Gardie,[1] Mid Yell, Shetland, who was one of Dr Jakobsen's chief informants on Shetland dialect, place-names, and folk legends, mainly during the period 1893-1900, himself wrote down a great quantity of material he had learned in the course of his travels throughout Yell, Fetlar, Northmavine, and other districts. He also visited Scalloway and Lerwick a few times and paid his only visit to the Scottish mainland for about three or four months in 1895. He made use of whatever scrap of paper lay handy to jot down items while they were still fresh in his memory, and this explains the variety of rather unusual sheets on which his records have come down to us. The dates on the notes cover the period from 1868 (a poem), when he was 13 years old, to 1933 (an extract from the *Family Herald* of Toronto noting the death of one of the Gardners, probably a relative of his mother's). Much of what he recorded came from his mother, Mally Gardner, who is the 'MG' in the selection given below. The material, threatened with decay, was fortunately rescued by Mr Laurence G. Johnson, Setter, Mid Yell, an intimate friend of Laurence Williamson.

In this writer's transcriptions, the symbols used in Laurence Williamson's rather personal notation have been faithfully preserved. Some of the more unusual consonant symbols perhaps need explanation in terms of the International Phonetic Alphabet:

ṣ[ʃ], wᶜ[hw], ŋ[ŋ], ļ[tʃ], j[ndʒ], ṇ[ɲ], ḷ[ʎ].

In spite of the dialect pronunciation and vocabulary involved, translations into standard English have not been felt necessary. Items in square brackets in the text are editorial additions.

1893

April	In we dont he sheep, not one ta yarm, dats not da way wi da Refirt folk it hes a stok. R.P. Ap. 93
1 April	Hit wiz a *windy spit* standin up fre da sun when he set, in wᶜen he reis he wez is red is blüid. M.G. 12.0 p.m. 1 Ap 93
20 April	Is i dry midir. No, No, hes wer din i wis agin:his awfil blak ti da nordirt in wastirt—Hil maybe be a dirty day yet. Hil be a dirty day if i bloïs/,. L.W. & M.G.; 11.8 20 Ap, 93
22 April	His a gel o wind. He wis ṣeli-frost i da mornin:dats wᶜy his gom up se/ Da ground wis in a mer o wit dew/ Will, dats just ṣeli frost. MG & MW 11 am., 22 Ap 93. S. fresh, breezy.

13 May	W^cats du opnin da windu for:Im opnin im ta hear if da levrik is singin. 'Whits ta hinder dim nu it is haf *owerliyt*. De sing at 12 oclock.' De first sing ta da dim in dan de sing ta da rev. MG., & LW. 1.10 am 13 May 93 fine ng.

20 May   I didna expect it wid ever peep ut o da ert w^cen it wis . . . /Ah?/. I didna expect it de wid be a briar-pukl w^cen it wis sawn:hit wis s'aln extri tik. MG., 20 My 93.

28 May   Foal. Andrew's in is skunjin da sem. Se dat . . . se dat. Wit in dry is a da sam ti him ('I wis i may na run imsel itil a hol'). He's suirly takin exerces da niyt.—Hits a complete sport. (Foal running . . . MG., 28 My 93, 7.20 Pm. bleak N. beyntir)

28 June   I tawt he wez gain ta dry up/ Du needna a tawt dat. When he wez sakit him ta sul a pil in so sifted da árt, hit wcz herly lekli. MG., 11.15 am, 28 Ju 93.

2 August   Dir no hed a wit kliv—da gets. MG., 8 10 p.m. 2 Au 93
Is leŋ is he h'eŋs dis way his nedr wil ir il. M.G. 8.40 p.m. 2 Au 93.

4 August   His no more lek drying din da monint i i began. I kent da streen bi da fleyt it wis on da sky in da appearins o im it i denoted no good. M.G., 9.20 am. 4 Au 93.

13 August   Da wind is geen ta da SW.,:dats no gud sign—Hill cdir blo iin af ir rein im af, dats a sure thing. MG., 10.20 p.m., 13 Aug 93.

18 August   Hi wiz a lip o het da niyt, in yon *órm* otras it wis ut, it wez fearfil. M.G., 18 Au 93.

19 August   Hes no se mukl wind at onyrate:he wez a gelder o wind after du gud. M.G., 0.15 a.m., 19 Au 93.

20 August   Da sea is in a hurl far meir den da wind is bin. Hits up in a *agitation* more. M.G., 6.30 p.m., 20 Au 93

21 August   Da baas is bin gain da sam is de wir yesterday. De wir gain. is. tho de wir no wind, de wir in a agitation. MG., 7.40, 21 Aug 93
His no time haulin im up—no time i' da world:his a swip o terror upo da sky. MG., 7.50? 21 Au 93 (go for geese).
His a perfit storm:his very wild lukin agin (At west corner, returning) Ib, 8.5.

30 August   His a terrible sela. His a hurl i da sea ta da est/ His tiknd up da sky, wez i tiknd up da sky whan du kam in. His tiknd up da sky at wans. (Da wind'l be gain dere.)
I see Bina Pole serin i da head o ir et rig/ Did du no hear me sayin it su wez serin w^can I kam him fre da hil. L.W., & M.G., 3.37 p.m., 30 Au 93

1 September   Hits bin twa b̲eutifil days/ Da wind at da Nort in munlyt de say hits odius gud for metin da corn. Da nort wind lays da beards o da corn ta da sun—in dry. MG., 1 Sp., 93

2 September   Hits no up inondir a lee shore at de he ta ging:nothin bit *ocean-bed*. MG., 5.15 pm., 2 Sp. 93

4 September   Just finished flitting the peats 64 geng × 3horses[?]:192 plus 114:306 lead. Fine day. Wind south west, sunshine, folk shearing. 2.12 p.m., 4 Sep., 1893.

5 September   Hil waken ut o dis fog:de kin l̲uk for it. M.G., 6.30 p.m., 5 Sp., 93.

19 September   Yon shild is *n̲evlin* away at da idir in ... Dis is der game-time-o night. Elfin is up helpin dem:he held a niyt wi dim da streen. MG., 10.15 p.m., 19 Sp. 93.

20 September   Da sky in da nort in nort-est is da sam is hed bin sna in winter—he may s̲un be. great-white—kluds bigid da ten ut ower da tidir. He wis dry wᶜan I wis up atwin 4 in 5 oclock. Da starns wis ut—very dim ta da suth. De wir ut clear i da nort, da streen—whan we gud ta bed. MG., bk., 10.30 20 Sp 93.

10 December   Da wind is due suth. Der ne carry on da sky. Da frost is lyin ta da leewird o da deks in ta da leeward o da braes.... Dus du no see i da shimly wᶜair da wind is no standin on. MG., 1.20 p.m. 10 D 93.

12 December   Hil no be laŋ dry:hes filin up da lee sky:hill be a val̲insi agin. M.G. 0.50 p.m. 12 D 93 (SSE out of frost. Fetlar boat lifting [lying?] at Busta Wg & M)

13 December   His ne siyn o dryin/ As for drying wᶜan hes lowsn fre da N in NE ut o frost. MG. 8.0 pm., 13 D 93.

NOTE

1   In 1962, *Scottish Studies* published an article (6:49-59) by Mr L. G. Johnson of Setter, Mid Yell, on the eminent Shetland folklorist Laurence Williamson. The peculiar working methods Williamson employed were described fully in that article and are only briefly touched upon in the introduction to this selection by Mr Jamieson from Laurence Williamson's manuscripts, here published with Mr L. G. Johnson's kind permission. The items selected all have some bearing on Shetland weather lore, and have been arranged in chronological order. The period covered is April to December 1893. EDITOR.

Book Reviews

As her central theme, Miss MacNeill takes an Irish calendar feast, the Festival of Lughnasa, which had its origins in ancient Irish mythology and its final phases in the present day. It has been associated with Christianity and given such names as Garland Sunday, Lammas Sunday and Domhnach Chrom Dubh, but the fundamental pagan origins of these are always demonstrable. In some instances the link with the pre-Christian past has gone, and we are shown the last stages of the old celebration. Only a skilled scholar can trace the steps which lead from the vestigial festival to the pagan gathering. In other cases the relationship between the two has been of a more durable kind and Miss MacNeill is able to bring to our notice survival of tradition and practice which is truly remarkable. She makes her basic study that of the popular festival as celebrated in Ireland during the last two hundred years. Her work is based largely on the oral tradition which has been to a great extent preserved by the questionnaire method of collection. She claims that the festival can be shown to be a survival of Lughnasa, the Irish feast connected with the Celtic god Lugh, known from the Continent and from Ireland. The feast day was 1 August, and it was associated with the beginning of harvest —in fact an ancient harvest festival. She presents her evidence in a calm and objective fashion, and the reader feels its weight steadily building up as the final picture takes shape and coherent form. Although one may not always be in whole-hearted agreement with Miss MacNeill in respect to her interpretations of certain aspects of the material, this is inevitable in dealing with evidence which is capable of a variety of different approaches. But one is constantly re-assured by the fact that her methods are valid and her approach always highly objective and scholarly.

The Lughnasa festival consisted of an assembly of the people of a locality at a traditional site, and this was always a natural feature of some prominence, or having some significant legend associated with it. Of great interest to folklorists is the large body of wider custom and belief which has attached itself to the focal point of the actual festival. Of especial interest is the fact that as the tradition grows weaker in certain districts, the dates vary. Miss MacNeill remarks 'A few straggling bands of children going to the hills on July Sundays to pick bilberries represent a dying phase of an immemorial custom'. And how familiar is this picture to all who attempt to record the last stages of folk traditions and gatherings!

Miss MacNeill's study is presented in a lively and interesting manner, and although

it relies on many examples from the folklore archives of Ireland, it is never tedious to read. The appendices are most useful, as is the map of sacred and traditional sites at the end of the book. This is a work which both inspires and causes a feeling of despair. It inspires because of what it sets out to achieve and its success, and because it is based on fine scholarship stemming from a splendid scholarly background; and because it uses to such effect the magnificent archive of the Irish Folklore Commission. It also causes despondency on account of what it achieves. It demonstrates all too clearly that only by such single-minded, intensive studies and objective research into what is on the face of it a very small aspect of Celtic folk tradition—but what in fact turns out to be the focus of a vast repertoire of tradition of all kinds—can we ever really advance in our understanding of the relationship between the early mythology and the folk survivals. Only by such means can we hope to recognise things which lurk hidden under different names, or are disguised by unfamiliar dates—and the combination of such factors is rare. We need many more excellent studies of the kind Miss MacNeill has produced in order to make real progress towards gaining a picture of the nature of the survival of pagan beliefs and their role in the popular life of the Celtic peoples.

ANNE ROSS

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

But for the efforts of Dr J. L. Campbell, the editor of this book, the chances are that Fr Allan McDonald would hardly be known now outside the southern Outer Hebrides except as one of many contributors to 'Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig' and an assistant of Mrs Kennedy-Fraser. Dr Campbell, however, has kept Fr Allan before our notice by publishing extracts from his work from time to time in various places. The publication of odd poems and pieces of prose in various magazines did not really do sufficient justice to him and it was with 'Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist and Eriskay' that Fr Allan was first shown to be the real authority that he was claimed to be. We should, therefore, be extremely grateful to Mr Campbell for gathering into one book Fr Allan's poems which not only fill a gap on the Gaelic bookshelf but establish on a sure footing his position as a poet of worth and a man of letters in Gaelic who may rank among the best.

The book is primarily for the Gaelic reader although there are précis in English of all the poems and translations of six. It is a commonplace to say of Gaelic poets that the original can never be given a good rendering in English but this is undoubtedly true of Fr Allan's poetry, not only on account of his extensive vocabulary of Uist words and command of idiom, but also on account of his own unique control of the language. Such lines as

H-uile h-imeachd ni a 'ghrian
Ceum 'na thionnal
Sin aig grinneig
Air an t-slighe am bheil a miann

would be extremely difficult to put gracefully into English. It may be almost a cliché
to say 'Tha biadh 's ceòl an so' but it is nevertheless true and a reading of these poems
leaves one full of admiration for Fr Allan's language and also enriches one's own under-
standing considerably. As Mgr Canon MacKintosh said in his obituary, Fr Allan
'spoke and wrote it [Gaelic] with a fluency and purity that few have equalled' and a close
examination of the text demonstrates that this is not empty flattery.

The editor did well to introduce Fr Allan with this obituary for it gives an account of
the poet's life and character briefly but efficiently. It builds for us a picture of a man of
single-mindedness and strength of character, handsome (as his picture shows) and a
great admirer of virtue. He spared no efforts in the service of his Church and his parish,
so it is small wonder that in Eriskay his name is still mentioned with affection and a
respect approaching awe.

'Tha biadh 's ceòl an so.' The poetry is about a variety of subjects connected with
island life and except for those plays in verse depicting comic situations it nearly always
has great beauty. The book cover describes Fr Allan as 'a poet of sensitivity and charm'
and most of his poems reveal him to be so, some more so than others. His poetry reveals
also great depth of feeling and gentleness, especially his religious poetry. His 'Rannan
do'n Chuilein' shows his love for his dog in affectionate but not sentimental terms,
illustrative of the companionship of man and the animals. It may be compared with the
friendship of the unknown scholar for his cat Pangur Bàn, each poem showing the differ-
ent nature of the cat and the dog. Pangur Bàn the cat goes about his business of hunting
indifferent to his master, while Fr Allan says of his puppy

Gur bòidheach do shùilean,
Gur gaolach do dhòigh leam

and

Cha saor thu bho'n ghòraich
Tha strìth ris an òige;
Ged nach sìn thu spòg dhomh
Cha dìth dhomh do phògan.

Apart from its poetic merit, the poet's work is worth considering for other reasons.
Against the background of rock and sea, storm and fair weather, the life of the people
is clearly pictured; death, marriage, work, leisure, religion, gossip and local characters.
All these things are the components which made up daily life, and religious belief
and practice form an inseparable part of nearly all Fr Allan's poems just as they are much
to the fore in every day life on Eriskay today, being among the oldest and most vigor-
ously surviving traditions of the people. It is, therefore, highly appropriate that the

first poem in the book should be 'Adhram Thu, Adhbhar mo bhith', a poem of deep
religious feeling. On reading it one reaches for *Carmina Gadelica*, asking oneself where
one has read it before. The familiarity does not stem from its being a crib, however,
but from two causes. Firstly, the sentiments expressed are familiar to all people brought
up in the Catholic tradition anywhere and secondly, the mode of expression is that of
the Gaelic folk prayers, and this one may rank as a particularly fine example of that art.
This type of prayer seems peculiarly Celtic and doubtless is in direct descent from the
poems of the early Celtic monks. Compare for example

> In Spirut noeb immun,
> innunn, ocus ocunn

of the eleventh century and

> Mo smaointean a bhith unnad,
> Mo bhriathran bhith umad,
> Mo ghniomhan bhith ugad

of Fr Allan. 'Adhram Thu, Adhbhar mo bhith' is a powerful but simple summary of
Christian daily practice, a rule of life to be followed each day, and composed in a style
obviously well known to the author through experience. Presented here in full and not
in sections as previously, it makes a fine unity, and knowing the name of its author does
not make it any the less a Gaelic folk prayer of excellent quality.

None of the poetry in this book is modern in form, and the second poem, 'An
Eaglais', on the Church, is in the form of a waulking song since, as the editor says,
'Fr Allan McDonald was interested in using the traditional forms of oral Gaelic Liter-
ature as a means of imparting religious instruction'. The first three groups of lines where
he is describing the boat (*i.e.* the Church) in vigorous language are effective but when
he moves to more direct theology it misses the mark, I feel, as the subject-matter is
too ponderous for the mode of expression. The poem should be judged by its effective-
ness as an instruction, however, and for this reason it would be interesting to know if
Fr Allan ever made use of it in that way and with what effect. 'Sgeul nam Buachaillean'
is another waulking song intended to give religious instruction. It is less ponderous
in subject matter than 'An Eaglais' though the first 32 lines wander far from the Christmas
setting. There are also some effective passages such as

> Bu bhlàth a dà shùil chaomh a'gabhail,
> Coimhead gu dùrachdach a macan,
> Shìn gu gaolach anns an leabaidh,
> Leaba b'fheàrr a bha ri faighinn,
> Bho'n a dhiùltadh fasgadh taighe,
> 'S bho nach robh na b'fheàrr aice,
> Thàlaidh i E agus dh'altrum,
> 'S chuir gu lurach E 'na chadal,
> Righ nan Righrean anns an fhrasaich.

The editor has unfortunately not been able to trace the tunes of these two instructional songs. There are in addition three carols, different from the main stream of European carols in that they are composed to the tunes of waulking songs which gives them a form foreign to non-Gaels. The tunes of these carols are given and it is interesting to note that they have been sung in the church on Canna.

Although the religious poems give expression to an important element of the life of the people, they do not reveal the island itself and its inhabitants. 'Sìde Chorrach Ghrua-mach', a winter poem, gives a realistic picture of Beinne Sgrithinn shrouded in mist while the people huddle at the edge of the fire in their storm-beseiged houses, scattered round the foot of the mountain on the rocky sea edge. A different impression of the island is presented in 'Eirisgeidh Mhic Iain 'Ic Sheumais' where we see it in peaceful weather. It is on a calm sunny day that the Hebrides appear at their best and on such a day the fresh colours and beauty of this part of the world cannot be equalled anywhere. Take for example these lines:

> Eilein bhòidhich, làn thu dh'eibhneas,
> Leug an domhain thu madainn Chéitein,
> An driùchd 'na chaoirean geala sheudaibh,
> Boillsgeadh bristeach 'nad ghorm éideadh,
> Riochd nan reul air cluain speuran.

Various aspects of the people's life are brought in also: the sea and fishing, cattle, calves, lambs; St Michael's protection; and the smoke rising from the houses like a prayer to God's throne. This poem, I feel, is a masterpiece.

The best known of Fr Allan's poems beginning 'Ged a gheibhinn-sa mo thaghadh' is a mine of information about life on the island of Eriskay. Apart from its literary quality, being swift in rhythm and a superb exercise in language, it contains an account of life in his day that equals the best of guide books. Its appearance, history, people and occupations, especially the latter, are described in great detail. Waulking the cloth, spinning, music, the céilidh-house, every kind of fishing from boats and rocks, children's games, sea-birds and natural life, agriculture with traditional implements, and watching the ships go by—all these are there. The poet was a good observer and the two phrases

> Marcan-sine bharr na Sgrìne,
> Nuas 'na mhill 's na dheann-ruith

and

> Tràigh as gile, cnuic as grinne,
> Ragha suidhe samhraidh

accurately convey the appearance of the island under its two most characteristic aspects. In this poem as in most others, no matter what the subject, Fr Allan sees a connection with religion. So the subject of his 'Daisy' is suitable company for hermits in their solitude: it is so white and delicate it should be growing on heaven's floor; fresh water cleans every stain from it and as the sun takes its way through the universe the daisy

follows it. How sad that man is not wise enough in the same way to keep before him the narrow path Jesus took. In the poem 'Gu robh cliu dhut is urram' he praises God for giving the people of Eriskay Our Lady with her storehouse of fish to keep them fed on an island with insufficient land to support them. A clue to the hardships of the island-ers' lives is given here, as also in the interesting account by Peigi Anndra about the epidemic and the hope of the people removing and burying the corpses that whisky would be some help in protecting them from infection. The lack of medical aid is brought home by the fact that only Fr Rigg's self sacrifice enabled any relief to be given at all to the sick. Fr Allan celebrates him on account of this aid which resulted in his death.

Fr Allan also wrote some playlets in verse about courting and marriage. 'Parlamaid nan Cailleach' is one such playlet. A group of women are gossiping about marriage and the young men are advised to beware of plans to trap them. The women are weaving ropes out of heather and various other natural materials, while a particularly un-presentable character is discussed, and his hopes of winning a proud girl. The young man comes supported by a bottle and a group of friends, one of whom acts as his spokesman to the girl's parents. The father gives them a poor welcome but his wife makes him listen. Meanwhile the girls are outside at a distance wondering how long it will take to come to an agreement. The wife accepts 'Giobain' for her daughter, but the father says it is for him to decide, and puts them out of the house. Unfortunately the poem is unfinished and a little confused but as a description of marriage gossip and custom it is extremely interesting and valuable. There are also interesting poems about actual people on the island.

There are twenty-six poems in all in this book and it would be hard to find a clumsy line among them. There is no glossary because, as the editor says, unusual words are to be found in the book *Gaelic Words and Expressions*. He also points out that Fr Allan's prose will probably fill another book; it is to be hoped it will not be too long before we are given it.

ANTHONY DILWORTH

Leslie Mitchell: Lewis Grassic Gibbon by Ian S. Munro. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh 1966. xiv+224 pp. 42s.

'Lewis Grassic Gibbon' died in 1935 and a generation has passed before a formal bio-graphy has appeared from the pen of Mr Ian S. Munro. This considerable interval has allowed most of the chaff of Gibbon's work to blow away and the solid grain to settle and the biographer has been the better able to organise his material in the light of the judgment of time, which has discarded much of his hectic output with the excep-tion, the magnificent exception, of *The Scots Quair* and a few short stories, and possibly also of *Spartacus*.

H

Not that Mr Munro ventures very far on the turbulent seas of literary criticism, for which he has been man-handled by the critics, who have themselves been curiously shy of embarking on a study of Gibbon's work themselves, and though the number of Ph.D. aspirants who have talked about 'doing something' on Gibbon must be quite considerable, little has in fact been done till recently.

Mr Munro confines himself in the main to the plain story of Gibbon's life which in itself needs some explaining, but there is so much autobiography concealed in Gibbon's work that he is involved willy-nilly in interpretation. Some of this interpretation is obvious and superficial, at times even naïve, but his repeated insistence on the importance of the background in Gibbon's life and Gibbon's remarkably sensitive response to it is basically sound.

One need not hesitate to call Gibbon the typical Peasant. He himself gloried in being a peasant and as Scottish culture is, or was, largely a peasant one, Gibbon was well equipped by birth and upbringing in that most peasant of all Scotland's provinces, the North-East, to write of it. Mr Munro labours away at this point and all Gibbon's critics have indeed paid tribute to the extraordinary vividness and intensity of the atmosphere of the North-East countryside which the *Quair* communicates, the feeling of stoniness and clay, the sting of sleet, the smell of grass and trees after rain, the cry of peewits in the night.

All this of course shows him to have been very responsive to his surroundings, not unusual in the countryman, whose real difficulty is in being articulate enough to express it. It is in this that Gibbon was uncommon, for words never failed him; and here his schooling comes into the account. He was fortunate enough in having an intelligent and sympathetic schoolmaster who apparently encouraged his pupils to interest themselves in their own parish, a piece of good sense that one does not usually associate with Scottish educational practice, and he developed a fluency with his pen and a prolific use of words for their own sake that never left him and is largely responsible for the more obvious faults (and merits) of his style. Yet he was unhappy at the secondary school and left it prematurely basically for some psychological reason that Mr Munro hints at and which sounds like some kind of love-hate relationship to his parents.

One is struck incidentally by some remarkable resemblances between the Mitchell household and that of William Burnes and the position of the gifted son in each, which may mean simply that this situation is not uncommon in Scottish rural areas. 'The House with the Green Shutters' provides yet another instance.

Henceforward young Gibbon had to educate himself while making a living in journalism and his eclectic reading (another Scottish trait) led him into the favourite subjects of his generation, politics, popular science, H. G. Wells, exploration and archaeology (furthered by service in the East with the R.A.F.), the last especially in its anthropological aspects. Lacking a proper academic training, he tended to swallow holus bolus any plausible theory, like that of Diffusionism, which Mr Munro should have explained for the benefit of his readers, and he did in fact write an impressive re-creation of the culture

of the Maya from books in the British Museum. It is a pity that Mr Munro tells us so
little about what Gibbon actually read in his omnivorous way. For he had a remarkably
perceptive imagination, which in its prophecy in 1928 of the helicopter and the landing
of men on the moon within half a century is obviously not to be derided.

It is in fact this imaginative power taking a cosmic view of the history of Scotland
that makes the *Quair* so tremendous, for all the jumble of diffusionism, Rousseauism,
primitivism, and what not, that gets mixed up with it. Here one thinks in this connection
of Scott, and though Gibbon lacks the richness, universality and optimism of Scott,
though his broad strokes are often crude as compared with the fine-drawn lines of the
Waverley Novels, the -isms not infrequently help to produce a deeper perspective.

What has escaped most critics of Gibbon, especially the Scottish ones as one would
expect from the generally prevalent ignorance of Scottish history, though the Germans
and Americans have tumbled to it, is that the *Quair* moves on three different levels;
the personal, the life story of Chris Guthrie *qua* Chris Guthrie, a Scots girl of the
twentieth century in her youth, marriage and widowhood; the social, the analysis of
three different types of society, the rural parish and the individual farm, the village
and the small croft community, the great manufacturing city, each with its own par-
ticular organisation, through which Chris passes as a kind of lay figure, with appropriate
social commentary; and finally the historical, the myth of Scotland in which Chris is the
allegorical figure of a nation, the daughter of John and Jean Guthrie, the eternal peasant
and his wife, of Ouranos and Ge, or Adam and Eve, according to whichever mythology
one follows, whose lot is set among the stones and hills and rivers and moors of the
northern part of an island off Europe. She marries the Celtic peasant whose blood
flows in the veins of most Scots and of young Ewan Tavendale, the Scotland renewed
in each generation. Old Ewan has to turn back from the trenches in Flanders and be
shot because the Highlanders turned back at Derby and the Celtic culture he imperson-
ates was crushed at Culloden. Then comes Chris's union with the parish minister, the
Kirk of Knox and Melville and the struggles of the seventeenth century, the period
when the clouds of creeds and dogmas flitted over the Scottish sky, a union whose
fruit was still-born in the eyes of the sceptic Gibbon, and finally there is her third
marriage in the city with the joiner Ogilvie, the mechanic of the Industrial Revolution,
which Gibbon with fine insight makes altogether barren. There can be no true spiritual
offspring when the ties with the land are broken; the affection for Scotland is tepid,
and does not stand the competition of the call to America. Young Ewan after a love-
affair with an English girl in which the supposedly more thorough-going left-wing
Socialism of the Scot is subtly contrasted with the pragmatic compromising bourgeois
Fabianism of the other (Gibbon's comment incidentally on the Union) walks out of the
novel on a march with the unemployed to London for the battles for Scotland's future
may no longer be solved inside her own boundaries. And at the end Chris melts into
her allegorical alter ego in the most literal sense by turning to stone.

Mr Munro hints several times at symptoms of split personality in Gibbon though in a

sense this is true for historical reasons of most Scots. For all his harsh realism his allegory is essentially based on a kind of mysticism, not uncommon in some types of humanists. One suspects too that Gibbon was torn at heart between Nationalism, which he publicly derided, and what he called variously communism, revolutionism, cosmopolitanism. He could not get away as a peasant from the fact of the land or as a Scot from history and the time-forces which have affected this particular region of the earth—and the old dictum of Heraclitus that the only reality is change, which he quotes several times, is worked out simultaneously in the life-story of a twentieth-century girl and on the vaster canvas of two thousand years of Scottish history. The one thing that does not change is the land itself (Gibbon keeps on stressing the metaphor of stone, flint, granite, as the symbols of eternity); all the rest are the accidents of history, the movements of peoples, the impacts of religions and superstitions, the development of society and community, the growth of science and industry, the wars of classes and creeds, man's humanity and inhumanity, the conflicts of social interests, and so on. The land has its rhythms and changes, summer and winter, seed time and harvest, and the human beings, creatures of clay as they are, have their corresponding rhythms too, birth, sex, bringing up of children, work and death, and hence the force of the equation Chris Guthrie and Scotland. But there is more to Scottish humanity than the mere physical. There is the long tradition and history of the folk from the aborigines who put up the standing stones and left the flint arrowheads for twentieth-century Ewan to pick up, through countless generations since, Picts, Celts, Normans, soldiers of fortune, like Will Guthrie, who comes back to visit his sister with his French uniform on, Covenanters, Radicals, all the rest; and their experiences, hardships, hopes and fears have all gone to moulding the characters of their descendants. There is a traditional wisdom, a way of life, an attitude to things which we inherit from our forebears and which in a sense becomes an inalienable part of us, and this is especially true in country districts where oral tradition still exists and where the continuity of life is so much more obvious than in the towns. So Chris Guthrie is Scotland in that sense also. Theories and creeds and slogans will come and go as clouds but their truth can only be tested and proved against the grey granite of time and experience which will sort out the dross in due course; and in practice this is often done best in a simple society which in its very simplicity can see through nonsense and is practical enough to know when an idea will work in the world of reality— something worth thinking about in this age of froth and gimmicks. The *Quair* in fact is a kind of spiritual or psychological history of Scotland written as a novel with long passages of rhythmic prose, at times almost incantation, by a journalist turned anthropologist. It is in this third dimension that the greatness of the *Quair* lies, and for folklife students, this folk-life interpretation of history is of the utmost interest and importance.

If Mr Munro has not quite got round to this, he can of course legitimately say that it was outside his purpose of telling a straight life story. On this simple uncomplicated level Mr Munro's work is adequate, easy to read, and interesting as a picture of the less

obvious and more tortuous traits, tensions and attitudes of life in the North-East of Scotland which made up the life of Gibbon and are so truly reflected in his masterpiece, and as showing how in such a milieu the individual and his community are inextricably involved and how indelible is the effect of immemorial traditions and centuries of common living.

On the other hand one of the most interesting and ponderable passages of Mr Munro's biography deals with the unfavourable and scandalised reaction of the same community to Gibbon's picture of it. No doubt some of his analysis was a bit too near the bone to be comfortable but it is worth considering whether the imposition of an alien culture with different habits and standards does not produce a confusion of values and undue touchiness in those who have changed sides and reduces the faculty of sober self-criticism which a living community needs.

D. MURISON

Dunbar: A Critical Exposition of the Poems by Tom Scott. Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh 1966. 389 pp. 50s.

William Dunbar was, if one may be forgiven the phrase, not the most Scottish of Scottish poets. He was writing in the period immediately after Chaucer, when the Scottish tradition in literature had moved very close to its English counterpart. As a result he could proudly name Chaucer and Gower as his masters and compose a panegyric on the town of London, with the following refrain,

London, thou art the flour of Cities all.

Such sentiments to say the least seem out of place on the lips of a Scottish poet, but then Dunbar was in all probability a native of East Lothian, a district which at that time had close ties with the northern counties of England.

Nor was he greatly interested in oral literature or the common people. He was primarily a court poet and his duties therefore involved composing poetry which pleased the upper classes. For this purpose he turned to the intricate stanza forms popular in France, England and Italy rather than to national folklore for inspiration. His attitudes too betray a snobbery, wholly lacking in his democratic, near-contemporary Henryson. He is indeed a very 'professional' poet, possibly the greatest technical virtuoso this country has produced, but his works lack the common touch, that warm human understanding, which characterises so much of what is best in Scottish literature. It may be because of this 'professionality' that McDiarmid urged modern poets to return to his verse rather than that of Burns, while many ordinary readers find themselves alienated from him in outlook.

In his book Tom Scott ostensibly presents us with 'a critical exposition of the poems'. In fact he does much more. He not only presents a commentary on all Dunbar's verse,

he also translates any difficulties in the original Middle Scots, sets the poetry against the historical background of James IV's court, uses it as an exposé of the poet's character and places it in the context of the Scottish poetic tradition. Above all perhaps he throws the emphasis away from Dunbar the stylist to Dunbar the thinker and satirist.

Although at times his revolution in approach threatens to produce as distorted a view of the poet as its predecessor, it does have the excuse of reaction on its side. In addition two main points arise. Concentration on Dunbar as stylist results in the magnifying of those poems which are the most manneristic in his collection. Dr Scott is correct in looking for the essential Dunbar among his satirical poems rather than the 'Golden Targe' or that 'Who's Who' of the lower creative orders, 'The Thrissill and the Rois'. He is also correct in emphasising the detrimental effect of allowing personal obsessions to pass off as matters of general concern. The great tragedy of Dunbar's life is that he was a little man with big poetic powers and this Dr. Scott realises,

> Dunbar . . . missed the greatness of a national reforming poet which his gifts thrust upon him, and allowed himself to be turned aside by pettiness into a merely personal one.

Alas, how true!

On the other hand there are times when Dr Scott allows his concern with Dunbar's 'pettiness' to become confused with his skill as a poet. He dismisses the 'Advice to Spend anis awin Gude' as 'the worst poem Dunbar wrote' and advances as his reason,

> this poem is mean and vile, its theme being not to spend in order to enjoy life, but in order to prevent your heirs getting what you have not been able to spend.

What he means is that the theme is mean and vile. It is in fact expressed with all Dunbar's usual skill and the poem cannot possibly be seen as the worst in Dunbar's output. The same confusion of standards for judgment is noticeable in Scott's assessment of 'The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie' and 'Of ane Blakmoir'. The poet's limitations of personality cannot wholly be separated from his literary abilities, but the two should not be equated.

The poems are themselves grouped thematically and each is discussed singly. The grouping is quite successful and as a commentator Dr Scott is illuminating and controversial. The book as a result is eminently readable, but one wonders at times if the scope is not rather wide. In attempting to translate and to commentate he is performing two useful functions, but often the one flourishes at the expense of the other. 'In Prais of Wemen' for example demands a page of translation, before being dismissed as 'slight and of little worth in itself'. Dr Scott takes it at face value as 'a blatant piece of flattery', whereas it is more probably a skilful piece of satire. The praise is immediately modified in the line,

> *Off erthly thingis* nane may bettir be.

Women are throughout flattered only as the bearers of children (especially male children), while Eden imagery is used to remind them of their rôle as the original sinners.

The poem, I feel, should have been related to the prevalent theological views on women and the subtle modifications of flattery noted.

But let us get our proportions right and not emulate those scholars who will condemn a 700 page tome because they have discovered an anachronism halfway down page 386! This is an enjoyable and a profitable book, of which one might rightly remark that its weaknesses are a condition of its strength. Dr Scott's overall attitude to Dunbar is a sane one and although his work will cause many arguments, it is a valuable contribution to Scottish literary criticism.

<div align="right">RONALD D. S. JACK</div>

The Traditional and National Music of Scotland by Francis Collinson, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1966. xvii+294 pp. 63s.

Some of us have been aware for a good many years that Mr Collinson was at work upon a comprehensive study of our musical heritage; as the time of its appearance has drawn nearer, it is possible that the eagerness of our anticipation has led us, gradually and unwittingly, into a position of expecting more than is reasonable from an author, scholar and practical hardworking musician with interests so many and so far-reaching.

No attempt at so complete a study has been made before; but the volume before us does far more than merely fill a nasty gap on our bookshelves. It is in large part a succinct, readable, informative and at times amusing gathering-together and summary of information which has hitherto been hidden in many volumes and periodicals, some of them hard of access. Thus, for the most practical of reasons, everyone with an interest in Scottish music has cause for gratitude to Mr Collinson.

What one was not quite prepared for was the realisation, which this book brings out most vividly, of the vastness of the subject, and of the impossibility of any author doing equal justice to all its branches, or indeed complete justice to any, in a single volume of fewer than 300 pages. Mr Collinson is at his best when dealing with Scottish fiddle music, which is accorded comprehensive consideration in a splendid chapter that is all the more interesting for the fact that this branch of his subject is usually accorded little more than lip-service; but against this, the lyric songs of the Lowlands receive treatment that is relatively scant, while just enough is written about the Gaelic Long Tunes and allied matters to stimulate the reader's interest without satisfying his curiosity to know more.

In 268 pages of text there are footnotes to no fewer than 170; sometimes as many as seven in a single page, and often occupying nearly half the page (in one case more than half). This is surely excessive; what is at best an irritating necessity here becomes positively maddening at times, especially as it does seem to this reviewer that many of the notes might without great difficulty have been incorporated into the text, while the

purely formal ones could have been tucked away at the end of each chapter, or of the book.

One of the causes of this cornucopia of footnotation is Mr Collinson's wish to be scrupulously fair to his reader; very often when venturing an opinion, he feels compelled to draw attention to the fact that one or more of his colleagues disagrees with it. But is this *really* fair? Time and again the seeker after truth is left in a puzzled state, and occasionally one of bewilderment, at this revelation of the extent of the differences existing between experts. Space does not allow discussion of many examples, but I may perhaps draw attention to two: on page 69 (n. 2) the author quotes the comments of two authorities as questioning his own scholarly inference. The first comment I find completely baffling; the second is mildly questioned, still in the footnote, by Mr Collinson, despite the fact that it offers him the chance to demolish a very weak argument, which could have been the more thoroughly and effectively done in the main text. Again, in footnote 1 on page 178, there is quoted an epigrammatic opinion from Mr R. L. C. Lorimer, commenting upon a factual statement in the main text about the phrase-structure of the piobaireachd ground. Mr Collinson remarks that 'this is not the place to discuss the subject in greater detail', but one cannot refrain from questioning the advisability of introducing such a technical detail at all, unless the reader is to be helped to find out the truth of the matter, instead of being left with such a bald case of experts differing. A couple of examples might have gone far to clarify this particular issue, and one feels that there are other places in the book where it would have been better if Mr Collinson had come down more firmly, backing his own opinion by printed musical evidence, and perhaps inviting arguments in the pages of appropriate journals, rather than leaving them lying about unresolved in his own book.

This review would get entirely out of hand if I were to draw attention to every pleasure that it has brought me, and every question and doubt that it has raised in my mind; but I propose to mention some details seriatim.

The chapter on 'The Native Idiom', full as it is of good things, seems to me to fall between two stools: is it not too technical for the lay reader, and not technical enough for the professional musician? Page 10 illustrates what I mean: simple arithmetic shows that there must be twenty hexatonic scales according to the methods of evolution described in the first two paragraphs. Experiment shows that four of these are duplicates, leaving *sixteen*. In paragraph 2, the author says, 'not all combinations possible by this procedure are used in folk-music'. In paragraph 3, however, he says, 'Scots airs may be found on *all fourteen* different hexatonic scales'. Already too much has been said, or not enough; and the matter is made more puzzling by the nine examples cited, which are restricted to only four different scales, and which include two which are well-known in *pentatonic* versions—'Auld Rob Morris' as printed in *Orpheus Caledonius*, and 'Lassie wi' the lint-white locks', which is actually quoted in a later connection (p. 22) along with its characteristic *five-note* scale. No doubt the footnote to page 10 goes a little way to explain all this, but it is very confusing. I think that despite Mr

Collinson's statement that 'it would add unnecessarily to the bulk of the book to give them all in their staff-notation', he might have increased clarity by printing perhaps half-a-dozen, each in a different scale.

We come next to the chapter 'Gaelic and Lowland Scots Song', and I am bound to say that it is this more than any other in the book which does not quite come up to one's over-high hopes; for, as Mr Collinson says, 'the whole subject of the early Gaelic poets is fugitive and thinly documented' . . . 'we still await a definitive work on the songs of the Gaelic poets—and indeed on Gaelic songs in general'. I wonder if we shall ever get it? Mr Collinson has done his brave best, but on his own admission he is making bricks with precious little straw, and his speculations, so often modified or contradicted by the footnoted remarks of his colleagues, add sadly little to our meagre fund of real knowledge of the subject. In passing, I am struck so much by the *differences* between 'Allt-an-t-siucair' and 'The lass of Patie's mill' in basic features such as cadence, and by the relative unimportance of their *resemblances*, that I am bold enough to question whether they are in fact versions of the same tune.

Mr Collinson next deals with the vocal music of the Lowlands. Perhaps it is because this aspect of his subject has attracted much more notice from commentators in the past that he does not dig very deep. The definition of 'ballad' on page 132 is the best I have come across, but once again we run into the difficulty that the subject is so vast that the author tends to be content with a summary of present knowledge and a quick survey of earlier writings on the subject. Incidentally, should not Pinkerton and Sibbald have been mentioned in this connection?

I find myself, against my will, forced to question what Mr Collinson has to say about the Guthrie manuscript. In describing this important source, he seems to rely largely upon Dauney and John Glen, who found themselves unable to make sense of the tablature. The latter, in a frustrated paragraph, says that he believes that it contains not one of the forty [actually 46] tunes supposed to be included in it, and that his belief is that it consists entirely of accompaniments for the tunes named. This, of course, was in 1900, and it looks as if Mr Collinson has not had access to some later research on the subject. In 1945 the late Harry M. Willsher, in his thesis 'Music in Scotland during three centuries', now in St Andrews University Library, not only fully described the Guthrie MS, but explained the difficulties that had beset earlier scholars, and produced photographs and transcriptions of its contents. Willsher demonstrated that the MS does in fact contain all the airs claimed, in very simple melodic versions, and that once the fact is realised that they are not in lute tablature, but in Italian tablature used for certain members of the viol family, there is no great difficulty about transcribing them. There is, however, still a puzzling detail: although on page 133, Mr Collinson seems to follow the error of Glen in referring to the lute in this connection, we find earlier (p. 123) an unequivocal (and correct) statement that the tablature is for *viola da bracchio*. Nowhere else have I found this point mentioned, and I am intrigued to know how Mr Collinson was aware of it, and yet not familiar with Willsher's work.

The section on Bothy Ballads is concise and helpful; in a footnote on page 150 there is a reference to an Irish connection with the tune 'Drumdelgie', and I have an idea that the tune of 'Nicky Tams' quoted on page 151 is also known to Irish words. This aspect of the Bothy Ballads may have been thoroughly explored elsewhere, but some fuller reference would have been welcome, and without doubt illuminating.

Since, presumably, Mr Collinson was short of space to write on some matters as fully as he would have wished, I find it hard to understand his devoting four whole pages to the scientific arguments about the minute details of the tuning of the bagpipe-scale. A short summary of the most recent findings would have made room for fuller information on the subject of canntaireachd, which is of greater interest to most readers of the book, and about which little is widely known; as things are, this section seems rather rushed, and to one reader at least was very difficult to follow. I am surprised to find Mr Collinson giving space in a long footnote to the absurd suggestion that the sol-fa system 'came to its inventor through this ancient pipe-notation,' especially as it is clear that he doesn't believe a word of it. Despite these small criticisms, the chapter on the bagpipes and its music is the first of the three on instrumental music which I feel sure many will regard as the best part of the book.

Orkney and Shetland come in for some informative treatment, making one eager to learn more. It is not too easy to come by authentic writing on this subject, and the natives of the northern islands may feel a little aggrieved that they should have received such a small allocation of space.

One last grouse and I have done. I have already alluded to the Long Psalm-tunes; these and their successors receive rather scant attention in the last and shortest chapter of the book; yet many people, aware of their existence, would have liked to see at least one of them in notation alongside the plain form, so that 'the melody twining round the notes of its Psalter original like a Celtic knot-pattern' might become more of a reality to them. I do not say that Mr Collinson's book would be the appropriate place for a full discussion of the connection between the psalm-tune ornamentation and that of piobaireachd, let alone possible analogies with other folk-cultures, but I do feel that there was scope for a little more stimulating treatment of what is, no doubt, a border region of the country which the author is helping us to explore.

The photographs are splendid, and it is a real pleasure nowadays to be able to say that there are very few misprints (though I came on a wrong key-signature on page 24, and one or two other trifles).

No book of such importance as this can fail to arouse some critical comments from a careful reader; I hope that my few reservations will not make anybody feel doubts as to the need not only of reading the book, but of having a copy at hand for quick reference; for it is one of the major services that Mr Collinson has done us, that he has made it easy for us to get at the essentials of his subject, and (equally important) has lavishly provided us with bibliographical information whereby those who want to dig more deeply in any particular patch may find their tools.   CEDRIC THORPE DAVIE

The Painted Ceilings of Scotland: 1550–1650 by M. R. Apted. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh 1966. 111 pp. 50s.

This is not a monograph with illustrations but a very superior picture book. As that it is very good value for money—105 excellent photographs, six in colour, forming an anthology not only of painted ceilings, but of the types of buildings which contained them, the construction of the ceilings, the state they were in when they were discovered and the action taken to conserve them. Full use is made of the size of page, so that one is not annoyed by large white, wasted spaces as so often happens. The chapters deal with the right subjects, but they are woefully short and one has the feeling that a lot of information has been kept back so that the size of type could be large and that the picture book buyer would not be bored with too much detail. It may be pointless to criticise a book for not being what the reviewer thinks it ought to have been, but when the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works and the Stationery Office have produced such a pleasing book, surely they could have gone a little further and given the reader a full bibliography, a full list of buildings and museums in Scotland containing painted decoration and a more professional index. Dr Apted has written at length in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* on individual ceilings and Ian Hodkinson has contributed a most interesting study of the Prestongrange ceiling to the East Lothian Transactions. The reader should also have been told that the conservation work is being carried out at Stenhouse House, the centre jointly used by the Ministry and the National Trust which owes its origin to the need to do something about all the ceilings discovered in recent years.

Leaving aside the medieval wall paintings, what do the ceilings tell us of life in Scotland between 1550 and 1650? Primarily that it was more colourful for the landowners and merchants who had only to look up from the carved oak armchairs in their public rooms or peer out from their carved oak beds to feast their eyes on a riot of colour—the blue sky and fleecy clouds of Cullen, the prancing monarchs of Stobhall and the birds, fruit and flowers of Northfield. Even biblical texts and pictures were presented in a colourful way at Dean House (Edinburgh) and at Traquair. But the ceilings tell us practically nothing directly, for the buildings, the costumes and the animals (with one possible exception) are not Scottish. The Kinneil Priest and Levite are not Scots; the details of the Skelmorlie scenes are not Scottish; only the heraldry and the inscriptions are native. Conversely this means that Scots learned about other places from them, for the sources were foreign, though Dr Apted claims that the painters were not. The sources were 'book illustrations mostly imported from the Continent'. Further research will reveal what more of these sources were, and, almost as important, how long they took to reach Scotland. Did they remain the same throughout the century, and are there no signs of direct copying from English or European ceilings in this or another medium?

Scots were too fond of heraldry at that time not to take advantage of the bright colours and display their Arms prominently among the foreign designs. Very Scottish

too is the combination of initials and Arms (particularly the pairing of the husband's and wife's initials), as found on wood and stone carvings and in embroideries. The placing of the initials on the entwined hearts on the Earlshall ceiling is a pleasing variation, not known to me elsewhere, on the very Scottish love of the heart shape.

The biblical texts and pictures have already been mentioned; both were to be expected in the context of Scottish life in the century after the Reformation. That the Renaissance tradition of interest in Classical themes would persist was perhaps not so obvious, but here are Diogenes in his barrel, the Muses, the Sibyls and the Seige of Troy. Was it a real interest, or was it just a case of slavish copying from the models? That might have been answered if painted woodwork had passed into folk art, but it is useless to look for the influence of the ceilings for two good reasons. They were seen by relatively few people, since unlike the earlier Church paintings they were private, not public, decorations. And the European and English fashion for plaster ceilings reached Scotland little more than halfway through the painted century, and it was the plaster ceilings which literally obliterated the paintings, most of which were not seen again until last century. The fashion for painted woodwork did not spread to furniture and this may have contributed to Scotland's failure to develop a peasant art on Scandinavian lines.

STUART MAXWELL

Northwards by Sea by Gordon Donaldson. John Grant, Booksellers, Edinburgh 1966. 113 pp. 36 photographs, 6 plans. 30s.

It is possible that inside every scholar there is a seaman struggling to get out. Moreover since voyaging northwards by sea has filled a certain part of my own life, and since this is the book (well, perhaps not *quite*) which I myself wanted to write, it is also possible that outside every seaman there is a scholar struggling to get *in*.

From this hard-luck story of one who is now an academic longshoreman, one or two lessons can be learnt. First of all—as Henry David Thoreau pointed out in his 'Walden' —since it is now admirable to profess because it was once admirable to live, let us have more professors writing books of this sort and good luck to them if they beat the longshoremen to it. Second, it confirms my long-held conviction that seafaring and scholarship have much in common and this especially in emotional matters like departures, horizons, landfalls and longings:

ac ā hafað longunge se þe on lagu fundað.

Clearly, Professor Donaldson (the scholar of my parable) is afflicted in some such way as this. In addition to his conspicuous scholarly achievements he obviously cares greatly about the northern islands, and the ships that ply thereto. And so do I. But, of course, different ships, different longsplices. My first reflection after reading his generally excellent book is that we do not have longings for exactly the same things. Although he

writes concisely and with an excellent command of technical terminology, he writes mostly like an agent or a supercargo (sometimes, indeed, like a professor) rather than like a seafarer. He does, it is true, pay some attention to the ships, but my criticism is that he is so occupied with business (including the tourist business) that he altogether forgets the great waters. It is significant that, although he gives us six ship plans, he gives us no chart.

Hence, of Sumburgh Roost, the Shalds of Foula, Liddel Eddy, the Fall of Warness, the Wells of Swona, the Swelkie, the Bores of Duncansby—the very names would charm a man away from the counting-house—or even just the rate of the tidal stream off Buchanness at ordinary springs, there is no mention. Even the least nautical of Professor Donaldson's readers might have been persuaded to take an intelligent interest in the difference between H.W.F. and C. at Kirkwall and Leith had it been pointed out to him. Furthermore, he is not very keen on allowing things actually to *happen* at sea. Collisions, strandings, and total losses appear as rather subordinate material, and sometimes dramatic incidents which all the world knows about, do not appear at all. Thus the *Earl Thorfinn* is sent to the breakers at Bo'ness without mentioning, or even hinting at, her desperate passage in that fateful year of '53 when, in trying to make Stronsay out of Kirkwall in a north-easterly storm, she failed to come up into the wind, tried again for Sanday, failed again to come up, and finally ran along to the Start, bore away and ran before it to Aberdeen. Not a word of this. All that he says of the poor old *Thorfinn* (and her sister the *Sigurd*) is that they 'being coal-burning steamers were outmoded and increasingly uneconomic to run' (p. 49). We all know how shipowners feel about the price of coal, but couldn't *someone* spare a word for the works of the Lord and His wonders in the deep?

However, having said all this, I now propose to absolve Professor Donaldson completely because we are all so indebted to him for recording, with care and accuracy (and in spite of such immense factual losses as the records of the North of Scotland Shipping Company by bombing in the Second World War) such close-packed information about Services (Part I) and Ships (Part II) to the north of Scotland and the northern islands. His record is historical and brings us down to the present day. Above all, we cannot thank him enough for gathering together, in one place, his thirty-six splendid photographs. These alone are worth the money and collectors and ship-spotters will be delighted, even if he only gives us ships from the main Company. Thus, none of the vessels of the Orkney Steam Navigation Company is shown, or those of Messrs Bremner on Scapa Flow, or yet Messrs Dennison's old *Iona* (seventy when she retired) and new *Klydon* (the fourth of that name and incorrectly given as *Kyldon* in the book). No sailing vessels are shown. Professor Donaldson might, perhaps, have referred his readers to little works like Sinclair Ross's *Sail Ships of Orkney* (Kirkwall 1954). There is, incidentally, no bibliography and no index.

Professor Donaldson does not tell us exactly what has had to be extrapolated, or filled out from other sources, because of the loss of the records, and occasionally he has

to be vaguer than, as a good historian, he would wish to be. Hence, for the middle of last century and in dealing with the uncertainty of the service all he can permit himself to say is that 'it may well be that steamships were proving unsatisfactory in those northern seas in winter' (p. 18). It occurs to me that up there, there was no dramatic (or melodramatic) *Forfarshire* incident to demonstrate, in a blaze of publicity, the failings of boilers and paddle-boxes.

In his Part II, The Ships, which are listed alphabetically with notes on each, I find myself wishing that the actual data had been given in a suitable Appendix and more comment and generalisation—on build, type, working, manning—given in the text. Thus, the incredible incident of the grounding of the second *St Sunniva* at Fidra in 1934 (p. 103) could have been given less as a casual anecdote and more as a serious consideration of how such things can happen. Was there no enquiry? I find it most unsatisfactory merely to be told that 'the chief officer omitted to alter course at the May Island'. I would also like to know what has been learnt, in the long history of the North of Scotland Company, of ships, seas, tides and weather. The body of knowledge must by now be vast and obviously it is not the sort which can be bombed out of existence. Are we ever to know anything about it? There are lesser matters too. Professor Donaldson tells us, rightly, that the ships are designed to work starboard side to, but I wish he had told us of another matter, the history of which I do not know but it is obviously a rule in the Company, namely, that the second officer is in charge of the for'ard watch and the chief officer of the after watch. This is not the usual practice. Also, what is the history of ticket-checking (by the chief officer) on board? The passengers for'ard in the *Forfarshire* aforesaid were much cheered when Captain Humble appeared in person, in worsening weather, to collect their fares.

I wish such things had been included. But, excluding the alphabetical lists of ships and accompanying notes (24 pages) there are only eight pages of general discussion on the ships, and their working, and of these four are taken up with a discussion of the provenance of the saints which compose their names. One cannot quite pass over Professor Donaldson's hagiology for it is very interesting and will be appreciated by many who like to know in whose company they are travelling. There was that wretched St Giles, for example: 'One can see that St Giles can hardly have been considered a lucky name, for the first ship of that name was wrecked after only ten years' service and the second was sold after another ten years' (p. 80). But, in general (see especially p. 20) the saints have served the North of Scotland people well—as well, perhaps, as the shipmasters with whom they appear to have something in common, for even among the masters there were those 'who had and those who lacked the special flair, the touch of instinct or genius which went beyond any mere calculations' (p. 112). I am ready enough to believe in special flair, but 'instinct' in seamen has, I think, been overworked. I fancy it was always rather lubberly to believe in it. Besides, what does it mean?

Finally, on terminology and like a niggling dialectologist I must tell Professor Donaldson that there are no 'stokers' (p. 32) in the Merchant Service. The other people call

them that, but we say 'firemen'. And he is wrong to call a 'well' an 'open hatch' (p. 76). No hatch is 'open' on the main deck and a 'well', by definition, is on the main deck between, say, a topgallant fo'castle and a midship house. (He may, of course, mean storm hatches on a shelter deck which are often left open.) The word is correctly used, however, on page 85 where the first *Earl of Zetland* is said to have had 'an open well surrounding the hatch (forward), for convenience of working with flitboats'. Incidentally, what Professor Donaldson calls a 'conventional' coaster (the *Amelia*, Plate 29, for example) has a short well for'ard and a long quarter-deck.

If, as some choice spirits among seamen know, the home and short sea trades have their own peculiar fascination, they also bear their own reproach. They invite, from arrogant deep-water men, indecent comparison with trains and railway-lines, and since Professor Donaldson insists, rightly enough, on the steamship in the northern seas as 'the most important revolution in their social and economic situation which the islands have ever experienced' (p. 25), I fear he comes even nearer to laying a permanent way to Lerwick in a close parallel with the English railway revolution. Therefore, although I like his book enormously I must say again that I wish he had said something of the waters. I wish, so to speak, he had covered his tracks. For, through all revolutions —as Conrad observed long ago—this is what the sea does and what the sea demands.

J. Y. MATHER

Books Received

Some of these books will be reviewed later in *Scottish Studies*

Scott's Novels: The Plotting of Historic Survival by Francis R. Hart.
University Press of Virginia, Virginia 1966. Pp. 372. $6.75

Estate Villages: A Study of the Berkshire Villages of Ardington and Lockinge by M. A. Havinden (with Contributions by D. S. Thornton and P. D. Wood)
Lund Humphries, for the Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading, London 1966. Pp. 214. 50s

John Soulby, printer, Ulverston. A Study of the work printed by John Soulby, father and son, between 1796 and 1827 by Michael Tweymair with an account of Ulverston at the time by William Rollinson.
Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading, London 1966. Pp. 53

Thomas Seget: A Scottish Friend of Szymon Szymonowicz by Otakar Odlozilik.
Reprinted from *The Polish Review* XI.1 (1966), New York. Pp. 38

Oxford Book of Scottish Verse edited by John MacQueen and Tom Scott.
Oxford University Press, London 1966. Pp. 633. 45s

The Historic Architecture of Scotland by John G. Dunbar.
Batsford, London 1966. Pp. 268+illustrations. 5 gns

A Bibliography of South Asian Folklore by Edwin Capers Kirkland. Folklore Institute Monograph Series, vol. 21, 1967.
Publication of Indiana University, Indiana. Mouton & Co., The Hague. Pp. 291. Dutch Guilders 36-, $10

The Iron Age in Northern Britain edited by A. L. T. Rivet.
    Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1966. Pp. 156+illustrations. 2 gns.
Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition by Anne Ross.
    Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1967. Pp. 433+96 pp. illustrations. 6 gns
Studia Celtica, vol. 1, edited by J. E. Caerwyn Williams.
    University of Wales Press, Cardiff, for the Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales. Pp. 169
Irish Wake Amusements by Seán Ó Súilleabháin.
    Mercier Press, Cork 1967. Pp. 188. 8s 6d
The Early History of Islay (500–1726) by W. D. Lamont.
    Dundee 1966. Pp. 90. 8s
The Islands of Ireland by Thomas H. Mason.
    Mercier Press, Cork 1967. Pp. 142. 15s
The Years of the Great Test 1926–39 edited by Francis MacManus. (The Thomas Lectures.)
    Mercier Press for Radio Telefis Eireann.   Cork 1967. Pp. 184. 10s
The Mercier Book of Old Irish Street Ballads, vol. 1, edited by James N. Healy.
    Mercier Press, Cork 1967. Pp. 368. 18s
Folk Music Journal.
    English Folk Dance and Song Society, London 1966. Pp. 62
Stromness. 150 years a Burgh 1817–1967, by James A. Troup and Frank Eunson.
    Stromness 1967. Pp. 32. 4s
Folklore Fellows Communications vol. lxxxiii.
    Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica. Helsinki 1966. Pp. 84. 8 mk
Koninklijke Belgische Commissie Voor Volkskunde Jaarboek XIV, XV.
    Ministerie van Nationale Opvoeding en Cultuur, Brussels 1964, 1965. Pp. 78, pp. 122
Volkskunde-Atlas voor Nederlanden vlaams-Belgie. Commentaar Aflevering II.
    Standard-Bockhandel, Antwerp 1965. Pp. 220
The New History of Cumnock by John Strawhorn.
    Town Council of Cumnock, Glasgow 1966. Pp. 255. 20s
Local History in Scotland edited by J. B. Barclay. Report of Residential Course at Carberry Tower
    19–21 Nov. 1965.
    University of Edinburgh, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, 1966.
    Pp. 42. 4s
Robert Henryson: a Study of the Major Narrative Poems by John MacQueen.
    Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1967. Pp. 239. 30s

Scottish Studies

Volume 11 : 1967

part two
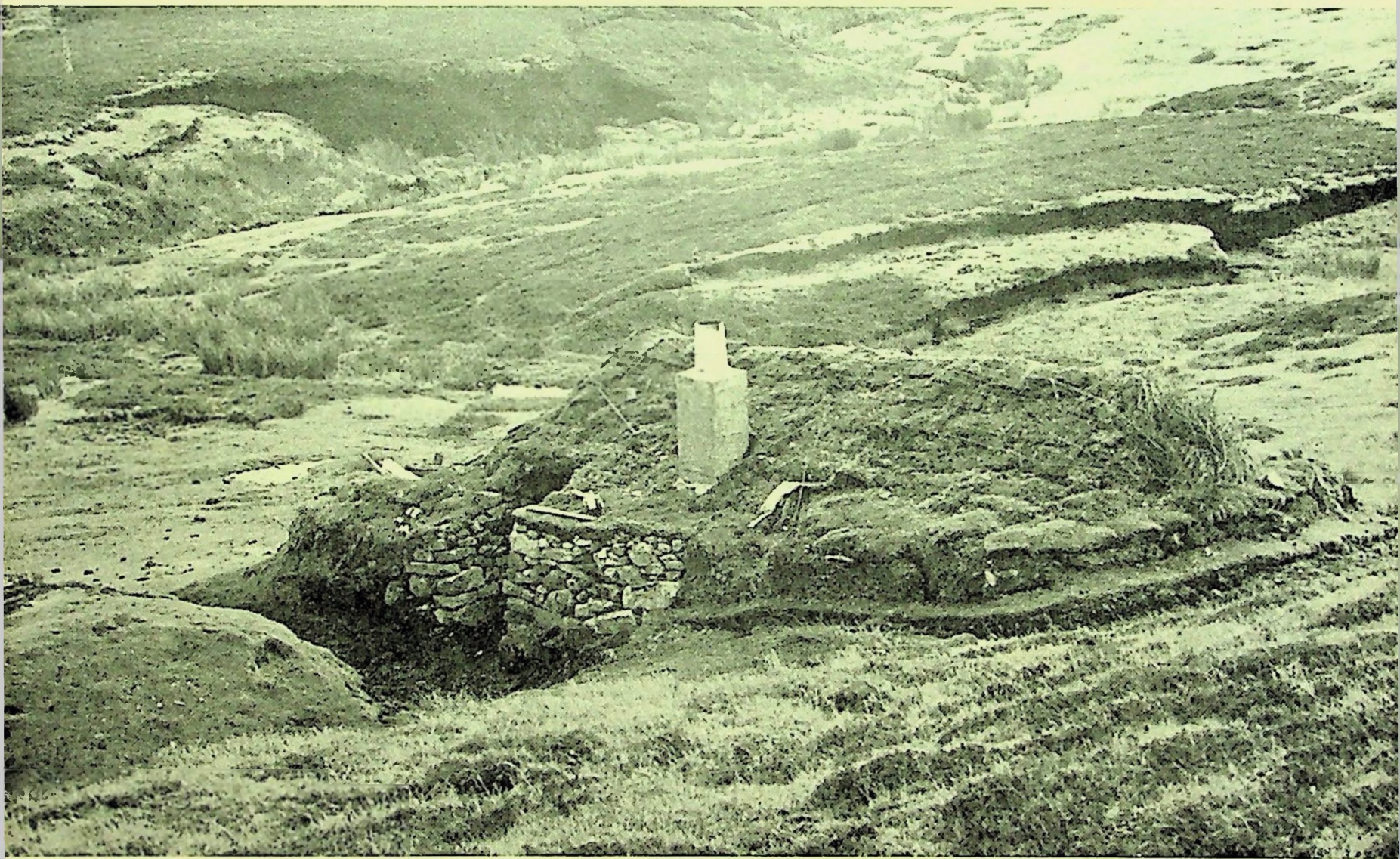
An occupied traditional shieling hut near the Butt of Lewis

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

II

PART TWO

1967

Scottish Studies

VOLUME II   PART 2

Notes on Collection and Research

Book Reviews

Contributors to this Issue

J. F. AND T. M. FLETT
T. M. Flett PHD, SCD, Professor of Pure Mathematics,
University of Sheffield

ALAN G. MACPHERSON MA
Assistant Professor of Geography,
and Director of Geographical Research,
Institute of Social and Economic Research,
Memorial University of Newfoundland

RONALD MILLER MA, PHD
Professor of Geography, University of Glasgow

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN DRPHIL, BLITT
Reader, School of Scottish Studies

HAMISH HENDERSON MA
Lecturer, School of Scottish Studies

DONALD A. MACDONALD MA
Lecturer, School of Scottish Studies

JAMES PORTER MA
Assistant Lecturer, School of Scottish Studies

ANNE ROSS MA, PHD
7 Bradstock Road, Stoneleigh, Epsom, Surrey

CHARLES THOMAS MA
Professor of Archaeology, University of Leicester

The Scottish Country Dance

Its Origins and Development II

J. F. and T. M. FLETT

In Part I of this paper (*Scottish Studies* 11: 1) we discussed the early history of the Country Dance, both in Scotland and England, and we showed that the Country Dance, as a dance form, was imported to Scotland from England about the year 1700. We discussed also the sources of our knowledge concerning Country Dances in Scotland, and in particular we considered the five main eighteenth-century Scottish manuscript collections of Country Dances, namely the Holmain, Duke of Perth's (Plates III and IV), Young, Castle Menzies, and Bowman MSS.

We now examine more closely the Country Dances in these five manuscript collections. Our primary aim here is to trace the development of the Country Dance in Scotland, but to do this it is necessary to find, as accurately as the information available allows, the meanings of the technical terms used in the dance instructions, and the phrasing and tempo of the dances.

We consider first the interpretation of the technical terms used in the dance instructions in the manuscripts. To indicate the difficulties involved, we reproduce below the original instructions of five dances, one from each manuscript.

ARGILES BOWLING GREEN (Holmain MS). First sett to your partner, & cast off one pair, sett again, & she turns up & he turns down betwixt the third pair, she betwixt the 2d pair, then leads up joining three hands & meets, then 3 hands round, & reels, then he setts to the 2d woman she to the 1st man & turns them, then he setts to the 1st woman, she to the 2d man, & turn your partner, then 4 hands round with the 1st pair, & cast off, then meet and turn your partner.

ATHOL BRAES (Duke of Perth's MS; Tune in Common time, 32 bars). FIRST Man sett to the 2d Woman and turn. Then first Woman sett to the 2d Man and turn. THEN cross over 2d and 3d Couple. Then lead up to the head, and cast off. THEN sett across & turn. THEN reels. Then sett to your partner and turn.

A KISS FOR A HALFPENNIE (Young MS; Tune in Common time, 16 bars. We have given in brackets the numbers of bars of music required for the various parts of the

dance; in the original MS, these are indicated by the use of coloured ink.) SETT and cast off one pair; lead down in the middle of the 2d Pair and cast up (8). First Man figures round the 2nd Woman and the Woman round the first Man at the same time; meet and sett: the Man figures round the first Woman and the Woman round the 2d Man at the same time, meet and sett as before (8). SETT cross Partners (8). Run the Heys, sett, and turn your Partner (8).

THE MONTGOMRIE'S RANT. A STRATHSPEY REELE (Castle Menzies MS). 1st pair goes back to back and casts off then back to back again and ye woman casts up, and ye Man down, then reels above and below then the 1st pair sets hand in hand to ye 2d Woman then to ye 3d Man then to ye 3d Woman & then to ye 2d Man; then leads out att ye sides.

OVER THE WATER TO CHARLIE. NEW WAY (Bowman MS). Sett and cast off, lead down cast up, hands round with the second pair, and back again & sett cross partners & double Reell.

As for all longways progessive dances, the instructions given above describe one round of the complete sequence of figures, performed by the first couple starting in top place and dancing with the couple or couples immediately below them. The couples are usually numbered successively from the top, but in some descriptions the 2nd and 3rd couples are referred to as the 1st and 2nd pairs (see *e.g.* Argiles Bowling Green and A Kiss for a Halfpennie above). The English collections of this period show that when the set is viewed from the top, the men are on the right and the ladies on the left. A set consisted of 'as many as will'.

Although many of the technical terms used in the instructions in the manuscripts are still in use today, it would be wrong to assume without further investigation that these terms had the same meanings in the eighteenth century as they have at present. For example, the term 'right and left' had at least three distinct meanings between 1700 and 1850 (see Flett 1964). The only Scottish book which might have helped in the interpretation of the terms used in the manuscripts is the work by William Frazer mentioned in Part I, of which no known copy survives. Fortunately, we are able to consult two English books which give considerable help, namely Nicholas Dukes's *A concise and easy method of learning the figuring of country dancing*, London, 1752, and Matthew Welch's *Variety of English Country Dances . . . the figures entirely . . . explained*, London, 1767. Both books give diagrams showing the patterns of the various figures, and in addition Dukes indicates when and where the dancers take hands. However, neither book includes all the terms used in the Scottish manuscripts.

We now consider some of the most common terms appearing in the manuscripts.

Hands round and *Hands across*. These are described by Dukes and Welch, and are the usual present-day figures of these names, *i.e.* in 'hands round' the dancers join hands and

A COLLECTION OF

Countrey Dances

Written *for the use of his Grace the Duke of* PERTH.

By *Dav. Young.*

PLATE IV. A page of dance instructions from the Duke of Perth's MS. (See p. 125; also *Scottish Studies* 11:4;) The version of Argyle's Bowling Green given here is slightly different from that in the Holmain MS. quoted on p. 125.

dance round in a ring, while in 'hands across' they give right or left hands in the centre and dance round in a 'star' formation. In the manuscripts 'hands round' and 'hands across' are once round in one direction only unless otherwise stated.

Right and Left. Under this name Dukes describes the chain figure of four used in Scottish Country Dancing today, in which the dancers give hands as they pass. Welch gives two figures, neither very clear, in which the dancers do not appear to give hands. In the dance My Own Kind Dearie in the Duke of Perth's MS the figure is called 'Right and Left hands' (see p. 129), so that Dukes's figure is the more likely interpretation.

Cast off and *Cast up.* Dukes uses 'cast off' to mean moving down one or two places by dancing down behind the other dancers outside the lines of the set. To 'cast up' means to dance up in a similar manner.

A man in 1st place facing his partner can cast off either by making three-quarters of a turn to his left and then dancing down, or by slipping directly into second place without turning. According to Dukes the first method was 'the manner it used to be done formerly', the second being 'the modern method'. The first method is almost certainly the appropriate one for the dances in the Holmain, Duke of Perth's and Young MSS, but in the dances in the other two manuscripts either method would be appropriate. Similar remarks apply to 'cast up'.

The terms 'cast off' and 'cast up' are still in use today, and in present-day usage the first method is employed.

Figure 8. This term occurs in the four later manuscripts, and in the Duke of Perth's, Young, and Castle Menzies MSS it is clear from the context that in a 'figure 8' one person dances a figure 8 round two others, who stand still. Dukes gives this same figure, but calls it a 'whole figure'. In the Bowman MS the term 'figure 8' appears to have two meanings; one is that explained above, but of the second we know only that it is different from the first.

Cross over two couples. In this figure, which is described by Dukes and Welch, the dancing couple cross over, cast off into second place on opposite sides, cross over again, and cast off into third place on their own sides. Dukes indicates that the dancers do not give hands when they pass each other in crossing over. The figure was comparatively modern at the time of the Scottish manuscripts, for it first occurs in Walsh's *Twenty four Country Dances for* 1713 and in the second volume of Playford's *Dancing Master c.* 1714. It is absent from the Holmain MS. The figure appears in present-day dancing, but the term 'cross over two couples' is not used today.

Lead out at the sides and turn your partner in the middle. This occurs in two dances in the Duke of Perth's MS and the Young MS. Dukes gives a figure called 'Lead out sides and turn in the middle' in which the 1st couple lead out between 2nd and 3rd men, cast back into the centre (1st man round 3rd man, 1st lady round 2nd man), give nearer hands and lead out between the 2nd and 3rd ladies, cast back into the centre (1st man round 3rd lady, 1st lady round 2nd lady), and turn each other with both hands. This is a possible interpretation, but a more probable one is a closely similar figure in which an extra turn is inserted when the dancing couple meet in the centre after leading through the men. This latter figure occurs (without any specific name) in Killiecrankie in the Holmain MS and in a number of dances in the Walshs' *Caledonian Country Dances.*

Lead out at the sides (or *at both sides*). This is not described by Dukes or Welch, but it is probably the same as 'lead out at the sides and turn your partner in the middle', with one or two turns as indicated above. None of the 'lead out at the sides' terms are in use today.

Sett across and turn. This term is used very frequently in the Duke of Perth's and Young MSS, but is not used by Dukes and Welch, nor is it to be found in any English collection, although the very similar term 'sett across corners and turn' occurs in just one dance in Johnson's 200 *Favourite Country Dances*, Book VI, 1751. Johnson's term suggests that the 'sett across and turn' of the manuscripts may be the figure described by Dukes under the name 'set corners and turn hands', which is the figure known today as 'set to and turn corners'. The term 'corners' as used by Dukes has its present-day meaning, *i.e.* when the 1st couple are dancing with the 2nd and 3rd couples, then the 1st man's 'first corner' is the 3rd lady, and his 'second corner' is the 2nd lady, while the 1st lady's 'first corner' is the 2nd man and her 'second corner' is the 3rd man. Thus the two first corners are diagonally across from each other, and similarly for the two second corners. In 'set to and turn corners', the 1st couple set to and turn their first corners, then set to and turn their second corners. Dukes adds the information that the turns are two-handed.

More positive evidence that 'sett across and turn' is the same as 'set to and turn corners' can be found by studying the instructions of those dances which are common to several collections (see Appendix I). As evidence of this nature, we set out below the versions of Lennox Love to Blantyre given in the Holmain and Duke of Perth's MSS, and the versions of My Own Kind Dearie given in the Duke of Perth's MS and in two of John Walsh's collections. In each case one version has 'set to and turn corners' where the other version has 'sett across and turn'. (Here and later, in any version of a dance where the phrasing is given we insert in brackets the number of bars of music required for each part of the dance. Question marks indicate that the phrasing is doubtful.)

LENNOX LOVE TO BLANTYRE (Tune in Common time).

Holmain MS

First Cross hands and go 3/4 round
and cast down below the first pair
then Cross hands with the third pair

set below them and cast up one
pair,
then right & left,

then sett to the 2d woman, She
to the first man and turn them
then to the 1st woman She to
the 2d man
& then reel the man with the
two women & the woman with
the two men
then Sett to their partner and
turn her.

Duke of Perth's MS

FIRST Couple hands across with the
2d Couple quite round and cast off.
Then right hands across with the 3d
Couple and cast off.
THEN sett and cast up to the 2d
Couple's place.
Then Right and Left with the 2d
Couple.
SETT across and turn.

THEN Reel.

Then sett to your partner and turn.

MY OWN KIND DEARIE (Tune in Common time).

Duke of Perth's MS

FIRST Couple sett and cast off
then lead down thro' the 2d Couple
and cast up.
Then sett cross and turn.

RIGHT hands across with the 2d
Couple,

then left hands across with the
same.
Sett to your Partner and turn her,
and Right and Left hands.

Walsh's *Compleat Country
Dancing-Master*, Vol. I. 1731,
and *Caledonian Country Dances*,
Book I

The 1st Cu. foots it and cast off (4)
1st Cu. foots it in the 2d Cu. place
and lead through the 3d Cu. (4)
1st Man foots it with the 3d Wo.
and turns her, his partner doing
the same at the same Time with the
2d Man (4?)
The 1st Cu. does the same at the
other corners (4?)
First and 2d Cu. hands across quite
round with their Right Hands and
foot it (4)
then do the same back again with
your Left Hands (4)
First Cu. foots it and turns (4?)
1st and 2d Cu. Right and Left
quite round (4?).

These and similar comparisons establish beyond any doubt that 'sett across and turn' is in general the same as 'set to and turn corners'. We insert the cautionary 'in general' because 'sett across and turn' is sometimes used in the manuscripts to mean 'set to and turn *one* corner'. This is clearly shown in the following comparison of the versions of This is Not My Own House from the Holmain and Duke of Perth's MSS.

THIS IS NOT MY OWN HOUSE (Tune in Common time).

Holmain MS	*Duke of Perth's MS*
Cross four hands & cast down one pair,	FIRST Couple cross hands with the 2d Couple, and go quite round and cast off.
cross hands again, & turn down another pair,	Then cross hands with the 3d Couple, and go round to the 2d Couple's place, and cast off.
then sett & lead up to the head, then cast down	LEAD up to the head and cast off.
then sett, & turn your partner,	Sett to your partner and turn her half round improper.
then go round the 2d woman, she round the 1st man, then back to back, & go round the 1st woman she round the second man, then turn her,	THEN back to back, the first Man cast round the 3d Woman, the first Woman cast round the 2d Man till you come where you was. Back to back again, first Man cast round the 2d Woman, the first Woman go round the 3d Man.
then sett to the 2d woman, she to the 1st man, & turn,	SETT across and turn.
then sett to the 1st woman, she to the 2d man, & turn your partner.	Then sett across again and turn your partner.

Sett cross partners. This term is used very frequently in the Young and Bowman MSS, and occurs also, though less frequently, in the Duke of Perth's MS. As far as we know, the only occurrences of the term in English collections of this date are in eight dances in Books III and IV of the Walshs' *Caledonian Country Dances*. One of these eight dances, Ragged Sailor, is also in the Young MS, and two others, The Mouldywort and Welch Fuzileer, are also in the Bowman MS. The 'set cross' of the Castle Menzies MS is presumably the same term.

Again we can find the meaning of the term by comparing different descriptions of various dances, and such comparisons show that 'sett cross partners' is merely another term for 'set to and turn corners', so that it means the same as 'sett across and turn'. There is very clear evidence for this in the two descriptions of The Ragged Sailor and

the three descriptions of The Old Wife Beyond The Fire and of Confederacy which follow.

THE RAGGED SAILOR

Young MS	*Caledonian Country Dances*, Book III
SETT the first Man to 2d Woman and turn her; the 1st Woman the same to 2d Man (8).	The 1st Man sets to the 2d Wo. and turns her, the 2d Man does the same to the 1st Wo.
Cross over and figure in,	then the 1st Cu. cross over and make the Figure of 8 with the 2d Cu.
lead down 1 pair and cast up (8).	then they lead down the 3d Cu. and cast up again
SETT cross Partners (8)	then they Set cross Partners always turning the cross Partner after Setting
Four hands round and Right and Left (8).	then they lead out at both sides.

(The music for The Ragged Sailor in the Young MS is in 6/8 time, but would now normally be written in 9/8, and the numbers in brackets here give the musical lengths of the figures for the tune set in 9/8 time. In the Caledonian collection, the tune is set in 9/8 time, but no phrasing is given.)

THE OLD WIFE BEYOND THE FIRE (Tune in Common time).

Duke of Perth's MS	*Bowman MS*	*Caledonian Country Dances* Book II
FIRST Couple back to back and cast off.	Turn your partner & cast off,	The 1st Cu. turn and cast off (4)
Then back to back again and cast off below the 3d Couple.		Then turn again and cast off again (4)
LEAD up to the head and cast down.	lead up two pair and cast off,	lead up to the top, foot it and cast off (4)
Lead down thro' the 3d Couple and cast up.	lead down and cast up,	Lead thro' the bottom, foot it and cast up (4)
SETT across and turn.	sett cross partners	Then foot it Corners and turn (4) Foot it the other Corners and turn (4)
Then the Side reels.	and Reell	Lead out on the Wos side (4)
Sett to your partner and turn.		Foot it to your Partner, and turn her (4)

CONFEDERACY (Tune in Common time).

Duke of Perth's MS	*Bowman MS*	*Caledonian Country Dances,* Book II
FIRST Couple Right hands across with the 2d Couple quite Round.	Right and left hands across	Turn hands cross all four,
Left hands back again quite round.		back again,
THEN cross over 2d and 3d Couple.	Cross over Two pair,	cross over two Cu.
Then back to back below the 3d Couple and cast up.	turn your partner and cast up	Foot it back to back, and cast up one Cu.
SETT across and turn.	sett cross partners	foot it cross and turn, foot it cross and turn your Partner,
The first Man cast round the 2d Man, and first Woman cast round the 3d Woman, and turn other in the Middle. The first Man cast round the 3d Man, the first Woman cast round the 2d Woman, and turn other in the middle.	and Reell turn your partner	foot it and slip round twice.

Other corner figures. Once we have identified the 'cross partners' as the same as 'corners', the interpretation of other terms involving 'cross partners' is easy. For example, 'arm your cross partners, then your own' means turn first corner with the right arm, partner with the left, second corner with the right arm, and partner again with the left. Dukes specifies a hand-hold for the turns, but in the Holmain, Duke of Perth's and Bowman MSS an arm-hold is used, while the Young MS once uses an arm-hold and once a hand-hold.

Hey and *Reel*. Among the Scottish manuscript collections, 'hey' occurs only in the Duke of Perth's and Young MSS. The figure 'hey' is described by Dukes (and less clearly by Welch), and is the figure known in Scotland to day as a 'reel of three' ('hey' is in fact the English name for this figure, and the term 'reel' is not used in English collections).

The term 'reel' is used in all five Scottish manuscripts, and the two terms 'reel' and 'hey' never occur together in the same dance. From the context, a 'reel' is performed

by three people. So far as we know, there is no eighteenth-century description of a figure 'reel' (the earliest is dated 1811; see Flett 1964:132), but the manuscripts themselves provide strong evidence that the figure 'reel' which occurs in them is the same as the contemporary 'hey', so that it is the same as the figure known today as a 'reel of three'.

It may seem mere pedantry to seek for proof that the 'reel' of the manuscripts is indeed the same as our present-day 'reel of three'. However, we have reason to be cautious here, even apart from the usual danger of presuming on a similarity of names, for in the dances described in the Young MS, where the phrasing is given, the musical length of a 'reel' is only half that of 'sett across and turn' (i.e. 'set to and turn corners'), while with modern phrasing a 'reel of three' has the same musical length as 'set to and turn corners'.

The evidence for identifying the 'reel' and the 'hey' as the same figures is obtained by comparing the different descriptions of the ten dances which occur in both Scottish and English collections and in which the Scottish versions contain the figure 'reel'. In six of these dances, the 'reels' of the Scottish versions are replaced in the English versions by entirely different figures, i.e. by figures which for one reason or another cannot be a possible interpretation of 'reel'. In the other four dances, the English versions have 'hey' where the Scottish versions have 'reel', and we may reasonably deduce that these two figures are the same. We set out below the Scottish and English versions of three of these dances, Ca' Hawkie, Dusty Miller, and Hunt the Squirrel. The fourth is Old Age and Young, whose figures in the Duke of Perth's MS are similar to those of Dusty Miller.

CA' HAWKIE (Tune in Common time).

Young MS	Walsh's *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1742*, and *Caledonian Country Dances*, Book IV
FIRST Couple sett and cast off	First Cu. set and cast off (4)
Sett again and cast up (8)	Set again and cast up (4)
First couple Right hands across with the 2d Couple quite round	First Cu. Right hands across with the Second Cu. quite round (4)
Then lead down thro' the 3d Couple and cast up (8)	Lead down thro' the third Cu. and cast up (4)
SETT across and turn (8)	Set opposite Corners (8)
Reel at the sides	Heys at the sides (4)
Then sett to your Partner and turn (8)	Right and Left with the third Cu. (4)

(The title is that of a Northumbrian song, 'Call Hawkie through the water'. In the Young MS the title is given as 'Hakie', and in the two English collections as 'Hawkie').

DUSTY MILLER (Tune in 3/2 time).

Holman MS	Walsh's *Compleat Country Dancing-Master*, Vol. I, 1731
First lead down throw one pair going round the 2d man, she the 2d woman turn at the foot, then lead up the same & cast down one pair, & turn your partner, then go round the 2d woman & turn your partner,	The 1st Cu. lead thro' the 2d Cu. and on the Outside below the 3d Cu. and turn (4) then the 1st Cu. lead thro' the 3d Cu. and on the Outside of the 2d Cu. to the Top and turn (4) the 1st Man turn the 3d Wo. as at the same time does his partner the 2d Man, then meet and turn (4) do the same at the other Corners (4)
then round the first & turn your partner, then sett to the 2d woman & turn her,	The 1st Man Foot it with the 3d Wo. as at the same time doth his Partner with the 2d Man, and turn (4)
then to the 1st woman & turn her, then reel with the two women,	do the same at the other Corners (4) then the Man heys on the Wo.'s side, as at the same time doth his Partner on the Man's side, 'till they come into the 2d Cu. Place,
& sett to your partner, & turn her.	and turn (8)

HUNT THE SQUIRREL (Tune in 6/8 time).

Holmain MS

First crossover & reel
  with the women,

& then with the men, &
  come to your place,

then lead down the woman going
  foremost round the second
  woman & come back to her
  Place round the first
  woman while the man goes
  round the first man to his
  place;
Then lead down the man going
  round the 2d man, & return
  to his place round the first
  man, while the woman goes to
  hers round the first woman.
Then change places, Crossing the first
  man to the 2d woman's
  place, the 2d man to the first
  woman's place,
then clap hands round till you
  come to your place,
then right & left, then lead
  down throw the 2d pair &
  come up again, & turn round your
  partner.

Walsh's *Compleat Country Dancing-Master*, Vol. I, 1731

First Man hey on the We. Side, and
  the 1st Wo. on the Men's Side at
  the same Time (8)
Then 1st Man hey on the Men's Side, and
  the Wo. on the We. Side, 'till they
  come into their own Places (8)
First Cu. cross over and turn (8)
Second Cu. do the same (8)
First Man go the Figure of 8 on the
  Men's Side, his Partner follows him
  at the same Time, then she slips into
  her own Place (8)

First Wo. cast off on the Outside of
  the 3d Wo. and half Figure with ye
  3d and 2d We. her Partner follows
  her at the same Time, then the Man
  slips into his own Place (8)
First Cu. being at the Top, the first
  Man change over with the 2d Wo. and
  the 1st Wo. with the 2d Man,

then all four Hands half round, 1st
  Cu. being at Top, cast off (8)
Right and left quite round, and turn
  your Partner (8)

(The instructions for this dance given in Playford's *Dancing Master*, 14th edition, 1709, are almost identical with those in Walsh's collection.)

The identification of the meanings of the various terms used in the Scottish manuscripts enables us to settle the question of whether the dances in these manuscripts possess any characteristic features not present in contemporary English dances. The answer to this question is that the only noticeable difference between the English and Scottish dances of this period lies in the frequency with which the figure 'set to and turn

corners' and the sequence 'set to and turn corners and reels of three (or heys) with corners' occur. And here the difference is indeed remarkable.

In Table I below we list the number of such occurrences in the Scottish manuscripts. Column T gives the total number of dances in the manuscripts, column S the number of dances containing 'set to and turn corners', and column R the number containing 'set to and turn corners and reels of three (or heys) with corners'.

TABLE I

Collection	T	S	R
Holmain MS (c. 1710–1730)	12	5	2
Duke of Perth's MS (1737)	48	27	15
Young MS (1740)	48	32	9
Castle Menzies MS (1749)	18	2	2
Bowman MS (c. 1745–1770)	122	99	77
Totals, allowing for repeated dances	241	159(66%)	102(42%)

In contrast, out of over 2,000 dances published in England between 1651 and 1750, we have found only 72 (less than 4 per cent) containing the figure 'set to and turn corners'. Further, this figure first appears in English collections in three dances which are in both John Walsh's *Compleat Country Dancing-Master*, Vol. I, 1731, and his *Caledonian Country Dances*, Book I, 1733, and in a further five dances in the latter collection. Of these eight dances, two are in the Scottish manuscripts, and all have Scottish tunes. Thus this figure first occurs in England in dances which are connected in some way with Scotland. When we add to this the remarkable difference in the frequency with which 'set to and turn corners' occurs in the Scottish and English dances, it is not too much to conclude that this figure is a Scottish contribution to the Country Dance.

The difference in the frequency with which the sequence 'set to and turn corners and reels of three (or heys) with corners' occurs in the Scottish and English collections is even more striking, for we have found this sequence in only nine of the dances published in England before 1750. Moreover, three of these nine dances are in the Scottish manuscripts, and all but one have Scottish tunes. Here there can be no doubt that we have a Scottish contribution to the Country Dance, and indeed the steadily increasing use in Scotland of this sequence, as shown in the Holmain, Duke of Perth's and Bowman MSS, amounts to the development of a distinctively Scottish type of Country Dance.

From the preceding study of the figures of the dances in the Scottish manuscripts we can draw also some conclusions concerning the Reel as a dance on its own. Prior to 1776, the only specific form of Reel mentioned in the literature is a Threesome Reel, 'where three dance together'. The earliest description of a Reel is dated 1811, at which time the Threesome Reel consisted of 8-bar periods of setting alternated with reels of three. The fact that the Scottish manuscripts use the term 'reel' to mean the figure 'reel of three' clearly indicates that this figure was used in the Threesome Reel from

c. 1710 onwards, and thus brings forward by 100 years our earliest detailed information about the form of the Threesome Reel.

We note too the close similarity between the setting and reeling of the Threesome Reel of 1811 and the Country Dance sequence 'set to and turn corners and reels of three with corners'. Indeed, the Country Dance sequence consists effectively of one round of the Threesome Reel performed simultaneously by two trios on the two sides of the dance, the 8-bar period of setting being broken up by the insertion of turns. This similarity, together with the popularity of the Country Dance sequence in Scottish Country Dances, suggests, firstly, that the Threesome Reel of *c.* 1710, like that of 1811, consisted simply of alternate setting and reeling, and, secondly, that the Country Dance sequence was derived from this early Threesome Reel.

We consider next the phrasing of the eighteenth-century Scottish Country Dances, *i.e.* the fitting of the figures to the music. This is most easily discussed in terms of the musical lengths of the various basic figures.

We have already mentioned that the Young MS gives precise instructions concerning the phrasing of the dances. The other four Scottish manuscripts give no explicit information on this subject, and unfortunately the Young MS does not provide a reliable guide here, since a number of changes took place in the phrasing of Country Dances during the eighteenth century. To study these changes, it is helpful to look at the contemporary English collection, since these give more complete information on this subject than do the Scottish manuscripts.

In the Walshs' collections of Country Dances and in later English collections, the phrasing is specified by symbols which indicate the figures to be performed to each part of the tune. For example, the Walsh's sometimes used a horizontal line with dots above and below it. Where a dance was set to a tune of two parts, each part being repeated, a line with a single dot above it marked the end of a set of instructions to be performed to the first part of the tune played once through. The end of the instructions to be performed to the repeat of the first part was marked with a line with two dots above it, and similarly a line with two dots above and one or two dots below marked the ends of the sets of instructions to be performed to the two repeats of the second part.

The system of phrasing used in the Walshs' *Compleat Country Dancing-Master,* Vol. I, 1731 and Caledonian *Country Dances,* Books I-IV, is as follows. The musical lengths of the basic figures depend on the type of tune to which the dance is set, and in this respect the tunes fall into two classes. One class consists of all Common time tunes that have the character of a reel or strathspey, together with all tunes in 9/8 or 3/2 time, and for tunes of this class the musical lengths of various basic figures are as given in Table II below. The second class consists of all Common time tunes that have the character of a hornpipe or Scotch measure, together with all tunes in 2/4 or 6/8 time, and for tunes of this second class the musical lengths of the various basic figures are double the lengths given in Table II. In the sequel we refer to this system of phrasing as System A.

TABLE II

Musical lengths of figures in the Walsh's Collections, for tunes in 9/8, 3/2, or C (reel) time

Figure	Bars of Music
Set, turn, cast off, cast up, each	2
Three, four, or six hands round (one way round only).	4
Four hands across (one way round only).	4
Lead down the middle between one (or two) couple and cast up one.	4
Lead up the middle between one (or two) couple and cast off one.	4
Lead down the middle between one couple, lead up again and cast off one.	4
Right and left.	4
Cross over two couples.	4
Figures 8.	4
Reel of three (hey).	4
Lead out at both sides (and turn in the middle).	8
Turn corners and partner.	8
Set to and turn corners.	8

The list in Table II is not exhaustive, and minor variations were permissible. For example, '1st and 2nd couples right hands across and then 1st couple cast off while 2nd couple lead up to 1st place' was performed in 4 bars, although 'right hands across' and 'cast off' by themselves required 4 and 2 bars respectively.

During the period from about 1740 to 1770 two changes took place in this system of phrasing. Firstly, the musical length of any given figure in bars became independent of the type of tune to which the dance was set, and, secondly, the musical lengths of a 'reel of three (hey)' and a 'figure 8' became the same as that of 'set to and turn corners'. Thus with this later system of phrasing, which we call System B, the lengths of the basic figures *for tunes of all types* were as given in Table II, except that a 'reel of three' and a 'figure 8' each now occupied 8 bars.

It should be noted that although in this transitional period the musical lengths of a 'reel of three' and a 'figure 8' became the same as that of 'set to and turn corners', the musical length of 'cross over two couples' remained at half that of 'set to and turn corners' (see, *e.g.* Welch, *op. cit.*). The length of 'right and left' also seems to have remained unchanged, but there is some doubt here because of possible alternative meanings of this term.

Between about 1770 and 1800 there was a further change, in which 'cross over two couples' and 'right and left' increased in length to 8 bars each, so that they became of the same length as 'set to and turn corners'. With this final change the phrasing took the form which has remained in use up to the present day.

In the light of this information from the English collections, it is not difficult to elucidate the phrasing of the dances in the Scottish manuscripts. In the Young MS

those dances which are set to tunes of our first class (*i.e.* Common time reels and tunes in 9/8 or 3/2 time) are phrased in accordance with Table II. However, for dances set to tunes of our second class the phrasing given in the Young MS is not consistent. In one such dance the musical lengths of the figures are double those given in Table II, while in other dances the lengths of the figures are equal to those in Table II. Thus the Young MS belongs to the transitional period so far as the division of tunes into two classes is concerned. On the other hand, throughout the Young MS the lengths of a 'reel of three' and a 'figure 8' are half that of 'set to and turn corners'.

In the remaining Scottish manuscripts the phrasing is not given, and only the Duke of Perth's MS gives the actual music for the dances. In these cases we cannot say that any given system of phrasing is necessarily the appropriate one for a particular manuscript, but there are certain criteria which enable us to say that some systems are definitely not appropriate. When a Country Dance is correctly phrased, the tune has to be played a whole number of times for the complete sequence of figures of the dance, and, moreover, no figure occurs in such a position in the sequence of figures that parts of it are performed to two different parts of the tune. For example, if a dance is set to a tune consisting of two parts A, B, each of 4 bars, to be played in the sequence AABB, then the length of a complete sequence of figures of the dance is a multiple of 16 bars, and an 8-bar figure can occur only in bars 1–8, 9–16, 17–24, etc. And clearly any system of phrasing which conflicts with this is not the appropriate one for that dance. Further, such criteria can still be applied even if the music is not given explicitly, for almost all Country Dance tunes of this period consisted of two or more parts of 4 or 8 bars.

Using these criteria, we see easily that for the dances in the Holmain and Duke of Perth's MSS neither System B nor the present-day system of phrasing is appropriate (see *e.g.* the instructions for Athol Braes, Lennox Love to Blantyre, The Old Wife Beyond the Fire, and Dusty Miller given above). On the other hand, using System A we can phrase all but three or four of the dances in these two manuscripts in such a way that the above criteria are satisfied. Since several of the dances in these two manuscripts occur in the Walshs' collections, which use System A, it is almost certain that System A is the appropriate one for these two manuscripts.

The Bowman MS shows clear evidence of belonging to the transitional period, particularly in the length of a 'reel of three'. In the three earlier manuscripts, *i.e.* the Holmain, Duke of Perth's and Young MSS, the most common sequence involving 'reels of three' is the ending 'set to and turn corners (8 bars), reels of three with corners (4 bars), set to and turn partner (4 bars)', the phrasing here being given for Common time reels. By 1800, this ending had evolved to the form which is familiar today in The Duke of Perth, *i.e.* the final 'set to and turn partner' was omitted. This change was necessarily accompanied by the transition from a 4-bar 'reel of three' to an 8-bar 'reel of three', because a 4-bar 'reel of three with corners' at the end of a dance would have meant that the first and second 4 bars of 'set to and turn corners' were sometimes performed to different parts of the tune.

There are obvious signs of this change in the Bowman MS. Only two dances there end with 'set to and turn corners, reels of three with corners, set to and turn partner'. In another 22 dances the final 'set to and turn partner' has become simply 'turn partner', and in another fifty-three dances it has disappeared entirely.

If we assume that 'set to and turn corners' (or, in Bowman's words, 'sett cross partners') occupies 8 bars of music, then the musical lengths of the other basic figures in the Bowman MS appear to be as in Table III below. This system of phrasing is almost certainly correct for tunes in either 9/8 or 3/2 time and for Common time reels, but for tunes in either 6/8 or 2/4 time the lengths in Table III may have to be doubled or may be correct as they stand.

TABLE III

Musical lengths of figures in the Bowman MS

Figure	Bars of Music
Set, turn, cast off, cast up, each	2
Hands round, or hands across (one way round only).	4
Lead down the middle between one (or two) couple and cast up one.	4
Lead down the middle between one couple, lead up again, and cast off one.	4
Right and left.	4
Cross over two couples.	4
Figure 8 (there are two figures of this name).	4 or 8
Reel of three.	4, 6 or 8
Lead out at both sides.	8
Turn corners and partner.	8
Set to and turn corners.	8

The Castle Menzies MS, as usual, stands alone. Here the earlier System A is clearly not correct, and it appears that System B is the appropriate one here. In particular, 'reels of three' are always 8 bars in length.

The tempo of the music for the dances in the Scottish manuscripts is much less certain than either the interpretation of the technical terms or the phrasing, since neither the manuscripts nor the contemporary English collections give any explicit instructions about the tempo. Indeed, the earliest precise information about the tempo of Country Dance tunes is given in 1821 by Thomas Wilson, a London dancing-master (Wilson 1821), his figures being 60 bars per minute for reels, 40 bars per minute for strathspeys, and 52 for 6/8 jigs. In Scotland the traditional tempos before about 1914 were 60–64 bars per minute for reels and jigs, and 40–42 bars per minute for strathspeys.

We can infer a little about the tempo of the dances in the manuscripts from a knowledge of the phrasing, though we cannot obtain very precise information by this method.

We can also glean a little information from a knowledge of the upper class costume of the period, for certainly these manuscript dances belonged to the upper classes rather than to the ordinary people of Scotland. The Duke of Perth, in particular, was a great landowner, educated in France, and he and his friends would have been dressed in the height of fashion.

From 1710 to 1780 the dominating feature of ladies' fashions was the hooped skirt. This attained its greatest popularity about 1740, and at that time a lady of fashion wore a skirt four feet or more across, flattened at the back and front (doorways were negotiated sideways). Such a costume would make for a sedate and consciously mannered style of dancing, at a relatively slow tempo. There would also be a fair distance between the dancers, all the more so because the hoop at the bottom of a skirt was often made of iron. Soame Jenyns, an English poet, wrote in 1729 of the dangers of coming too close to a lady of fashion (Jenyns 1729):

'Dare I in such momentous points advise
I should condemn the hoop's enormous size:
Of ills I speak by long experience found,
Oft have I trod th'immeasurable round,
And mourn'd my shins bruis'd black with many a wound.'

In the dances in the Holmain, Duke of Perth's and Young MSS, one aspect of the phrasing which limits the tempo is the fact that 'set to and turn partner' takes exactly as much music as a 'reel of three'. This indicates that the 'reel' was danced rather quickly, for otherwise both the setting and the turn in 'set to and turn partner' would have been uncomfortably prolonged. The Young MS tends to confirm this deduction, for there we find the instruction to 'run' a 'reel of three'. On the other hand, a 'reel of three' cannot be danced or even run too quickly, particularly when two of the participants are ladies measuring four feet or more across. Taking both factors into account, we surmise that in the dances in these three manuscripts a 'reel of three' was performed at a somewhat slower speed than in a modern Country Dance in quick tempo. Since in the dances in these three manuscripts a 'reel' occupies only 4 bars of a Common time tune with the character of a reel or strathspey or of a tune in 9/8 or 3/2 time, we estimate that at the time of these three manuscripts such tunes were played for Country Dances at a tempo of about 28–32 bars per minute. In effect, the tempo of the dances in these three manuscripts was less than half that of present-day Country Dances in quick tempo. In particular, where a tune had words set to it (e.g. This is Not My Own House, which is nowadays played as a strathspey) the tempo when the tune was played for a Country Dance was essentially the same as when it was sung.

It should be noted that among the many Common time tunes in the Duke of Perth's and Young MSS (including the tunes for the Highland Reel in the former), there is none which can be positively identified as a strathspey, i.e. the characteristic 'Scotch

K

snap' is missing. Our conclusions about the tempo of the dances in these manuscripts tend to confirm that at this period the distinction between reel and strathspey tunes had not yet emerged. This is in accordance with the known history of strathspey tunes, which indicates that these tunes first appeared about 1740 (see Flett 1956). It is indeed possible that the slow tempo of the early Scottish Country Dances encouraged the emergence of the distinctive style in which the strathspey tunes were played.

The tempo of the dances in the Bowman and Castle Menzies MSS was probably faster than that of the dances in the three earlier manuscripts. One indication of this is the increase in the musical length of a 'reel of three' which took place at about the date of these two manuscripts. If there had been no accompanying increase in tempo, this figure would have been slowed down to take twice as long as hitherto, and this seems very unlikely.

There are other signs of such an increase of tempo in English works of this date. For example, there is the change in the method of casting off mentioned by Dukes in 1752, where the method of turning before dancing down was replaced by the quicker method of slipping directly into second place. Again, in the earlier collections there were two turns in 'lead out at the sides and turn your partner in the middle', while in Dukes's version one of these turns has disappeared. On the other hand, the tempo could not have been the same as at present, else it would not have been possible to 'cross over two couples' in 4 bars. The hooped skirt, too, was still in fashion, and this also would have kept the tempo slower than at present. (It should be noted that by Thomas Wilson's day, when the tempo for Country Dances to reel tunes was the same as at present, 'cross over two couples' required 8 bars of music, and that at that time the hooped skirt was used only for great Court occasions.)

It seems therefore that for the dances in the Bowman and Castle Menzies MSS the tempo was intermediate between that of the earlier dances and that of present-day dances in quick tempo—probably about 40–50 bars per minute.

In the Castle Menzies MS we find the first signs of Country Dances set to strathspey tunes, for here two dances, The Montgomrie's Rant and Conteraller's Rant, are labelled as 'Strathspey Reels'. The manuscript does not indicate whether the music for these two dances was to be played at a slower tempo than that for other dances, but by this date the tempo had increased sufficiently to allow a distinction to be made between reel and strathspey tunes.

There remains the problem of reconstructing the steps which were used in the manuscript dances, and here the available information, in both Scottish and English sources, is so sketchy as to be worthless. The manuscripts give no explicit directions on steps, and all that we can say from the internal evidence of the dances themselves is that the steps used must have been very adaptable to allow figures to be performed with widely varying speed of movement. For those who may wish to reconstruct the manuscript

dances in their original forms, we suggest that an easy walking step is perhaps the best compromise.

We should mention here that the Pas de Basque was almost certainly not used in the manuscript dances, for it first appears in Britain towards the end of the eighteenth century, having probably been brought from France with the Cotillion. A step similar in form to the present-day 'skip-change-of-step' was probably used before 1750 as a step in the Reel (as a dance on its own), but it seems unlikely that this step was used then in Country Dances, since it is not sufficiently flexible.

The preceding discussion of the dances in the Scottish manuscripts enables us to reconstruct these dances with fair accuracy so far as figures, phrasing and tempo are concerned, and it is clear that in phrasing and tempo they differ considerably from present-day Country Dances. Indeed the differences in phrasing are such that if we perform the original figures of the manuscript dances in the modern style, with modern phrasing, then in most cases the figures do not fit the music properly. The figures can, of course, be adapted to fit the music,[1] but such adaptations are essentially new dances, and are often less satisfactory than dances wholly composed in the modern idiom.

From our own point of view, the interest of these eighteenth-century dances lies in the light they throw on the emergence of a distinctively Scottish type of Country Dance, incorporating a particular sequence of figures almost certainly inspired by the native Threesome Reel. We have seen too that they provide information also on the early development of Scottish dance music and on the development of the Reel itself. In their original forms they are period pieces, but they can still be enjoyable to perform with specialist groups.

APPENDIX I

The list below records all the dances in the Scottish manuscripts which occur elsewhere, either in another of the manuscripts or in an English collection. We have included all cases where the dances in the different sources have both the same name and substantially the same figures.

We denote the elder Walsh's *Compleat Country Dancing-Master*, Vol. I, 1731, by the letters CDM, and the Walshs' *Caledonian Country Dances* by the letters CCD followed by the appropriate book number.

Hunt the Squirrel. Holmain MS, Playford's *Dancing Master* (14th edition, 1709, and all sub-
  sequent editions), and CDM. The dance of this name in the Bowman MS is vaguely
  similar.
Dusty Miller. Holmain MS, CDM, and Johnson's 200 *Favorite Country Dances*, Book I, *c.* 1740.
  Possibly also CCD I, but the instructions of Dusty Miller given there are ambiguous.
Argyle's Bowling Green. Holmain and Duke of Perth's MSS.

Lennox Love to Blantyre. Holmain and Duke of Perth's MSS.

This Is Not My Own House. Holmain and Duke of Perth's MSS.

My Own Kind Dearie. Duke of Perth's MS, CDM and CCD I.

Hey My Nannie. Duke of Perth's MS and CCD I (in the latter as Hay My Nancie).

Jack Leighton. Duke of Perth's MS and CCD II (in the latter as Jack Latin).

Country Kate. Duke of Perth's MS and CCD II (in the latter as Kate).

Old Age and Young. Duke of Perth's MS and CCD II. This is a doubtful case since the instructions for Old Age and Young in CCD II are ambiguous.

Confederacy. Duke of Perth's MS, Bowman MS and CCD II.

The Old Wife Beyond The Fire. Duke of Perth's MS, Bowman MS and CCD II.

Camstronnan's Rant. Duke of Perth's and Bowman MSS. In the latter collection the title is given as Comstranom's Reel. The tune also occurs in Walsh's annual set of dances for 1745 (with a different set of figures) as Camstroden's Rant.

The Maltman. Duke of Perth's and Bowman MSS.

The Ragged Sailor. Young MS and CCD III.

The Piper. Young MS, Walsh's *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year* 1742, and CCD IV. In the two English collections the title is The Piper's Maggot.

Ca' Hawkie. Young MS, Walsh's *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year* 1742 and CCD IV.

Lads of Dunse. Bowman MS, CDM and CCD I. The Scottish and English versions differ here more than in the other dances listed.

The Drummer. Bowman MS and CCD III.

Mouldywort. Bowman MS and CCD III (the Mouldywort is the mole; it was lauded by the Jacobites because the death of William of Orange was caused by his horse having stumbled on a molehill).

Welch Fuzileers. Bowman MS and CCD III.

It will be seen from this list that all the manuscripts except the Castle Menzies MS contain dances which occur elsewhere. Further, there is some continuity in the contents of the Holmain, Duke of Perth's and Bowman MSS.

It should be noted that two dances, The Piper and Ca' Hawkie, appear in the Young MS two years before they first appear in the English collections. In all other cases where dances appear in both Scottish and English collections, the date of the English version is prior to that of the Scottish version, though this, of course, does not necessarily mean that the Scottish version was taken from the English one.

APPENDIX II

The Walshs' Caledonian Country Dances

The Walshs' Caledonian collections contain many dances with Scottish titles (*i.e.* set to Scottish tunes), and it is natural to ask whether all these dances originated in Scotland. We confine ourselves here to Books I–V of the Caledonian collections, published between 1733 and 1748. Each book contains about 100 pages and about 80 dances.

In Books I and II certain dances are specifically labelled in the text as 'Scotch Country Dances', but closer examination shows that this labelling is quite fortuitous and occurs only where there is space to insert the necessary words (most of the dances are printed one to a page, but in some cases the music is printed on one page and the instructions for the figures are given on the opposite page. In each of these latter cases there is plenty of space left on the page containing the instructions, and here and only here do we find the label 'Scotch'). It should be noted also that when the Caledonian dances occur in other English collections, they are not then labelled as Scottish.

When we look for Scottish characteristics in the dances in these Caledonian collections, particularly in the use of 'set to and turn corners' and 'set to and turn corners and reels with corners', a small group of dances in Book III springs to notice. These dances, Ragged Sailor, Mowdewort, Berwick Lasses, Welch Fuzileers, Bung Your Eye, Miller of Dron, and Bucket, all show strong signs of Scottish influence in the use of corner figures. Moreover, their instructions are written in a very distinctive style quite different from that used for the other dances in Book III; in particular the Scottish term 'cross partners' is used in place of the English term 'corners'.

Another distinctive group of dances occurs in Book IV, namely, The Piper's Maggot, The Braes of Balquhidder, The Drunken Elders of Moffat, Perth Inch, Lassie With the Yellow Coatie, The Colonel, (Ca') Hawkie, and De'il Stick the Minister, all of which have been taken from Walsh's *Twenty Four Country Dances for* 1742. These too show strong signs of Scottish influence, and here again the instructions are written in a style not used elsewhere in Book IV (though the style is different from that used in the group in Book III).

Of the first group, Ragged Sailor occurs also in the Young MS, and Mowdewort and Welch Fuzileers are also in the Bowman MS. Of the second group, the figures of The Drunken Elders of Moffat (which are of an uncommon type) are identical with those of Whip Her and Gird Her in the Duke of Perth's MS. Most important of all, (Ca') Hawkie in the group in Book IV occurs in the Young MS, four years before its appearance in Book IV and two years before its appearance in the annual set for 1742. Thus there is very good reason to suppose that the dances in these two groups are of Scottish origin.

In addition to the dances in these two groups, there are some twenty dances scattered through Books I-V which show evidence of Scottish influence in the use of corner figures, but they stand out less clearly than do those listed above.

In the opposite direction there is strong evidence in the books themselves that many of the dances in these collections were 'composed' by the compilers, by the simple process of setting old figures to new tunes.

A close examination reveals that many of the dances have the same figures as other dances occurring either elsewhere in these same books or in other collections, in most cases the two descriptions of the figures being word for word the same. The distribution of such dances in Book II is particularly suggestive. Of the first 52 dances in Book II

we have been able to find only six which have instructions identical to those of earlier dances, but of the last 30 dances, no fewer than 23 have the same figures as dances which occur either earlier in Book II, or in Book I, or in *The Compleat Country Dancing-Master*. The obvious inference is that the compiler of Book II, with 100 pages to fill, had exhausted either his patience or his imagination by the time he had reached page 70. To fill the remaining pages, he selected tunes, and then searched among existing dances until he found tunes similar to those with which he had to deal, and then simply repeated the figures associated with these tunes. And our suspicions that this was indeed his procedure are practically confirmed when we discover that the figures of Nassau and Easter Thursday, on adjoining pages of Book II, are the same as those of Smith's Rant and Sailor's Delight, on adjoining pages of *The Compleat Country Dancing-Master*. It is therefore a reasonable assertion that at least some of the dances in these Caledonian collections were not collected from current tradition.

We have then evidence that a few of the dances in these Caledonian collections originated in Scotland, and equally that some originated in England. However, for the majority of the dances we have no direct evidence in either direction, and here our only guide is the very infrequent use of corner figures, which indicates that these dances are English rather than Scottish.

NOTE

1 A number of editors have attempted to adapt the Scottish manuscript dances for performance in the modern style. Thus adaptations of six dances from the Holmain MS, ten from the Castle Menzies MS, and four from the Bowman MS are given in the *Scottish Country Dance Books* (R.S.C.D.S. 1930–54), and adaptations of thirty-six of the dances in the Young MS have been published by J. McConachie (McConachie 1960). In nearly all these adaptations the phrasing and tempo have been altered, and in most cases this has necessitated changes in the figures. Only about seven of these adapted dances preserve the original figures, and in many of the adaptations the alterations go far beyond what is essential. None of these editors indicate the nature of the original dances.

REFERENCES

The following list does not include manuscript or printed collections of Country Dances whose titles are given in full in the text, either in Part I or in Part II. Further information about the printed collections can be found in references listed in Part I.

FLETT, J. F. and T. M.
    1956   'Some early Highland dancing competitions.' *Aberdeen University Review*, 36 : 345–58.
    1964   *Traditional Dancing in Scotland*. London.
JENYNS, SOAME
    1729   *The Art of Dancing*. London.
MCCONACHIE, JACK
    1960   *Scottish Country Dances of the Eighteenth Century*. London.

R.S.C.D.S.

1930–54   *The Scottish Country Dance Book*, Books 6–11, 15, 17. Royal Scottish Country Dance Society. Glasgow.

WILSON, THOMAS

1821   *The Complete System of English Country Dancing*. London.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An Old Highland Parish Register

*Survivals of Clanship and Social Change
in Laggan, Inverness-shire, 1775-1854*

I

ALAN G. MACPHERSON

In an earlier article the evolution of a Scottish clan was traced from its origins in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the year 1705 (Macpherson 1966:1). The study showed that biological growth in numbers was accompanied by relatively compact territorial expansion, and that by the time that these progressive and related changes had begun to reach their geographical limits a high degree of endogamy prevailed within the clan. The clan was that which first appears in official records of the sixteenth century as the *Clanpherson* or Clan Macpherson; the district in which most of the territorial expansion occurred was the old Lordship of Badenoch, situated in the southeast part of the Shire of Inverness. In the present study attention is focused on the Parish of Laggan which forms the southwestern part of Badenoch, and an attempt is made to show how social patterns associated with the clan system, well established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, survived in and adjusted to the vastly different circumstances of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The document from which the new data are drawn is the Register of Marriages and Baptisms in the Parish of Laggan for the period between 1775 and 1854.

In the earlier study the data derived mainly from genealogical material and referred only to the numerically and territorially dominant clan in the district. Information, in fact, was generally lacking for all but the tacksmen families among the Macphersons. Humbler clansmen were mentioned by name and their family relationships to fellow clansmen were given, but there was virtually no information respecting their wives, daughters and place of abode. In the Register of Laggan, on the other hand, virtually the whole population presents itself for review. The document allows us to determine the relative importance of non-Macpherson elements, including other clans, with whom the Macphersons lived in a single community. It allows us to ascertain whether social patterns found among the Macphersons in earlier centuries still persisted after the traditional date for the collapse of the clan system, and whether these patterns also existed among the smaller clans of the district.

The Register of Laggan reveals the whole social spectrum in the parish, from country lairds such as Macpherson of Cluny and Macpherson of Glentruim, through lesser

tacksman families, to the host of humbler small tenants and farm servants who formed the majority in the community. Besides farmers, grieves and farm servants the economic structure of the population is found to include the parish minister, the parish school-master, traditional tradesman such as millers, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors and shoe-makers, country merchants, and after 1800—the shepherds and gamekeepers of the new economy. In the absence of exact data on immigration, emigration and death (there is no record of burials), the Register is somewhat reticent at the purely demographic level. But careful scrutiny and analysis reveal something of the tide of emigration that had already set in when the record opens. They also indicate, rather surprisingly, that emigration was partly offset after 1820 by an immigration from other Highland parishes, from the Scottish Lowlands, and even from England. It has proved possible to map in detail the association of particular clans with particular farms, to discover the prevailing customs governing the selection of the place of residence after marriage, and to delineate the practice of local migration within the parish, all of which were closely related to the heritable tenure rights inherent in the clan system. Parish records, including registers, have often been used in the past as sources for local social history, but the writer believes that this is the first time that one has been used for a detailed analysis of a Highland population. He believes that its use in this manner has led to a further breakthrough in our understanding of the traditional Highland way of life. The fact that the period covered by the study happened to be a critical one in the history of the Highlanders simply adds a further dimension to its general interest.

The Register: Extraction and Preparation of the Data

The Register of Laggan is part of a collection of Church of Scotland parish registers deposited with the Registrar-General of Scotland at New Register House, Edinburgh. Several of these have been published in print, particularly by the Scottish Record Society. There are very few registers, however, which have survived from the upland and island parishes, and none of these has found its way into print to the knowledge of the writer. The Badenoch parishes, in fact, are rather conspicuously fortunate in the fact that their registers extend back into the eighteenth century.

Prior to 1855, when compulsory registration of births, deaths and marriages began in Scotland, the only continuous record related to the life of the people at large consisted of church registers of marriages, baptisms and burials. The motives underlying the maintenance of such registers differed from those inherent in the legislation for compulsory registration, and only the forcefulness and assiduity of parish ministers, session clerks and elders of the kirk could ensure that such registers gave a more or less complete record of marriages and live births. Fortunately, we are dealing with a period when religious attachment and observance were widespread, when clergy were revered as spiritual leaders in the community, and elders were feared by their less elevated neighbours. The Laggan Register, which consists of four ledger-sized volumes of long-

hand, was begun during the incumbency of the Reverend James Grant: the baptismal record just after he took the charge in September 1775, the marriage record just after he married Anne McVicar, better known as 'Mrs Grant of Laggan', in May 1779. We shall have occasion to refer to her *Letters from the Mountains* more than once in this study, giving as they do some splendid pen-sketches of the life of the Laggan folk among whom she lived. The Register, besides containing baptismal entries for the Grant children, also includes entries for the families of the Reverend John Matheson, Mr Grant's successor, who held the charge from 1801 to 1808, George Shepherd (1818-25), Donald Cameron (1832-46), William Sutherland (1846-50), and John McLeod (1851-69) in whose time it terminated.

Protracted work on the Register makes it apparent that it represents a virtually complete record of baptisms, and therefore of live births, in the parish. The only omissions of any significance can be accounted for by the presence of several families of Roman Catholic MacDonalds on Lochlaggan-side and at Garvamore near the head-waters of the Spey. These families formed about 9 per cent of the population in 1755, and about 16·5 per cent in 1790.[1] The completeness of the baptismal record also means that the Register provides a full roster of the resident families (710) into which children were born between 1775 and 1854. In these respects, then, it can be approached with a high degree of confidence.

When the marriage record is scrutinised, however, complications arise. Of the 710 resident families (they were not all resident at the same time, of course) producing infants for baptism, only about 40 per cent (289) have their marriages recorded. If the recorded marriages which did not result in any baptisms in the parish (183) are included, the percentage rises to about 53 per cent of the total number of couples who were associated with the parish in one way or another. Throughout the Register families appear suddenly for baptism as resident in a particular farm, and we are left to guess whether the parents of such a family had been married in another parish or whether they had formed a common-law marriage beginning with a 'penny wedding'. Certainly, the percentages just quoted seem far too low to be accounted for entirely by church marriage elsewhere, and lead to the conclusion that common-law marriage was of some considerable significance. That this type of marital union occurred, was frequent, was undertaken seriously, and consituted a popularly recognised part of the Highland way of life in Badenoch is strongly indicated by condemnations of the custom in the records of the Kirk-session of the Parish of Kingussie for 1725 and 1728. These dates are a trifle early for the period under consideration, but the practice is alleged to have been prevalent in Badenoch within the memory of people still alive in 1893 (Macpherson 1893: 30, 34).

When families appear in the baptismal record for whom no marriage entry exists one cannot be certain that the first recorded baptism is for the firstborn; the couple may have immigrated into the parish with several older children. One can be fairly certain, on the other hand, that many of the children baptised in the first few years of

the Register had siblings born before 1775. Uncertainty returns when one considers the impossibility of deciding whether a family which has ceased to baptise in Laggan has left the parish, has lost a parent by death, disease, or recruitment into the army, or has simply ceased to reproduce. Similarly, couples for whom there is a marriage entry but no recorded baptisms may be interpreted as having emigrated from the parish or as still resident but barren.

Second marriages, which are known to have been frequent among the Macphersons in the seventeenth century (Macpherson 1966:18), can seldom be recognised in the register in the absence of a burial record, and only if the individual concerned bears a very distinctive name. This largely eliminates the possibility of identifying second marriages with any certainty among the larger clans, where a few first names were in very frequent use, and where several men of the same name often lived on one farm. This is unforunate, for it is for these clans in particular that one would like to have full information.

What all these restrictions amount to, then, is that the Register cannot be used as a purely demographic document: fertility can be calculated where a marriage record exists, but live birth rates can only be calculated with caution, and any assessment of family size from generation to generation is very hazardous.

The copying of the Register was begun by Mr Lloyd C. Macpherson, Aurora, Ontario, and the writer in the summer of 1962, and was completed by Mr A. F. Macpherson, W.S., Edinburgh, in 1964. It was then the task of the writer, assisted by Lloyd Macpherson, to reduce the copied material to family data sheets, on each of which was compiled all the information available on one family as derived from the marriage entry (if such existed), and from all the baptismal entries pertaining to that family.

The formula for a marriage entry varied a little with changes in the office of session clerk of the parish. Invariably it gave the respective surnames of the couple and the first name of the husband, while the first name of his spouse was omitted in only a very few instances. Unlike the registers of lowland parishes in towns like Edinburgh and Dundee, no information is generally given about the parentage of the bride, except in some half-dozen instances scattered throughout the Register and in the last three years of record where her father's name and residence, and sometimes his occupation, are given. On the other hand, in all but a very few cases the farm on which each party was resident at the time of marriage was recorded, and, where one was outwith Laggan the parish in which it was situated was named.

The formula for a baptismal entry also varied a little during the period. The full name of the father was almost always mentioned and he was further identified by residence. The mother's full maiden name was usually given, this being the name by which, following old Scottish legal and popular practice, she continued to be known in the parish after marriage. Omission of the mother's name occurs in isolated instances scattered throughout the Register, and is more frequent than not from November 1797 to December 1806. In almost all such cases, however, earlier and later baptisms

fill the omission. In many of such cases, also, the formula alters to include the terms '. . . and his wife', '. . . and his spouse', or '. . . in wedlock', so that no doubt exists as to legitimacy. In baptismal entries for illegitimate infants both parents are named, and the farm of residence for each is given; the formula usually includes the term '. . . born in fornication', although there are one or two instances where the child is more delicately described as 'natural'. There are forty-five entries where illegitimacy is stated explicitly, and another eleven where no mention is made of the marital status of parents described as living on different farms. Obviously, in these latter cases some doubt exists as to the legitimacy of the children, and this was recorded on the data sheets. For statistical purposes, however, these children were included with those stated explicitly to have been illegitimate.

While the data sheets were being prepared two problems recurred persistently. These concerned questions of *individual identification* and *family connection*, the solution of which resulted in a certain amount of processing of the raw data and which greatly added to the final value of the data sheets.

A problem of *individual identification* occurred whenever a name was omitted from an entry, when a rather long interval interposed between baptisms, or when the baptismal record seemed to show a change in location of residence within the parish. The problem was compounded by the fact that of the 710 resident and baptising families exactly 50 per cent were either Macphersons or MacDonalds; if the Kennedies, MacIntoshs and MacIntyres are included the figure rises to 65 per cent. When one considers the awesome fact that 40 per cent of the heads of families among the Macphersons and 52 per cent among the MacDonalds bore the name Alexander, Donald, or John, the problem would appear to become insuperable. Names were equally repetitious among the mothers of families. It is probably this characteristic of Highland records which has daunted earlier students of Highland history and has been responsible for their continued neglect in modern studies.

The problem, however, is only apparent. The record for each couple consists, in fact, of a number of variables: two surnames, two first names, two places of original residence (if there is a marriage entry), a place of residence at each baptism, and the scale and position of the dates involved. When all known facts were assembled and each problematic entry was faced with several possible and alternative identifications these variables were found to be quite sufficient for a decision carrying some degree of certainty. When compilation and processing of the data were completed only a very insignificant fraction of the total record proved itself to be quite intractable.

The problem of *family connection* concerned the relationships between different generations. The Register contains eighty years of record, spanning two or three generations of men and three full generations of women. Assuming a fairly high degree of conservatism and immobility in the population at large, based primarily on attachment to clanship and land, it should be possible to identify parents in the later generations with baptised infants in earlier ones. The common assumption, however, that the

Highlanders observed fairly rigid rules in naming children, *e.g.* that the first-born son was named after its paternal grandfather, the second son after its father, is not confirmed by the inspection of a large number of cases. Application of such rules was equally indiscernible among the Macphersons of Badenoch during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If such rules did in fact exist they were undoubtedly complicated in principle and flexible in practice, and were probably related to the system of tenure rights and the exigencies of the family. Many instances present themselves on the data sheets where a first name was used twice in baptising within one family, implying the demise of the first child bearing the name before the birth of the second. The name, in such a case, almost certainly belonged to a member, probably a deceased member, of an earlier generation. In general, however, inspection indicates that maternal relatives were as much involved as paternal ones in the passing on of names. In any case, in the absence of complete genealogical information connection by name alone was considered too hazardous and was not attempted in this study.

The more reliable method of identifying connections between families of different generations involved a careful scrutiny of all families, no matter the surname, associated with each particular farm. The efficacy of this method is illustrated later in this study with reference to the conjoint farm of Drumgask, demonstrating the relationships found to exist there among certain families of Macphersons, MacDonalds, Tolmies and MacIntoshes. The association of a particular family with more than one farm during the period from marriage to last baptism is often found to be related to heritable tenure rights on both sides of the family, and is therefore closely related to the selection of residence at marriage and subsequent migration within the parish. Plotting data for particular farms, in fact, revealed a great many connections between families: between families on different farms and between families with different surnames and of different clans. The net result was a large-scale cross-referencing system of notes which has greatly added to the value of the data sheets.

1 *The Community in Laggan: Clans and Families*

The population of Laggan between 1775 and 1800 was composed of families belonging to all of the clans of the central Highlands and of a number of small families with distant or unknown affinities. Despite differing clan attachments and religious affiliations most of these families had shared a common historical experience for several centuries and now formed a single community. Genetically it functioned to a very large extent as a single gene pool which reflected the amount of inbreeding characteristic of sedentary mountain peoples practising a traditional way of life in relative isolation. Kinship extended across clan lines in a complex web that gave cultural cohesiveness and social, if not political, solidarity to the community.

Laggan, on the other hand, was not a closed biological community. The gene pool

received from and contributed to the population of a much larger area that embraced not only the parishes of lower Badenoch, but also the districts of Strathspey to the northeast, Lochaber to the west, Rannoch to the southwest, and Atholl to the south. It is significant that the districts from which marriage partners were drawn between 1775 and 1854 were the very districts already represented in the community before 1800: Lochaber by MacDonalds, Kennedies, and Camerons, Atholl and Rannoch by Stewarts, Robertsons, Camerons and MacGregors. The Frasers of Stratherrick to the north, on the other hand, are barely represented by fellow clansmen, the Farquharsons of Braemar to the east not at all, and neither of these districts, separated from Laggan by high mountain ridges and broad plateaux, contributed anything to the gene pool.

Figure 1 shows the relative strength of several of the more important families and clans in the community for the periods 1775–1800, 1801–25, and 1826–54. The statistical
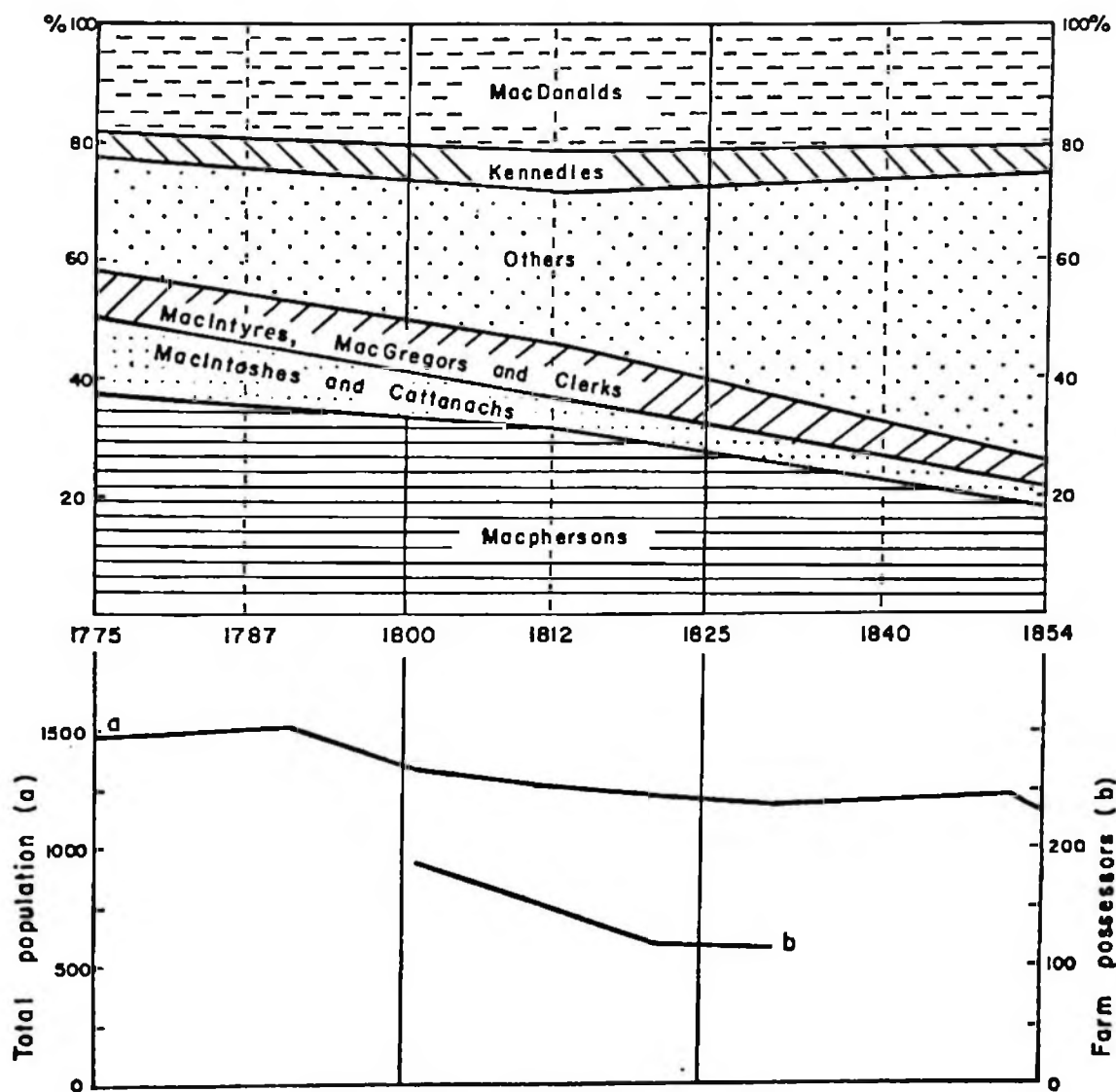
FIG. 1 Changes in the composition of the community, 1774–1854; and census data for total population and numbers of farm possessors within the same period.

'population' used here consists solely of those families for whom actual residence in the parish is proved by baptismal records. It was thought that this would give a more accurate picture of the composition of the population than would result if marriages were included which were contracted but not necessarily or apparently consummated in the parish. In order to make the second and third periods conform to the same definition as the first all families producing children in two periods were counted in both periods. The percentages have been plotted for the mid-point of each period, *i.e.* for the years 1787, 1812, and 1839/40, and trends have been suggested by projecting backward and forward from 1812 through the other two years. This admittedly simple method probably gives a good representation of what was actually happening after 1787, but may rather exaggerate the amount of change before that date.

Only one general characteristic of the original community in Laggan will be noted here. It is evident from Fig. 1 that, while the MacDonalds and Kennedys more or less held their own and some of the smaller clans and families such as the MacGregors slightly increased their relative importance, the Macphersons, MacIntoshes, Cattanachs, Clerks and MacIntyres—that is, the clans traditionally associated with Badenoch— declined markedly in importance. This relative decline coincided with a general decline in the population of the parish, and must therefore be related to social factors acting selectively in the community. The slight acceleration in the relative decline of the indigenous clans after 1812 can probably be explained as the delayed result of the operation of these factors during the first major phase of depopulation, which struck the parish between 1790 and 1811.

Table I gives a fuller statistical account of the clans and families resident in Laggan before 1800. They have been divided into three groups: those traditionally thought to have had some connection with the original Clanchattan; those who had taken refuge among or had accepted the protection of the traditional Badenoch clans; and those who bore surnames used by clans associated with districts other than Badenoch. Each of these will be described in turn.

Clan Macpherson. This clan is believed to have originated in a protracted and complex migration of the *Clann Mhuirich*, part of the Old Clanchattan, from Lochaber to Badenoch, Rothiemurchus and the Castlelands of Inverness during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (Macpherson 1966: 9, 10). Its leaders claimed to represent the senior line of the Old Clanchattan. One of its early leaders, Duncan McChynnich (the) Parson, is reputed to have held a secular office prior to 1430 in which he was responsible for the 'collection of the parsonage teinds & viccarage of the Parish of Laggan'. Whatever truth there may be in this, it is certain that two branches of this clan, the *Sliochd Choinnich* and the *Sliochd Iain*, invaded Laggan during the first half of the fifteenth century and acquired the farms of Garvamore, Clunie and Breakachie by marriage and conquest. By 1700 they had extended their *duthchas* rights to include Garvabeg,

TABLE I

The Laggan Community: its composition by clan and family, 1775–1854

	1775–1800		1801–1825		1826–1854		Nos. in 1840 as % of nos. in 1787
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	
The traditional Clanchattan *clann*							
Macpherson	106	35·33	70	31·25	40	22·35	37·7
MacIntosh	23	7·66	9	4·02	6	3·35	26·0
Cattanach	7	2·33	3	1·34	2	1·12	28·6
Clerk	5	1·66	4	1·79	1	0·56	20·0
Davidson and MacKay	4	1·33	2	0·9	3	1·68	75·0
Gow	1	0·33	1	0·45	1	0·56	100·0
Pre-Clanchattan *clann*, 'broken men', and incomers							
MacIntyre	16	5·33	12	5·36	3	1·68	18·8
MacGregor	5	1·66	5	2·23	6	3·35	120·0
MacAlchynich (MacKenzie)	5	1·66	6	2·68	4	2·23	80·0
Tolmie	3	1·0	5	2·23	7	3·91	233·3
Leslie	2	0·66	2	0·89	2	1·12	100·0
Anderson	1	0·33	2	0·89	1	0·56	100·0
Families and lineages of non-Badenoch clans							
MacDonald, Mann and and MacGillvantich	59	19·66	49	21·88	37	20·66	62·7
Kennedy	14	4·66	14	6·25	10	5·59	71·4
Campbell	8	2·66	7	3·12	7	3·91	87·5
Robertson	8	2·66	6	2·68	2	1·12	25·0
Cameron	5	1·66	1	0·45	5	2·79	100·0
Fraser	4	1·33	1	0·45	4	2·23	100·0
Grant	3	1·0	1	0·45	1	0·56	33·3
Stewart	1	0·33	3	1·34	1	0·56	100·0
Others	20	6·66	21	9·38	36	20·13	
TOTALS	300	100·0	224	100·0	179	100·0	60·0

Kyllarchill, Crathie Croy, Pitgown, and Ovie (Uvie) on the north side of the Spey, Shirramore, Shirrabeg, Blargiebeg, Strathmashie, Gaskinloan, Catlaig (Catlodge), and Nessintullich on the south side of the river, and Crubinmore, Crubinbeg and Presmuckrach on the west side of the Truim; they had been joined by one tacksman family of the *Sliochd Ghill-Ìosa* at Coraldie. By 1775 they had extended their interests to include holdings in most of the remaining farms along the Spey. Thus most of the Spey drainage within the parish had come to fall within their preserves, and in this part of the parish their interests were paramount and unchallenged when the Register opened. Prestige also undoubtedly accrued from the fact that theirs was the only chief resident in the parish.
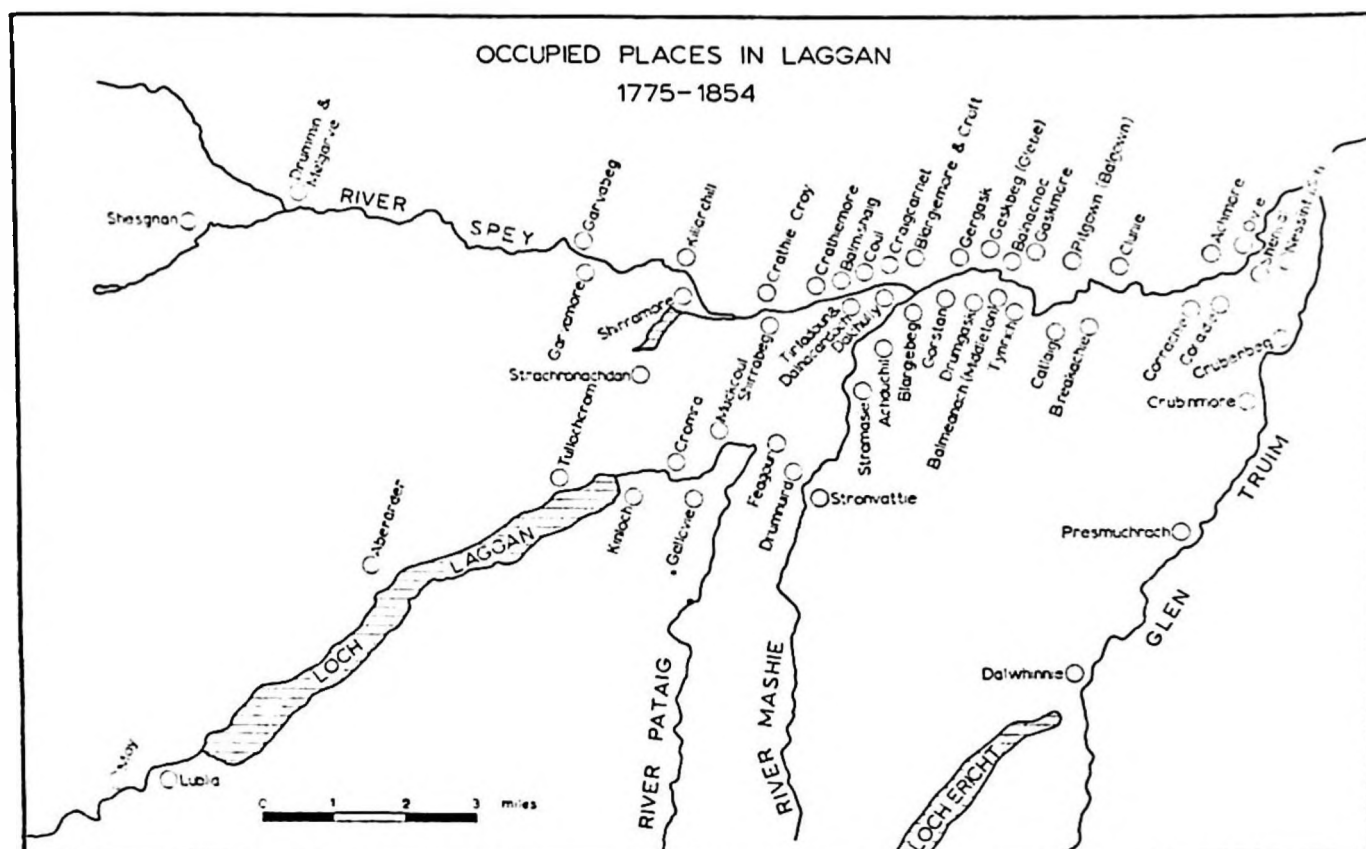
Fig. 2

Macpherson clansmen are also known to have been probing into the western part of the parish in the Loch Laggan drainage area since a date prior to 1647, mainly by the acquisition of wadset rights in the farms of Gallovie, Invervidden, Kinloch(laggan) and Muckcoul. This encroachment into territory generally acknowledged to be MacDonald preserve culminated in the acquisition of the whole estate of Lochlaggan as a feu-right by Macpherson of Clunie in 1726, although full possession was not obtained until 1785. (Paton 1903: Nos. 394, 414, 415, 525 (1) and (4), 726, 731, 736, 758, 843 and 855.) It terminated between 1766 and 1772 when a very determined effort was made, eventually successful, to install the Rev. Robert Macpherson of the Banchor family,
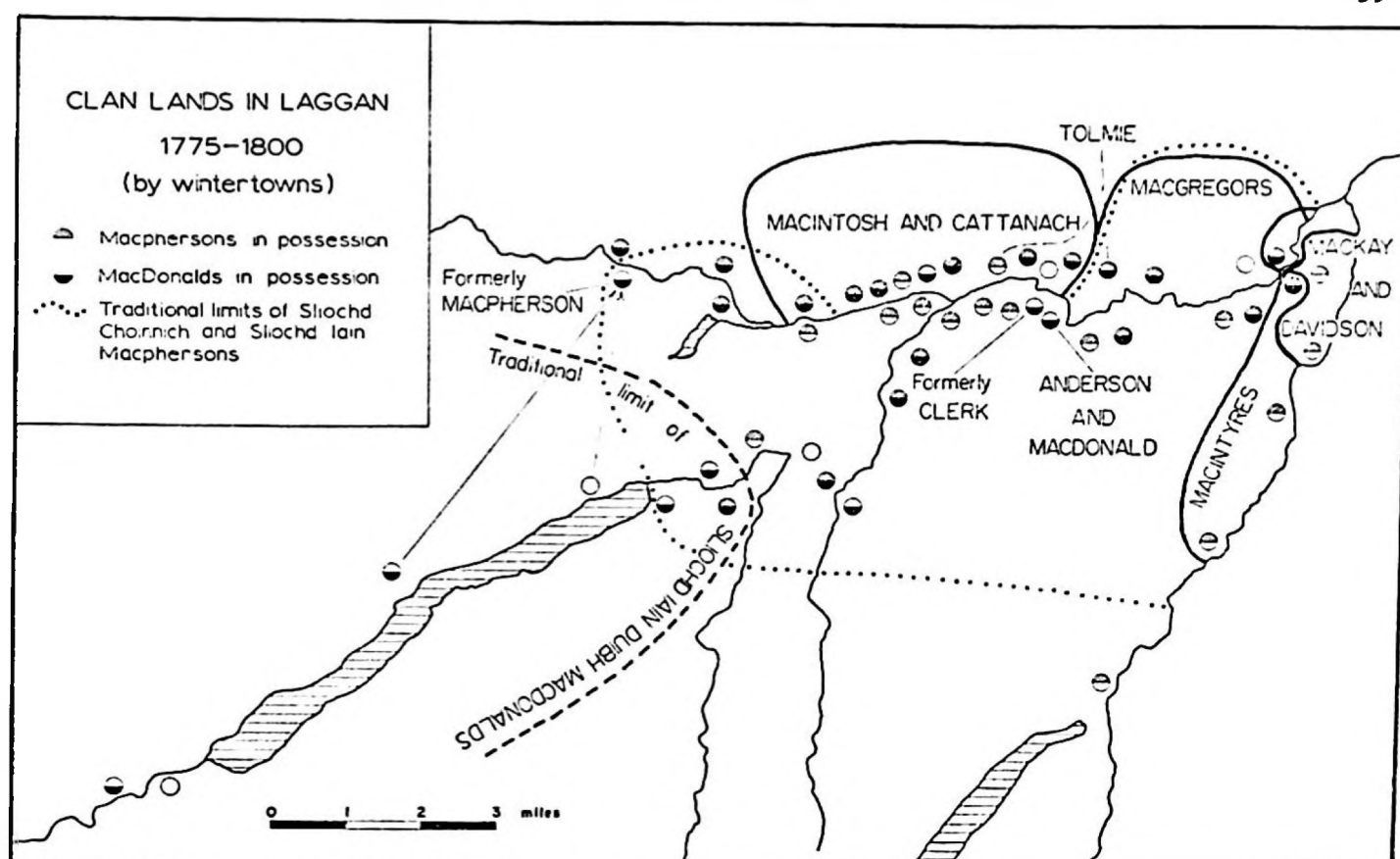
Fig. 3

former chaplain of the Fraser Highlanders, in the farms of Aberarder and Tullochrom on the north side of Loch Laggan, formerly occupied by MacDonalds. (Forfeited Estates' Papers Collection, Register House, Edinburgh.)

Social and economic dominance, however, did not prevent—and might well have been indirectly responsible for—the abandonment of some farms immediately prior to 1775. The flight of the tacksmen, in fact, began before 1766, when the Macphersons of Garvamore were already established as manufacturers in Berwickshire in the Scottish Border country, and continued with the removal of the Macphersons of Ovie to Culachy near Fort Augustus by 1774 (Macpherson 1893:494 (after Glenbervie); Grant 1807:I 176; and Macphail 1896:278).

The Macphersons never formed a majority in the Laggan community, and probably never much exceeded one-third of the population. In virtue of their dominant position as a clan, however, they undoubtedly had a proportionately larger stake in the system of heritable rights on which wealth and prestige rested than had any of the smaller clans. Their relative decline in the community—itself a shrinking entity—from 35·4 per cent to about 18 per cent between 1787 and 1840, is therefore a direct measure of the failure of the system of heritable rights. More particularly, it was a symptom of the breakdown in their confidence in the system and in the viability of the society and way of life of which it was an integral part. The numerical decrease which accompanied their relative decline was, in fact, catastrophic. The number of resident families fell

from 107 in the period 1775–1800 to forty in the period 1826–54, a reduction to 37 per cent of their former strength. By 1854, as the Register closes, their numerical superiority over other clans had vanished, and they found themselves in a position of mere parity with the MacDonalds. At the date of writing (1967) the proprietory family of the Macphersons of Glentruim is the only survivor of the process, the last working family of Macphersons having died out in the 1950s.

Clan MacIntosh. The first reference suggesting the presence of this clan in the Parish of Laggan is given in a somewhat cryptic statement in *The Kinrara MS* (1680), to the effect that Adam McWilliam MacIntosh, a bastard son of William, Laird of MacIntosh between 1346 and 1368, 'dwelt first in Athol, and afterwards passed over to Garva mor in Badenoch'. This might indicate a date prior to 1400. His posterity, however, are said to have lived in Glenshee, Strathardell and Glenisla (Clark 1900: 176). Sir Aeneas Macpherson, in fact, throws considerable doubt on the accuracy of this statement, both as to time and descent, for he states in *The Loyall Dissuasive* (1701) that he was told by John MacIntosh of Forter in Glenisla that 'his predicessor was a son of the house of Garvamore in Badenoch, where [as Sir Aeneas comments] never a McIntosh traded till this our age, otherways than as a guest or passenger, so was rather McPherson, as all the other McIntoshes in the south are' (Murdoch 1902: 43, 44).

We reach much firmer ground with Kinrara's statement that 'From John, brother of Ferquhard [the Laird of MacIntosh who died in 1417], but illegitimate [*sic*?], there sprang the house of Crathy mor in Badenoch, whose posterity are called Slighk Ian Lea vic Lauchlan' (Clark 1900: 182). Kinara shows considerable animus against the family of Ferquhard, who was deposed as chief in 1409, apparently because of his close family relations with Duncan and Donald MacChynnich, the leading men of the *Sliochd Choinnich* Macphersons, and it is perhaps significant in this respect that the *Sliochd Iain Léith* MacIntoshes settled among the Macphersons in Laggan. On the other hand, the earliest marriage recorded in *The Genealogies of the McPhersons* was that of Duncan McIntosh of Crathiemore to the youngest daughter of Dougall Macpherson of Essich, the latter very active in the affairs of successive MacIntosh chiefs and murdered in their service in 1572. Duncan of Crathiemore may also have fallen in the same cause, for the MS adds that he 'was killed in Drummine be the Clanchameron'. The family figures little in the affairs of later MacIntosh chiefs, although John Keir MacIntosh was a tenant on MacIntosh's farm of Muckcoul in the Loch Laggan area in 1635 (Paton 1903: No. 348), and John MacIntosh of Crathie was one of the men who accompanied the Laird of MacIntosh on his expedition into Lochaber in 1679 (Clark 1900: 403). On the other hand, three alliances with the *Sliochd Iain* Macphersons are recorded in *The Genealogies of the McPhersons*, the first a marriage between a daughter of MacIntosh of Crathiemore and Malcolm Macpherson of Tirfodown, the second the marriage of Angus MacIntosh, tutor of Crathiemore, to Mary, a daughter of Soerle Macpherson in Nessintullich, and the third between Angus

McIan Cheir in Crathiemore and Ann, a daughter of John Macpherson of Invernahavon, all of them in the mid-seventeenth century. Alexander MacIntosh in Crathiemore married Elspet, a daughter of John Macpherson of Crathie Croy (*Sliochd Choinnich*) at about the same time.

The *Sliochd Iain Léith* in Crathiemore, however, were not the only MacIntoshes connected with Laggan. Lauchlan MacIntosh, a younger son of the usurping chief, Malcolm Beg, and a brother of Duncan who was Laird of MacIntosh between 1457 and 1496, was connected with the parish on two counts: his first wife was a daughter of 'the chief of the Clan Gilliniv [Latin text] who possessed Gask mor in Badenoch, by whom he had no offspring'; and he himself 'lived for the most part at Gelloway [Gallovie] in Badenoch, as he was chosen chief of the Badenoch people; on this account he was afterwards called Lauchlan (of) Badenoch' (Clark 1900: 194, 200, 201). He actually acquired Gallovie from the Earl of Huntly in 1481, and the farm was confirmed to his eldest son, Malcolm, by the same Earl in 1492 (Paton 1903: Nos. 12, 16 and 17). Malcolm's illegitimate descendants, the notorious *Sliochd Iain mhic Gille-chaluim* or, *Clann Eachainn*, however, had no further connection with either Gallovie or Gaskmore and the heritable rights in these farms would appear to have reverted to the legitimate line in the person of his younger brother William of Dunachton, later Laird of Mac-Intosh.

William MacIntosh acquired Dunachton in lower Badenoch as a result of his marriage in 1497 to Isobella MacNiven, 'heiress of the barony of Dunachton', and it may be surmised that this alliance was a consequence of his prior possession of the old MacNiven farm of Gaskmore in Laggan. As in the case of his father's first marriage, they had no issue, and Dunachton then passed into the general inheritance of his younger brother Lauchlan and later Lairds of MacIntosh. Gaskmore, which had been acquired before this family became Lairds of MacIntosh, did not follow the same path. Kinrara states that 'after the death of Isobella, William had two sons . . . by a daughter of Paul Macvurrich [Latin text: Makwirrich]', one of whom was Donald Glas(s), '. . . a man of great vigour and activity, from whom sprang the family of Strone' (Clark 1900: 205). Donald Glass MacIntosh of Strone in Kingussie was responsible for the apprehension in 1531 of his illegitimate cousin John Malcolmson MacIntosh, who was later executed for the assassination of their uncle, Lauchlan, Laird of MacIntosh, in 1524 (Clark 1900: 218). His maternal grandfather, Paul Macvurrich, was almost certainly the *Sliochd Iain* Macpherson from whom the Macphersons of Strathmashie were descended.[2] The latter was a family which subsequently had close relations with the family of the MacIntosh chiefs and which provided several chamberlains and attorneys to administer MacIntosh's affairs in Lochaber during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Macpherson 1966: 28). Moreover it and its cadet branch in Shirrabeg were the Macphersons primarily responsible for the extension of the interests of that clan into the heritable rights attaching to the farms at the head of Loch Laggan, already noticed (p. 158), and it is therefore interesting to speculate as to the exact set of relations which

may have brought this about. Our initial interest in Donald Glass, however, resides in the fact that his eldest son, James McConill Glass, was generally known as 'of Gask (in Badenoch)'. James, who was even more deeply involved in the affairs of successive Lairds of MacIntosh than were his cousins, the Macphersons of Strathmashie, appears frequently under this designation between 1563 and 1603 (Clark 1900: 259; Paton: 1903: Nos. 80, 88, 92, 93, 139, 142, 145, 148, 152, 153, 163, 168, 172, 182, 187, and 206), strongly suggesting that the heritable rights to the MacNiven farm had come into his possession, presumably from his father and grandfather. Only once is there a reference to him as 'James McConill Glass in Strone in Badenoch', and this was in connection with a wadset of the farm of Clune which was adjacent to Strone (Paton 1903: No 138). His eldest son, Lauchlan, is referred to variously between 1597 and 1656 as 'of Strone' and 'of Gask' (Paton 1903: Nos. 182, 292, 339, 340 and 449; Clark 1900: 259, 272), while his younger brother, William McConill Glass, was a tenant 'in Gallowye' (Gallovie), another of Lauchlan Badenoch's acquisitions, in 1563 (Paton 1903: No. 80).

Gaskmore and Gallovie, however, were not the only farms associated with the *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais*. *The Genealogies of the McPhersons* indicates that Angus MacIntosh, a younger son of Lauchlan of Gask, was in possession of the farm of Gergask at the time of his marriage to Katherine, a daughter of Andrew Macpherson of Clunie, in the early seventeenth century, and he retained the designation till 1648 (Macpherson 1893: 380). William Roy MacIntosh of Gask, who was the subject of genetic speculation on the part of Sir Aeneas Macpherson in *The Loyall Dissuasive* (Murdoch 1902: 89) was probably a son of this marriage; if so, it would suggest that separate branches of the *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais* now inherited Gaskmore and Strone respectively. Alexander MacIntosh in Blargiemore, who married a daughter of John Macpherson of Crathie Croy (*Sliochd Choinnich*) late in the sixteenth century, was probably another member of this family. William MacIntosh of Blargiemore was a witness with his son John in 1678 to an instrument of sasine confirming a wadset of the farm of Gallovie recently granted by the Laird of MacIntosh to a family of MacDonalds. Again, in 1714 William, son of John MacIntosh of Blargiemore, was a witness to the disposition (or transfer) of a wadset of Muckcoul from the Macphersons of Shirrabeg to John Macpherson of Benchar (Paton 1903: Nos. 574 and 699). In the latter case Duncan Macpherson of Invertromie, probably the most active leader of the *Sliochd Iain* at that time, was also present at the transaction, probably to represent the interests of the whole kin of the *Sliochd Iain*, to which the outgoing wadsetters belonged, and it seems likely that the Blargiemore family was present in both 1678 and 1714 for much the same reason. It was almost certainly a leading family of the *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais*, representing a residual interest in the heritable tenure rights of the two farms. The *Genealogies of the McPhersons* mentions a MacIntosh of Blargiemore who married Henret, a sister of John Macpherson of Invernahavon (*Sliochd Iain*) who was active in the mid-seventeenth century, and the *Kinrara MS* refers to William MacIntosh of Baroggy (*sic*, Blargie?) as accompanying the Laird of MacIntosh on his expedition into Lochaber

in 1679 (Clark 1900:403). The last occasion when a member of the Strone family was involved in transactions of land involving the lands of Kinlochlaggan occurred as late as 1756 (Paton:1903:No. 817).

The foregoing excursion into the history of the Clan MacIntosh in the Parish of Laggan has revealed the presence there of two principal families, the *Sliochd Iain Léith* and the *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais*. The farms traditionally associated with them by the late eighteenth century might be expected to include Crathiemore, Gaskmore, Gallovie, Kinloch(laggan), Muckcoul, Gergask and Blargiemore. The three MacIntoshes who surrendered with the Laggan men of Clunie's regiment in 1746 had their places of residence listed as Crathiemore, Blargiemore and Gergask (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 92, ff 251). The Register of Laggan, in fact, confirms their presence in Crathiemore, Gaskmore and Blargiemore, and, as we shall see, presents indirect evidence of their continued connection with Gergask. But the association with the three farms at the head of Loch Laggan would appear to have been finally broken before 1775.

The Register records twenty-eight MacIntosh families as residing in the parish prior to 1812: ten of these lived at Crathiemore, three at Gaskmore, and two at Croftcroy of Blargiemore. Others lived on the farms of Balmishaig, Craigcarnet, Crathie Croy and Balspardan, lying between Crathiemore and Gaskmore in a tract not more than three miles long. The fact that all seven farms were involved in the local migrations to and fro of four of these families seems to confirm that they constituted a tract where the Clan MacIntosh continued to possess most of the hereditary tenure rights until about 1812.

Table I shows that this clan suffered a relative decline in the community between 1787 and 1840—from 7.54 to 3.37 per cent—which actually exceeded that of the Macphersons. Most of it, moreover, occurred before 1812, suggesting that the factors producing social disintegration and selective emigration were swifter in their effect on the smaller clan. The resident MacIntosh families were reduced numerically to 26 per cent of their former strength by 1840. Furthermore, when the record of their presence in the parish is examined for the period 1826–54, there is practically no evidence of a continued association with the seven farms formerly in their possession. Apart from the families of two shepherds of the name, one in Crathiemore in 1829, the other in Blargiemore as late as 1843, the last baptism at Gaskmore occurred in 1786, at Blargiemore in 1794, at Crathiemore in 1815, and at Coul of Crathie in 1821. All others of the name appearing in the later period covered by the Register are found scattered throughout the parish and often residing on farms associated with their wives' families.

The Cattanachs. By its form—in Gaelic, *Catanach*—this is a name of some apparent antiquity. It was used by Sir Aeneas Macpherson as a personal appelative in a reference to 'Muriach Cattanach' (*Muireach Catanach*), the name-father of the *Clann Mhuirich* or Macphersons.[3] It is generally understood to indicate derivation from the Old Clan-chattan and its eponymous founder, Gillicattan More, of whom Muriach Cattanach

was reputed to be a son. The actual existence of these personages, however, is not a matter of contemporary record.

It is curious, in view of its legendary antecedents, that the name does not appear in the *Mackintosh Muniments* at Moy nor in the *Macpherson of Cluny Collection* in the Scottish Record Office, Register House, Edinburgh. Furthermore, it is barely mentioned in *Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands in Olden Times* (1893), and then only with reference to Strone in the Parish of Kingussie (Macpherson 1893: 326). This reference, however, may be significant, for in his compiled genealogy of the Macphersons Sir Aeneas Macpherson mentions a family of 'Macphersons' who were tenants in Strone and millers in Benchar at the end of the seventeenth century. He refers to them collectively as the Clan vic Gillicattan, and indicates that although they were related by marriage to the Macphersons of Biallid they did not belong to any of the *sliochdan* composing the Clan Macpherson (Macpherson 1966: 35). The connection with Strone, despite its late date, might equally point to the *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais*.

The earliest recorded use of the surname known to the writer occurs in the surrender lists for Ewan Macpherson of Clunie's regiment of Badenoch men in 1746, in which men of the name are given as resident in the farms of Kyllarchill, Crathiemore, Gaskmore and Clunie in Laggan, and in Clune in the Parish of Kingussie. (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 83, ff 295; and Pf 92, ff 251, 256, and 257). Clune, as it happens, was a Macpherson farm situated between Strone and Benchar which were originally MacIntosh possessions. It is interesting to note in this connection that one of the very few casualties suffered by Clunie's regiment in the 'Forty-Five was the capture of 'Alexander Catenach, miller, aged 17' at Clifton (Seton-Gordon and Arnot 1928: No. 453; and, S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 92, ff 10, 11). As several of his fellow prisoners gave their origin as 'Canousie' (Kingussie), this lad most probably belonged to the Cattanachs at the Mill of Benchar. During the forfeiture which followed the 'Forty-Five (1747–84) one man of the name is recorded in the rental survey of 1748 as a small tenant in Kyllarchill, and his signature to a petition in 1757 indicates that he was still in possession in that year. Thereafter none of the name appears as tenant on the Forfeited Estate of Clunie, although they may of course, have remained as sub-tenants.

The Laggan Register records Cattanach families in Crathiemore (1), Gergask (3), Gaskmore (2) and Pitgown (1) before 1800, indicating that their heritable tenure rights were concentrated in a small area which overlapped to a considerable degree with that of the Clan MacIntosh. There is a hint, moreover, that the same pattern of migration within the tract may have existed as prevailed among the MacIntoshes: the move of one family from Gaskmore to Gergask between 1789 and 1793. The concentration of families in Gergask is particularly interesting, for this farm was associated, as we have seen, with the *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais* MacIntoshes. Even more significantly, the head of the family in Crathiemore appears in his marriage entry in 1780 as 'John Cattanach, merchant', but in the first baptismal entry as 'John McIntosh, merchant', a name which he retains in two further entries in 1785 and 1787. Whatever truth there

may be in Sir Aeneas Macpherson's calling the Strone-Benchar Cattanachs 'Macphersons' in 1705, the fact is inescapable that by 1780 at least some of the Laggan Cattanachs were identifying themselves with the local MacIntoshes. The near coincidence of their geographical distributions suggests that common interests in the preservations of tenure rights had been developing for some time. The evidence of their marriages, as we shall see, points in the same direction.

The decline of the Cattanachs—both relative and numerical—between 1787 and 1812 exactly paralleled that of the MacIntoshes, and their association with the farms of Crathiemore, Gergask and Pitgown was similarly broken during that period. One of the Gergask families moved to Cromra in the Loch Laggan area between 1799 and 1807. Another, of unknown antecedence, is recorded in Gaskinloan and at Tullocherrachd between 1796 and 1809. The last family in Gaskmore moved to Clunie in 1818 or 1819. In the period 1826–54 only one new family appears in the Register, resident in Clunie from 1842 until the Register closed.

The Clerks. The name—Gaelic, *Cléirich*—is also one with legendary associations with the founder of the Old Clanchattan. Mackintosh of Kinrara refers to him as 'Gillicattan MacGellespick chlerich', while Sir Aeneas Macpherson makes great play with the term, applying it to Gillicattan himself and interpreting the name as 'Gillicattan the Clerk'. He states in his *Supplement to the Loyall Dissuasive* (1704) that 'Gillicattan, albeit called Clerach, was himself no Clerk or Churchman, tho his father Muriach was; but in that (as all Muriach's posterity have done to this day) took the additional sirname of Clerach or McPherson in commemoration of his father's being a churchman' (Clark 1900: 163; Murdoch 1902: 48, 119). Once more we encounter Sir Aeneas's propensity to identify another Badenoch family with his own clan.

A more serious origin is given for this family in a statement by Kinrara, to the effect that 'William Mac-chlerich, from whom the Clan Chlerich are designated, was a domestic of Malcolm [Laird of MacIntosh from 1409 to 1457], and for himself and his posterity swore obedience and fidelity to him' (Clark 1900: 192). It was evidently upon the authority of this statement that Sir Aeneas Mackintosh listed the 'Clerichs' in his *Notes Descriptive and Historical* (1774–83) as one of 'The Familys of Clanchatton designed [designated] by the heads of their respective Tribes, and not of the name of McIntosh' (Mackintosh 1892: 18). He gives 1400 as the year when they took protection under MacIntosh. He is wrong, however, when he asserts that this clan was represented among the leading signatories of the Termit Band of Union amongst the Clan Chattan of 1609, and we are left to guess their real relationship with the MacIntoshes and Macphersons during the four centuries when these clans were rivals in Badenoch. In view of what we know, however, of the connection between Strone and the *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais*, and the added fact that James McConill Glass MacIntosh of Strone, his son Lauchlan and his brother William McConill Glass were successive wadsetters of Wester Cullodin in the Castlelands of Inverness between 1603 and 1612 (Paton 1903: Nos. 206

and 232), it is curious to find a Clerk in Balnaglack of Culloden in 1690, and another in Strone of Badenoch prior to 1697 (Paton 1903: Nos. 630, 631, 634, 635, 652, 662 and 663). The MacIntoshes of Strone and both Clerk families had interests in the Davoch of Moy, and it therefore seems probable that a close relationship existed between them. Malcolm *Beag* MacIntosh, the usurping chief of 1409, was, of course, the great-grand-father of Donald Glas of Strone, and as things went in the Highlands the relationship may well have begun with him. A late source asserts that 'Killiehuntly was the most ancient possession of the Clarks in Badenoch', but there is no evidence to substantiate this (Macpherson 1893: 316).

Sir Aeneas Macpherson's *Genealogies of the Macphersons* includes three references to the name, two of which refer to men who are simply named as 'Clerkmore', one in Dalrady at the lower end of Badenoch, the other in Ralea of Nuide in the Parish of Kingussie. Both had daughters who married leading men of the *Sliochd Iain* Mac-phersons in the latter half of the sixteenth century (Macpherson 1966: 11). The third reference is to John Clerk in Gaskinloan, whose daughter Ann married Thomas *Bàn* Macpherson, a nephew of Muriach of Clune (and therefore also of the *Sliochd Iain*), just prior to 1705. The farm of Gaskinloan was part of the Estate of Clunie in the Parish of Laggan.

The Macpherson of Cluny Collection documents a John McChlerich *alias* Clerk in Ralia who obtained possession of Auchvalloch, the westernmost plough of Nuidmore, and received in wadset two auchtenparts of Balnahaird of Clunie in 1679. He surrendered the latter in 1699, and in 1700 was 'now in Gaskinloin' where he acquired a wadset right to three half-auchtens of the mid-quarter (Middletown or Balmeanach of Gaskin-loan) in 1706. This wadset was assigned to his son James and his son-in-law, Thomas Macpherson in Pitgown, in 1715, and was disposed by them to Lachlan Macpherson of Nuide, later of Clunie, in 1718 (Macpherson of Cluny Collection, Nos. 132–134, 316, 333, 334, 415, 416, 524 and 535). It would appear, therefore, that the Clerks in Laggan originated from Nuide in Kingussie where they had rights of ancient possession, and that they found their toehold in the upper parish by the acquisition of a wadset right.

The Clerks contributed ten men, one of them a quarter-master, to Ewan Macpherson of Clunie's Jacobite regiment in 1745, most of whom came from the Parish of Kingussie. Laggan only produced two men of the name, but both were resident in Gaskinloan (S.P.D. Geo. II 36; Pf 92, ff 256, 257). The same family appears in the records of the Forfeited Estate of Clunie as sharing the joint tenancy of Middletown of Gaskinloan in 1748, 1757 and 1770. The 'restoration' rental of 1784, however, indicates that this tenancy became part of a 41-year lease granted to the innkeeper at Dalwhinnie in 1782. It can be assumed, therefore, that this was the year when the Clerks lost their heritable tenure in Gaskinloan.

The Register of Laggan records only two marriages involving men of this name, both prior to 1800 and neither of which produced any children for baptism. Of the

unrecorded marriages none was associated with Middletown, and the geographical pattern was one of dispersion. The family with the longest record of baptisms was also migratory: it appears first in Muckcoul in 1777, was resident in Uvie from 1781 to 1793, and completed its reproductive career in Catlodge between 1796 and 1802. There is some evidence to suggest that all of its homes were matrilocal in origin. It was accompanied in Uvie by another, probably related, family of the name between 1782 and 1785. The only remaining families pre-dating 1800 were living at Presmuckrach in 1781 and Nessintullich in 1797 and 1803, the latter the only one that seems to have produced a succession into the next generation on the same farm, recorded briefly in 1821. The last family of Clerks in the parish lived at Balgown (Pitgown) between 1814 and 1833, and was the only one on record in the period 1826—54.

The Davidsons, MacCays and MacKays, or Clann Dà'idh. The documented origins of the Davidsons are quite as conflicting as are those of the Cattanachs and Clerks. In an article which appeared in the second edition (1701) of Jeremy Collier's *Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical and Poetical Dictionary* Sir Aeneas Macpherson gives an exceptionally fanciful version of the origin of the Clan Chattan and Clan Macpherson. He associates the Davidsons with the farm of Invernahavon at the confluence of the Spey and the Truim, and alleges that they were descended from David Dow, a younger son of 'Muirach McGillychattan, Prior of Kinguishy', and brother to 'Dugal Ovir (the Swarthy)' and 'Evan Bane, from whom come Clunie McPherson' (Collier 1701: 'McPherson'). He refers to them once only in *The Loyall Dissuasive*, as participants in the legendary Battle of Invernahavon (Murdoch 1902:52), indicating perhaps that the place possessed by their chief or founder became confused with the site of the battle.

Captain Lachlan Macpherson of Biallid (1769–1858) follows the *Great Dictionary* in ascribing their origin to David *dubh*, a brother of the ancestor of the Macphersons of Clunie, and states that they were one of several clans that emerged from the dismemberment of the Old Clanchattan. He associates them with the migration of the *Clann Mhuirich* from Lochaber to Badenoch, and names Invernahaun (Invernahavon) as the possession of their chief. His graphic account of the Battle of Invernahavon, in which the *Clann Mhuirich* did not participate except as spectators, includes the death of Davidson and his legendary seven sons. He goes on to place the Davidsons in the role of one of the contestant clans at the North Inch of Perth in 1396, and alleges that all but one of them perished (Macpherson 1893:411–13).

Kinrara, on the other hand, states that 'Slane [a daughter of Angus MacIntosh and Eva, the legendary heiress of the Clanchattan lands in Lochaber (1291)] was mother of David du of Nude, from whom are descended the Clan Dai,[4] formerly the most flourishing family among the Chattans' (Clark 1900:166). If this is accurate as to time it would place David *du(bh)* securely in the mid-fourteenth century, and it is noteworthy in this connection that Sir Aeneas Mackintosh lists 'the Clan Day'[4] as first taking protection from MacIntosh in 1350. He is incorrect, however, in stating that they were

represented among the signatories to the Termit Band of 1609 (Mackintosh 1892: 18). It is also clear from the Kinrara and Biallid accounts that the *seanchaidhean* of the Central Highland clans were concerned to explain the insignificance of the Davidsons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This was recognised by the Sobieski Stuarts in a very detailed account of the Battle of Invernahavon in which they state that the consequence was that 'ever since that period (the Davidsons or Clan-Dàidh[4]) have ceased to exist as a clan' (Sobieski Stuart 1848: 481). The legendary antecedents of the *Clann Dà'idh*, therefore, associate it with the farms of Nuide and Invernahavon, both on the south side of the Spey in the Parish of Kingussie. It is interesting to note that these farms were both associated in the eighteenth century with high hill grazings in the headwaters of the Truim in what is now the Forest of Drumochter.

The MacIntosh archives are silent on the later history of the Davidsons in Badenoch: the *Mackintosh Muniments* only mention one family in the farm of Dunachtonmore in 1728 (Paton 1903: No. 746 (8)). The *Muniments*, however, also include a bond of manrent by a number of men, many of them millers in communities between the towns of Inverness and Elgin in 1703, 'all named Deans otherwise called Davidsons, who and their ancestors have been followers, dependants and kinsmen under and to the Lairds of Mackintoshe': two of these men added the *alias* MacCay to their surnames (Paton 1903: No. 678). This acquires significance when we turn to the Invereshie MS, *The Genealogies of the McPhersons*, which mentions John McKay in Noodmore at the beginning of the fifteenth century (Macpherson 1966: 11), and Farquhar McKay in Nood in the mid-seventeenth century. The Cluny Collection documents Finlay Mckay in Nuidmore and John Mckay in Uvie in 1729, and John Mckay, innkeeper at Milehouse of Nuidbeg in 1740 (Macpherson of Cluny Collection, Nos. 588, 624, 626). The surrender lists of 1746 include two men of this name from different parts of the farm of Nuide and another from the nearby village of Ruthven (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 83, f 295 and Pf 93, ff 256, 257). The Laggan Register adds to the record the marriage of a woman called McCay from Noid in 1788, probably related to Duncan Davidson who died at Nuide in 1775 or 1777 (Macpherson 1893: 175). It also records a William McKay in the Laggan farm of Uvie between 1782 and 1785 and a William McCay in Uvie (the same man with a second wife?) in 1792; he was undoubtedly related to Alexander McKay in Uvie who married in 1830 and died at Milton, Nuide, in 1864.[5] In fact, to the writer's knowledge there was a family of old tenants of this name at Milton of Nuidbeg as late as 1950!

In view of the continuous association with the farm of Nuide for fully five hundred years, the conclusion seem inescapable that 'McKay' and 'McCay' were attempts to render *Mac Dhà'idh*, that is, Davidson, phonetically.[6] It therefore seems probable that most, if not all, the McKays recorded in the Laggan Register were members of the same clan as the parishioners who used the anglicised version of the name. The earliest representative of the clan recorded in the upper parish was John McKay, a small tenant and waulkmiller in Clunie, who is known to have settled there about 1741. In view of

the fact that the Macphersons of Nuide inherited the estate of Clunie in 1721, and in view of the fact that Ewan Macpherson of Clunie is known to have been an enlightened and 'improving' laird, it is very probable that this man, too, originated from Nuide. (Fraser–Mackintosh 1865:40; and F.E.P. (Particular Management), Clunie:Petition, John McKay, walker in Cluny, orders dated 11 Dec. 1756 and 24 June 1757.)

Unfortunately, the Register gives no indication that the scotticised and anglicised surnames were used as alternatives by individuals or members of the same family. Indeed, so far as lower Badenoch was concerned, it would appear that the Spey formed a geographical boundary with 'McKay' or McCay' in common use in the original territory of the clan on the south side, and 'Davidson' prevailing on the north side where MacIntosh influence was stronger. The surrender lists for Clunie's regiment and a list of tenants in the lower parish of Alvie who did not join in the Rising of 1745–6 show that there were about a dozen families in the district using the name 'Davidson' at that time. Most of them lived in the farms of Clune, Glengoynack, Ardbrylach, Raitts (2), Dunachtonmore (2), Dunachtonbeg and Kincraig, all on the north side of the Spey in lower Badenoch. There was also a family at Phoness near Invernahavon in Glen Truim. The only man listed by residence from the Parish of Laggan was James Davidson in Blargiebeg, although Alexander Davidson, a 17-year old herdsman who was captured at Stirling, sentenced to transportation to the West Indies, and reprieved on condition of enlistment in the British army, gave his origin as 'Logan, Badenoch', and was evidently from the upper parish. (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 92, ff 10, 11, 242, 243, 256, 257; and Pf 83, ff 295 and 389; Seton-Gordon and Arnot (1928).)

Families bearing the names Davidson, MacKay and McCay conformed to the picture presented by the *seanchaidhean*, constituting less than 2 per cent of the population throughout the period covered by the Register. As Table I shows, however, they maintained their numbers better than the Macphersons, MacIntoshes, Cattanachs and Clerks, and unlike those clans actually succeeded in increasing their relative strength in the community. In the period prior to 1800 families using the surname McKay were resident in the farms of Uvie and Crubinbeg, while one calling itself Davidson lived in Nessintullich. This concentration round the confluence of the Truim with the Spey, and very close to Invernahavon, would seem to suggest the survival of ancient tenure rights in that part of the parish of Laggan. After 1800, however, a marked dispersal would seem to have occurred, and the names appear in farms further west. There was a shepherd's family of Davidsons on Locherrichtside between 1806 and 1814 which was later resident in Strathcrunachdan near Shirramore in 1821 and 1822. The head of another family of Davidsons living at Gaskmore in 1850 and 1851 may have been a son of the shepherd. The McKay connection with Uvie was continued by a second generation which moved from that farm to Balgown in 1832 or 1833, and then to Crubinmore where it was resident between 1837 and 1845. Another McKay family, of unknown antecedents, was headed by the grieve at Strathmashie in 1821, and was living at Balmishaig in the following year. Whatever traditional tenure rights may have

survived to the end of the eighteenth century would appear to have been lost by the turn of the century.

The Gows or Sliochd a' Ghobha Chruim. The traditional origin for this Badenoch family is the Old Clanchattan, but as in the case of the Davidsons, Clerks and Cattanachs, the *seanchaidhean* are at some odds with one another. Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara refers to Henry Wynd, who is reputed to have participated as a substitute champion in the bloody contest on the North Inch of Perth in 1396, and from whom 'that family of the Clanchattans commonly called *Slighk ghow Chruim*[7] took rise' (Clark 1900: 178). Sir Aeneas Mackintosh asserts that the *Slighk gow chruim*[7] took the protection of the MacIntosh chief in 1399 (Mackintosh 1892: 18). Sir Aeneas Macpherson, on the other hand, mentions 'Niel Cromb',[8] a brother of the ancestors of the MacIntoshes, Macphersons, MacGillivrays and Davidsons, as the progenitor of the Breakoe-Smiths (Collier 1701: 'McPherson'), while *The Baronage of Scotland* accredits 'Neill Cromb' with being the 'progenitor of all the Smiths in Scotland! (Douglas of Glenbervie 1798: 354, 355). Captain Lachlan Macpherson of Biallid, however, follows the Mackintosh writers in referring to 'the *Gobhainn-crom* or stooping blacksmith' at the North Inch (Macpherson 1893: 413).

The episode at the North Inch, which was exploited by Sir Walter Scott in *The Fair Maid of Perth*, was an historical event which was arranged as a spectacle for Robert III and his court (Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vol. 3, 1397)! Androw of Wyntoun, Prior of Lochleven, who was a contemporary writer, describes the contest, but makes no mention of the Stooping Blacksmith (Laing 1879: XVII). It was the anonymous author of *The Book of Pluscarden*, whom Skene believed to have been a Highlander or someone familiar with the Highlanders and the Gaelic language, who introduced the story of the substitute champion in 1461. As in the accounts of all the later chroniclers the man remains unnamed, but it is noteworthy in view of Sir Aeneas Macpherson's assertion of kinship to the other Clanchattan families, that the chronicler of 1461 describes him as 'one who was of their kin and had no love for the adverse party' (Skene 1880: xx, XI). George Buchanan, the last of the chroniclers to describe the incident (1582), describes the man as 'a common saddler' (Watkins 1721: 228).

It is perhaps appropriate at this point to note that Murdoch MacKenzie of Ardross's manuscript, *The Origin of the haill tribes of the Clan Chattan* (1687) lends no support whatever to the derivation of the Gows, MacGillivrays and Davidsons from the Old Clanchattan. Instead, it mentions that Evan MacVuirrich, the father of the three brothers from whom the Macpherson *sliochdan* descended, had two brothers called Paul and Gillies, and goes on to derive the Macphersons in Atholl from Paul.[9] It should be noted, further, that although MacKenzie drew on the same manuscript sources as Kinrara he is quite free from the seventeenth century's antiquarianism which contaminates the writings of Kinrara and Sir Aeneas Macpherson. The one thing that is clear from the writings of the *seanchaidhean* of the late seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

is that the Badenoch people among whom they lived recognised the *Sliochd a' Ghobha Chruim* as a distinct and separate *clann* within the community.

Families of the *Sliochd a' Ghobha Chruim* are recorded as tenants on MacIntosh's farms of Dunachton and Kincraig in lower Badenoch in 1620 and 1672 respectively (Paton 1900: Nos. 294, 548). The surrender lists of 1746 provide no evidence for their presence in the upper parish, but locate two men in Invertromie and Strone in the Parish of Kingussie (S.P.D. Geo II 36: Pf 83, ff 259). The list of Alvie men who stayed out of the Rising shows a scattering of Smiths in Easter Lynwilg, Dunachtonmore (2), Raitts (2) and Kinrara, under Macpherson, MacIntosh and Shaw tacksmen (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 92, ff 242, 243).

The Register of Laggan includes only three families of Gows and one Smith. The first on record is found in Tulloch Erricht, Locherricht-side, in 1797 and 1798; the second in Crubinbeg, Glentruim, in 1802, and apparently still there in 1833 when the child of 1802 was married; and the third in Crubinbeg in 1839. No specific connections between these families emerge from the Register, but their geographical proximity seems to indicate that heritable tenure rights had been obtained by the *Sliochd a' Ghobha Chruim* between 1746 and 1797. Donald Smith from the Parish of Kingussie was resident in Cromra, Lochlaggan, in 1852, but there is no indication that his presence was related to tenure rights.

The *Clann Dà'idh* and the *Sliochd a' Ghobha Chruim* were both insignificant in numbers in the Laggan community before 1800 and afterwards. The very small relative advance which they made by merely surviving while the population of the parish shrank was unable to offset the rapid decline of the Macphersons, MacIntoshes, Cattanachs and Clerks in relative strength. As Table I shows, the clans associated traditionally with the Clanchattan formed almost half of the community about 1787, but less than a third by about 1840. Numerically they declined to about 35 per cent of their former collective strength by the latter date.

The MacAlchynichs or MacKenzies. The *Clann Mhic 'aol Choinnich*[13] were 'a strong people in Badenoch' prior to the mid-fifteenth century when Donald *Mor* Macpherson, the leading man of the *Sliochd Choinnich* Macphersons and chief of the *Clann Mhuirich*, married the daughter of the last MacGillchynich of Clunie and thus acquired the heritable rights to that farm and, perhaps, to others in the vicinity (Macpherson 1966: 11, 39). If one is looking for a really ancient and indigenous surname in the parish of Laggan, this must be it, for it implies veneration for the patron saint, *Lagan Choinnich*, The Hollow of St Kenneth, being the ancient name of the parish. The *Invereshie MS* also names the wife of Angus Macpherson of Knappach, married about 1700, as 'Jean McGilchynich *alias* McAlaster vic Conchy vic Coill vic Ean riach in Glenbenchar'. The association with Glenbanchor may be as ancient as that with Clunie, for Kinrara states that it was here in the farm of Tullichiero that Donald *Mor* Macpherson's grandfather, Kenneth Mak ewn, first settled when he came to Badenoch from Lochaber

(Clark 1900:179; Fraser–Mackintosh 1877:419). At least one man of this name took his place in the Clunie's Regiment in the 'Forty-Five, for a 'Malcolm MacDonald alias MacGilichonich[13] in Garonbeg' (*sic*, Garvabeg) surrendered at Fort Augustus in May 1746 (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 92, ff 251). The name 'MacDonald' in this case is undoubtedly a patronymic referring to his father. A Donald MacGillichennich[13] in Drumgaskinloan appears in the records of the Forfeited Estate of Clunie in 1757, and 1758, and re-appears in 1770 and 1775 as Donald MacIlchynich.[13]

The Laggan Register records the presence of a Donald MacAlchynich[13] in Muckoul in 1782, and another of the same name (and perhaps the same individual with a second wife) at Gergask in 1794 when he married, and subsequently at the Glebe in Gaskbeg from 1798 to 1807 and at Tombui(dhe) of Pitgown in 1809. The last place of residence was matrilocal. Of the four baptisms pertaining to this latter family, the second (1800) renders the surname 'McIlchoinich',[14] the others as 'McKenzie'. The same use of alternative surnames is shown for three families in which the wives appear first as MacAlchynichs in their marriage entries, but variously as MacAlchynich and MacKenzie in baptismal entries between 1785 and the end of the century. A fourth family (MacIntosh) appears between 1777 and 1796, the first baptism recording the mother as 'Katherine McKinzie', the second as 'Katherine MacKenzie, alias Nickilcheynich', and the remaining six entries giving her variously as 'MacAlchynich' and 'MacIlchenich'. Two of the wives whose marriages are recorded were resident in Gergask at the time of marriage in 1785 and 1788, and were probably sisters of Donald MacAlchynich who was married from Gergask in 1794.

Families exclusively using the surname MacKenzie appear in the Gorstan, Uvie, Gaskbeg and Tullocherrachd (Dalanlongart) before 1800, in Balgown, Strathmashie and Crathie between 1812 and 1825, and in Middleton, Gaskmore, Nessintullich and Cluny (a butler) between 1825 and 1850, but only the Gaskbeg and Balgown families can be connected with any certainty with each other and with one of the earlier MacAlchynich families. Of six men and two women of the name on record as marriage partners after 1826 (the men the husbands of unproductive unions), only two can be connected with earlier MacKenzie families, but associations with Balnacnoc, Strathmashie, Shirrabeg, Blargy and Gaskmore, all within a tract of four miles in the centre of the parish, seem to indicate that most of them belonged to the ancient *Clann Mhic 'aol Choinnich*. Table I shows that it was fairly successful in maintaining its relatively humble position in the parish till 1850.

Clan MacIntyre or Clann an t-Saoir. The Kinrara MS dates the appearance of this clan in Badenoch precisely to the year 1496. The occasion was a punitive raid into Rannoch, led by William MacIntosh of Dunachton, at that time tutor for his cousin Ferquhard MacIntosh of Keppoch whom James IV kept as prisoner in Edinburgh Castle from 1495 till 1513. The raid was in retaliation for a destructive invasion of MacIntosh's lands in Badenoch and Strathnairn by the confederate Camerons, Stewarts and Mac-

Donalds of Lochaber, Rannoch, Appin and Glencoe. Kinrara relates that William of Dunachton, 'in the aforesaid expedition into Rannoch, brought away Bard MacIntyre, from whom the MacIntyres of Badenoch, now called Clanchattans, are descended' (Paton 1900:I, 206, 212). Sir Aeneas Mackintosh lists 'the Clan Inteir' among the families of the Clanchattan, and gives 1496 as the year when they first took protection of MacIntosh (Mackintosh 1892:18).

It has been asserted that they settled first on the shores of Loch Laggan, but there seems to be no evidence to confirm this (Adam 1934:83). *The Mackintosh Muniments*, in fact, yield no information whatever as to where they might have settled or how they proliferated. The Macpherson of Cluny Collection is equally silent for the seventeenth century. Yet there can be little doubt that they formed a significant part of the population of Badenoch by 1680. It is significant in terms of later evidence, however, that the *Genealogies of the McPhersons* records a 'Donald McIntier' in Etterish (Etteridge) in Glen Truim at the end of the sixteenth century.

This silence on the part of the rival clan chiefs in upper and lower Badenoch must be significant, especially when it is considered with the evidence from the surrender lists of 1746 and the rent-rolls of the Forfeited Estates of Clunie and Lochlaggan. These sources indicate that there were no MacIntyres on any farm belonging to the feudal estates of the two chiefs in Badenoch. Of the eleven men of the name who served in Clunie's Regiment during the 'Forty-Five at least six came from farms in the Parish of Kingussie scattered along the south side of the Spey and Truim from Ruthven to Dallanach including Etteridge but excluding Ewan Macpherson of Clunie's farm of Nuide. This tract, which with the exception of Nuide, belonged to Macpherson tacksmen of the *Sliochd Ghill-ìosa*, including Knappach of Ruthven, the birthplace of Lieut.-General John MacIntyre (1750–1828) of the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Artillery, reputed to have been a nephew of James Macpherson of Ossianic fame (Macpherson 1893:316). Three men in the surrender lists can be ascribed to the Parish of Laggan with certainty: they came from the farm of Presmuckrach in Glentruim and from Coraldie and Crathy Croy in the Spey valley.

The Laggan Register confirms the association of the MacIntyres with Presmuckrach. This farm, the highest in Glentruim, would appear to have been their principal holding in Laggan, for no fewer than seven of the sixteen families living in the parish prior to 1800 resided there. Moreover, MacIntyres were associated to a lesser degree with all the farms below Presmuckrach on the west side of Glentruim between 1775 and 1800: two in Crubenmore, three in Crubenbeg, and two in Nessintullich. As in the case of the MacIntoshes and Cattanachs in the community, these MacIntyre associations involved some migration by individual families within the tract. Thus one man who was in Shenvall when he married in 1785 was living in Crubenbeg in 1794 and had moved to Presmuckrach by 1803. Another family moved from Presmuckrach to Nessintullich between 1788 and 1792, and a third which was in Crubenbeg in 1777 and 1780 was at Crubenmore in 1784, but had returned to the first farm by 1798. All these farms were in

M

the possession of tacksmen families of the *Sliochd Ghill-ìosa* and *Sliochd Choinnich* Macphersons, with whom the MacIntyre small tenants would appear to have had close relations. The general implication would seem to be that these connections are related to the manner in which the smaller clan came to settle in Badenoch. Nothing is known, however, about the involvement of the Clan Macpherson in the Rannoch expedition of 1496.

While Glen Truim would appear to have been the part of Badenoch where the Clan MacIntyre has acquired its strongest claims to heritable tenure rights by 1775, individual families were associated with farms in another part of Laggan. A MacIntyre in Balmishaig in 1777 and Craigcarnet in 1783, another in Pitgown in 1782 and Gaskmore in 1786, and a third in Dalwhilly (Dalchully) in 1788 and the Gorstan between 1789 and 1805 were married respectively to a Cattanach, a Macpherson and a MacDonald, and probably owed their presence in those farms to matrilocal possession. This probably also accounts for the presence of MacIntyres in Coraldie (*Sliochd Ghill-ìosa*) and Crathy Croy (*Sliochd Choinnich*) in 1746.

The period 1801–25 shows a decline in number of MacIntyre families to twelve, three of which were continuing a reproductive career begun before 1800. Presmuckrach is represented only by two of these continuing families, and no baptisms occurred there after 1807; Crubenmore's last (and only) baptism took place in 1817; Nessintullich does not reappear in the record at all. Only Crubenbeg had baptisms, in 1806 and 1807, that were not the last of the MacIntyres there. This evident abandonment of the Glentruim farms can be seen obversely in the sudden appearance of families headed by MacIntyres in a number of farms scattered about the Spey drainage: thus there were baptisms in Uvie in 1802, Achduchill of Strathmashie in 1808, Breakachy in 1812, Balmishaig in 1815, Catlodge in 1817 and Balgown in 1818, besides the last baptism of the earlier Dalchully-Gorstan family in 1805. Apart from the fact that most of these families were probably in matrilocal possession, the wives without exception being Macphersons (*Sliochd Choinnich?*), the most significant feature of this apparent diaspora of the MacIntyres from Glentruim was the fact that each and every one of the six families produced but one child for baptism in the parish. There is therefore a strong suggestion that the dispersal within the parish was followed closely by a rapid out-migration, both probably associated with the oversea emigration of the Macpherson tacksmen which is known to have begun prior to 1800 and which gained strength immediately after that date.

The evidence produced by the Laggan Register for the period 1826–54 tends to confirm the conclusion, in respect to both the families on the traditional Glentruim farms and the matrilocal families dispersed in the valleys of the upper Spey. Only three MacIntyre families appear in the record during this period: one in Balnacnoc(ht) of Gaskbeg in 1837, another in Crubenbeg in 1843, and a third in Catlodge between 1850 and 1854. Table I shows that their relative position in the community was halved and their numerical strength reduced to a quarter between 1787 and 1840.

The MacGregors or *Clann Ghriogair*. The story of this, the most famous, most notorious, and most tragic of the 'broken' clans of Highland history, is too well known to require reiteration here. Originally an ancient clan from the borders of Argyle and Breadalbane which had spread into Rannoch by the sixteenth century, the *Griogaraich* had already been at odds for some time with the feudal authorities responsible for maintaining the King's peace in the Highlands when they were 'broken' and rendered 'nameless' by the savage legislation of 1603, 1606 and 1633 (Adam 1934:78). Kinrara records that Lauchlan, Laird of MacIntosh, 'acted vigorously in the expedition against the Clan Gregor, that unruly and turbulent clan', by sending 120 select men to join the King's Lieutenant, the Earl of Argyll, in a punitive raid into Rannoch in 1601 (Clark 1900:260–3). On the other hand it has been the received tradition of the Macphersons in Badenoch, according to Captain Lachlan Macpherson of Biallid, that a fighting party of the *Clann Mhuirich* was on its way to join the MacGregors in February 1603 when the latter fought the unfortunate Battle of Glenfruin which resulted in the repressive legislation that occasioned their doom (Macpherson 1893:414, 415; and Fraser 1869).

The record of the Privy Council of Scotland for 27 September 1611 indicates that the Clanchattan of Badenoch, and particularly the Macphersons ('Clan Fersane'), were resetting or sheltering the hunted clansmen in defiance of the law that year (Gregory 1881:341 n.). The dangerous sympathy which this shows for 'that unhappie and detestable race' was shared by many of the leading men among the Camerons and Clanranald of Rannoch and Lochaber, and it can be argued that it was derived, not only from the common humanity which much of the Highlands extended to the 'bairns' of the luckless clan (Cunningham 1932:161, 162), but from the common lack of feu charters among their leading men which rendered these clans similarly vulnerable to disturbance in their patriarchal possessions. It suggests that the Camerons of Lochiel, the MacDonalds of Keppoch, and several of the leaders of the Macpherson *sliochdan* may have received feu charters to their lands during the course of the seventeenth century partly as a result of the concurrent misfortunes of the *Clann Ghriogair* and the consequent unrest. The MacGregors, however, were unable to benefit from this more enlightened policy, for although their loyal participation in the attempt to restore Charles II in 1651 resulted in the repeal of the proscription acts in 1661, the barbaric enactments were reinstated by William of Orange in 1693 (Kermack 1953:28).

The Genealogies of the McPhersons MS shows that at least six leading MacGregors from farms on the *Slios Mìn* of Rannoch and in Bunrannoch were married during the course of the seventeenth century to daughters of wadsetters and feu-holders among the *Sliochd Choinnich* and *Sliochd Iain* Macphersons, while the third wife of Donald Macpherson of Phoness (*Sliochd Ghill-ìosa*) was also a MacGregor. Malcolm MacGregor in Clune (Kingussie), a son-in-law of Donald Macpherson of Nuide, may have been the 'Malcolm MacGregor in Clunie' (*sic?*) whose arrest was ordered by the Laird of MacIntosh in 1688 (Paton 1903:No. 628). If he was actually resident in Clunie, however, he would be the first of his name recorded as resident in the Parish of Laggan.

In view of this close relationship with the Macphersons it is somewhat surprising to find little evidence of their presence in Badenoch in 1746. The lists of that year show only four men[11] of the name as having served—or declined to serve—in Clunie's regiment, and none from the Parish of Laggan (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 83, ff 295, 389). Their relative absence, however, is only apparent, as is made clear by post-'Forty-Five documents. For instance, one of the subtenants in Catlaig of Gaskinloan in 1758 signed a petition as 'Grigor MacGrigor alias McPherson' (F.E.P. Particular Management: Cluny: Petition of the Tenants of Gaskinloan, 23 Feb. 1758), while John McGregor *alias* McPherson was a farm servant at Breakachie in 1764. The latter was a son of Alexander MacGregor, the miller at the Mill of Clunie, while two of the Macpherson tenants on the farm of Gaskinloan were married to MacGregors (Fraser–Mackintosh 1899–1901). It is evident, therefore, that MacGregors were present in the community of the upper parish, and presumably had been for some time, and that at least the men used the surname of their protectors. Their association with the farms of Clunie, Breakachie and Gaskinloan after 1745 is of further significance, for these were precisely the farms associated with the *Sliochd Choinnich* families with whom most of the seventeenth-century marriages had been contracted. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the families of MacGregors in the Laggan community at the end of the eighteenth century were descended from refugee clansmen closely related to those particular families of Macphersons.

The opening of the Laggan Register in 1775 coincided, as it happens, with the signing into law of a private bill, passed at Westminster in November 1774, proposing the repeal of the old 'Proscription Acts' and the restoration of full civil rights to the scattered remnants of the *Griogaraich*. In particular, all legal impediment to the use of the name was removed, and we may surmise that the MacGregors in the Laggan community participated in the general resumption of the clan identity.

As Table I shows, there were five families of MacGregors in the Laggan community in the period prior to 1800, resident in the adjacent farms of Clunie, Uvie (3), and Balgown. The single family in the Milntown of Clunie (1780–4) was headed by John MacGregor, miller at the Mill of Clunie, evidently the same individual as the farm servant at Breakachie whose father was miller at Clunie in 1764: it was still at Clunie in 1805 when a daughter married. The senior family of MacGregors in Uvie was resident there in 1777 and 1779, and again in 1789 and 1796, but was in the farm of Nessintullich in 1781, 1783, and 1785. The association with Uvie and Nessintullich, like those with Breakachie and Catlaig, indicate a close relationship with the tacksman family of the Macphersons of Crubinmore which possessed the ancient *duthchas* rights to all of these farms. Only the family which was resident in Balgown between 1797 and 1824 cannot be accounted for in this way.

Of the families in the parish before 1800 only the senior family in Uvie and the family in Balgown produced a succession in their possessions into the next generation. A family in Balgown between 1832 and 1842 was headed by an individual who was

probably a son of the pre-1800 tenant, although his baptism is not recorded for some reason; there is evidence from later marriages which were unproductive that the MacGregors were still in Balgown when the Register closed in 1854. The senior Uvie family is of particular interest in that an elder son was resident in Uvie between 1816 and 1826 according to the baptismal record and his family was still there in 1849 according to the record of later marriages, while a younger son is listed in the baptismal records as 'Tacksman of Achmore of Uvie' between 1821 and 1836, his family retaining possession until at least 1852 according to the record of marriages. The fact that the MacGregors in Uvie eventually rose to tacksman status, filling the place vacated by a cadet family of the Macphersons of Crubinmore, may be attributed in part to their having inherited substantial rights from their predecessors.

In the period 1801 to 1825 a family of MacGregors appeared in Blargiemore (1817–20), and moved to Balmeanach (Middletown of Gaskinloan) in or before 1824. In the period 1826 to 1854 there were single families in Crathie (1835–51) and Strathcrunachdan (1848), but only the Crathie family can be connected, tentatively, to the old-established families in Uvie or Balgown.

As Table I indicates, the MacGregors enhanced their relative position in the community by maintaining the number of their families throughout the period of the Register. Their acquisition of the status of tacksman at the farm of Achmore of Uvie, and the retention of that status until the mid-nineteenth century probably secured their position in an even more important sense for the future.

The Tolmies. Although this little *clann* increased its numerical and relative positions in the community during the period of the Register, its antecedents prior to the 'Forty-Five are unknown. It was probably not indigenous to Badenoch.[12] One man of the name who surrendered at Blair Castle with others of Clunie's Regiment in 1746 was resident at Gaskmore. No others appear elsewhere in Badenoch, and none is listed as tenant on the Forfeited Estate of Clunie. In view of the paucity of historical information, therefore, we must rely on the Register itself in assessing the importance of this family in Laggan.

Although Gaskmore does not appear in the Register as a farm in which Tolmies had a share of the possession, several families are associated with farms immediately to the east and west. A family in Balgown between 1785 and 1807 was joined in 1805 by another which moved to Gaskbeg where it resided from 1808 till 1821. The original family in Balgown was succeeded in the possession by the families of two sons, on record from 1831 to 1847 and from 1842 to 1845 respectively. This would seem to indicate that heritable rights had been acquired at some time prior to 1785 and were maintained throughout most of the period covered by the Register.

The farm of Gergask included two families of Tolmies among its possessors prior to 1800. The earlier of these produced daughters only in 1777 and 1779, but the other raised a family between 1785 and 1794 from which stemmed families with more complex

geographical associations. One of them was headed by a son who was the smith at Crathie when he married in 1820, but resident on the patrilocal farm of Gergask from 1821 to 1825, at Blargiemore in 1827, and again at Crathie from 1829 till 1836; Crathie was evidently a matrilocal possession. Another family, headed by a younger son of the Gergask family who was shepherding at Shirrabeg when he married in 1817, joined the family at Crathie from 1819 to 1821. Three families residing on the Croft of Blargie in the period 1826–54, may have also derived from the original Gergask family, although there is little definite evidence in the Register.

The farms associated with the Tolmies between 1746 and 1854 correspond almost exactly in extent with those forming the tract in which the Cattanachs in Laggan seem to have been congregated, suggesting that, like the Cattanachs, the Tolmies may have been followers of the *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais* MacIntoshes. The name became extinct in the parish with the death of a tenant in Uvie in 1955.

The Leslies. The Leslies were very recent arrivals in the parish of Laggan. The Jacobite colonel, Ewan Macpherson of Clunie, had been keenly active in the improvement of his people before the 'Forty-Five, and was evidently responsible for bringing in and settling two brothers, Peter and James Leslie (or Lessly), as country merchants on the farm of Clunie in 1739. This was partly an act of kindness, for he was thanked on the occasion by their noble kinsman, and presumably the head of their family, the Earl of Rothes, who described them as 'good clever men' (Macpherson 1896–7: No. XVII). Both men served under their benefactor in the Rising, and surrendered to the Earl of Loudoun in 1746 (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 92, ff 251, 256, 257), while a third man of the name, Alexander Lessly in Crathiemore, probably another brother, surrendered to Sir Andrew Agnew at Castle Blair. The two merchants on Clunie were tenants on the Forfeited Estate: Peter until 1770, James until 1757 after which he apparently moved to Strathmashie (probably as a result of his marriage) where he is on record in 1764 (Fraser-Mackintosh 1899–1901: 105).

Incomers who attempt to integrate into a community governed in its way of life by ancient traditions must do so by conforming to its rules. The Leslies, in the nature of the case, could have no heritable rights of possession anywhere in Laggan. These could only be acquired with time, and particularly by marriage, a slow and precarious method subject to the often over-riding claims of patrilineal descent. Thus it is hardly surprising to find that only one family of Leslies appears momentarily in the Register as resident at Clunie in 1788, while a member of this family was married from Clunie in 1796. There was evidently no succession to the possessions in land given to the original settlers of 1739. A second family was migratory in habit, perhaps as a result of precarious matrilocal possessions held in succession: it appears first in the farm of Gaskbeg (1792–4), and then moved successively to Croft Croy (1796), Croftcarnel (1798), and back to Croft Croy (1802–8). The third family in the Register resided continuously at Gergask, probably matrilocally, from 1810 till at least 1833. The fourth family was headed by a

blacksmith who resided at Croft and Bridgend in 1836 and 1838, and who may well have been an unrecorded son of the migratory family just mentioned. The name became extinct in the parish, to the writer's knowledge, with the death of a spinster lady in the mid-twentieth century.

The Andersons. If the Leslies were relatively recent incomers to the community of Laggan, this was even more true of the Andersons. No Andersons served in the Laggan contingent of Ewan Macpherson of Clunie's Regiment in 1745-6, and none appear in the 1748 rental of the Forfeited Estate of Clunie. John Anderson, a tenant of Dallifour, served among the men from the Parish of Alvie, while Donald Anderson stayed at home on the same farm. Another Donald Anderson, tenant on the adjacent farm of Dalraddie which belonged to George Macpherson of Invereshie, also stayed at home (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 83, f 389 and Pf 92, ff 242, 243). The family association with the Alvie farms can be traced back into the mid-seventeenth century, for *The Genealogies of the McPhersons* MS indicates that Donald Macpherson of Dalraddie (*Sliochd Choinnich*) married Ann, daughter of John Anderson of Westertown; the place was probably a clachan of Dalraddie or Dallifour. The records of the Forfeited Estate of Clunie show that two brothers, John and James Anderson, were introduced into the Old Milntown of Nuidbeg in 1761 as subtenants of Lieut. Duncan Macpherson, presumably from elsewhere in Lower Badenoch and probably from Dalraddie or Dallifour. In 1768 they were among a group of subtenants petitioning the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates unsuccessfully against oppression and eviction by the tacksman (F.E.P. of Particular Management, Estate of Clunie: Petition of Lt. Duncan Macpherson, Noidbeg, 21 February 1764, read 24 February 1764; and Petition and Information, Finlay McPherson etc., Old Milntown of Noidbeg, 1768).

Nothing further is recorded of the Andersons at the Old Milntown, but, in view of the Commissioners' interest in taking young men for training in various country crafts deemed essential to the general improvement of the communities within which the Forfeited and Annexed Estates lay, it seems probable that the sudden appearance of a young blacksmith, John Anderson, at Tynrich, a clachan of the farm of Gaskinloan, may be related to the fate of the Old Milntown subtenants. If so, it suggests that the family had migrated from one end of Badenoch to the other within two generations. The Commissioners had installed Samuel Macpherson as smith at Tynrich in 1775 (F.E.P., Clunie: Rental Report, Henry Butter, factor, 24 August 1774), and it seems likely that John Anderson came to the upper parish as his assistant just prior to 1786. That three of his sons and one of his sons-in-law (Fraser) continued in possession of holdings at Tynrich till 1854 when the Register closed would seem to be related to his marriage to Katharine MacDonald in that year. The principal holdings at Tynrich were in the possession of two MacDonald families in 1770, and were granted as a joint 21-year lease to them in 1777 (F.E.P., Clunie: List of Leases, 10 Jan. 1784; and

Rental, Henry Butter, factor, 1784). The acquisition of heritable rights in Tynrich by the Andersons would therefore appear to have originated in matrilocal possession.

To the writer's knowledge, the last Anderson in the parish is Mrs Isabella Millin, Gergask, who is one of the principal informants to the School of Scottish Studies for the parish of Laggan. She is a great-granddaughter of John Anderson.

Table I makes it clear that the little clans of Laggan whether they were the descendants of ancient indigenous peoples, like the MacAlchynichs, or whether they were new-comers arriving long after the settlement of the dominant Clanchattan clans, like the MacGregors, Leslies and Andersons, were more secure in maintaining their position in the shrinking community than were the dominant clans themselves. Much of their success depended upon the humble position from which they started, that is, the absence of tacksmen families among them initially, and the acquisition of heritable rights as a result of matrilocal possession. In former times this would have been a precarious way of acquiring rights to land; but the strength of patrilineal (clan) connections, drawing clansmen oversea with emigrant tacksmen of their own families or into the army with erstwhile half-pay officers of the same class, effectively cleared the way for sons-in-law of other and humbler clans.

Clan MacDonald. After the Macphersons, the MacDonalds constituted the most numer-ous clan residing in the parish of Laggan between 1775 and 1854. Like the Clanchattan clans their connection with the parish can be traced back for several centuries, but it differed in one important respect: the MacDonalds owed allegiance to chiefs who lived beyond the bounds of Badenoch.

The MacDonalds in Badenoch were probably derived from several quite distinct branches of the great Hebridean Clan Donald. There is, for instance, some evidence that the last representative of the *Clann Iain Sprangaich* of Ardnamurchan died at Ruthven in Kingussie in 1719 (Macpherson 1893:185, 186).[15] There is no evidence, but some possibility, that a few of the family may have found their way into the upper parish, particularly if their presence in Badenoch was the result of their participation in Montrose's Rising in 1644-5, in which the Badenoch men were led by Lt. Col. Ewan Macpherson of Clunie. There is also the possibility that individuals of the *Clann Iain Abraich* of Glencoe, of the Knoydart and Glengarry *sliochdan* of the *Clann Raghnaill* of the Garmoran, and of the *Sliochd Alasdair mhic Aonghais* of Keppoch or *Clann Raghnaill* of Lochaber may have come to settle in Laggan in virtue of matrimonial connections with tacksmen families of the *Clann Mhuirich* similar to those of which the MacGregors took advantage. The *Genealogies of the McPhersons* MS indicates that most of the mar-riages contracted between MacDonalds and Macphersons prior to 1705 involved Laggan families of the *Sliochd Choinnich* and *Sliochd Iain*, predominantly the latter. It is remarkable, however, that Glencoe MacDonalds formed four marriages with the Garvamore-Inverroy family of the *Sliochd Iain* Macphersons while the Keppoch

MacDonalds—nearest western neighbours of the Macphersons—formed only four marriages with the whole of the *Clann Mhuirich*. Nevertheless, it was the *Clann Raghnaill* of Lochaber that obtained heritable rights in the parish and it was undoubtedly from this clan that most of the later Laggan MacDonalds were descended.

The MacDonalds of Aberarder, the principal farm of the davoch of Lagganchynich on the north shore of Loch Laggan, are first recorded in the first decade of the eighteenth century, but the designation seems to imply that the *dùthchas* to the farm was already theirs. Coll MacDonald of Keppoch, chief of the *Clann Raghnaill*, surrendered possession of the whole davoch (including the farms of Tullochcrom and Strathcrunachen) to the Laird of Mackintosh in 1700, but the exact relationship of the Keppoch family to the *dùthchas* right is unclear. (Paton 1903: Nos. 668, 674, 697 and 758). The Aberarder family is referred to at a much later date as 'the famous *Sliochd Iain Duibh* Macdonalds of Lochaber' (Macpherson 1893: 146).

The MacDonalds of Gallovie, the old MacIntosh farm at the head of Loch Laggan, appear in the *Mackintosh Muniments* a full century earlier than the Aberarder family. Four successive generations are on record as descending from Allan McIan duy (*Ailean mac Iain Duibh*) vic Ranald in Gallovie (or Gallochie) (Paton 1903: Nos. 211 (1606), 255 (1615), 296 (1620), 348, 574, 627, 692, 747). *Iain Dubh* was almost certainly the same individual as the founder of the Aberarder family, and it is likely that the Gallovie family was in fact the senior of the two (Macdonald 1800–20: 95 *et seq.*). It also seems likely that he was a younger son of Ranald *Mor* McConnell Glas of Keppoch, the chief who gave his name to the *Clann Raghnaill* of Lochaber, and who was one of the victors at Blar-na-Leine at Kinlochlochy in 1544, was deeply involved in the treasonable activities of the Earl of Lennox at the time of the Earl of Hertford's invasion of Scotland in 1545, and was finally arrested by Mackintosh and tried and executed by the Earl of Huntly in 1546 (Gregory 1881: 64, 159–62, 179; see also, Macpherson 1893: 128, 129). It is evident that the *Sliochd Iain Duibh* had acquired rights of possession to most of the principal farms of MacIntosh's estate of Lochlaggan by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it may be argued that this was the result of a century-old policy on the part of MacIntosh which drew the *Sliochd Iain Duibh* to a mid-way position between himself and the much more recalcitrant Keppoch family and its dependents in Glen Spean and Glen Roy.

The Lochlaggan estate was transferred from MacIntosh to Macpherson of Clunie as the result of a long series of events which began in 1723 and terminated in 1744. One of the results of this transaction was the redemption of a wadset held by John MacDonald of Aberarder to his farm and the granting of a simple tack by MacIntosh and Clunie jointly in 1730–1 (Paton 1903: No. 758). Donald MacDonald of Gallovie's renunciation of a wadset to his farm in 1728 was also probably part of the transaction (Paton 1903: No. 747). The transaction first came to the notice of the Barons of the Scottish Exchequer in 1756, and a rental survey was ordered. This revealed that MacDonalds— probably all of the *Sliochd Iain Duibh*—were in possession of four of the six farms

comprising the estate, including the principle farms of Gallovie and Aberarder (F.E.P., Clunie: Rentals portfolio). After ten years of litigation the estate was declared escheat in 1766 and was attached to the Forfeited Estate of Clunie, whereupon Allan MacDonald of Gallovie applied for and obtained a short lease of his hereditary farm. In 1772, when the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates became fully responsible for the management of Clunie and Lochlaggan, he obtained a typical 21-year lease from 1773 which appears in the list of leases forming part of the 'restoration' rental of 1784 (F.E.P., Clunie: (1) Petition of Allan MacDonald, read 7 April, order for lease 24 June 1766; (2) Rentals portfolio, 1784.).

The MacDonalds of Aberarder and Tullochcrom were not so fortunate in their dealings with the Barons of Exchequer and the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates. In 1766 they were ordered to remove from their farms at Whitsun 1767 to make way for the Reverend Robert Macpherson, the famous chaplain of the Fraser Highlanders who was a member of the Benchar family and a close relative of Macpherson of Clunie. The ensuing litigation, which ended in 1773 when the MacDonalds were declared outlaw and put to the horn, is of considerable interest for the light which it throws upon hereditary possession of land. The MacDonalds referred to themselves as 'ancient possessors' and claimed to have possessed their farms 'for upwards of a century'; 'they are not like a parcel of small cottars who may be turned out at pleasure without altering their station in life'. James Small, the government factor on the estates, noted in response to the last statement that they 'considered themselves as somewhat above the rank of common tenants'. A community of more than eighty persons, however, was involved in the fate of the tacksmen families, and when the latter finally scattered to the farms of Garvamore in Glenspey and Moy at the western end of Loch Laggan, where they presumably had some rights, an undetermined number of cottar families must have been equally disturbed. (F.E.P., Clunie: numerous petitions and reports, 1766–73). These unsettling events immediately preceded the opening of the Laggan Register, and it would be surprising if their consequences were not reflected there.

The *Sliochd Iain Duibh* was not the only branch of the *Clann Raghnaill* of Lochaber to form a component of the Laggan community at the end of the eighteenth century. In referring to events of 1513, Gregory mentions the *Sliochd Gille Mhanntaich*, 'the race of the stutterer', as one of the 'long established tribes in Lochaber, who had hitherto followed the descendants of Allaster Carrach', the youngest son of John, first Lord of the Isles, and founder of the *Clann Raghnaill* of Lochaber (Gregory 1881:29, 32, 39). This seems to imply that the *Sliochd Gille Mhanntaich* was perhaps an aboriginal tribe of Lochaber, predating the arrival of the MacDonald *clann* in the fourteenth century. However the case may be, it was influential in the internal politics of the *Clann Raghnaill* at the beginning of the sixteenth century, for when John *Aluinn* MacDonald of Keppoch surrendered one of its number to the justice of the Laird of MacIntosh, hereditary Steward of Lochaber, it was able to depose him from the leadership of the *Clann*

Raghnaill. (Gregory 1881:108, 109 and *note*; and Macpherson 1879:369). MacGil-
vantichs were prominent in the ranks of Alexander MacDonald of Keppoch's regiment
in 1745–6,[16] and at least three men of this name appear in the surrender lists of Mac-
pherson of Clunie's regiment,[16] two of them resident in the farms of Garvabeg and
Strathmashie respectively (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 92, ff 256, 257).[17] The Laggan Register
contains an entry of baptism under this name for a family in Strathmashie in 1785
and as the Strathmashie clachans were inhabited by several families of MacDonalds it
seems likely that these surnames were used interchangeably by men of the *sliochd*.
The surrender lists for Clunie's regiment also include an individual who gave himself
as 'David Man in Clunie', and as the Laggan Register prior to 1800 refers to two families
interchangeably as 'Man(n)' and 'McDonald', it would appear that Mann was used
increasingly as an anglicised form of McGilvantich (S.P.D. Geo II 36: Pf 92, ff 251,
256, 257).[18]

The surnames MacGilvantich and Mann were strangely absent from the records of
the Forfeiture of Clunie, although the name MacDonald appears commonly among
the small tenants on the conjoint farms of Clunie and Gaskinloan. It is probably signifi-
cant, therefore, that the only MacDonald recorded in *The Genealogies of the McPhersons*
MS as being resident in the Spey drainage of the parish was Alexander MacDonald,
smith in Gaskinloan, who married a daughter of John Macpherson of Crathie Croy
(*Sliochd Choinnich*) towards the end of the seventeenth century. It is equally significant,
in this respect, that one of the three families using the name in the Laggan Register
before 1812 resided at Gaskinloan (1787–94). The other two were in Pitgown (1782–6)
and in Garvamore (1785), the latter moving successively to Shirramore (1786–90),
Garvabeg (1792–9), and Balmishaig (1806–11), and reappearing in the next generation
with at least one son and his family in the last farm in 1833. The association with Gaskin-
loan would appear to date back for more than a century, while Pitgown was probably
a matrilocal residence (Kennedy) of recent acquisition. The family which first appeared
in Garvamore in 1785 on the other hand, may well represent a continued migration of
the *Sliochd Gille Mhanntaich* from Glenroy or Lochlaggan into Glenspey, and if its
presence at Garvamore was in any way connected with the eviction of the MacDonalds
from Aberarder and Tullochrom it may well have originated from the Lochlaggan-side
farms. It would be incorrect, of course, to assume that the solitary MacGilvantich family
in Strathmashie and the Mann families in Gaskinloan, Pitgown and Garvamore re-
presented the entire *Sliochd Gille Mhanntaich* in Glenspey prior to 1812; the appearance
of half-a-dozen families using the name Mann after 1812, resident in farms other than
those already mentioned, and related to the earlier families in ways which are undetect-
able in the Register after long scrutiny, suggests that there were others. It would be
equally wrong to assume that all the MacDonalds in the Glenspey farms, or even in
the four farms just mentioned, were members of this particular *sliochd*. The only
legitimate assumption that can be entertained as a basis for studying tenure associations
is that no real distinction can be drawn between the various *sliochdan* of the *Clann*

Raghnaill living in Laggan, and that the MacDonalds must, therefore, be looked upon as a single group.

Throughout the period of the Register MacDonald families were recorded in most of the farms in the parish, with the exception of those in Glen Truim where they had apparently failed to penetrate the traditional holdings of the Macphersons and MacIntyres. The Register reveals that the MacDonalds were heavily concentrated in certain areas of the parish, in a shifting distribution that reveals very clearly the pattern of eastward movement from the 'core' farms of Gallovie and Garvamore and the nature of the process by which they steadily acquired tenure rights.

During the 1780s four families of MacDonalds occupied Gallovie, including the leading family of the *Sliochd Iain Duibh* headed by Allan MacDonald of Gallovie. Only one of these families baptised children through the 1790s and into the first decade of the nineteenth century. No MacDonalds are recorded as living in Gallovie after 1803, except for a single individual who married in 1835 and for whom no family connection can be given.

The clachans of Achduchil, Baltuin, Balchladich, Drumnuird, and Stronvattie in Strath Mashie were occupied almost exclusively by MacDonalds between 1780 and 1800. Eleven families are recorded, but only four continued baptising into the nineteenth century, the last child being born in 1816. This would seem to indicate that these settlements were abandoned around that date. Strathmashie itself, formerly the *duthchas* of a leading family of the *Sliochd Iain* Macphersons, was occupied by Ranald MacDonald, only son of Allan of Gallovie, in 1818 and 1819. In 1822 and 1823 he was joined by a son of another of the Gallovie families, but this man soon moved on to Strathcrunachdan of Aberarder (1826–39). The last MacDonald in Strathmashie was a shepherd resident there in 1848.

The third area where MacDonalds were concentrated was Catlaig (Catlodge) of Gaskinloan, where no fewer than ten families enter the baptismal record between 1812 and 1840. They were preceded by one family, present between 1792 and 1802, but no succession can be determined. Relationships between families are quite obscure, and only one family can be said with any certainty to have produced succession in the farm after 1840. There are very slight indications that some of these Catlaig MacDonalds originated from Gallovie and the Strath Mashie clachans. One family may have come from Shanvill, a small farm above the confluence with the Truim, where three families are on record between 1798 and 1815. Shanvill represents the most easterly point on the south side of the Spey to which the MacDonalds had penetrated by the end of the eighteenth century.

The MacDonalds in Gallovie, Strath Mashie, Catlaig and Shanvill undoubtedly represent a late eighteenth, early nineteenth century movement of the *Sliochd Iain Duibh* from their hereditary centre round Loch Laggan. A diagnostic feature of this movement lies in the common use of the names 'Allan' and 'Ranald' among these families. These names were virtually absent from the baptisms on the north side of the

Spey, and where they do occur there among the MacDonalds and Macphersons they can invariably be attributed to a wife and mother from the *Sliochd Iain Duibh*.

The remaining area where MacDonalds were particularly numerous was the Mac-Intosh tract between Crathiemore and Gaskmore where almost every clachan had one or two families of the name before 1800. The focus of this settlement would appear to have been the big village of the *Sliochd Iain Léith* MacIntoshes at Crathiemore. No MacDonalds were listed as resident there in 1746, but six families appear in the record between 1780 and 1800, four between 1801 and 1825, and four between 1826 and 1854. Again, no precise relationships between families or generations can be discerned. But it is significant that four of the pre-1800 families consisted of a MacDonald husband and a MacIntosh wife, while several of the surviving MacIntosh families in the tract included a MacDonald wife. The conclusion seems inescapable that the settlement of MacDonalds in the tract after 1780 was initiated and secured by marital alliances, predominantly though not exclusively, between the *Sliochd Gille Mhanntaich* and the *Sliochd Iain Léith*.

Clan Kennedy or *MacUalraig*. This clan is generally associated with Lochaber, where it is supposed to have originated with Ualraig Kennedy, a member of the Ayrshire family of Dunure, who is alleged to have fled to Lochaber to escape punishment for some mis-demeanour in the sixteenth century; his descendents are said to have attached them-selves to the Camerons and the MacDonalds of Keppoch (Buchanan 1775:78). What-ever truth there may be in this, the only representative of the family appearing in the *Mackintosh Muniments* is Neill Kennedie of Leanachin (O.S.: Lianachan) who is associated in 1685 with the leading men of the *Clann Raghnaill* of Lochaber as part of 'a race of the greatest criminals in all Europe' (Paton 1903: No. 615).

The first Kennedy on record in the Parish of Laggan, and the only man of the name appearing in the *Genealogies of the McPhersons* MS, was 'Duncan MacSoerle [*Somhairle*, Somerled] alias Kennedy in Gaskinloan', who married Christian, a granddaughter of Finlay Macpherson of Biallid (*Sliochd Iain*), about 1700. But by 1745 the clan had infiltrated Laggan and the lower parishes of Badenoch to an impressive extent: indivi-duals from Garvabeg, Crathy Croy (2), Tirfadown, Dalchully, Gallovie, Gergask, and Gaskinloan (2) served in Macpherson of Clunie's Regiment, with eight others from Macpherson farms in the parish of Kingussie; tenants in Dalraddie (2) and Raitts in the parish of Alvie refrained from joining the Rising (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 83, f 295 and Pf 92, ff 251, 256, 257). Clunie's drummer, Angus Kennedy, who was captured at Carlisle where he was left owing to sickness or wounds received at Clifton, was prob-ably a Laggan-man and in all likelihood from the farm of Gaskinloan (Seton-Gordon and Arnot: 1928). If all men of the name were members of the Lochaber family the conclusion is inescapable that a considerable migration into Badenoch had occurred during the first half of the eighteenth century, probably under the aegis of the Macpherson tacksmen and prompted, perhaps, by the Duke of Gordon.

Table I shows that the Kennedies in Laggan held fifth place in the community prior to 1800, after the Macphersons, MacDonalds, MacIntoshes and MacIntyres. Unlike the latter two, however, they maintained their numbers and relative importance after that date and occupied third place after the Macphersons and MacDonalds. As in the case of these clans, very few personal connections can be established between families of different generations, and it may be suggested that continued migration into the parish was partly responsible for this. Tenure rights, however, had been acquired in Drumgaskinloan, Gergask and Tirfadown, and it was probably from these farms that the continued dispersal throughout the parish proceeded prior to and during the period of the Register. The post-1812 appearance of the Kennedies in the farms at the extreme eastern end of the parish, including Glentruim, is particularly striking, although it must be remembered that some of the implied migration may have originated in lower Badenoch rather than Laggan. In any case, it is clear that much of the migration was due to the assumption of matrilocal residence, and by implication, to a relative lack of hereditary rights of possession. None of the thirty-two resident families included wives from Lochaber, and the parents of most of them were both from the Parish of Laggan.

The Camerons, Campbells, Frasers, Grants, Robertsons and *Stewarts.* These are the surnames of clans which were strongly represented in the neighbouring districts of Strathspey, Stratherrick, Lochaber, Rannoch and Atholl. It would be surprising, therefore, if they were missing from the Laggan community prior to 1800. Table I indicates that they were present in relatively small numbers. None of them at any time exceeded the Kennedies in number, and collectively they fell far short of the MacDonalds. They were also different from those two Lochaber clans in that there is no record of their possessing land in Laggan prior to 1745. The surrender lists of 1746 indicate, in fact, that there were no Camerons, Frasers or Grants from the parish, and only one Campbell (from Dalwhinnie), three Robertsons (from Crathie Croy, Gaskmore and Clunie), and two Stewarts (from Crathie Croy and Crubinbeg) in the ranks of Clunie's Regiment. Their absence or relative unimportance is all the more surprising when it is recalled that these were the clans with whom the Macphersons had been forming exogamous marriages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A critical examination of *The Genealogies of the McPhersons* MS, however, provides a partial explanation: Laggan Macphersons were involved in neither of two marriages with Camerons, in only one of four with Campbells, one of six with Frasers, two of nine with Robertsons, two of eight with Stewarts, and—most surprising of all—only one of twenty-four marriages contracted with Grants. Of the seven marriages involving Macphersons from the upper parish three concerned women who probably left the district to join their husbands. Despite geographical proximity, therefore, there was little scope for matrilocal residence to play its part in introducing men of neighbouring clans into the community. The Laggan Macphersons, apparently, were least involved in the web of exogamous marri-

ages woven by the *Clann Mhuirich* during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and indications are that this remained true throughout most of the eighteenth century.

Camerons appeared as heads of five families in the community in the first decade covered by the Register, one of them the miller at Strathmashie. Three of their wives were Stewarts, tending to discount matrilocal possession as the explanation for their presence. Table I shows that their numbers declined after 1800 and increased again after 1825, but no family connections can be established between the earlier and later families. Moreover, their earlier and later geographical distributions were quite different. These facts, taken together, seem to suggest that the parish saw a continuous trickle of in-migrating families of this name from Lochaber, none of whom succeeded in putting down roots in the community by means of the hereditary tenure system.

The Campbells, unlike the Camerons, maintained their numbers and increased their relative position in the community. As in the case of the Camerons, however, neither family connections nor continuity of tenure in the same farms are evident from the information in the Register. Only one family, resident in Pitgown before 1800, produced a succession in the same farm in the second generation (1815–30).

Frasers appeared as heads of families in Gaskbeg and Crubinbeg (2) between 1780 and 1782, but no connection between them is apparent from the information in the Register. The Fraser in Gaskbeg fathered two families in succession, his wives' maiden names being MacDonald and Leslie, while the two men in Crubinbeg were both married to Macphersons; matrilocal residence would appear to have been fully operative in these cases. Like the Camerons, the Frasers were little in evidence among the baptising families of the parish between 1800 and 1825, but their numbers recovered and their relative position increased after 1830. Only one of the later families can be connected with any certainty, however, with an earlier family, and there was no continuity of geographical association to suggest roots in the tenure system.

Grant families appeared in Crubinbeg in 1785 and in Clunie between 1789 and 1803. A shepherd in the Braes of Clunie in 1834 may have been a son of the latter. The name remained insignificant in Laggan despite its relative importance in lower Badenoch and its predominance in the Strathspey parishes below Badenoch.

Unlike the other clans from neighbouring districts the Robertsons declined both in numbers and relative importance in Laggan during the period covered by the Register. Despite the absence of established family connections between families of different generations, their geographical distributions show some continuity of association with certain farms, including the three farms from which men of the name joined Clunie in 1745. The rental surveys conducted on the Forfeited Estate of Clunie in 1748 and 1770 indicate that Robertsons had a place in the tenure rights of the Aird of Clunie, and this is where one family is on record between 1781 and 1786; it subsequently moved to Crubinmore where it was resident in 1788 and 1790. Migration within the parish, in fact, was common among the Robertsons before and after 1800. Matrilocal residence was responsible for much of this, but their heavy concentration between Clunie and

Crathie and the focal position of Gaskmore would suggest that they had been successful in obtaining a toehold in the system of tenure rights enjoyed by older clans in the parish. Their decline after 1825 puts them in the same category as the Clanchattan clans with respect to the selective effects of emigration.

Only one Stewart family is recorded prior to 1800, residing at Shirramore (1780–98) and producing a succession in the next generation (1804–6). Later families are known to have immigrated into the parish, in at least one instance as a result of acquiring matrilocal possession.

The community of Laggan between 1775 and 1800 included individuals with the surnames Chisholm, Cumming, Dallas, Eason, Elder, Guthrie, Hay, Meldrum, Ross, Shaw, MacArthur, MacCulloch, MacFarlane, MacGillivray, MacHardy, MacLean, and MacNaughton. None of them, with the possible exception of Ross in Gaskbeg, had any succession in the parish, and most of them appear but momentarily in the record. Almost all of them, however, were married to women belonging to families and clans well entrenched in the hereditary tenure rights of the parish, and it may be argued that their temporary residence in the parish was purely matrilocal in origin.

The foregoing account has suggested that the community in the Parish of Laggan, as it existed between 1775 and 1800, consisted of a number of *clann* and *sliochdan* belonging to various major clans of the central Highland districts and rooted in the farms of Laggan by hereditary rights. Acquired by individuals, either by conquest, intrusion (which is much the same thing), or exogamous marriage, these rights accrued in a general sense to the clan to which each belonged and in a more particular sense to the *sliochd* or lineage descended from him. We might say that the clan had general political interests in maintaining the rights of individual clansmen, while the *sliochd* was more concerned with the economic aspect of possession: the maintenance of the usufruct in perpetuity. The more general political interest was demonstrated in 1664 when Andrew Macpherson of Clunie requested of the Laird of MacIntosh 'that all lands which were ever formerly possessed by the Clan Vurrich . . . should be restored to the Clan Vurrich' (Clark 1900: 338, 353); the more particular economic interest was involved in 1714 when Duncan Macpherson of Invertromie concerned himself with the transfer of the wadset of Muckcoul from his kinsmen, the Macphersons of Shirrabeg (*Sliochd Iain*), to Macpherson of Benchar (*Sliochd Choinnich*) (Paton 1902: No. 699). An even more interesting example of the interest of the *sliochd* in the hereditary rights possessed by one of its kinsmen is shown by the appearance of Duncan Macpherson of Invertromie as the sole representative of the *Sliochd Iain* in a series of transactions between the Laird of MacIntosh and some Macphersons of the *Sliochd Ghill-iosa* which primarily concerned wadset lands in the Parish of Alvie. His presence as a witness might be explained simply as a result of geographical proximity; but it is significant that the warrandice for the wadset involved the distant farms of Inverroy-more, Inverroy-beg and Bohaskie in the Braes of Lochaber, precisely the farms among the

Keppoch MacDonalds in which a branch of the Macphersons of Garvamore (*Sliochd Iain*) held hereditary rights. (Paton 1903: No. 655; Macpherson 1966: 14).

It may be argued, however, that the identification of distinct *clann* and lineages in the community is not a valid way of describing the social structure as late as 1775. In this view continuity of association with particular farms or tracts of land was merely a historical legacy from a system that had passed away: unrelated to the economic and social realities of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, it should be explained simply in terms of geographical inertia and the innate conservatism of a peasant people. This would be the corollary of the commonly accepted belief that the clan system of the Scottish Highlands was broken and destroyed by the military defeat at Culloden and by the repressive legislation which followed. To accept this, however, is to believe that a traditional way of life, rooted in at least a thousand years of folk history, depended for its survival on the right to carry arms and wear a particular style of dress; it is to identify the ancient ways of a people with their uneasy subjection to feudal forms of jurisdiction and with their relatively recent adherence to a particular political party in the state. The denial of access to arms undoubtedly brought the capability of the Highland clans to act as a paramilitary force in the political arena to an end; and the prohibition of the Highland Dress as civilian wear between 1746 and 1782 must have had a considerably demoralising effect in terms of personal prestige and the sense of cultural distinctiveness which the Highlanders entertained. But to argue that these relatively superficial infringements could destroy the fundamental basis of the clan system is to deny that the general findings of the social anthropologists have any validity in a reconstruction or interpretation of the traditional Highland way of life.

The error in popular thinking is probably the result of an uncritical definition of the major clans of Highland history as political entities like tribes, each associated with a particular territory and capable of unified military action. Political solidarity and territoriality, however, were secondary characteristics of the clan system. The primary characteristic of the Scottish clan was its adherence to the agnatic principle: affiliation by male descent. The major clans and the local district *clann* and *sliochdan* were essentially agnatic kinship groups in which both men and women were born into the clan of their father as symbolised by the use of a common surname. Neither the defeat at Culloden, the Disarming and Dress Act of 1746, nor the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747 could have had any effect on the traditional adherence to the agnatic principle as expressed in the little *clann* and *sliochdan* of Highland districts like Laggan. Proof for its continuance as the basis for the social structure of Highland communities, therefore, must be sought in something more fundamental than territorial association. The evidence, which will be presented in a subsequent paper, comes from a consideration of marriage in the Laggan community.

N

NOTES

1 These percentages were derived from statistics in 'Webster's Enumeration, 1755' (Kyd 1952) and in 'The Statistical Account of Scotland: Parish of Laggan' (Grant 1795).

2 There was evidently a later connection by marriage between the Macphersons of Strathmashie and the MacIntoshes of Strone. The *Genealogies of the McPhersons* records the marriage of John McIain Duibh of Strathmashie to a daughter of 'McIntosh of Strone', probably James of Gask.

3 *Creag Dhubh* No. 11, 1959:14, 15; see also the *Ardross MS*, Macpherson of Cluny Collection, Scottish Record Office, No. 965.

4 These attempts to express the Gaelic name of the clan phonetically show that the Gaelic pronunciation was *Clann Dà'idh*, with *d* unlenited after the nasal, and *bh* represented by hiatus as it is among Gaelic speakers today.

5 His place of death is recorded on a grave stone in *Cladh Chluanaidh*, at Cluny in Laggan.

6 Davidson, as a surname, would be *Mac Dhà'idh* in Gaelic, which is practically identical phonetically with 'MacKay', as the lenited *d* is silent.

7 These spellings show that the Gaelic was *Sliochd a' Ghobha Chruim* (gen.), and that, despite the later sources, the oblique case *Gobhainn* was not used.

8 *Crom* (nom.), 'crooked' or 'stooping'.

9 Macpherson of Cluny Collection, No. 965, Scottish Record office, Edinburgh.

10 The 'smooth side'. The other side is *An Slios Garbh*, 'the rough side'.

11 One of these men was listed with the surname 'Gregorach'.

12 The surname in Gaelic is *Tolm* and its bearers are known collectively as *Na Tolmaich*. The name is found from about the beginning of the seventeenth century in Fortrose in the Black Isle and also in the town of Inverness. In Fortrose they were prominent as burgesses and merchants, and seem to have been MacLeods, descended from *Iain Tolmach*, one of the Gairloch branch of the MacLeods of Lewis, who lived in the sixteenth century. There are still MacLeods in Lewis who are known in Gaelic as *Clann Iain Tholmaich*, but there is no evidence that the Tolmies in Laggan used the name MacLeod. The name probably has more than one origin.

13 Scotticised forms like 'MacGilichonich' and 'MacGillichennich' could stand for Gaelic *Mac Gille Choinnich*. On the other hand, 'MacIlchynich' and especially 'MacAlchynich' indicate that the Gaelic was *Mac 'aol Choinnich*, that is, *Mac Mhaol Choinnich*. *Gille* as a prefix in personal names came into use at a later date than *Maol*, and tended to replace it. It is curious, in this respect, that the Laggan Register uses the older form while earlier sources use the later one.

14 This was the last occasion on which an entry was made, using the old name in preference to 'MacKenzie'.

15 Alexander Macpherson records the discovery of a gravestone in St Columba's Graveyard, Kingussie, which reads: 'Heir lyes Alx. McDon., son to Jo. McDon, in Rvthan, who dyed 23 Ap. 1719; also Alx. and Alx. McDonalds, his father and uncle, sometime representing the antient familiy of Ardnamourach.'

16 The surrender lists for 'Keepach McDonald's Men' (S.P.D. Geo. II 36:Pf 83, f 381) includes five men with the surname 'McIlvauntich': John, Angus, Samuel, Ewan, William and John. The three men who surrendered with the McPhersons to the Earl of Loudoun were John McGilliwantich in Garvabegg, Donald McGillvantick in Stramasey, and Angus McGilvantich in . . .. (S.P.D. Geo. II 36: Pf 92, ff 256, 257.)

17 It was probably to prevent the recruitment of men of the *Sliochd Gille Mhanntaich*, and perhaps some of the *Sliochd Iain Duibh*, who were living in the central and northern parts of the parish of Laggan, that Ewan Macpherson of Clunie acted against MacDonald of Keppoch in the early months of the 'Forty-Five Rising(Warrand 1930: 21).

18 The earliest recorded use of the surname Mann which may be connected with the parish of Laggan occurs in the marriage contract between Muriach, a son of Bean Macpherson of Strathmashie, and Elisabeth MacIntosh in Kinrara which was signed at Inverness in 1675. A burgess of the town, one Thomas Man, appears among the signatories, most of whom were *Sliochd Iain* and *Sliochd Choinnich* Macphersons from the parishes of Laggan and Kingussie (Paton 1903: No. 561).

REFERENCES

ADAM, FRANK

1934   *The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands.* 3rd edition.

BUCHANAN OF AUCHMAR

1775   *An Inquiry into the Origin and Descent of the Highland Clans* (1723). 2nd edition.

CLARK, J. T. (ed.)

1900   '*De Origine et Incremento Makintoshiorum Epitome.*' In: *Genealogical Collections Concerning Families in Scotland, made by Walter Macfarlane 1750–1751*, vol. I. Scottish History Society 33: 144–404. Edinburgh.

COLLIER, JEREMY

1701   *The Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical and Poetical Dictionary.* 2nd edition. London.

CUNNINGHAM, AUDREY

1932   *The Loyal Clans.* Edinburgh.

DOUGLAS OF GLENBERVIE, SIR ROBERT

1798   *The Baronage of Scotland.* 2nd edition.

F.E.P.

1747–86   Forfeited Estates' Papers. The Scottish Record Office, Old Register House, Edinburgh.

FRASER, SIR WILLIAM

1869   *The Chiefs of Colquhoun and their country.* Edinburgh.

FRASER-MACKINTOSH, C.

1865   *Antiquarian Notes: A series of papers regarding families and places in the Highlands.* Inverness.

1877   '*The Depopulation of Aberarder in Badenoch, 1770.*' *Celtic Magazine* 2: 419.

1899–1901   'The Boycott of Macpherson of Killyhuntly.' *Trans. Gael. Soc. of Inverness* 24: 100–20.

GRANT, ANNE (MRS GRANT OF LAGGAN)

1807   *Letters from the Mountains, being the real correspondence of a lady between the years 1773 and 1807*, vol. I. 3rd edition. London.

GRANT, REV. JAMES

1795   'The Parish of Laggan.' In: *The Old Statistical Account.* Edinburgh.

GREGORY, DONALD

1880   *The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland, from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625.* 2nd edition. London.

KERMACK, W. R.

1953   *The Clan MacGregor, the nameless clan.* Edinburgh.

KYD, J. G.

1952   *Scottish Population Statistics.* Scottish History Society 44 (3rd Series). Edinburgh.

LAING, DAVID (ed.)

1879   *The Oryginale Cronykil of Scotland, by Androw Wyntoun, Prior of Lochleven, 1395–1413*, vol. 3. Edinburgh.

MACDONALD OF TAUNTON, DR ANGUS
   1800–1820   *Memoir of Macdonald of Keppoch, a Family Memoir.* Privately printed.
MACKINTOSH OF MACKINTOSH, SIR AENEAS
   1892   *Notes Descriptive and Historical.* Privately printed.
MACPHAIL, J. R. N. (ed.)
   1896   'Letters written by Mrs Grant of Laggan concerning Highland affairs and persons
                connected with the Stuart cause in the eighteenth century.' Scottish History Society
                26 : 249–330. Edinburgh.
MACPHERSON, ALEXANDER
   1896–7   'Gleanings from the Cluny Charter Chest.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of
                Inverness,* 21 : 391–452.
   1893   *Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands in Olden Times, and other papers.*
                Edinburgh.
MACPHERSON, ALAN G.
   1966   'An Old Highland Genealogy, and the evolution of a Scottish clan.' *Scottish
                Studies* 10 : 1–43. Edinburgh.
MACPHERSON, DONALD C.
   1879   'The Clandonald of Keppoch.' *Celtic Magazine* 4 : 368–75.
MURDOCH, REV. ALEXANDER D. (ed.)
   1902   *The Loyall Dissuasive and other papers concerning the affairs of Clan Chattan : by Sir
                Aeneas Macpherson, Knight of Invereshie, 1691–1705.* Scottish History Society 41.
                Edinburgh.
PATON, HENRY (ed.)
   1903   *The Mackintosh Muniments, 1442–1820.* Printed privately.
SETON-GORDON, SIR BRUCE and JEAN G. ARNOT
   1928   *Prisoners of the '45.* Scottish History Society 15 (3rd series). Edinburgh.
SKENE, F. J. H. (ed.)
   1880   *The Book of Pluscarden.* Edinburgh.
SOBIESKI-STUART, JOHN and CHARLES
   1848   *Lays of the Deer Forest and Traditions of the Clans.* Edinburgh.
S.P.D.
                State Papers Domestic. The Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.
WARRAND, DUNCAN GRANT
   1923–30   *More Culloden Papers,* vol. 5. Inverness.
WATKINS, JOHN (trans.)
   1721   *The History of Scotland, by George Buchanan.* London.

Land Use by Summer Shielings

RONALD MILLER

In modern Scotland pastures distant from the farmstead tend to be either neglected or grazed by sheep. Cheviots and Blackfaces (or their crosses) predominate, for they are hardy and require little attention; the Blackfaces in particular can survive on the poorest of grazing, even on heather, and with a minimum of shepherding. Their introduction (and the concomitant clearances of human population) was a prime factor in the nineteenth century agricultural revolution in the Highlands, and sheep still dominate the economy and, indeed, the ecology of the Scottish uplands. Formerly, however, outpastures were occupied by cattle as well as other stock during the summer months, and the grazing grounds and bothies for the herdsmen and dairymaids were known as shielings (formerly also sheals, sheils, sheildings, or sheels). In records 'to shiel' is also commonly used in a verbal sense. In the Highlands and Hebrides, where shielings are commonest, they are known as *airigh* in the west, and as *ruigh* in the centre and east.

Shieling persisted in the Outer Hebrides until the last war, and in Lewis (Plate V) many of the bothies are still used as holiday huts or as bases for peat-cutting, but occasionally poultry, whose free range is destructive to growing corn, are taken to the shielings. The practice of shieling, however, still flourishes elsewhere in Europe (Evans 1940; Davies 1941), and it is worth examination in Scotland not merely as history, but because rough pastures constitute a large proportion of the land area of Scotland and if we are to use this land wisely in the future, it cannot but help to understand its use in the past. If a time should come—and this may not be a remote possibility—when we must win more food from our own land, it would seem reasonable to suppose that those areas which once carried a higher stocking of man and beast might be the first to do so again.

Shielings may be looked for wherever climate or topography cause a seasonal variation in the value or availability of pasture, so that man and his flocks and herds must move their base at least twice in the course of the year in order to win the maximum use from the land. Nomadic pastoralism such as that of the Fulani of West Africa, who have no fixed base, or the long-distance movement of sheep in the Mediterranean, is quite another practice. Thus in the Alps, shielings are an obvious necessity if the high pastures, lush in summer but snow-bound in winter, are to be exploited to the full and if the home ground is to be reserved for crops for human consumption or for winter

fodder. In the French-speaking Alps, shiels (*alpages*) and their bothies (*châlets*) are very numerous and are often tiered one above the other, the stock and their herdsmen moving up and down the mountain in two or three stages depending on the range of altitude. The buildings at the intermediate level (*montagnettes* in Savoy, *mayen* in Valais) normally include hay-barns, but they are none the less shielings for they are occupied by herdsmen as the stock move up and down. Between the two passages of the stock, hay may be cut and either sent to the home farm or consumed *in situ* by the descending stock. An interesting parallel with Scotland is that at many of the *alpages* a quick-ripening crop is sometimes taken. Osgood Mackenzie (1921) records how he could recognise the shiels in Wester Ross from afar by the distinctive green of their potato patches, and elsewhere in Scotland evidence of cultivation in the form of 'lazybeds' is also to be found at the shiels.

Not only is shieling active in the Alps—it is being modernised. The current demand for standardised products requires milk to be delivered to the creameries. On the one hand, therefore, some inaccessible shiels have gone out of use, on the other, some quite ancient shiels in Valais have revolutionised the transport of milk by the installation of a small-bore plastic pipeline down which the milk is sent twice daily to a creamery in the valley. The writer has seen modern stainless steel dairying equipment in otherwise primitive shiels in both the Alps and Pyrenees.

In the German-speaking Alps, *alm*, or high pasture, is a very common place-name and the *almhütte* or *sennenhütte* a common sight in the mountains, as is the *voralm* at intermediate levels. The enormous economic importance of summer shielings in Ötztal in Austria has recently been brought out in a masterly fashion by Mlle Picard (1964). In Italy, especially on the grassy benches below the crags of the Dolomites, shielings or *malga* are to be found in plenty, and they recur again in the Carpathians where the local variant of the alpine *châlet* is common. In the Pyrenees, active shielings are not difficult to find, and here sheep (and cheese from their milk) are at least as important as cattle.

In Norway the accessible shielings (*saeter*) are still in use (Reinton 1955) and here, as in Scotland, they are often spaced away from, rather than above the home farm. The shielings (*fåbod*) in Sweden may be deep in the forest (Edwards 1942). The dominant factor here is the contrast between summer and winter weather at similar altitudes rather than the differences due to a range of altitude. The high latitude, with long winter nights and consequent confinement indoors, no doubt helps to account for the former prevalence of shielings and the current vogue—almost craze—for summer huts among those who no longer live by the land, but seek the freedom, sunlight, and outdoor life of the distant pastures. Saeter-going, indeed, according to Dr Lars Reinton, the distinguished Norwegian expert on shielings, is in the blood of the people of the North. The writer was inclined to be sceptical on this point until one summer he found a family in North Finland living in the dairy, across the farm-yard from their closed and shuttered farm-house. It transpired that, being in the centre of a large arable area formed

by the draining of a glacial lake, they had no outpastures and therefore chose to find their summer solace and change of scene by transhuming across the farm-yard.

Even in North Africa, temporary summer settlements are to be found in the High Atlas, well away from the cultivated land (Prothero 1964). Here the dominant factor is the highly seasonal incidence of rainfall.

Archaeological evidence suggests that for Europe, at least, the evolution of land-use has been from hunting and gathering through pastoralism to cultivation of crops. Clearly, as soon as arable agriculture was invented, stock had to be removed to a safe distance from the growing crops. Shielings, therefore, would seem to be as old as cultivation. With the spread of cultivation following an increase in human numbers, devices like stall-feeding or enclosure of fields enabled cattle to live in rotation with arable (including fodder) crops, and the shiels could become new farms. Only where terrain existed which was fit for nothing but pasture—at least for part of the year—and was quite incapable of conversion to arable cultivation, would a shieling system persist. Such conditions are found in the mountains of Europe, where altitude shortens the summer and where the high ground is too steep and the soil too thin for cultivation; in the north, where high latitude brings long, excessively cold winters; in the Mediter-ranean, where summer drought burns out the pastures except on the hills; in the north-west (in which region Scotland lies), where high latitude and excessive oceanic influence (now or in the past) bring cool superhumid conditions leading to acid soils and often blanket peat, especially in the hills and western isles.

Thus, in the British Isles, shielings must have become arable farms at quite an early date in the English plain. Ekwall (1924) finds in place-names like Birker and Winder echoes of *airigh* and thus evidence of former shielings. In Wales, the mountain pastures are relatively limited in extent and are mostly readily accessible from the cultivated valley bottoms. The writer has examined only the Brecon Beacons area and there shielings (*hafod* or *lluest*) are to be found in plenty (Miller 1967). Hassal (1812) writes of the movement of sheep between hills in summer and the valley bottoms in winter and Davies (1935) describes the complicated movements of sheep which persist to the present. Even in Cornwall, shielings (*hendra* or *avot*) were formerly used in summer to exploit the moorland grazings (Pounds 1942:33).

In Ireland, shielings (*buaile*, or 'booley') are well known and were in use in remote parts until quite recently. Hayward (1964) reminds us that, as early as the sixteenth century, the poet Spenser records seeing people 'in boolies, pasturing upon the moun-tains and waste wild places.' In the north, Graham (1954) has studied them against the European setting and reveals many points of similarity to Scotland. O'Danachair (1945:248), writing of the Galtees, records the essence of the situation from the mouth of a poor pastoral farmer, 'There was no rent on the mountain, and land on the farm was nearly all put under hay to feed the cows in the winter time. In that way, a farmer could have a lot more cattle on a small farm.' His *buaile* is still to be seen on the Galtee Hills, and dry cattle at least are still sent up there (Leister 1965). Aalen (1963 and 1964)

draws attention to shiels very close to Dublin and regards the corbelled huts of Dingle as shiels. Such corbelling is to be found in the Western Isles of Scotland, in Rhum and Lewis at least.

Scottish literature and folk-lore abound in references to shielings: in the nineteenth century, unfortunately, much of this is romantic and derivative. Whitaker (1959) has carefully examined the written sources but, apart from Gaffney, MacSween and Gailey, little study has been devoted in the field to the shielings themselves, the remains of their bothies, or the character of the ground. Gaffney (1959, 1960, 1967) has not only studied the Gordon papers in detail, but also the lands to which they refer. His profound knowledge in this field has contributed much to our understanding of the place of shielings in the system of land-tenure and in the rural economy of the central Highlands in the eighteenth century. MacSween (1959) and Gailey (1961) have mapped shielings and their parent settlements in North Skye and have excavated a site in Trotternish.

A little-known but first-hand description of a Scottish shieling in occupation is that of Hugh Miller (1847:81–83) writing of a visit to one under the great eastern escarpment of the island of Eigg:

> The shieling, a rude low-roofed erection of turf and stone, with a door in the centre some five feet in height or so, but with no window, rose on the grassy slope immediately in front of the vast continuous rampart. A slim pillar of smoke ascends from the roof, in the calm, faint and blue within the shadow of the precipice. . . . Save the lonely shieling, not a human dwelling was in sight. An island girl of eighteen, more than merely good-looking, though much embrowned by the sun, had come to the door to see who the unwonted visitors might be. . . . And as she set herself to prepare for us a rich bowl of mingled milk and cream, John and I entered the shieling. There was a turf fire at the one end, at which there sat two little girls, engaged in keeping up the blaze under a large pot, but sadly diverted from their work by our entrance; while the other end was occupied by a bed of dry straw, spread on the floor from wall to wall, and fenced off at the foot by a line of stones. The middle space was occupied by the utensils and produce of the dairy,—flat wooden vessels of milk, a butter-churn, and a tub half-filled with curd; while a few cheeses, soft from the press, lay on a shelf above. The little girls were but occasional visitors, who had come out of a juvenile frolic, to pass the night in the place; but I was informed by John that the shieling had two other inmates, young women, like the one so hospitably engaged in our behalf, who were out at the milking, and that they lived here all alone for several months every year, when the pasturage was at its best, employed in making butter and cheese for their master, worthy Mr McDonald of Keill.

Regional Surveys in Scotland

Mainland : Assynt

The writer had long been aware of the existence of ruined—often only vestigial—bothies in the hills of many parts of Scotland, but it was rarely possible to be sure that they were

shielings and, if so, to recognise their parent settlement. The position was transformed, however, by Adam's publication of John Home's eighteenth-century survey of Assynt (Adam 1960). This, with access to the original maps by courtesy of Mr Scott of the Sutherland Estates Office, made it possible to pin-point the Assynt shielings of 1774 and, with the aid of Mr William Rollinson, to identify and examine on the ground some 200 of the 246 shiels listed by Home.

The terrain is characterised by poverty of both soils and vegetation. The greater part of Assynt is formed of Lewisian rocks, which include not only typical gneisses but also some schists and both are traversed from north-west to south-east by a multitude of igneous dykes which give grain to the country. The topography is complex in the extreme. The original dissection of a low plateau, sloping gently westwards, has been profoundly modified by glaciation, so that there is now a fine confusion of rocky hillocks as much as 700–800 ft. high in the east, declining to some 200–300 ft. in the west. The valleys between have had scooped out of them countless lochans and one major depression, Loch Assynt. Sometimes the valleys are fairly steep and the streams tumble over rocky beds, in others, they form wet morasses. In detail, the hills are characterised by frequent small cliff-like features, presumably controlled by jointing, faulting and intrusions. Small as these cliffs are, they greatly impede circulation, for a small rock wall of even a few feet is obstacle enough to man and beast. Accessibility, therefore, is not to be measured in miles but in hours. Overlying the Lewisian in parts is the Torridonian sandstone. In the Stoer Peninsula, it forms smooth rolling forms boldly truncated by cliffs. Remnant buttes in the east centre form the magnificent inselbergs of Quinag (2,653 ft.), Canisp (2,779 ft.) and Suilven (2,399 ft.), the latter two so steeply-conical as to be virtually devoid of soil or vegetation.

The eastern margin of the parish has its own special character. A broad and deep north-south valley has been excavated along the rim of the Moine thrust and is dominated to the east by the massif which culminates in Ben More Assynt, a complex involving Lewisian gneiss, Cambrian limestone and quartzite. The gneiss gives rise to the type of country already described; the limestone, as always, shows solution forms, caves, swallow holes, underground streams and resurgences and because of its alkaline reaction, sweetens the soil and yields excellent pastures. The quartzite is supremely hard and usually forms bare rocky slopes which are virtually sterile. Glaciation has swept away the original soils of Assynt and left deposits in only a few small areas. Mineral soils, therefore, are mostly thin or non-existent, for the durability of the rocks is such that except for some of the schists and intrusions, little disintegration and therefore soil formation has taken place since the glaciation. This is particularly serious in that the area lacks raised beaches, those gently-sloping soil-covered benches which save the situation on so many of the shores of the West Highlands and Inner Hebrides. On the other hand, the deep bays of Assynt formerly yielded abundant herring and include, in Lochinver, one of the few reasonably good natural harbours of the North-West Highlands.

Climatically, the area belongs to that north-west province of Scotland where oceanic influence is excessive. High humidity, cloudiness and cool temperatures, now and even more so in the past Atlantic phases of climate when such conditions were accentuated, have clad the slopes in peat and the flats with blanket bog. Even in the few areas where mineral soil occurs, peat is prevalent. Vegetation generally is of wet moorland type characterised by rushes, sedges, mosses and molinia. Only the small area of limestone offers conditions where man is not heavily handicapped by nature in his attempt to win a living from the land. Thus while the laird's castle was at Ardvreck in the east centre, commanding both the major north-west valley and the limestones, most of the rest of the settlement was on the coasts, in the bays where glacial deposits, some blown sand, a modicum of shelter and above all the harvest of the sea, in fish, seaweed and shell-fish made life possible in this inhospitable environment. The Inver River by which Loch Assynt discharges to the sea was also flanked by settlement.

The population was quite considerable; the rentals (also published in Adams 1960) record 339 households with a total of 1,718 persons. Of these, 68 per cent lived in the coastal settlements, the rest inland, mainly in the great eastern valley. It is not surprising that farms were subdivided—practically all of them were conjoint holdings. No doubt there were many squatters who did not appear on the rent-roll and these may account for the much higher population figure given in the Old Statistical Account. Whatever the exact figure, even this high population was later to be exceeded, for the census of 1861 records no less than 3,174 people.

With such numbers it is not surprising that there was on the one hand emigration and on the other intense pressure on the land, and thus the maximum possible development of the shieling system. The 42 joint farms had between them 246 shieling grounds (Fig. 1), and whereas the home farms occupy the sites referred to above, the shielings are scattered deeply into the interior of the parish in spite of the poor soils and vegetation and difficult access.

Examination of the shielings on the ground suggests that the principal factor in siting them was shelter. Repeatedly they are found on south-facing slopes with some shelter from the west if possible. Good drainage, as on a knoll or slope, is sought, but if considerations of shelter require it, shiels may be in surprisingly wet situations.

In the majority of cases, they can be recognised from a distance by the bright green grassy splash they make in the otherwise dun-coloured moorland. Often they are heavily infested with bracken, for this pest always seeks the best soils. The higher fertility on the shiel is not necessarily due to any great original superiority of the soil, but rather to the improvement induced by the treading and dunging of the shieling stock, especially when folded at night. Modern hill farming research has shown it to be profitable to apply artificial fertilisers intensively to parts of a hill pasture rather than evenly over all. Once the fertility of an area is raised above a certain threshold, worms and a micro-fauna and flora flourish to such an extent as to perpetuate the improvement, attract further treading and dunging and so maintain the cycle. Since the change from intensive
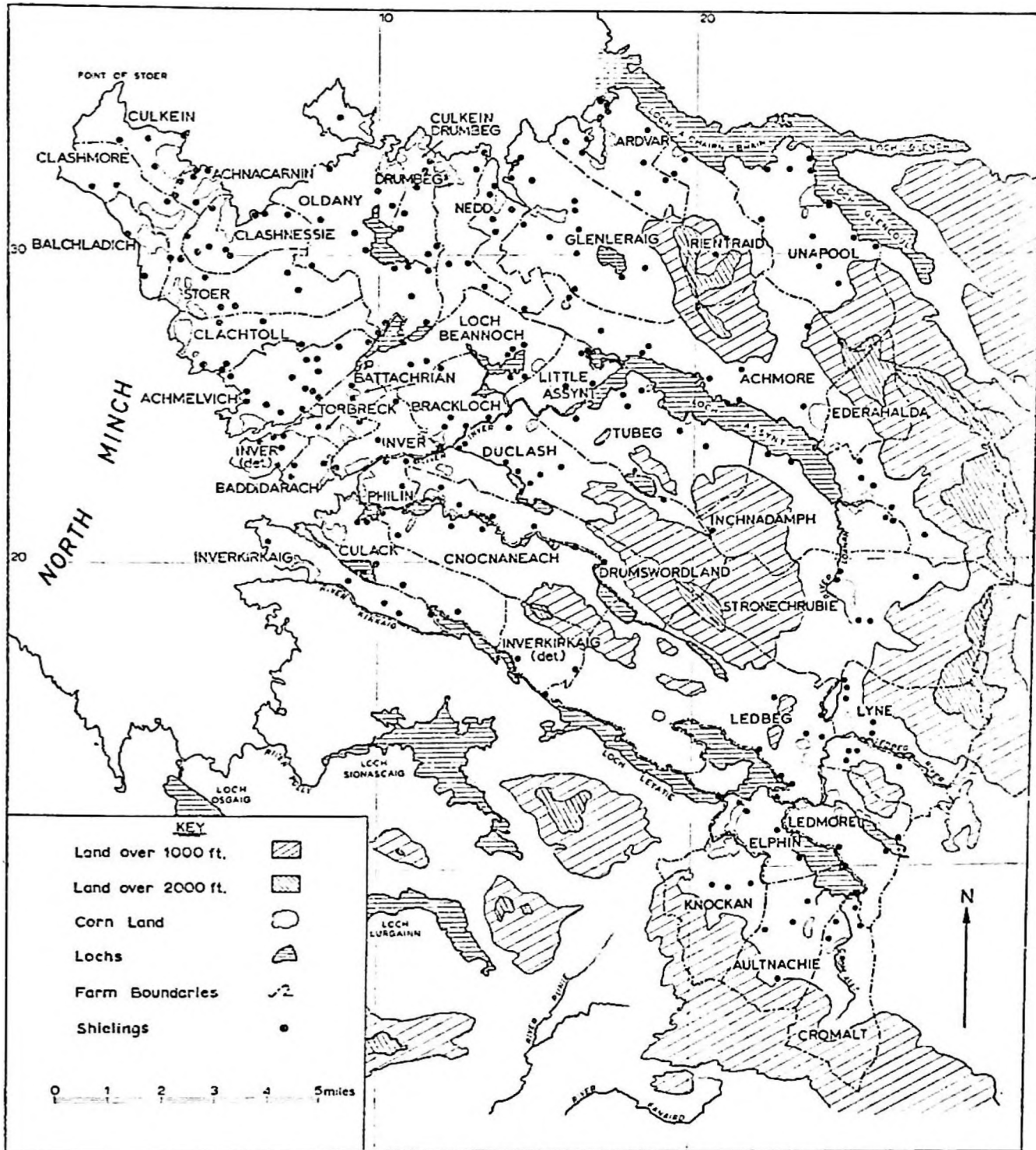
FIG. 1 Parish of Assynt: Farms and shielings of 1774. 10 Kilometre National Grid lines.

shieling to extensive sheep grazing after the Clearances, the sheep continue to concentrate on the better grass of the shielings and thus to maintain something of the fertility originally created centuries ago. The writer has been able to recognise shielings in the Pyrenees at over a mile's distance by the patches of trodden brown earth which mark the overnight folds for the sheep.

Quite often the Assynt shieling grounds are walled, either in stone or (more usually) turf on stone foundations. This we may suppose was partly to restrain the stock at night for security and for convenience of milking and partly so that their dung might be concentrated on the shieling. Enclosure would also be necessary if a crop of corn or potatoes was taken when fertility had been built up sufficiently: we know from Home's notes that such cropping took place.

Home distinguishes four types of land: infield, 'sheelings' (*sic*), natural woods, and 'hill, moss and rocky muirish pasture', and gives location and acreage for each category for each farm. The natural woods were open scrubby stands of birch, oak, hazel, and alder, which afforded good sheltered pasture, enhanced the value of a shieling and in one case (the farm of Torbreck) was able to carry the parson's cattle even in winter. Only remnants of the 2,902 acres of this woodland of 1774 exist today; presumably grazing by sheep since the Clearances has prevented regeneration.

Not only does Home differentiate shielings from rough pastures, but he gives acreages for them and, in some 20 cases, notes that they were 'in corn'. In one case (Clashnessie), he says that one-half to one-third of the shielings (there were nine of them) were annually in corn. It is astounding that a shieling should yield corn every other or every third year. In the case of Stoer, he remarks that the shielings are rich but are seldom in corn because they are too far from the houses. Stoer shielings lie one or two miles from the farm-houses, but six of the 20 shiels he mentions as being in corn elsewhere are at this kind of distance and two are 2½ miles from the house. Examination of the ground shows that 64 of the shielings visited had traces of walling round them, and that at least 32 had later become croft land. In the case of three large shielings, the area was not only walled but sub-divided. In Clachtoll shieling (national grid reference 064278), of 30 acres, there were three divisions; Culkein shieling (NB 029338), of 13 acres, two divisions; and Ledbeg shieling (254136), of 10 acres, three divisions. The shieling boundary walls are indicated at present by lines of rough stones only 1 or 2 feet high, but often with an overlying turf bank, no doubt the remnant of a once much higher wall. It may be that many more of the shiels examined—perhaps all—had walls entirely of peat divots. Such walls, 4 ft. high, very neat and effectively enclosing cattle may still be seen in use in the Hebrides, for example at Claddach Carinish in North Uist.

We must conclude, therefore, that many of the Assynt shielings were virtually outfield, and that this is why an area with so little land rated as infield carried such a high population. There were only 2,202 acres of infield for the farm population of 1,718. Clearly the 1,506 acres of shieling, even if only some of them were in corn only one year in 3, 4 or 5, would be of vital importance. We must also remember that the word shieling, as used by Home, means only the relatively fertile patch round the bothies. In the writer's experience of the ground elsewhere in Scotland it is normal to include all the rough pasture grazed from a bothy, or group of bothies, in the term 'shieling ground', and that while this may be indicated by a stone and/or turf wall, the more fertile patch round the bothies is not enclosed. In Assynt, therefore, we have an example

of what we may suppose to have been the general evolution of shieling in early times—
from rough pasture to infield as, on the one hand, pressure on the land grew and, on
the other, the fertility of the shieling built up under treading, dunging and periodic
cultivation. As has been mentioned, this evolution had brought 32 of the shiels of
Home's time into the infield class, although the Clearances deliberately reversed this
process, throwing the people out of their shielings back on to the coast, and giving rise
to the present Assynt folklore of fertile farms up in the hills and in the interior, farms
which, in the sense of houses and steadings cannot in this writer's experience be found
on the ground. The evidence of the ground, moreover, suggests that we should not
overestimate the extent of cultivation at the shielings. Home tells us the cas-chrom was
in use in his time—indeed he illustrates it on one of his maps. This tool goes with the
practice of lazybed making, which leaves on the ground a characteristic ridge-and-
furrow pattern. Such evidence of lazybeds is to be seen everywhere on the coastal
settlements, but on only 12 shieling grounds could it be observed, though on a few
other shiels bracken may conceal the evidence. At 16 shiels (including eight of those with
ridge-and-furrow) clearance cairns can be seen.

In this matter of fertility, we cannot but be struck by the frequent praise by Home
of the quality of the ground, in all four of its categories. Thus, Achmore pastures 'yield
all the variety of sweet grasses to perfection'; the shieling of Tumore 'yields fine grass';
Ardvar shielings 'abound with grass'; in Aultnachie 'nothing can exceed the fine rich
meadow grass'; the infield of Baddidaroch is 'remarkably fertile, yielding excellent
corn and bere'; Clashnessie infield is 'exceedingly fertile'; in the shielings of Culkein
'the pasture is generally rich and good'; the shielings of Drumbeg have 'a very rich soil';
the hill at Elphin 'yields excellent sweet grassy pasture'; and 'nothing can excell the
richness of the pasture upon the whole of this farm'; at Lochinver there is 'choice
grassy pasture'; Loch Beanoch shielings yield corn which is 'remarkably rich and
luxuriant'; speaking of Oldernay, Home asserts: 'Nothing can exceed the richness and
luxuriance of both corn and bere which this and all the coastal farms upon the estate
produce, *both growing to the height of an ordinary man*, particularly bere, which is the
principal crop, yielding no less for common than sixty pecks from sowing one.'

Either Home was exaggerating the quality of the estate in order to please his patron
or conditions have deteriorated sadly since his time, for it would be difficult to find
justification in Assynt at present for the superlatives used by Home and frequently one
wonders where the fine corn or choice grass could possibly have been. Elsewhere in the
Highlands and Islands, of course, we have similar evidence of retrogression of the quality
of the land. It is common, for example, to see lazybeds, clear evidence of former
cultivation, under deep heather.

Only in the east of Assynt are the shielings on *hill* pastures: there they occur as high
as 1,000 ft. on Quinag and one of them (NB 275205), in the sheltered limestone valley of
Gleann Dubh, was 'mostly arable, yielding fine grass' at an altitude of 600 ft. The coastal
and River Inver farms had shielings little or no higher than themselves. Their shielings

thus were on *out* pastures, and movement to them involved no vertical displacement, as in the Alps, but rather a horizontal displacement as is often found in Norway. This is another reason why such shielings, once their fertility has been developed, could be brought under cultivation. Had they been at some altitude, this would have been unlikely. Some 400 ft. seems to be the extreme upper limit of cultivation in oceanic Scotland.

No less than one-quarter of the 246 shielings are under half-a-mile from the parent settlement. A further one-third are between a half and one mile away, and a further quarter are less than 2 miles off. One-eighth are in the 2-or-3-mile bracket, and only eight shielings in all are up to 5½ miles away, and these are cases where the settlement has detached pastures or has an extremely elongated shape. This general proximity of the shiels to the homestead in Assynt is a function of the crowding of the area, of its topography and layout, and is yet another reason why cultivation was possible on the shiels.

The size and form of the shieling bothies in Assynt is rather variable, but compared to those which the writer is familiar with elsewhere, they are small and primitive, meriting the customary description of them in English by the Gaelic-speaking local people as 'hovels'. Some are so small as to provoke the thought that Home was not exaggerating when he said the corn was as tall as an ordinary man.

The majority of the bothy ruins are roughly rectangular, ranging from 6 by 4 ft. or even less, up to 15 by 5 ft. with one door in the centre of a long wall.* Some have very rounded corners, some are oval and a few are circular with a diameter of about 6 ft. Occasionally, stone walls up to 3 ft. high remain, suggesting that the original bothy was carefully built, but usually the number and arrangement of the stones suggests that they were merely the foundations for turf walls or were the inner wall only to a turf outer, a form of construction still to be seen in occupied shielings in Lewis. When the local turf has a mineral soil, the shieling is often on a green knoll formed by the ruins of its predecessors. Such knoll-shielings are common in Skye and elsewhere, where there is mineral soil, but the general absence of this feature in Assynt is no doubt related to the high peat content of the soil. The debris of peaty turf does not readily carry vegetation and is thus more easily washed away. In the numerous cases when the shieling ground can be positively identified but no trace of a bothy can be found, we may conclude that they were originally built entirely of peat turf. The writer has seen such a bothy of peat blocks recently built in Benbecula (NF 866502).

Some shielings have only one bothy; two or three is common and occasionally there are several more. Clachtoll (NB 062278) for example has seven and Culkein (NB 021338) has no less than 12. Naturally, the number of bothies is as a rule related to the size and quality of the shieling ground. The excellent 30-acre shiel Clachtoll for example, has two rectangular bothies 5 by 4 ft. and two 4½ by 3½ ft., a 4 ft. circular bothy, and two

* Throughout this article, the inside measurement is given.

PLATE V. Traditional type of shieling hut NB 388436, 500 yards west of A857, 7 miles from Stornoway. This and two similar but roofless bothies stand on grassy slopes of a burn incised into calluna moorland on deep peat. Inside dimensions 6 ft. by 10½ ft. walls *c.* 5 ft. thick and 5 ft. high inside, slightly higher and stone-built on outside at the door. Otherwise the outside walls banked up by peaty turf. Roof of drift wood covered with tarred felt and some corrugated iron sheets and overlaid by thin inverted grassy turfs. A square foot of glass in roof for skylight. To the right of door on entering, a wooden bench *c.* 6 ft. long and on opposite wall a wire spring bed *c.* 6 ft. by 3½ ft. supported on stones and with a mattress of heather bushes. Very well-built interior walls with two inset 'cupboards' 1½ ft. by 1½ ft. and several layers of wallpaper on walls. Open fireplace in end wall on left of door with old bottomless enamelled cooking pot (visible on left peak of roof ridge) as chimney. Wooden cupboard with cups, oil lamp, etc. on back wall by fireplace; a brander for oatcakes. (Photographed in August 1966). (See page 193.)

Farnan

Meall Greigh

Ben Lawers

Beinn Ghlas

Invermain Burn

Allt a Mhorrneas

TAY

LOCH

Killin

River Dochart

River Lochy

Allt Ball a Mhullinn

River Lyon

Beinn nan Eachan
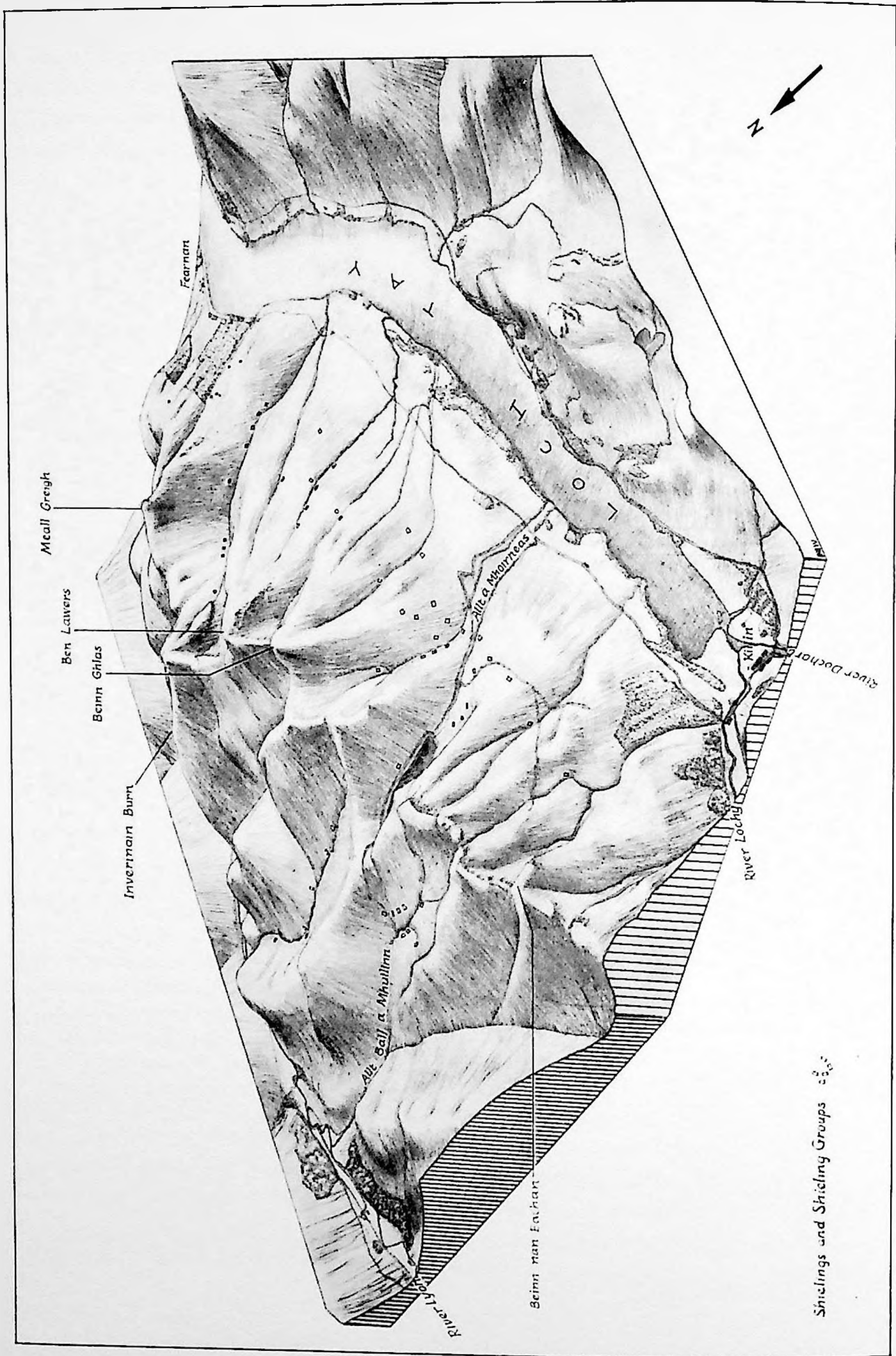
Shielings and Shieling Groups

N

PLATE VI. Deshoir: block diagram by Michael Wood, Assistant in Department of Geography, University of Glasgow. (See page 205.)

ovals 4 by 3 ft., and one oval 6 by 5 ft. all sheltering under the south side of a little scarp.

The bothy, however, is not necessarily the only building on a shieling. Very commonly a small circular structure, some 3 ft. or even less in diameter, is found, frequently in a damp cool spot and often showing signs of having had a corbelled roof. This is probably the dairy, or butter and cheese store, a necessity where the bothies are very small and desirable in any case to prevent tainting of the milk, butter, or cheese.

The third type of structure is a pen or fold and this is very variable in size, ranging from small (8 by 10 ft.) to quite large enclosures (25 by 25 ft.) which could conceivably have been stackyards. There is a risk of confusion between large bothies and small pens and the writer would not claim infallibility in differentiating the two. The same primitive mode of construction is used for both, but when the smaller dimension exceeds 6 ft., one may reasonably suppose it was not roofed, for none of the certain bothies are as wide as this. Stone-built pens, too, generally have higher walls than bothies, and the masonry is very open. Bothies, on the other hand, were solidly built and windproof.

Pens would be imperative when calves were being reared, otherwise there would be no surplus milk for the dairy. They would not be necessary for yeld cows or stirks, but no doubt some people would be anxious to safeguard their few stock at night. If ewes and goats were being milked, it would be convenient to pen them between the night and morning milking, to save the trouble of gathering them again. The position of pens is further complicated by the fact that the shieling-ground itself may be walled and, therefore, can be used as a pen for most purposes and one must assume that a shiel would not necessarily always carry the same type of stock.

When the stone-built bothies are badly collapsed, they have almost invariably fallen inwards. This could be because they were corbelled, but the writer has no certain evidence of this. What appears more probable is that the bothies were deliberately destroyed—presumably at the Clearances—to prevent their occupation. The obvious way to destroy a small roofed building is to push it in, not out. It is probably significant that the best-preserved stone bothies are among the most remote, e.g. Glenleraig (NB 188290) where there are two 8 by 6 ft. and one 6 ft. diameter huts high (1,000 ft.) up on the west side of Quinag.

Confusion is possible, again, between certain rectangular pens and dwelling-houses. Since such dwelling-houses would have been black-houses, without gables or windows, there is no certain way of distinguishing them from pens merely by size. When *two* doors are found, however, a house may be assumed: there would seem to be no point in having two doors to a pen. Such houses out at the shieling grounds no doubt represent attempts to create a farm, but we know from local tradition—and indeed from Home— that pasture was so precious that often someone, a 'grass-keeper' was stationed at the shielings to ensure that there was no trespassing by neighbours before they were occupied by their rightful owners. Oldany shieling and house at NB 093307 could be an example. The house (and byre) walls at Culkein, Drumbeg, shieling (107309) may be evidence of

Home's 'vast number of people residing upon this farm who are daily adding to the corn ground by potato improvements'.

On Baddidaroch, at NB 074225, there are several bothies on the shore below the 073228 shieling. These may well be huts of the fishers to whom Home refers (p. 10): 'there are sundry others residing upon this farm whose chief employment is at the fishings'. On the other hand, Culkein shieling (041339), clearly indicated by Home, has its two bothies on the stone beach in the lee of Dunain Head.

Though one of the most beautiful parishes in the Highlands, Assynt today is also one of the most depressed. Home's joint farms are now mostly crofting townships, but the individual crofts are too small to support a family at current standards. Those which are sheep farms are sharing in the 'robber economy' which is slowly and steadily running down the soils and vegetation of the Highlands. Far from attempting any improvement, the landlord's policy seems to be directed towards creating a deer forest. This may be economical in terms of rent to the owner and rates to the County Council, but in terms of human occupation and the national food and timber production, can only be justified if we esteem this less than deer stalking. For a flourishing indigenous population, the farms of Home's time would require to be single holdings and in many cases amalgamations would be necessary to make them viable at a level which could support cars, telephones and other amenities to compensate for and reduce the isolation which natural conditions would impose on the families concerned. The inbye land of the farms would not be enough by itself: the rough pastures would have to be utilised to the full by every type of suitable stock, including red deer, on a ranching basis and the cowboy shepherds would again have to devote attention to the shieling grounds, building up their fertility with lime and artificial manures, and possibly erecting open shelters there for the stock. Whatever the method, the shielings would certainly be the foci of exploitation of the rough pastures.

North Lochtayside

In 1769, the third Earl of Breadalbane caused his Lochtayside estates to be surveyed as a prelude to their improvement. The resultant maps and descriptions are in Register House, Edinburgh, but Miss McArthur (1936) has published two specimens of the maps, the descriptions in full and a valuable discussion of them. This material gives a general indication of the shielings in that it shows the divisions of the hill pastures and names eight shieling grounds, but it in no way defines them nor relates them to individual farms as does Home's survey. The area, however, offers interesting contrasts to Assynt and the North Tayside portion of it, therefore, mapped by John Farquarson, was examined in detail on the ground by the writer. Some 65 shieling grounds with a total of about 450 bothy ruins were identified and a study of air photographs suggests that there are more, but as it has not yet been possible to confirm them on the ground they are not included here (Fig. 2). The region is only about one-third of the area of Assynt and the terrain is very different.
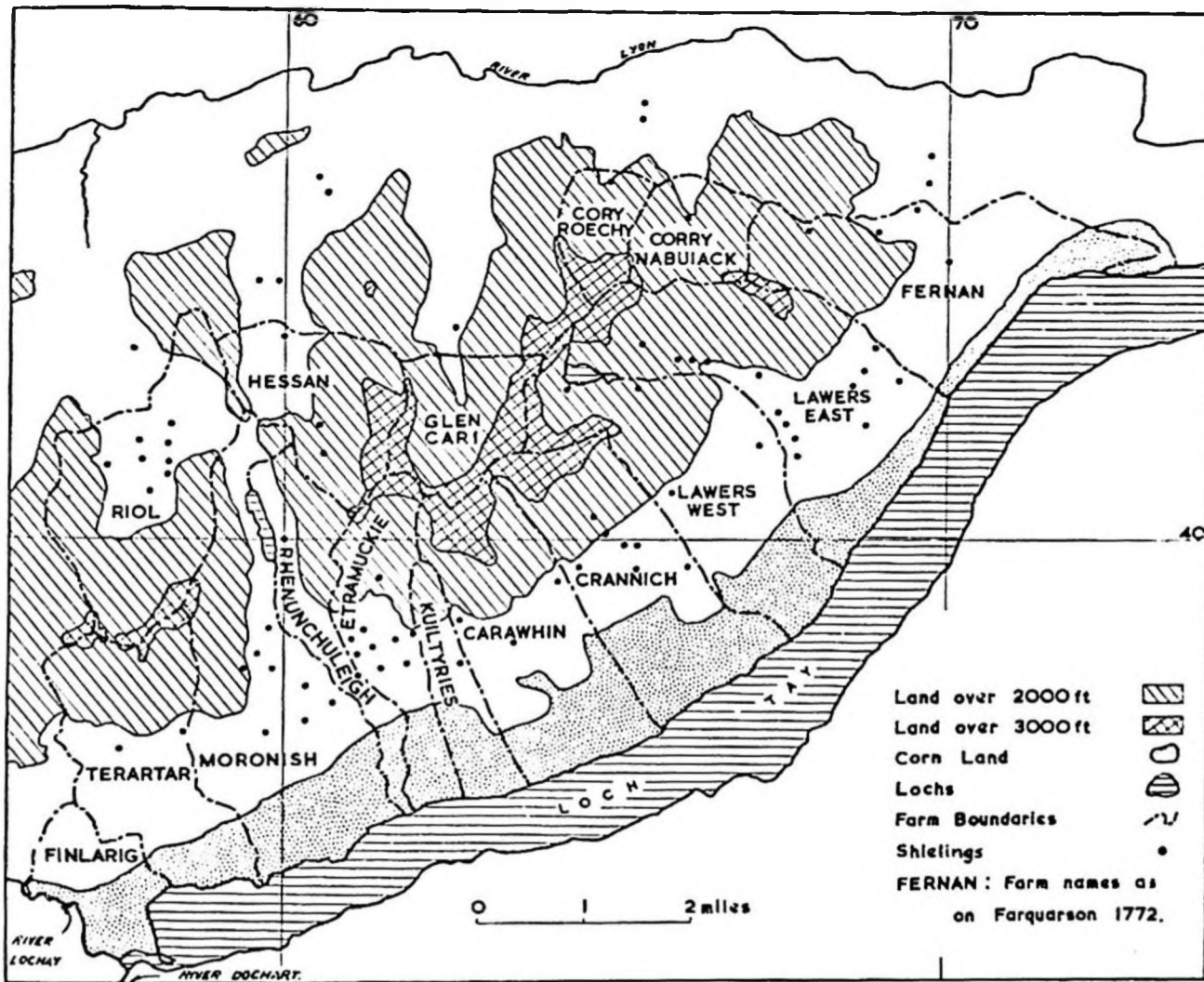
FIG. 2 North Lochtayside (Deshoir) with farm boundaries and farm and shieling names from Farquarson's map dated 1772. Shieling sites located by fieldwork.

The Central Highlands are for the most part obviously a dissected plateau, but the valleys of Loch Tay and Glen Lyon are so close together and so deep that their tributaries have cut vigorously into the intervening block of high ground and reduced its original plateau form to a sinuous watershed ridge, from Beinn nan Eachan in the south-west to Meall Creigh eight miles to the north-east (Plate VI). This ridge is well over 3,000 ft. high throughout and rises to almost 4,000 ft. in Ben Lawers. A major break occurs in the west where the Allt a' Mhoirneas and Allt Bail' a' Mhuilinn head back on each side of the ridge and produce between them a col at about 1,800 ft. Two similar but higher cols occur; in the centre at just over 3,000 ft. on the north-west side of Beinn Ghlas, and in the east at just under, 2,750 ft. between a tributary of the Lawers Burn and the Inverinain Burn. All three of these cols, especially the first, are important in that they give access to the high pastures. The three-mile-wide strip of country between the summit ridge and Loch Tay slopes steeply from the summit and then flattens out a

O

little to give something of a bench at around 1,800–2,000 ft. This may be structural but may recall the pre-glacial valley and if so is genetically an 'alp'. It certainly carries most of the shielings on this side of the main ridge. Below this bench, the slope steepens and then flattens out again between about 900 ft. and Loch Tay (350 ft.). This last zone constitutes the farmland, which almost exactly coincides with it.

On the north side of the summit ridge, the streams are more deeply incised than on the south and in contrast to the relatively smooth braes descending to Loch Tay, the interfluves of the River Lyon tributaries form a series of spurs of high ground running north from the main summit ridge.

There has, of course, been glacial modification. The main summit ridge has suffered severe erosion and is flanked by corries, often with cliffed walls: that on the north-east side of Ben Lawers being particularly fine, but the head of each of the north-flowing streams has been opened out by corry action into an amphitheatre which affords obvious sites for shiels. The slopes below some 2,500 ft. are mantled in drift, often of considerable depth, as can be seen where the streams are incised into it. At worst, where this drift is clayey and on a gentle slope, it may be impervious, and above 2,000 ft. sometimes carries peat-bog. At best, when it is under slope and south-facing as on Loch Tayside, it carries excellent pasture. The inbye land along Toch Tay is, unfortunately, fragmented by wet spots in the drift and, in places, by morainic boulders and *roches moutonnés* created by the main Loch Tay glacier derived from Glen Dochart and points west.

Assynt may be taken to exemplify the poorest conditions in the Highlands; North Tayside some of the best. Pennant (1774) states that in the 15 miles from Finlarig to Lyon, there were 1,780 souls and that the 'abundance of inhabitants on this side surpasses that of any place in Scotland of equal extent'. The 1,780 souls would represent some 400 families, a figure which accords well with the 450 bothies mentioned above.

The topography has been shown to be favourable, the structure is no less. The massif is formed of a complex of schists, metamorphosed sediments whose break-up under normal processes of rock decay yields relatively abundant plant nutrients. In the high, steep zone where such decay is most active, are found the richest pockets of arctic-alpine vegetation in Scotland. Being almost in the geometrical centre of Scotland, oceanic influence is minimal. Rainfall is not excessive for a mountainous area; cloud is much less than in the west and south-facing slopes enjoy a fair modicum of sunshine. Farquarson indeed titles his map 'Deshoir', apparently from Gaelic *Deisear*, 'looking south'. Winter conditions are relatively hard, but this means that much of the precipitation is in the form of snow, below which the sub-soil drains as usual. Snow-melt disposes of the precipitation quickly, in contrast to conditions on the west coast where the ground is continuously sodden for long periods. On the other hand, the liability to snow is so great that stock must be withdrawn to the lower pastures in winter.

The appearance of Deshoir in summer, however, is of grassy braes which it would be difficult to match anywhere in the Highlands, and we may suppose that it is this richness of upland pastures which attracted vigorous shieling activity, at least as great as in

Assynt where sheer poverty must have driven the farmers to exploit every possible pocket of pasture. The other contrast is in altitude: all the Deshoir land is from 350 ft. to 2,000 ft., with the majority of the shiels at this upper level. In Assynt, by far the greater part of the land-use was below 500 ft.

Farquarson's classification of farmland is (1) infield; (2) outfield; (3) meadow; and (4) grass. The infield is mostly below the road (A827), the outfield above it and below the hill-dyke. 'Meadow' refers to the grass in the wet spots and 'Grass' is the remainder of the ground below the hill-dyke, including fallow infield and outfield.

Outside the hill-dyke, Farquarson classifies the land into two groups, 'Muir' and 'Sheallings'. 'Muir' is the area 'from the hill-dyke to the skie of the hill betwixt Glen Lyon and Loch Tayside', i.e. to the watershed. This is divided on his map into ten strips, each forming a common for a 'township' group of the 48 farms and running from loch-side to watershed. The writer has found some 50 shieling grounds and 300 ruins of bothies in these commons. Under 'sheallings', Farquarson lists Riol, Hessan, Glen Car, Corryrockie and Corrynabuiack, his phonetic rendering of the Gaelic names of the corries on the north side of the watershed. Riol (O.S. Riadhailt), he says, belonged to Deshoir and was common to all the farms there, which would account for the no less than 84 bothies in about one mile of glen. The other four glens belonged to Glen Lyon but were open to Deshoir people for six weeks' shieling.

Farquarson's survey, like his spelling of place-names, is less than perfect and his mapping of the hill section of Deshoir is, as might be expected, less complete than that of the farmland. North of the watershed, he seems to have worked by hearsay. Only three shieling-bothies can be found in the part of 'Glen Cari' (O.S. Allt a' Chobhair) that he marks on his map as available to Deshoir, but there are 15 bothies in two groups just north of his line which presumably, therefore, should be displaced to include them, especially as this would make it coincide with a boundary fence on the ground.

'Corryrockie' (text), 'Cory Roechy' (map) (O.S. Coire Thaochaidh), is the upper 'hanging' section of another Glen Lyon tributary. It contains, at 2,000 ft., at the lower lip of the corry (NN 648457) a swarm of some 20 Deshoir-type bothy ruins on a wet boulder-clay slope. All of these are well banked-up, indicating turf construction and a need for drainage. Less than a mile to the north, but 500 ft. lower, are the ruins of the Glen Lyon bothies, of a different pattern.

'Corrynabuiack' (O.S. Coire na Buidheag) is the next Lyon tributary, with a wide, almost flat-floored, upper section at 661451 and here, again at 2,000 ft., are the Deshoir bothies, some 30 of them in characteristic Deshoir style, but very ruined, as if they had been abandoned at an early date. The upper Fernan bothies again are at 2,000 ft. and here there is the unusual feature that the Tayside/Glen Lyon boundary is along, not across, the burn. Not surprisingly, Farquarson notes that there was 'disputable' ground here, for the burn is easily crossed.

We have seen that the Deshoir shieling grounds are common, not particular, as in Assynt. It is not surprising, therefore,—especially in view of their 2,000 ft. altitude—

that no evidence can be found of farm cultivation or enclosure, nor can an example be found of a shieling bothy which has become a farm dwelling, now or in the past. This is all the more striking in that just outside the area there are two examples of this development: at NN 545393, Airigh Dalach (1,650 ft.) has become a clachan of five houses, subsequently abandoned; and at 572435 Allt Bail' a' Mhuilinn (1,250 ft.) there is a substantial abandoned clachan. At 555403 Allt Fionn Gleann (1,850 ft.) there is an excellent shieling ground with several ruins, three of which could have been farmhouses.

On most of the shieling grounds, vestiges can be seen of what is presumably an early bothy type, now only a low circular dimple in the turf some 5 ft. in diameter (Plate VII). The majority of the Deshoir bothies, however, are in stone and conform surprisingly closely in size and pattern. They are usually rectangular, some 18 by 6 ft., with the door in the centre of a long side. The walls are well built, taking advantage of the flaggy nature of some of the schists. Wall recesses (Plate VIII) are a feature of almost all bothies. These 'cupboards' are some 12–18 in. wide, 9–12 in. high, and 9–12 in. deep. There are usually two in the end walls, but sometimes they appear on the side walls, and occasionally there is a double row of them. The highest walls standing are just over 3 ft. high and this would seem to have been their maximum height. One Riol bothy, at 580407, still has the lintel on the door at this height and in several other instances a fallen lintel appeared to have come from a similar situation. Such a door is, of course, more suited to a sheep or goat than a human being, but it seems unlikely that the best buildings should be for sheep and moreover we know from travellers' comments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that even the doors on the home farms were low by any standards.

While the inside wall of the shieling huts is nearly vertical, or was so originally, the outside wall is generally banked up in turf, and such have from outside the appearance of a green mound. There are, however, numerous cases where the outside banking is absent and the hut is free-standing. This seems to be the case where exposure to wind is less. Many Deshoir shiels are scarcely ruined at all, e.g. at Hessan (NN 605418) many could be roofed now without repair. This is no doubt partly because of the serviceability of the building stone, but as there was no Clearance in the Sutherland sense, there would be no deliberate destruction.

The little 'dairy' of only some one or two square yards is common, sometimes as a separate structure in stone, sometimes an older, circular, turf hut seems to have served. In certain cases, notably the Hessan huts, the inner end of the hut seems to have been corbelled, presumably to serve as a dairy.

Small pens or folds are often found, sometimes irregular in shape, taking advantage of natural features, sometimes free-standing and sometimes built on to the bothy, the long dimension of the bothy being the short dimension of the fold. In a few cases, e.g. NN 608374, the 18 by 6 ft. bothy has a small annexe 5 ft. square, which could be a dairy or a space for two or three calves.

Within the Deshoir area, there is a conspicuous divergence from the 'standard' 18 by

6 ft. shiel in the curious group of 40 ruins along the Lawers Burn, from NN 676412 to 67419. Here the bothies are simple in the extreme, being only one or two stones high, presumably as a foundation for turf walls. They are up to 27 ft. long, but 6 ft. or less in width and have an open end on the uphill side. Most are aligned with their long axis down the slope, which is in places rather steep for a bothy. The only other bothies of this type are at 610382, where there are six bothies strung across the edge of the bank above the stream. There is no obvious explanation for this wide divergence from the usual pattern.*

As might be expected, there is a distinct tendency for all the bothies of a group to be similar, not only in size but, for example, in the provision of cupboards. The Hessan shiels (at 605418) are distinctive in that they include several pairs which are semi-detached, a feature which does not occur in other groups.

The favourite site for the bothies is along the edge of a stream which is cut into drift. Thus good soils and pasture are combined with free drainage and a convenient water supply. The bothy sites on the south-east side of Ben Lawers, at 663428 on the Lawers Burn, at 658408 on the Cuiltrannich Burn, at 661396 on the Chireinich Burn, at 644396 and 642394 on the Allt an Tuim Bhric, at 626388 on the Allt Coire at Chonnaid, and from 611379 to 611385 on the Burn of Edramucky, are all of this character. They are inconspicuous in that the bothy-mounds match the natural topography and are often within the incised valley. Concealed shielings are the Mahuaim bothies, at 653431, which take advantage of ground which is 'dead' from below. The Hessan huts, at 605418, and the main Edramucky group of 17 shiels, at 614394, get shelter from weather and sight behind the highest stadial moraine of their valley. Many other huts, being on little benches, such as those at Ardvoile, at 587369, or at the Miltown of Finlarig, at 576367, are invisible from below. In bold contrast are certain shiels which, surprisingly, are out on convex slopes, away from water. Such are the string of 29 Kiltyrie bothies which, from 620380 to 620385, line the zig-zag track climbing up to the peat-grounds on Leacan Ghlas. Three boldly conspicuous shiels at 594379 are also near a peat-track. In the upper Allt Bail' a' Mhuilinn the 84 Riol huts, from 580407 to 583418, occupy virtually every possible site, and all are within hailing distance of their neighbours.

The above considerations no doubt have some relation to the troubled days of cattle-lifting and clan warfare. The Deshoir area is vulnerable in being on two main through valleys, and being itself crossed (by way of the western col, which now contains the hydro-electric power reservoir) by a major drove route. The writer has often noted that while the main group of huts is sited so as to be inconspicuous, one of the bothies is sited so as to be visible from the home farm, no doubt partly that the latter might easily be reassured by signal that all was well at the shieling, but also so that an urgent call for help in trouble could be signalled down from the shiel. The writer suspects that some

* At NN 653431 there is a unique structure 15 by 27 ft. with a 15 by 6 ft. enclosure at one end, piled up with large flattish stones as if a 15 by 6 ft. *corbelled* shiel had been attached to a 15 by 21 ft. pen. The other two bothies of the group are of the conventional Deshoir type.

bothies were deliberately sited to act as signal stations, where the contours prevent the home farm and shieling ground from being mutually visible. For example, there is a bothy at 672426, on a small shelf, from which both Lawers Farm and Lawers shielings can be seen, though the convexity of the slope makes them mutually invisible. The solitary shiel at 608374 may well serve a similar function in communicating news of movements in the pass to the farms on the lochside.

While Deshoir is, by Highland standards, good agricultural land, it is not conspicuously prosperous at present and in particular the high pastures are perhaps not so intensively exploited as they might be. The original 1,774 farms were small, having on average only some 26 acres of infield and 20 of outfield, and they were not only held jointly by two or three tenants, but carried an indeterminate number of 'crofters' as well. In the late nineteenth century, they were converted to single holdings and most of the farmhouses date from this period, but even these farms were small by current standards. The hill pastures, moreover, were still run in common, with the farmers in each township clubbing together to employ a joint shepherd. The last war saw the final break-up of the estate and currently a further process of enlargement of holding is taking place by the amalgamation of farms. Some, indeed, like Shenlarich and Carie have become as big as the old townships. With owner-occupancy and increased capitalisation, one may expect improvements to occur on the land. Unfortunately, individual tenure extends only to the hill-dyke: the high pastures are still run in common, and commons are notoriously nobody's responsibility when it comes to improvements. It is particularly galling that this should be so on Deshoir for the high hydro-electric service roads would allow access to motorised transport carrying lime or fertilisers, and for the extra surveillance should cattle be run on the hills. There would seem to be no prospects of change, for the interest of this area in plants and other natural phenomena is such that it has been taken over by the National Trust, who do not allow pasturing by cattle and who presumably would not wish a deliberate change in the pastures even if it were an up-grading.

Inner Hebrides : Rum

Poverty-stricken conditions in an island (and therefore isolated situation) are well exemplified by the Isle of Rum. It is of compact shape, some 8 miles by 8. The northern half, from Guirdil to Kilmory and a narrow coastal strip round to the south-end, is a lumpy hill mass of resistant Torridonian sandstone whose surface is sometimes smooth and naked as the result of the passage of ice, sometimes cragged where the bedding outcrops. The remainder of the island has been carved from a Tertiary intrusive complex and the rugged topography is much influenced by structure and lithology. The main high ground is in the south-east, culminating in Askival at 2,663 ft. but there is a subsidiary granite block in the west, crowned by Orval at 1,872 ft. Drainage, roughly speaking, is radial to these two blocks, but the Kinloch and Kilmory rivers combine to

create a low-level through valley, the Kilmory valley being fault-guided. Slopes are everywhere steep and rough and it is only in the larger valley, at Kinloch, that any low-gradient terrain worthwhile for agriculture presents itself. At Kilmory, valley soils are supplemented by blown sand, but at Guirdil and Harris cultivation was in patches here and there on the lower valley slopes where opportunities presented themselves. Raised
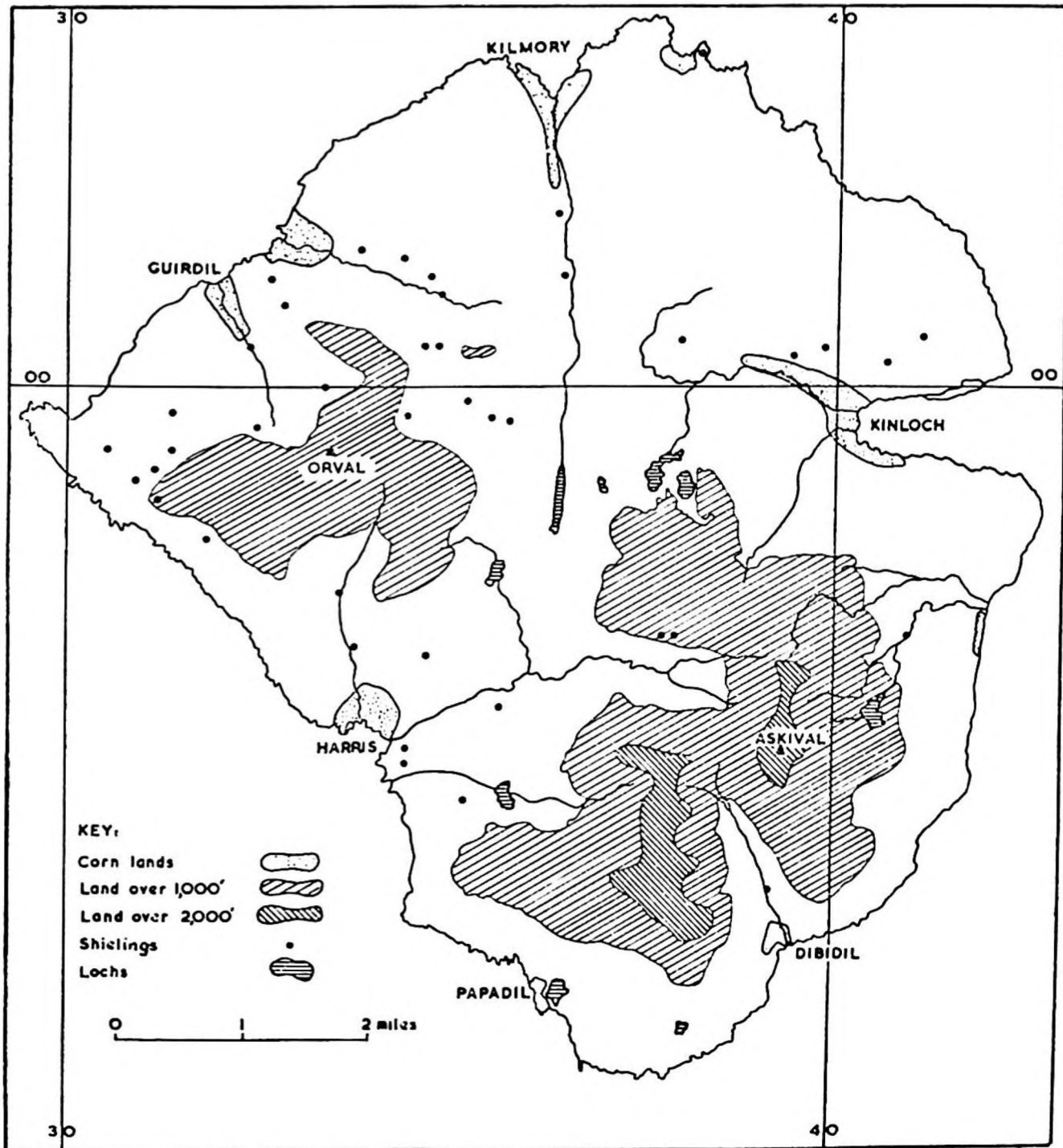
FIG. 3 Isle of Rum. Shieling huts identified by fieldwork, mainly in association with Mr J. McCully. There are from 1 to 12 bothies on each site. (See p. 212.)

beaches occur in places, but are mostly rock-cut and for the most part the coast is steep. Rhum thus lacks the coastal flats which are often favoured ground in the inner Hebrides. Pressure of population, however, forced the cultivation of even the poor areas, such as Dibidil, and some lazybeds are found in small patches elsewhere. Pennant (1774) speaks of nine farms, but at its maximum (1795) the population reached 445, an almost incredible total, and even allowing for abundant herring and other fish, pressure on subsistence must have been acute. The numbers and distribution of shieling sites bear this out (Fig. 3). The writer has examined some 140 bothy structures in the island, and Mr J. McCully has plotted several more.

Only a few of the shielings are of a quality to compare with even the poorer ones of Tayside, and these are in the pitifully few relatively-sheltered valleys, at NG 363023, 364015, NM 392934, 335973, 305992 and NG 323005. At all these sites the ruins betoken carefully-built bothies, convenient to a stream and with pasture adjacent. Little pockets of better, sheltered ground are occupied at 347005, and, astonishingly, at 1,000 ft. on Barkeval where a landslip terrace forms a shelf (379967). Elsewhere, the shieling grounds are extremely poor and the bothies roughly built. If the 445 population be taken to represent 100 families (probably less) then there would seem to have been almost two shiels per family. This is, no doubt, because the pasture at any one site would quickly be exhausted and the stock would have to move at least twice in one season. The evacuation of the island in 1827, by mass emigration to Nova Scotia, means there has been a long period of neglect of the bothies and it is not surprising, therefore, that these are generally more ruinous than where they were occupied up to a much later date. Probably the least ruined shiel on the island is the high one at NM 379967 and, no doubt, conditions there required a soundly-constructed bothy. At NG 408004 a small corbelled beehive cell is still intact, probably because it takes advantage of a solid outcrop. A feature of the bothies of Rhum is their great variety of form. In plan, however, a great many of them share the characteristic of consisting of a small rectangular pen, averaging some 9 by 6 ft. with, opening off its inner end, a circular bothy only large enough to take two people in cramped conditions. This 'snowman' shape—rectangular bothy with round head—is also found in South Uist and Benbecula.

Two unique structures may be mentioned, though neither may be a shieling hut. At NG 382044 down on the beach, there are three contiguous circles some 6 ft. in diameter and 4½ ft. high (of a pattern found in Skye) which may represent fisherman's bothies (Plate IX).*

* At NM 312985, on top of a 1,000 ft. cliff and set in a stony block-field totally devoid of pasture, is a half-moon wall with the cliff for its straight side, some 200 yards across, and in the wall at intervals are seven oval cells 5 by 10 ft. with walls 6 ft. high, corbelled but not closed at the top and half-sunk in the ground. In the centre of the enclosure is a pen 18 by 15 ft. with very open-built walls. It is scarcely possible that this could be a shieling, but it may be an installation from which to stampede deer over the cliff. The ground rises steeply inland from it and at the present time deer keep close to it when moving round this side of the island. The cliff has a bench of raised beach at its foot and a nearby gully gives access to it, both convenient for the recovery of dead deer.

Canna

The neighbouring island of Canna stands in considerable contrast to Rhum. It forms a minor hill mass, reaching only 690 ft. at its highest point and the almost horizontal lava-flows of which it is built form gently-sloping terraces separated by steep outcrops, especially in the eastern part of the island. The lavas, moreover, weather readily, so that the lower terraces carry a fair depth of reasonable soil. It is not surprising, therefore, that although it is only a fraction of the size of Rhum, it carried a population of about 300 at its maximum. The site of the ancient settlement, in a low sheltered hollow, is still marked by a Celtic cross, at NG 268056, and on the terraces immediately to the north-west, and 300–400 ft., above it, a series of ruined bothies can be seen, each with an enclosure of about 2 acres of deep brown sandy soil. No doubt these represent early shielings which later became virtually outfield, rather as in Assynt. Near the head of the burn at 265057, in a typical sheltered shieling situation are a further three bothy ruins, and again at 277059 and 278058 nearby are two groups on excellent pasture watered by Allt Thaligaridh, 'the burn beyond the shieling'. All of this is so compactly situated as to be now in one farm, worked from a single steading.

Outer Hebrides: South Uist and Benbecula

It is interesting to turn to the Outer Hebrides as an example of both a different environment and one in which remoteness has encouraged the persistence of old ways. The bed-rock is Lewisian gneiss as in Assynt, stripped bare by glaciation and offering mineral soils only in the small areas where glacial deposits occur. Elsewhere the gneiss is bare or covered by blanket peat and wet heather moor.

South Uist and to a less extent Benbecula has a north-south zoning of different environments. The eastern coastal strip is rocky and hilly and the coast steep-to, with no raised beaches. The centre is a low rocky plain, with glacially-excavated hollows and irregularly-dumped glacial till. The west coast is an almost uninterrupted line of dunes, separated from the low rocky plain by either shallow lagoons or machair plains which represent the infilling by blown sand of such lagoons. In places the sand has been blown on to the rocky central area and this admixture of calcareous shell and peaty mineral soil offers the best arable land and here the main settlements are to be found. The nearby machairs to the west afford further arable or pasture; the black land to the east is the rough pasture and here the shielings are to be found. The modern north-south road runs to the east of the farmland and thus is not far from the shieling grounds. Many ruined bothies can, indeed, be seen from it, such as at NF 784337, 776330 and 749276. The latter may indeed be the shieling where Flora Macdonald concealed Prince Charles: it is little over half-a-mile from her birthplace and must have been known to her. This series of huts, and others further from the road, e.g. the fine group of seven huts at NF 801352 and of four huts at 802215, are aligned at the foot of the hills clear of the bogs on the flat ground. Other groups of shiels are to be found in the two through east-west

valleys, at NF 779294, 803296 and 800287, though the latter, Arinambane later become a croft, now abandoned. In the valley to Loch Skiport are the two fine bothies of Airigh nan Achlais, the shieling of the hollow.

In the Uists and Benbecula, blanket bog is so prevalent and peat so deep, that often stone is not easily available for the construction of bothies. As a result, two very special sites are sometimes used. One is in the debris of a frost-shattered glacial erratic, where these fragments, fallen apart in a rough circle, are used as the base for a bothy. The other, even more remarkable sites, are in prehistoric structures. Thus at NF 779362 and 813526 prehistoric chambered-cairns have been re-worked to form shieling bothies, and at 816525, Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche, the 'Shieling of the One Night', the macabre character of a bed-room in a Bronze-Age tomb is reflected in the folk-tale of the two young shepherds who, unlike their dog, which had the wit to flee, stayed One Night there with the fairy maidens and were seen no more.

Because of the necessity to build in peat divots most bothies would be highly impermanent and often only vestiges are to be seen today, as at NF 792448, 798449, 802445 and 805440 on the Loch Carnan road and at 792348 where there is one turf bothy and several mounds in the peat.

Although there is better arable there, the writer has found fewer shielings in Benbecula. Presumably the poor crofts, now abandoned, in the rocky eastside were once shielings like those still visible in this area at 838517.

North Uist

In North Uist, there is blown sand on the west and north-west coast, but the north-south zoning of South Uist is absent. The main croftland is on the sandy coasts, but there is sporadic settlement elsewhere. Shielings again tend to be on the lower slopes of the gneiss hills, the names of which often have the suffix '-ary' indicating shielings, but there are notable exceptions, e.g. at NF 767730 where the shieling makes a bare splash of green half-way up the brown heathery hill of Ben Risary. At 794704, there are two fine groups of bothies at 350 ft., the upper five huts possibly being formed from a prehistoric structure. At 747714 and nearby at 750713, Bronze Age tombs have been converted to shieling huts. The Park report (Caird N.D.: 39) refers to no less than 26 buildings at Airigh na Gaoithe, 828677, but the writer has not had an opportunity to visit this site. North Uist has some notable examples of shielings at sea level and not surprisingly these have been at one time croftland. At 897714 there are three bothies crowning conspicuous knolls formed by the debris of their predecessors. Two crofts have been formed on the improved ground. At Airigh an Obain, 873598, the 'shieling on the bay', the ruins of both shieling bothies and the houses of the clachan that superseded them are to be seen. At 767744, 'MacRory's shieling' is occupied by the vestiges of a clachan of no less than 12 longhouses and seven barns, some with kilns and one, at 763750, with an almost perfect specimen of the little low Hebridean corn-kilns.

PLATE VII. One of several shielings at NN 583416 in Allt Bail' a' Mhuilinn 3¼ miles west of Ben Lawers. Simple banked-up type, either older pattern bothy or a cheese-store. (See page 208.)

PLATE VIII. Ruined shieling hut in Lewis at NB 388436 (cf. Fig. 1) with wall 'cupboards' similar to those of North Lochtayside. (See page 208.)

PLATE IX. Isle of Rum NG 382044. Unusual intersecting-circle type of bothy. On (?raised) beach and therefore probably fisherman's bothy. A type characteristic of Skye: cf. Skye squatters' clachans on both sides of Loch Scresort. (See page 212.)

PLATE X. Airigh a' Bhealaich, Lewis. One of a dozen occupied traditional shieling huts in Abhainn Dhubh, 5 miles south-south-east of the Butt of Lewis where there are ruins of a further dozen and as many modern 'airighs'. Occupied as holiday huts from May–September. (Photographed in August 1966.) (See page 216.)

Harris

The writer has not searched the hills in the interior of South Harris, but in the lower ground, shiels are rare. There is one at NG 108965 for example, which has become a croft and then abandoned, and there are two seashore bothies at 085977 which were probably fishers' or kelp-burners' huts, not shiels. The reason for the dearth of shiels is to be found in the circumstance that population was cleared off the good sandy land in the west and forced to settle in the east on what they could find in that remarkably barren wilderness of bare gneiss. Thus, we may suppose, shielings would become crofts (Caird 1951). As soon as one enters North Harris, however, where the story of land-holding is different, shielings appear. On the road north of Tarbet, they are to be seen in classic situations at NB 145044 (three bothies with one 'dairy' roofed by a single slab, menhir-like); 152051 (four bothies); and 167049, two very ruined huts in the col, possibly originally a refuge for travellers. At NB 109046, to the west, a ruined bothy is surrounded by lazybeds and there is evidence of an abandoned clachan by the shore.

Lewis

If shieling huts are few in Harris, they positively abound in Lewis; Airigh place-names are common, and bothies of all kinds can be seen everywhere, from ruins of early types, through traditional forms still maintained, to wooden, corrugated iron and tarred felt huts of all degrees of trimness and squalor. In 1964, when the County Assessor placed a valuation of £2 on them, the local M.P. was able to convince the Secretary of State that 'Lewis crofters traditionally used the shielings for a short period each summer for keeping watch on cattle grazing on the moors while the village pastures were rested' (*Glasgow Herald*, 18 Sept. 1964).

It is impossible to deal adequately with the Lewis shiels here; suffice it to say that they are exceedingly numerous, mostly very well built and were in many cases still in active use for cattle until 25 years ago (Moisley 1962). Lewis is almost entirely of gneiss, which forms barren rocky hills in the south, a low rolling plateau covered with blanket bog in the north. Settlement is overwhelmingly coastal, and arable land scarce. Presumably, therefore, as in Assynt and Rhum, the great development of shieling arises from the necessity to exploit every possible scrap of pasture. Possibly there is a cultural factor: Lewis was dominated by the Norse as the place-names still testify, and among these '-shader' frequently occurs, being the Gaelic form of *saetr*. We may note that shieling practice is here of considerable antiquity for the Norse speech died out during the Middle Ages.

Because shieling huts are to be found in all stages of collapse, it is possible to envisage what form ruins elsewhere may originally have had. In Lewis, some are built of a double stone wall with peat infilling, as are many of the old 'black houses'. In decay, the stones fall away and leave a characteristic turf ridge. On the other hand, a bothy at NB 109299, still roofed and in use as a henhouse, is collapsing because neglect of the roof is allowing

the peat to be eroded out from between the stone walls. The currently maintained, traditional-type shiels have an inside stone wall so well built that it can be and now usually is wall-papered. This inner wall-face is supported on the outside by a peat or earthen bank at least 6 feet thick at the base, and often more. These well-built huts often have a fireplace against the gable and all stages of evolution from simply a fireback, through supports for pots, to an actual flue-recess in the gable with a chimney above, are to be found. The only external sign of sophistication on most of the maintained traditional huts is a modern fire-clay chimney-pot, and this introduction enables the fireplace to be moved to the side wall, which is more convenient than its former position, at the end, between two corner doors. The fine dry-stone work, also, allows a proliferation of wall cupboards, but in neglect, these often contribute to the downfall of a wall.

Typically, the old shiels are some 12 by 6 ft. with more or less rounded corners, and with the long axis down the slope. There are opposite doors at the downhill end of the sides and a good gable, partly because it is free-standing, unlike the other end which is often let into the ground, and partly, as stated above, because it must act as a fire-back.

But the most interesting site in Lewis—probably in Scotland—from the point of view of shielings, is the little mile-long valley of the Abhainn Dhubh some 5 miles south-south-east of the Butt of Lewis. It contains some 12 traditional bothies, still occupied, with a few modern huts, and so well does it represent the blend of Norse and Celtic influence in Lewis that the seaward end of the valley is Cuiashader—probably from Norse 'shieling of the fold'—and the inner end, in something of a col between two low hills, is Airigh a' Bhealaich, the Gaelic 'shiel of the pass'. The traditional huts conform very closely to type (Plate X), although one of them was built as recently as 1958. The single door is about one-third of the way along a long wall and formerly the cow(s) occupied the smaller portion, the people the larger. The shiel is thus a miniature of the traditional 'black house'. The cattle portion is now generally a neat kitchenette, often with calor gas, but in spite of this and the odd armchair or iron bedstead, the whole effect is of a simplicity second to none in Europe.

Orkney

Norse influence in Lewis has been mentioned as related to shieling customs: we may therefore examine the situation in Orkney, the metropolitan area of Norse power in Scotland. Here the farm name Seatter occurs singly several times, and compounds such as Massater, Gransetter are fairly common. The late Dr Hugh Marwick, the authority on Orkney place-names, was uncertain whether the old Norse root involved is 'seter', a hut, dwelling, or 'saetr' a shieling (Marwick 1931:9). Certainly, the writer can find nothing resembling a Highland shieling anywhere in the mainland of Orkney except at the Styes of Aikerness. Marwick considers that 'the Norwegian saeter system would be unnecessary over here where the "hill" is never very far away'. This is very

reasonable, and the oral evidence of the old people at the present day is that cattle were taken daily to the hill pastures and brought back at night. On the other hand, as is so well exemplified in Assynt, shiels may be very close to the farmstead. In Fair Isle, there are what would appear to be shiels at HZ 217726, less than a mile from the uppermost farm, which is, as it happens, called Vaasetter. In the Isle of Man, another small island with Norse influence, Davies (1956:111) recognises indications of former shielings in close proximity to the main farmsteads, and the writer has seen shielings in Fjaerland, Norway, only half-a-mile from the farmstead.

Marwick (*ibid.*) goes on to point out that the sixteenth-century rentals of Orkney include 25 'setter' farm-names, and that their taxation status proves that they were then secondary settlements. It would seem, therefore, that as in Lewis, shielings were in use in early Norse times about a thousand years ago. Orkney has very much better land than any Highland region and, as population increased, it would not be difficult to push arable cultivation outwards from the original settlements and within five centuries to have established permanent settlements on what were originally shielings. This colonisation of the hill pastures left such a small area of rough pasture that presumably it was not worth persisting with a shieling system. In the Highlands, of course, the great majority of the shieling grounds are far too poor for conversion to arable farms.

Marwick (1922:23) also considers that Gaelic *Airigh* appears in Orkney, *e.g.* Airafea, the 'shieling on the hill'. If this represents a survival from pre-Norse days, it gives great antiquity to the custom of shieling in Scotland, though it would seem to be possible that such a Gaelic word could reach Orkney during the period of Norse dominance of the Hebrides (pre-1266).

The Styes of Aikerness, HY 366228, referred to above are in the upper reach of the Burn of Woodwick in a very typical shieling situation. The farm of Aikerness is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles away as the crow flies and is one of the original settlements, on a favoured site close by the sea. There are two mounds at the Styes, one turfed over, the other, the 'Styes' proper, consisting of a mass of large stones very roughly dispersed in a 9 ft. square. One corner has been rebuilt into a small bothy and roughly roofed with flags, now tumbled in. It has every appearance of antiquity but, through the good offices of Mr E. W. Marwick, it was possible to interview Mrs Scott of Goldro, the nearest farm, who in her youth, some 70 years ago, herded cattle at the Styes and claims to have built the little bothy in the corner of the Styes 'for shelter in which to knit and make tea'. She resisted any suggestion that she or anyone else ever spent the night at the Styes: the cattle were taken up in the morning and back at night. To the suggestion that this long daily trek would have an adverse effect on their milk yield, and that she would have been better to milk them at the Styes and carry the milk home, she riposted 'They all had four legs and could bring the milk home easier than I could'. One cannot, therefore, be certain that the features at the Styes represent a former shieling bothy; the stones are very large rounded freestone boulders and could be the product of the break-up of a large glacial erratic. There is such an erratic a few hundred yards away,

the 'Cubbie Roo's Stone' which is shattered, but not in pieces like the Styes. The bed-rock of the neighbouring burn is flagstone.

Mr Marwick recalled seeing herd-boys build little shelters near the Styes in his youth and the ruins of some of these were seen, but they were all very much smaller than a Highland shieling hut. Mrs Scott stated that there had been a 'goose stye' further up the valley where the birds were penned every night and let out in the morning. She further stated that Aikerness farm formerly sent some 60 pigs to the Styes, but could not say what they would find to eat there. It is doubtful, therefore, whether this should be regarded as a shieling. The Ordnance map shows the Styes of Aikerness in Gothic type, suggesting they are antiquities, but the Inventory of Ancient Monuments of Orkney does not include the site.

Mr Marwick kindly produced a manuscript document relating to the division of the commons in this area in 1842 in which there is reference to a 'shieling' (sic) in the 'Meadows of Lushan'. The word shieling is not a familiar one in Orkney and Mr Marwick suspects it may have been introduced to the document by the Clerk, who was from Scotland. The upper part of the Burn of Lushan HY 346237, close to the area in dispute, has from the road every appearance of a typical shieling site, but on closer examination it proved extremely boggy and devoid of any obvious sign of a bothy.

Styes were also stated in the document to occur at Kit Huntlands burn and there on the ground there is much of interest. At HY 340218, on a grassy brae facing south, a likely situation for shiels, there are six small shallow pits which could be relics of very simple dug-out shelters. A little to the west is a small 6 by 3 ft. arrangement of stones which could be the foundations for a turf-walled bothy and 250 yards north of this, on top of the bank of the deeply incised burn, is another similar 6 by 3 ft. structure with an erect stone at one end giving the whole thing the appearance of a human grave. Running down the bank into the burn from it, is what could be a rough stairway or the foundations of a wall. This could be symbolic of the boundary between the commons of the two parishes referred to in the manuscript. (Mrs Scott knew of the Styes of Kithuntland.) There are at least two other 'Stye' place-names in Orkney. One is at HY 410295, the Stye of Stanyiron in Rousay, but the writer has not been able to visit it. It is up in the hill pastures, and the last two syllables might derive from *Airigh*. The other is the Point of the Stye, a small headland in Sanday.

The word 'stye' presupposes pigs, but it is rather surprising that these animals should be taken to the hills and that they should give their name to the bothies. Pigs were, of course, of great importance in Norse life as contrasted to their place in the Highlands, where they tended to be regarded as unclean, at least in recent centuries. Hayward (1948) refers to pigs being taken to the shiels in Norway to consume the whey and other dairy by-products, but the writer knows of no association in the Highlands between pigs and shielings. The Orkney pigs of former days were much more athletic than those of to-day. Buckley and Harvie-Brown (1891) record evidence that 'In Orkney, more especially in Hoy, large herds of swine were kept on the hills some fifty years or more

ago, and this was probably a custom of very ancient date. They were kept out all spring and summer, being killed off in the autumn for winter use. . . . For shelter there were houses built of turf, and at the entrance two stones for the pigs to go between and rub themselves.' Perhaps, the 'headstone' at Kithuntlands burn is such a rubbing stone. Low (1813:10) says of Orkney pigs, 'They commonly go through the hills, feeding on the roots of plants, earthworms, or what else they can pick up'.

Orkney, therefore, would seem to be a distinct province as far as land-use in the hills is concerned.

Conclusion

Much still remains to be studied in the hill pastures of Scotland. Market conditions at present are such that sheep are so profitable that almost everywhere over-stocking is practised, and yet the only treatment of the pastures is a periodic burning which, though it temporarily provides better grazing, must in the long run contribute further to the deterioration of the hills. This robber economy has prevailed on the hill pastures for upwards of two centuries and may well be the reason why what Home describes as 'a bonny shieling' is now a wet, boggy, grassless tract and why the 'sweet mountain grasses' of tradition are now *nardus* and *molinia*. The same deterioration, following lack of intensive use, can be seen on what was the arable of the now abandoned clachans and crofts. Since the post 1914-18 development of owner-occupancy in Orkney and the dissemination of knowledge of methods of reclamation, thousands of acres of rough pasture have been converted to sown grasses. Recently, similar re-seeding methods have been devised to deal with the much poorer, wet peaty soils of the Hebrides and in Lewis and Harris, for example, re-seeded pastures can be seen in summer of a lushness which is more than the sheep can utilise, and which require cattle for their full exploitation. Cattle, however, have lost their place in the rural economy there in competition with the more easily-managed sheep. Often the remaining population have neither the energy nor the inclination to look after the more demanding cattle. There would seem to be considerable hope that, if an economic threshold could be crossed—as has for example happened in Orkney—the land-use pattern in the Highlands and with it the fertility of the hills could enter an upward-spiralling phase. This, however, is unlikely to happen in the framework of either the 'sporting' estate or the traditional crofting system of land-tenure or way of life, but rather in one with a much larger endowment of skill, capital, and land, and with a different outlook on the situation.

REFERENCES

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

AALEN, F. H. A.
1963   'Transhumance in the Wicklow Mountains.' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **93**:189–90.
1964   'Clochans as transhumance dwellings in the Dingle Peninsula, Co. Kerry.' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **94**:39–45.

BUCKLEY, T. E. and HARVIE-BROWN, J. A.
1891   *A vertebrate fauna of the Orkney Islands.* Edinburgh.

CAIRD, J. B.
N.D.   *Park: a Geographical Study of a Lewis Crofting District.* Glasgow and Nottingham.
1951   'The Isle of Harris.' *Scottish Geographical Magazine* **67**:85–100.

DAVIES, E.
1935   'Seasonal movements of sheep in Wales.' *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* **45**:1–17.
1941   'The Patterns of Transhumance in Europe.' *Geography* **26**:155–68.
1956   'Treens and Quarterlands: a study of the land system of the Isle of Man.' *Institute of British Geographers* **22**:97–116.

EKWALL, E.
1924   'The Celtic element.' *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names* **I** (part 1). Cambridge.

EDWARDS, K. C.
1942   'Note on transhumance: Sweden.' *Geography* **27**:67–8.

EVANS, E. E.
1940   'Transhumance in Europe.' *Geography* **25**:172–80.

GAFFNEY, V.
1959   'Summer Shielings.' *Scottish Historical Review* **138**:20–35.
1960   'The Lordship of Strathavon.' Third Spalding Club 1–33.
1967   'Shielings of the Drumochter.' *Scottish Studies* **11**:91–9.

GRAHAM, JEAN M.
1954   'Transhumance in Ireland.' Unpublished thesis, Queens University, Belfast.

HASSAL, C.
1812   *General View of Agriculture in the County of Monmouth.* London.

HAYWARD, D. E. H.
1948   'Transhumance in Southern Norway.' *Scottish Geographical Magazine* **64**:71–7.

HAYWARD, R.
1964   *Munster and the City of Cork.* Dublin.

LEISTER, PROFESSOR INGEBORG
1965   Personal communication.

LOW, G.
1813   *Fauna Orcadensis.* Edinburgh.

MCARTHUR, MARGARET M.
1936   *Survey of Lochtayside 1769.* Scottish Historical Society, Edinburgh.

MACKENZIE, O.
1921   *A Hundred Years in the Highlands.* London.

MACSWEEN, M. D.
1959   'Transhumance in North Skye.' *Scottish Geographical Magazine* **75**:75–88.

MACSWEEN, M. D. and GAILEY, A.
1961   'Some shielings in North Skye.' *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 5:77–84.
MARWICK, H.
1922   'Antiquarian notes on Sanday.' *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* 1:21–9.
1931   'Orkney Farm-Name Studies.' *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* 9:25–34.
MARSHALL, W.
1794   *General view of the agriculture of the Central Highlands of Scotland.* London.
MILLER, H.
1889   *Cruise of the Betsey.* Edinburgh.
MILLER, R.
1967   'Shiels in the Brecon Beacons.' *Folk Life* 5:107–10.
MOISLEY, H. A.
1962   *Uig: a Hebridean Parish.* Glasgow and Nottingham.
O'DANACHAIR, C.
1945   'Traces of the Buaile in the Galtee Mountains.' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 75.
PENNANT, T.
1774   *A tour in Scotland.* Warrington.
PICARD, ALICE
1964   *Les vallées septentrionales du massif de l'Oetztal.* Paris.
POUNDS, N. J. G.
1942   'Note on transhumance in Cornwall.' *Geography* 27:34.
PROTHERO, R. M.
1964   'Geographical factors and malaria eradication.' *Pacific Viewpoint* 5:194–7.
REINTON, L.
1955   *Saeterbruket i Norge.* Oslo.
WHITAKER, I.
1959   'Some traditional techniques in modern Scottish farming.' *Scottish Studies* 3:167–88.

Notes on Collection and Research

Scottish Place-Names : 29 Scandinavian Personal Names in the Place-Names of South-East Scotland

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

When the B.B.C. produced a series of eight programmes on 'Anglo-Saxon England' in the autumn of 1957, they also published a booklet with the same title, to accompany these broadcasts (B.B.C. 1957). Amongst the illustrations in this booklet was to be found a coloured full-page map showing the 'Distribution of place names in England' (*op. cit.*:22). Although not expressly stated, it derived from a similar line-block map in R. H. Hodgkin's *History of the Anglo-Saxon* (Hodgkin 1952: 1, 168) which in turn was based on the frontispiece in Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places* (Taylor [1907]).[1] The B.B.C. map of 1957 therefore reflects the scholarship of fifty years before its publication, or perhaps even a hundred years because Taylor's first edition appeared in 1864. This fact is, however, nowhere indicated in the caption or text and—whatever the relevance of the map to the broadcast series of talks may have been—listeners who bought the booklet are therefore left with the impression that the rather strikingly coloured map makes visual the knowledge of the fifties of the twentieth, and not the nineteenth, century.

Despite its caption, the map in question extends northwards slightly beyond the Firth of Forth and therefore covers the whole of the south of Scotland, and in this way the evidence becomes relevant from the point of view of Scottish toponymy as well. Without wanting to comment on the Scottish section of the map in general, and without attempting a detailed comparison of the three main cartographic stages involved (Taylor—Hodgkin—B.B.C.), it is only fair to say that much of what Taylor depicts is correct and that not everything that is wrong on the B.B.C. map can be attributed to Taylor but is rather the result of frequent and faulty copying. Other errors, however, have obviously been perpetuated for a hundred years, and it is one of these which this note is intended to pinpoint and, if possible, to rectify by examining the evidence behind Taylor's thinking.

The particular question to be investigated is that of five small areas of *Danish* settlement shown in the Border Counties of Scotland and in East Lothian (the last area is absent on the B.B.C. map). The map at all stages of development preserves Taylor's

terminology which distinguishes between Celtic, Saxon,[2] Danish, and Norwegian names. It is therefore quite clear from the colouring of the relevant patches on the map that no general Scandinavian influence or Norse element is intended but the existence of smallish areas[3] in which people speaking the Danish language and ultimately originating from Denmark settled. How far is this claim correct? What is the place-name evidence behind it, and how far does it bear critical scrutiny? If the names are indeed Danish, where did the Danes in question come from? If they are not Danish, what are they?
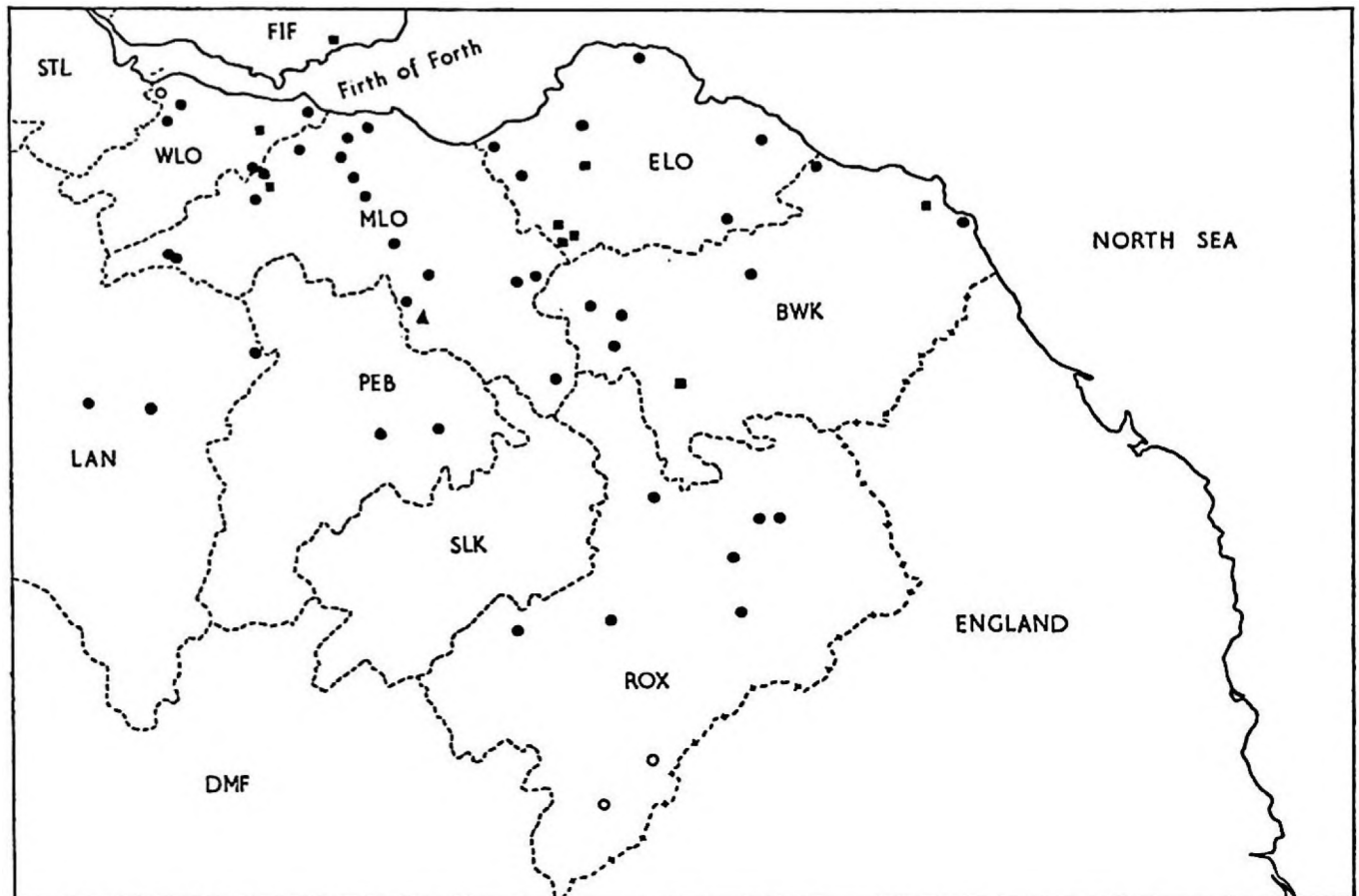
Distribution of place-names containing Scandinavian elements, in South-East Scotland.

■ Names in -bie, -by.
● Names containing Scandinavian personal names.
O Doubtful examples of last category.

First of all, it must be stressed that we do not know, of course, which particular names Taylor had in mind. As far as can be ascertained, there is no direct reference to the map in *Words and Places*. The situation is obscured even more by the fact that in his discussion of the settlement areas of the 'Northmen' Taylor refers to southern Scotland as follows (Taylor [1907]:118):

As we leave Yorkshire and approach Durham and Northumberland the Norse [Danish] names rapidly diminish in frequency, and north of the Tweed they almost entirely disappear.

The few that we find are usually only stations on the coast, as Alnwick and Berwick. The names of a few bays and headlands prove that the Northmen were familiar with the navigation of the coast, while the absence of any Norse names of villages or farms proves that the soil, for some reason, was left in the undisturbed possession of the Saxons[4] or the Celts. . . . The map proves conclusively that the district between the Tees and the Forth is one of the most purely Saxon portions of the island, thus remarkably corroborating the historical fact that in the eleventh century even the Lothians were reckoned as a part of England.[5]

Both Alnwick and Berwick are wrongly assigned to the Scandinavian stratum, of course, as they do not contain Old Norse (ON)) *vík* 'bay' as their second element but rather Old English (OE) *wīc* 'village, farm' (see Nicolaisen 1967:75–76). Also the 'few bays and headlands' which remain anonymous in Taylor's narrative[6] are not identifiable from the modern map as bearing Scandinavian names. We therefore have to find our own evidence in order to understand the nature of the Scandinavian contribution to the place-nomenclature of south-east Scotland and to the history of settlement in that region.

The most likely names to be spotted and used by Taylor are those containing Scandinavian place-name elements. Of these only ON *býr* 'a farmstead, village' is of any significance. Examples to be found in our region are:

Begbie ELO (Haddington par.):*Bagby* 1458 Johnstone 1934:104, *Baigbie* 1594, *Bakbie* 1603, *Begbie (vel Baikbie)* 1649 Retours, probably identical with Bagby in the North Riding of Yorkshire (*Bag(h)ebi* 1086, *Baggaby c.* 1160). 'Baggi's farm'. *Baggi* is found as a personal name in Old Norse, Old Danish and Old Swedish (see Ekwall 1960:22; also Björkman 1912:21–22).

Blegbie ELO (Humbie par.):*Blackbie* 1659, 1687 Retours; *Wester Blaikbie* 1659, *Wester Blackbie* 1639, 1687 Retours. This may contain OE *blæc* 'black' or *blāc* 'pale, bleak', or perhaps rather the Old Norse cognate of the latter, *bleikr* 'pale, livid'; or the personal name *Bleici* which derives from it (Smith 1956:1 37 and 38).

Corsbie BWK (Gordon par.):*Crossebie* 1309 Robertson, Index, *Corsby* (p) 1396 ER, 1441 (16th) APS; *Crosby* 1506–7 RMS; *Corsbie* 1556 HMC (Marchmont). In England there are several places names Crosby in Cumberland, Lancashire and Westmorland, all derived from Old Scandinavian *Krossa-býr* 'farm with crosses'. ON *kross* is a loan from Irish (Ekwall 1960:132).

Humbie (1) ELO (Humbie par.) *Hundeby c.* 1250 Kel. Lib.
    (2) MLO (Kirknewton par.) *Humby* 1546, *Humbie* 1614 RMS.
    (3) WLO (Kirkliston par.) *Hundeby* 1290 (16th) RMS, *Hundby* 1481 RMS, *Humby* 1502/3, *Humbie* 1534 Pitfirrane Writs.
    (4) FIF (Aberdour par.):Not recorded before the sixteenth century (Macdonald 1941:42).

In England, the name occurs in Lincolnshire as *Hanby* (*Hundebi, Hunbia,* and *Humbi* 1086) and *Humby* (Humbi 1086), from Old Scandinavian *Hunda-býr* 'Hundi's farm'

(Ekwall 1960:216 and 257). There is also a Humbie in the Renfrewshire parish of Mearns but no details are known to the present writer.

Pogbie ELO (Humbie par.):*Pokby* 1238-70 Midl. Chrs., *Poikbie* 1659, *Pockbie* 1659, 1687 Retours. We may compare Pockley in the North Riding of Yorkshire (*Pochelac* 1086, *Pokelai c.* 1190, *Pockele* 1232) and Pockthorpe in the East Riding of the same county (*Pochetorp* 1086, *Poketorp* 1195, *Pokethorp* 1227) which seem to be 'Poca's (Pohha's)*lēah* and *thorp*,' respectively (Ekwall 1960:369).

Schatteby BWK ('lost', near Coldingham Priory):*c.* 1300 Cold. Corr.; *Ska(i)tbieburn* 1578, *Sketbieburne* 1638 Laing Chrs. The first element may be an ON personal name *Skati* or the noun *skata* 'skate' (Williamson 1942:287).

In the cases of Begbie, Corsbie, the four Humbies, and Schatteby—and there is no reason why the not so well documented Pogbie should not also be included in this list—the first elements, whether personal name or appellative, are undoubtedly also of Scandinavian derivation and therefore point clearly to Scandinavian origin for the whole name. Consequently we must expect small pockets of Scandinavian settlers in the areas concerned and presumably a Scandinavian, rather than an English, dialect must have been spoken there for a while. There is however, no evidence that these small groups of people were of Danish, or Eastern Scandinavian, rather than Norse, or Western Scandinavian, extraction. The elements involved are either neutral in that respect or indicate Norse rather than Danish influence.[7]

The only other Scandinavian word directly involved in the formation of place-names in our region is the isolated example of *þveit* 'a clearing, a meadow, a paddock' in the name of the Moorfoot Hills (*Morthwait, -thwayt, -thuiveit* 1142 ESC) in which the first part could be either ON *mór* or OE *mōr* 'moor'.[8] As in the case of *býr*, the main *þveit*- area of Scotland is otherwise Dumfriesshire, and one might perhaps look for linguistic and ethnic affinities in that county and the Solway Firth region.

This gives us a total of nine, or maybe ten, names in which both elements are, or could be, of Scandinavian origin. These occur either singly or in small clusters. Of the latter, the Humbie group would be a good example. The main impact of the Norse language on the place-nomenclature of SE. Scotland is, however, to be found in a different type of name formation, *i.e.* in names which cannot be ascribed to Scandinavian speakers but contain Scandinavian personal names as their defining elements. In the following, a list will be provided which in no way claims to be comprehensive but nevertheless illustrates the name-type in question quite adequately:

Bonnington MLO (Ratho par.):*Bondingtona c.* 1315 RMS; *Bondyngton* 1335-6, *Bondyng-tone* 1336-7 CDS; *Bondingtoun* 1329-71, *Bendingtoun, Boundingtoun* 1306-29, *Bonyngtona* 1372 RMS.

Bonnington MLO (City parishes):*Bonyngtoun* 1465, 1477, *Bonyntoun* 1501 RMS; *Bonington* 1557 Laing Chrs.

Bonnington ELO (North Berwick par.):*Bondingtoun*. *Bondingtoune* David II, *Bondyngtoun* 1452, *Bonyntoun* 1479 RMS, *Bonyntoune* 1690 Retours.

Bonnington LAN (Lanark par.):*Bondingtoune* David II, *Bondyngtone*, *-tona* 1381–2, *Bonytoun* 1511 RMS; *Bonyntoune* 1668, *Boningtoun* 1692 Retours; *Boniton* 1776 Johnston 1934:111.

Bonnington PEB (Peebles par.):*Bonnestoun c.* 1380 Johnston 1934:111; *Bondingtoun* David II, *Bonyngtoun* 1439 RMS; *Bonyngtoun* 1637, 1649 Retours.

Bonnytoun WLO (Linlithgow par.):*Bondington* 1315 Royal Charters Reg. House, *Bondingtoun* 1315 Calendar of Charters Reg. House, *Bondingston c.* 1335 Mort. Reg., *Bondyngston* 1335–6, *Bondyngtone* 1337–7 CDS, etc.; *Bonytoune* first in 1454 ER.

There are also Bonningtons in Fife (Saline par., *Bonyngtoune* 1480 RMS, *Bonningtoune* 1681 Retours) and Perthshire (Rattray par.), and there is recorded evidence for places of this name in Angus, Ayrshire, Berwickshire and Renfrewshire. Most of the names in question are probably derived from the Scandinavian personal name *Bóndi*, as in Bonby (Lincolnshire; *Bundebi* 1086, *Bondebi c.* 1115) and *Bombie* DMF (*Bundeby* 1296 *Bomby* 1329–71); see Ekwall (1960:52), and Williamson (1942:282). This is a common name although it was known in Norway rather as a by-name than as a Christian name (Björkman 1912:28–29). There is, however, also the appellative noun *bond* 'a peasant or serf; a bondman' which goes back to ME *bond, bonde, bounde*, OE *bonda*, ON *bónde* 'householder, etc.' (DOST I 300a). In most cases it is impossible to say whether a personal name or an appellative applies; if the former is preferable the meaning is 'farm of Bóndi or of Bóndi's people' (Macdonald 1941:56–57; Dixon 1947: 122, 275).

Brotherstone MLO (Fala and Soutra par.):*Brothirstanys* 1153–65, *Brothirstane* n.d., *Browderstanis* 1462, *Brodirstanys* 1515, *Brodirstanis* 1531, etc. Midl. Chrs.
    Could simply be 'twin stones', from OE *bróðor*, or might contain the ON personal name *Bróðir* as in Brothertoft (Lincolnshire), Brotherton (Suffolk; *Brodertuna* 1086), Brotherton (West Riding of Yorkshire; *Broðertun c.* 1030) Brotherwick (Northumberland; *Brotherwyc* 1242). For the English place-names see Ekwall (1960:69), for the personal name Björkman (1910:30) and Feilitzen (1937:208). The second element in our name is, of course, OE *stān* 'stone'.

Cockburnspath BWK (par.):*Colbrandespade c.* 1130 ESC, *Colbrandespeth* 1335–6 CDS.
    The personal name ON *Kolbrandr*, Old Swedish *Kolbrand* is discussed by Björkman (1910:83–84; 1912:56) and Feilitzen (1937:306). There is a village name *Kolbrand-storp* in Sweden. Both Cockburnspath and the element *path* in Scottish place-names have been examined by the present writer (Nicolaisen 1963:83–85).

Colinton MLO (par.): *Colbanestoun* 1319, *Colbanystone* 1406 RMS; *Colbantoun* 1479 ADA, *Colbyntone* 1506 RMS, *Colintoun* 1488 ADC.

Covington LAN (par.): *Uilla Colbani* 1189–96 Spalding Misc. II, 305. *Colbaynistun* 1212 Dryb. Lib., *Colebaynestoun* 1321 Glas. Reg., *Calbanestoun* 1324 APS; *Colbwantoun* 1429, *Colbanton* 1430 Glas. Reg.; *Covingtoune* 1275–6 Baiamund.

Cobbinshaw MLO (West Calder par.): *Colbinshaw* 1512 RMS, *Kobinshaw* 1654 Blaeu. The ON personal name involved in these three names is *Kolbeinn*, an adaptation of the Irish name *Columbán*. In the first two instances it is combined with OE *tūn* 'farm', in the case of Cobbinshaw with OE *sceaga* 'wood'. For the personal name see Feilitzen (1937:306), and Björkman (1910:83).

Corstorphine MLO (par.): *Crostorfin c.* 1128, 1142, *Crorstorfin c.* 1140 Holy. Lib.; *Corstorphyn* 1400 St Giles Reg. 'Torfin's crossing', *i.e.* an 'inversion compound' with Gaelic *crois* 'cross'. The personal name is ultimately ON *þorfinnr* (Björkman 1910:156; Feilitzen 1937:392; Watson 1926:144; Dixon 1947:151).

Dolphington WLO (Dalmeny par.): *Dolfingtoun* 1490–1 ADC, *Doffyntoun* 1540 Prot. Bk. Johnsoun, *Dolphingstoun* 1653 Retours, *Dauphingtoun, Daufingtoun* 1692 Kirk Session Records (Dalmeny par.)

Dolphinston ROX (Oxnam par.): *Dolfinestone* 1296 CDS, *Dolfynston* (p) 1354 Kel. Lib., *Dolphington* 1454, *Dolphingston* HMC (Roxburghe).

Dolphinton LAN (par.): *Dolfinston* 1253 Pais. Reg., 1296 CDS; *Dolphintoune* 1275–6 Baiamund, *Dolphingtowne, -toune, -toun* 1655 Retours; *Dolphintoun ibid.*

Dolphingston ELO (Prestonpans par.): *Dolphinstoune* 1680, *Dolphingstoune* 1683 Retours. These four names contain the ON personal name *Dólgfinnr* which we also find in Dolphenby (Cumberland; *Dolphinerby* 1203, *Dolfanbi* 1282) and Dolphinholme (Lancashire; *Dolphineholm* 1591) for which see Ekwall (1961:147). Björkman (1912:28–29) thinks that derivation from this personal name is possible but prefers as a basis Old French *delfin, dalfin* < Latin *delphinus*. However, as Feilitzen points out (1937:225–6), 'the Old French and ME variant *do(l)bin* < *delphinus* does not appear until the 14th c. as the result of a late sound-change'. We agree with him and accept Dólgfinnr as the first element (see also Macdonald 1941:6; Williamson 1942:20).

Elliston ROX (St Boswells par.): *Ylistoun c.* 1220 Dryb. Lib., *Iliuestun* 1214–49 Melr. Lib., *Ilefestone* 1315 RMS, *Iliffeston* 1329–71 Melr. Lib., *Eleistoun* 1599 Dryb. Lib.

Illieston WLO (Kirkliston par.): *Ileuestune c.* 1200, *Yliuistoun* 1255, *Ilneston* 1255 HMC; *Illefston* 1335–6, *Ilefstone* 1336–7 CDS; *Yileistoun c.* 1388 HMC. Björkman (1912:50) also mentions *Isleuestuna* as a Domesday Book entry for Suffolk. Our names contain the ON personal name *Ísleifr*. In the case of Elliston ROX it is clear that we are dealing with a ME derivative of this name, for in 1220 *Johannes filius Yliff de Ylistoun* grants land to Dryburgh (Williamson 1942:20). This places the creation of

the Roxburghshire name approximately in the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Gamelshiel ELO (Stenton par.):*Gamelshields* 1505, *Eister Gammilscheillis* 1549, *Eister Gammelscheillis* 1605, *Gamelscheill and Wester G.* 1643, *Gamelsheills and Wester G.* 1679 Retours.

Auchtiegamel MLO (West Calder par.):thus 1773 Armstrong's Map; now 'lost'.

The first element is most likely the ON personal name *Gamall* (Old Danish, Old Swedish *Gamal*) which appears as *Gamel* in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:257), although the corresponding adjective Old West Scandinavian *gamall* 'old' is also possible (Dixon 1947:304). The personal name also occurs in English place-names, such as Gamblesby (Cumberland; (1) near Melmerby, *Gamelesbi* 1177; (2) near Aikton, *Gamelesby by Ayketon* 1305), and Gamston (Nottinghamshire; (1) near East Retford, *Gamelestune* 1086; (2) near Nottingham, *Gamelestune* 1086), for which see Ekwall (1961:191–2). Interestingly enough, the first Cumberland name is referred to as *terram que fuit Gamel filii Bern* (Armstrong 1950:192) which gives us another fix-point. Björkman stresses (1910:45–47) that the name *Gamal* is not found until the tenth century, although it is frequent from then onwards especially in areas of strong Norse colonisation.—The first element in *Auchtiegamel* is the land-measurement Gaelic *ochtamh* 'an eighth part'.

Gilston MLO (Fala and Soutra par.): *Gillystoun* 1228, 1399–1400, *Gilston, Gilstoun* 1462 Midl. Chrs.; *Gilestoun* 1488, *Gileston* 1489 ADA. The personal name in question is probably the same as that in Gilby (Lincolnshire; *Gillebi* 1139) and Gilsland (Cumberland; *Gilleslandia c.* 1185), *i.e. Gille*<ON *Gilli*<Old Irish *gilla* 'servant'. The English names have been interpreted in this way by Ekwall (1960:195 and 196). For further information about the provenance of the personal name see Björkman (1910:48) and Feilitzen (1937:261)—'Gille's farm'.

Graham's Law ROX (Eckford par.):*Grymeslawe* 1296 CDS; *Grymyslaw* 1440 RMS, 1456 HMC (Roxburghe); *Grymslo* 1654 Blaeu.

As the earlier spellings show, modern Graham is a re-interpretation of ON *Grímr* (Björkman 1910:50–51, 1912:38–39; Feilitzen 1937:276). In England it is found frequently in records of the tenth century but it also occurs often in place-names (Ekwall 1960:205), such as Grimesthorpe (West Riding of Yorkshire), Grimsargh (Lancashire), Grimsbury (Oxfordshire), Grimsby (Lincolnshire), and Grimscote (Northamptonshire). It is also well known in the place-names of the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland. —Theoretically, OE *gríma* 'ghost, spectre' is also a possibility, as in the two Worcestershire names Grimly and Greenhill (*Grymeshyll* 816), but a personal name seems to be preferable.—Modern Scots *law* derives from OE *hlāw* 'a rounded hill'.

Gunsgreen BWK (Ayton par.):*Gownisgrein, Ginsgrein* 1580 RMS; *Gunsgrene* 1585 HMC, *Gunnisgrene* 1590 RPC. 'Gunni's green'. *Gunni* is described as a Danish tenant in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:23). England offers such parallels as Gunby St Nicholas and Gunby St Peter (Lincolnshire), Gunness (Lincolnshire), Gunthorpe (Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Rutlandshire), Gunton (Norfolk and Suffolk). For these see Ekwall (1960:208).

Hailisepeth BWK (Lauder):thus *c.* 1222 (16th) Dryb. Lib.; *Ailinispeth c.* 1230 *ibid.*; now 'lost'. Williamson (1942:155-6) suggests that ON *Eilífr* may be the personal name contained in this compound, with *Ailin-* standing for *Ailiv-*. Comparable is Allithwaite (Lancashire; *Hailiuethait c.* 1170), for which see Ekwall (1960:7). If *Ailinispeth* is genuine, the Lancashire name Elliscales (*Aylinescal, Alinscalis c.* 1230) might be compared (Ekwall 1960:164). For the complex background and development of *Eilífr* in English see *Björkman* (1910:32-33; 1912:30) and Feilitzen (1937: 246).

Ingliston MLO (Kirkliston par.):*Ingalstoun* 1406 Midl. Chrs., *Ingalston* 1478 ADA, ADC, *Inglaldston* 1479 ADC, *Inglistoun* 1484 ADC.
On the basis of the early spellings, Dixon (1947:215) quite rightly suggests that this is 'Ingialdr's farm'. The personal name in question (for which see Feilitzen 1937:287-8) also occurs in Ingoldisthorpe (Norfolk; *Torp* 1086, *Ingaldestorp* 1203) and the two Lincolnshire names Ingoldmells (*in Guldesmere* 1086, *Ingoluesmera* 1095-1100, *Ingoldesmeles* 1180) and Ingoldsby (*Ingoldesbi* 1086), and possibly in Ingleton (Durham; *Ingeltun c.* 1050) and Ingleton (West Riding of Yorkshire; *Inglestune* 1086).

Kettlestoun WLO (Linlithgow par.):*Ketlistoun* 1147-53 ESC; *Ketilstoun 1164, Ketilstoune* 1195 Camb. Reg.; *Ketilston* 1335-6 CDS.
Kettleshiel BWK (Longformacus par.):*Ketelschel c.* 1269 HMC (Home), *Ketilscheles* 1367-8 CDS, *Kettilschele* 1492 RMS, *Kettlesheill* 1668 Retours.
Kirkettle MLO (Lasswade par.):*Karynketil* 1317, *Karketyl* n.d. Newb. Reg., *Karketile, -ketle* 1474 TA, *Karkettill* 1547-8 RSS. In other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century spellings the first element appears as *Ker-* and *Car-* (see Dixon 1947:225-6) and finally 1773 as *Kir-*. In 1655 we have *Carketteltoun* RMS. 'Ketill's cairn', in composition similar to Corstorphine and Auchtiegamel. The first element is Gaelic *càrn*, and modern Caerketton in the Pentlands may be a reflex of this name (Watson 1926: 369). The personal name occurs in a great number of English place-names, such as Kettleby (Leicestershire, Lincolnshire), Kettleburgh (Suffolk), Kettleshulme (Cheshire), Kettlesing (West Riding of Yorkshire), Kettlestone (Norfolk), Kettlethorpe (Lincolnshire, East Riding of Yorkshire), and also Kedleston (Derbyshire). For these see Ekwall (1960:274 and 269), for the personal name Björkman (1910: 79; and 1912:6-11, 54) and Feilitzen (1937:304-5).

Lyleston BWK (Lauder par.):*Liolfstoun c.* 1222, *Lyalstoun c.* 1230 Dryb. Lib. Our earliest recorded form points to a personal name *Li(g)ulf* as a first element. This name is by no means uncommon but its origin and exact etymology are still in doubt. For a full discussion see Feilitzen (1937:319–20) who comes to the conclusion that this is 'clearly a Scandinavian name and to judge from its local distribution probably of ON provenance'. He also quotes place-names from the North Riding of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

Milsington ROX (Roberton par.):*Milsintoun* 1654 Blaeu. Recorded evidence for this name is scanty and late. Miss Williamson (1942:24) suggests the ON personal name *Mylsan* as a likely first element, which in turn would be a shortened form of Old Irish *Maelsuithan*. The same name probably appears in Melsonby (North Riding of Yorkshire; *Malsenebi* 1086, *Melsanebi* 1202), according to Ekwall (1960: 321).

Ormiston ROX ([1] Cavers par.; [2] Eckford par.)[10]:*Hormiston* (p) 1214–49 Melr. Lib.; *Ormistoun* 1452, *Ormestoun* 1567–8 RMS, *Ormrstoun* (Cavers), *Ormistoun* (Crailing ROX) 1654 Blaeu.
Ormiston MLO (Kirknewton, par.):*Ormystoun* 1211–26 *Ormistoun* 1462 Midl. Chrs., 1488 ADA, ADC; *Ormestoune* 1612 Midl. Chrs.
Ormiston ELO (par.): *Ormestoun* 1628, *Ormistoun* 1629, *Ormestoune, Ormistoune* 1657 Retours.
Ormistoun PEB = (?)Glenormiston [House] (Innerleithen par.):*Ormstoun* 1603, *Ormestoun* 1633, *Ormistoune* 1675, *Ormistoun* 1681 *Ormestoune* 1683 Retours; *Little Ormistoun* 1573, *Littill Ormstoun, Little Ormstoun* 1633, *Little Ormistoun* 1678 Retours.
Ormscleugh Syke MLO (Stow par.):Unrecorded.
ON *Ormr* is a very common personal name in England and also occurs in many English place-names. Ekwall (1960:351 and 488) lists Ormesby (Norfolk, North Riding of Yorkshire), North and South Ormsby (Lincolnshire), Ormside (Westmoreland), Ormskirk (Lancashire), and Urmston (Lancashire; *Urmeston* 1212, *Ormeston* 1284). The personal name is discussed by Björkman (1910:105–6; 1912:65) and Feilitzen (1937:337).

Oxton BWK (Channelkirk par.):*Ullfkeliston, Hulfkeliston* 1206 (*c.* 1320) Kel. Lib.; *Ulkilstoun c.* 1220 (16th), *Ulkestoun* 1273 Dryb. Lib.; *Ugistoun* 1463–4 RMS, *Uxtoun* 1654 Blaeu. This is a good example of a name which has become unrecognisable within four centuries, with Blaeu's *Ux-*, and modern *Ox-* being reductions of the ON personal name *Ulfkell* (Björkman 1910:168; 1912:91; Feilitzen 1937:399–400), itself a slightly shortened form of *Ulfketill*. The name is well recorded, but according to Feilitzen (1937:399 *n.* 2) it is uncertain whether it is native in Old Norse.

Ravelston MLO (Corstorphine par.): *Railstoun* 1363 St Giles Reg., 1489 ADA; *Raylistona* 1364 RMS; *Raylistoun* 1368 St Giles Reg., 1329–71 RMS; *Relstoun* 1329–71 RMS, *Ralstoun* 1369 St Giles Reg., *Ravilstoune* 1494 ADC, *Ravilstoun* St Giles Reg., *Ravelston* 1630 Holy. Lib. In contrast to the last name, the later spellings seem to be closer to the original first element than the earlier ones, and it is more than likely that *Ravil-*, *Ravel-* goes back to an earlier *Hrafnkell*, or possibly *Hrafnulfr*. The former is discussed by Björkman (1910:110; 1912:68) and Feilitzen (1937:293) who has many examples of it from Domesday Book. *Hrafnkell* is, of course, a development of earlier *Hrafnketell*.

(?) Rousland WLO (Bo'ness and Carriden par.): *Rusland* 1540–1 Prot. Bk. Johnsoun, *Rousland* 1582 Inventory of Hamilton Papers, *Rowsland* 1669 Bo'ness Register. If the development of the name is the same as that of Rusland (Lancashire) which is *Rulesland* in 1336 (Ekwall 1960:397), it is possible that the first element is the ON personal name *Hrólfr*, or perhaps *Hróaldr*. Feilitzen (1937:294) has many more recorded instances of the former than of the latter. However, the forms are very late (Macdonald 1941:33).

(?) Snaberlee Rig ROX (Castleton par.): *Snebirly* 1654 Blaeu. Again a name for which early records are lacking. Williamson (1942:74–75) thinks it possible that it derives from an ON personal name *Snæbiǫrn*. However, as this is only found in Yorkshire as far as Domesday Book is concerned (Feilitzen 1937:368), we are on very uncertain ground here.

Swanston MLO (Colinton): *Swaynystoun* 1214–40, *Sweynystoun* 1221–38 Midl. Chrs.; *Swaynestone* 1336–7 CDS, *Suanston* 1462 Laing Chrs. This is 'Sveinn's farm' although in the seventeenth century it was re-interpreted as *Cygnea domus vulgo Swanston* (SHS. I, 52). An identical name is *Swainston* in the Isle of Wight (*Sweyneston* 1255). Other English names containing the same personal name are Swainsthorpe (Norfolk), Swainswick (Somerset), and the two Swainbys in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The development *Swain-> Swan-* is shown by Swanland (East Riding of Yorkshire; *Swenelund* 1189) and Swannington (Leicestershire and Norfolk). ON *Sveinn*, Old Danish and Old Swedish *Sven*, is common both in Scandinavia and in Britain (see Björkman 1910:139–40; 1912:82–83; and Feilitzen 1937:380–1).

(?) Thorlieshope Tower ROX (Castleton par.): *Thorlishoip, Thirlishoip* 1569 RPC. It is just possible that, as Miss Williamson suggests (1942:222), the first element may be a ME form *Thorli of the ON personal name *þóraldr*, although we cannot rely on the late spellings available. *þóraldr* occurs in the English place-names Thoralby (North Riding of Yorkshire; *Turoldesbi, Toroldesbi* 1086) and Thorlby (West Riding of Yorkshire; *Torederebi, Toreilderebi* 1086); the name appears four times in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:390).

Thurston ELO (Innerwick par.): *Thureston* 1292 Johnston 1934:310. This name is identical with Thurston in Suffolk (*Thurstuna, Torstuna* 1086) which Ekwall (1960: 472) interprets as 'Þori's (Þuri's) tūn'. The personal name in question also occurs in such names as Thoresby (Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, North Riding of Yorkshire), Thoresthorpe, Thoresway (both Lincolnshire), etc. In Old Norse it would have be *Þórir* which Björkman (1910:158) describes as an old and extremely frequent name. It is well documented in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:393-4).

Toxside MLO (Temple par.): *Thocchesheved* 1142 ESC, 1140-53 Newb. Reg.; *Tockesheved* 1184, *Tockeshewyd* early thirteenth century, *Tokside nether* 1563 Newb. Reg. As in Tockholes (Lancashire), the personal name involved may be either OE *Tocca* or ON *Tóki* (see Ekwall 1960:476, and Dixon 1947:297). The latter is assumed by Ekwall (1960:479) to be the first part of Toxteth (Lancashire) because the second element is ON *stǫð* 'landing-place'. As the second element in our name is clearly OE *hēafod* 'height', that argument would not apply to Toxside. For further details about *Tóki* see Björkman (1910:142-3; 1912:83-84) and Feilitzen (1937:385-6). The name is common in Domesday Book.

Ugston ELO (Haddington par.): *Vgston* 1478 ADC, *Vgstoun* 1483 ADA, *Ugstoun* 1576, *Wgstoune* 1649, *Ugstoune* 1692, *Ugstone* 1696 Retours. Possibly the same first element as in Ugthorpe (North Riding of Yorkshire); for this Ekwall (1960:485) considers two alternatives, *Ugga* or *Uggi*, but appears to prefer the latter which is a known ON name but not with certainty evidenced in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:21).

Ulston ROX (Jedburgh par.): *Ulvestoun* 1147-52 ESC, *Uluestona* 1165-1214 Nat. MSS. Scot. The first element, ON *Úlfr*, is a very common personal name which also occurs in many English place-names, such as Ulceby (two in Lincolnshire), Ulleskelf (West Riding of Yorkshire), Ullesthorpe (Leicestershire), Ullswater (Cumberland, Westmorland), and Ulverscroft (Leicestershire); see Ekwall (1960: 485 and 486). For the many examples in Domesday Book consult Feilitzen (1937: 400-1).

Yorkston MLO (Temple par.): Yorkistoun 1354, Yorkeston 1374—Reg. Ho. Chrs., Yorkstoun 1634 RMS. Dixon (1947:297) suggests a personal name *Jórek* from ON *Jórekr* as the first element. Although this name is not evidenced in Domesday Book, it appears to occur in Yorfalls (North Riding of Yorkshire; *Yorcfal* 1335).

So far the evidence—incomplete and patchy of necessity, but nevertheless sufficient to answer the question which we posed at the beginning. What does it all add up to? First of all, it is quite obvious that none of the names in this category were given by

Scandinavians. Elements like *-tūn, -stān, -pacð, -hlāw, -sceaga, -grēne, -land, -lēah,* and *-hēafod* point to speakers of English as originators of the names in question; whereas Corstorphine, *Auchtiegamel,* and Kirkettle clearly show Gaelic influence both in word-formation and derivation. We are, therefore, not called upon to consider the Scandinavian origin of these names as names : they are non-Scandinavian in origin. However, the whole group is of course characterised by the fact that the explanatory element in each name is a Scandinavian personal name. Does this mean that, in addition to the *by-* names discussed above, we have to reckon with a further influx of Scandinavians into south-east Scotland?

A short scrutiny of the personal names involved will be necessary. In order to settle the question Danish versus Norse, it is useful to consult Feilitzen's lists as to the dialectal provenance and local distribution of Scandinavian names in England (1937:21-26). Of our names, *Bóndi, Tóki,* and *þór-* are of West Scandinavian origin because of their phonetic shape; in addition *þórfinnr* is only found in West Scandinavian sources. The only name for which East Scandinavian origin might be claimed, *Ulfkell,* belongs to those that are found all over England, like *Grímr, Ketill, Sveinn, Tóki,* and *Úlfr,* and can therefore be said to have lost its peculiar Eastern qualities. Names like *Dólgfinnr, Hrafnkell, Kolbeinn* and *Ligulf* only occur in north-west England and are consequently more likely to be of Western than Eastern Scandinavian provenance. *Kolbeinn,* like *Mylsan* and *Gilli,* has strong Irish connections, probably reaching England with Norsemen from Ireland. *Sveinn, Gamall* and *þórfinnr* are also found in Ireland (Björkman 1912:82-83, 86). On the negative side, none of the names only found in (*a*) Lincolnshire, (*b*) Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, (*c*) East Anglia, are amongst our names. Admittedly, *Gunni* is expressly called a Danish tenant in Domesday Book (Feilitzen 1937:23) and the first part of Thureston may be Old Danish *þurir* rather than ON *þórir,* but the bulk of the evidence points to names which are either of West Scandinavian origin or are neutral as far as the dialectal provenance is concerned. It would therefore be totally incorrect to speak of a Danish linguistic element in the place-names of our region.

However, whatever the ultimate origin may be, it is more than likely that most of the personal names on our list had, by the time they reached Scotland, become so Anglicised that it is questionable whether the people bearing these names were in fact Scandinavians. *Dólgfinnr,* for instance, is in all respects a West Scandinavian name but we know that its English derivative *Dolfin* was the name of at least two members of the Northumbrian family of Dundas in the thirteenth century (Macdonald 1941:6). *Johannes filius Yliff de Yliston* we mentioned under Elliston as being recorded for 1220. *Ligulf* witnessed a Durham charter about 1100 (ESC), *Lyulf* was the son of Uhctred (1119-24 Kel. Lib.), and in 1174 we have *Liulfo filio Macus (ibid.).* In 1147-50 Crailing in Roxburghshire is called *villa Orme* (ESC), and a little earlier (1127) we have *Orm presbitero de Edenham* in the same source. *Gille,* **Thorli, Ulf,* and a number of others are probably to be looked upon as ME rather than ON names by the time they appear as elements in our place-nomenclature.

Our conclusion would therefore have to be that the group of names just discussed is in a completely different category from the *by*-names[11] mentioned earlier on. In the majority of cases we have, in spite of the ultimate Scandinavian origin of the personal names involved, simply English place-names coined by English speakers using what were at that time English elements. In those instances, in which the bearer of the name may still have been a person of Scandinavian descent, speaking a Scandinavian language, it is to a Norse rather than a Danish background that we would look. Any future map attempting to show the distribution of place-names of various linguistic origins in our region would therefore have to abandon any symbols for 'Danish' and be extremely sparing with those for Norse.

NOTES

1   It is difficult to know which edition of Taylor was used by Hodgkin, as far as his map was concerned. The maps of earlier editions of *Words and Places* are far superior to that produced on a reduced scale in A. Smythe Palmer's revision.

2   The Saxons, of course, never reached Scotland during the period in question when the southern part of the country Celtic rule was displaced by Anglian overlordship.

3   In his original map, Taylor indicated by dots the actual number of place-names involved which appears to have been about seven. Both Hodgkin and the B.B.C. map ignore such detailed representation and, by substituting the area-principle for Taylor's pinpointing of every name in question, somewhat enlarge the regions in question so that what was originally one single name in Taylor is now depicted as an area of perhaps 30–50 square miles.

4   So in A. Smythe Palmer's revision. Earlier editions have more correctly 'Anglians' instead.

5   In earlier editions—for instance, Taylor 1896 (=1873): 112—this last sentence reads: 'The map proves conclusively that the district between the Tees and the Forth is, ethnologically, one of the most purely English portions of the island, thus remarkably illustrating the assertion of historians, who affirm that down to the eleventh century the Lothians were accounted as English soil.' This is a good example of the original being better than the 'improved' version.

6   In a footnote, A. Smythe Palmer gives them as 'Alnwick, Berwick, the Firths of Forth, Tay, and Moray, Blackness, Borrowstowness [*sic!*], Fifeness, Buttonness, and Burleness'. There is obvious confusion here between Norse and English elements: *-wick* is not ON *vík* but OE *wīc* (see above); *firth*, although ultimately a Scandinavian loanword in English, goes back to Middle English *firth* 'estuary' and not directly to Old Norse *fjörðr*; and *-ness* derives from OE *næss*, *ness* 'promontory, headland', and not from the cognate ON *nes*. In addition, most of these names are not within the area under discussion; Buttonness being presumably Buddon Ness and Burleness, perhaps Girdleness.

7   For the distribution of *by-* names in southern Scotland see Nicolaisen 1964*b*:209.

8   See Nicolaisen 1964*a*:98, and the distribution map on p. 101 of that publication.

9   *The Register of the Great Seal* for instance has *Bondingtoun* Robert I, David II, Robert II, *Bondyngtona* 1370, 1375–6, *Bonytoun* 1494, 1499, *Bonyntoun* 1509 for Angus (possibly two different names); *Bondingtone* 1315–21, *Bondingtoun* Robert I and III for Ayrshire (Cunningham); *Bondingtone, Bondyngtone* 1315–21, *Bondingtoun* Robert I, *Bondyngtona* 1375–6, *Bondyngtoune* 1488 for Berwickshire; and *Bonyntoun* 1460 for Renfrewshire. There are additional references for each name, of course.

10   It is difficult to separate the early spellings for these two names.

11   The only interesting hybrid is *Smeaton* MLO (Inveresk par.) which is *Smithetun* 1124–53, *Smithetune* 1234, *Smetheton* n.d., but *Smithebi* 1153–65 and Smetheby 1232. This substitution of *-by* for *-tūn* is, however, unique in our region. For further details see Dixon (1947:208).

REFERENCES

ARMSTRONG, A. M. *et alia*

1950   *The Place-Names of Cumberland.* Part I. English Place-Name Society, Vol. 20. Cambridge.

B.B.C.

1957   *Anglo-Saxon England.* London.

BJÖRKMAN, E.

1910   *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frümittelenglischer Zeit.* Studien zur englischen Philologie 37. Halle.

1912   *Zur englischen Namenkunde.* Studien zur englischen Philologie 47. Halle.

DIXON, N.

1947   *The Placenames of Midlothian.* Typescript PhD thesis. Edinburgh.

EKWALL, EILERT

1960   *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names.* 4th edition. Oxford.

FEILITZEN, OLOF von

1937   *The pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book.* Nomina Germanica 3. Uppsala.

HODGKIN, R. H.

1952   *A History of the Anglo-Saxons.* 3rd edition., 2 vols. London.

JOHNSTON, J. B.

1934   *Place-Names of Scotland.* 3rd edition. London.

MACDONALD, A.

1941   *The Place-Names of West Lothian.* Edinburgh.

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H.

1963   'Notes on Scottish Place-Names:20. *Path.*' *Scottish Studies* 7: 83–5.

1964a   'Scottish Place-Names:22. Old Norse *þveit,* etc.' *Scottish Studies* 8: 96–103.

1964b   'Scottish Place-Names:23. The distribution of Old Norse *býr* and *fjall.*' *Scottish Studies* 8: 208–13.

1967   'Scottish Place-Names:28. Old English *wīc.*' *Scottish Studies* 11: 75–84.

SMITH, A. H.

1956   *English Place-Name Elements.* 2 vols. English Place-Names Society, Vols. 25 and 26. Cambridge.

TAYLOR, ISAAC

1896   *Words and Places.* New edition. reprinted. London.

[1907]   *Words and Places.* Ed. A. Smythe Palmer. London.

WATSON, W. J.

1926   *The History of the Celtic-Names of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

WILLIAMSON, M. G.

1942   *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties.* Typescript PhD thesis. Edinburgh.

The Lone Highlander

HAMISH HENDERSON

International anecdotes which cross political and language frontiers are sometimes hard to place in categories of type and motif, but they frequently illustrate, as nothing else can, the mental attitudes of the communities in which they take root. The following version of an anecdote found all over Scotland, and variously set in the days of the Roman invasion, the Wars of Independence and the Jacobite rebellions, gives naive chauvinistic expression to the 'guid conceit o' himself' not seldom exhibited by the Scottish soldier. It was recorded from Mr Donald MacLean, an Edinburgh University student from Tobermory, on 15 March 1965.

Text

Well, this refers to an incident which took place after the '45 Rebellion, in Scotland, when the English were sending troops of Redcoats through the Highlands, partly to police the Highlands, but mainly to put on a great show of strength—subdue the natives. And they were going through this glorious glen in Perthshire—beautiful summer morning, great show of strength, the sun glistening on their bayonets; musket, fife and drum playing. Everything was grand until they got to the far end of the glen, and standing up on one of the hills was this lone Highlander, who was breaking every rule in the book by brandishing a claymore, wearing a kilt, drinking out of a bottle of whisky. This was bad enough in itself until he started shouting insults at the regiment below, and started calling them Sasunnach so and so's, and told them all to get home, that they were no use anyway. So the colonel in charge of the regiment rather took offence at this, and delegated a corporal and a private, you see. He said to them, 'Corporal, take a man with you, get up there, I want that man'. So the corporal and the private disappeared over the hill, and the lone Highlander had of course disappeared over the sky-line beyond. And great sounds of battle were heard over the sky-line. Half an hour elapsed and the battle still raging. A few minutes later the Highlander himself appeared—no signs of the corporal or the private. He was still brandishing his claymore and saying that was great fun, send some more.

So the colonel thought, 'Well this has just gone too far altogether. Sergeant: Take a platoon with you—thirty men. Get up there, I want that man dead or alive.' Too much altogether, sort of. The sergeant and a platoon of thirty men charged up the hillside. The little Highlander disappeared over the sky-line as before. Tremendous battle altogether this time which lasted for about an hour. And at the end of the hour the little Highlander appeared again completely unscathed, but his sword dripping blood, you see. By this time he was in grand form altogether and he challenged the whole regiment shouting 'Come on, come on, the lot of you—I'm just in trim'.

Q

So the colonel: 'This is it. It's gone beyond a joke now. Bugler: sound the general advance.' So the bugler sounded the advance and the whole regiment, five thousand, charged up the hill-side. The Highlander disappeared over the sky-line as before. Just as the regiment arrived at the top of the hill, they were confronted with the original corporal, or at least what was left of him, and he was dying obviously, and making a dying attempt to save the regiment. He was shouting, 'Get back, get back, it's a trap, it's a trap, there are two of them'.

This story is not exclusively Scottish, however. On 26 June 1967, the Hamburg Weekly, *Der Spiegel*, printed (on p. 66) the following version in an article describing the Israeli Blitzkrieg:

Hinter einer Düne entdeckten die Ägypter einen israelischen Scharfschützen. Zwei Nassersoldaten sollten ihn erledigen, aber keiner kam zurück. Daraufhin schickte der Kompaniechef zwölf Männer vor und—als auch die nicht wieder kamen—die ganze Kompanie.
Zwei Stunden später kroch ein zerfledderter Ägypter in den Gefechstand. 'Wir sind in eine jüdische Falle geraten,' stammelte er. 'Das war nicht ein Scharfschütze. Es waren zwei.'

(*Translation*: The Egyptians discovered an Israeli sniper behind the sand-dune. Two Nasser soldiers were told off to silence him, but neither of them came back. The company commander then sent twelve to do the job, and finally—when these didn't come back either—he sent the entire company.
   Two hours later a torn and tattered Egyptian crept back to Company H.Q. 'We fell into a Jewish trap,' he stammered. 'It wasn't just one sniper. There were two of them.')

Der Speigel's comment was: 'This Jewish front-line joke is the latest variant of the old story of tiny David who put paid to the giant Goliath.'
The variant quoted by the German weekly is clearly brand-new, at any rate as far as the modern state of Israel is concerned, but it has emerged from a community of culture and tradition with ancestral memories of a fight against the big battalions. One of the leading military figures of the war which led to the creation of the Israeli state has been conducting the excavations at Masada, where a Jewish garrison defied the Romans, and was massacred to the last man. The Israeli public has apparently taken very great interest in this archaeological reminder of the nation's military prowess in ancient times. Also, that the story has in fact earlier roots among the Jews than might at first seem likely is suggested by the fact that—as Professor D. K. Wilgus of the University of California, Los Angeles, informed me on 1 September 1967—the same anecdote was circulating among students of his university immediately after the end of the four-day Israel-Arab war in June.
   The story continues to be popular in Scotland. In 1966 the Glasgow folk-singer Matt McGinn wrote a popular song on the same theme; it is entitled 'The Hielanman',

and the period of the exploit is in this case the Roman invasion of Pictland; the moral of the story is stated to be 'Hadrian's Wall'. The text of Matt's song was published in *Chapbook* Vol. 3 No. 3, and his performance of his own song is recorded on a Transatlantic LP (Xtra 1045) issued in December 1966.

Each a' Mhinisteir

DONALD A. MACDONALD

I recorded the following anecdote (SA 1962/47.B.3) in October 1962 from Mr Donald MacKay, Aird a' Mhachaire, South Uist.[1]

The story has an 'International' look about it and would fit quite readily into the Aarne-Thompson Classification under the sub-heading of Section III *Jokes about Parsons and Religious Orders*, but nothing similar to it is listed there. In fact, apart from this one version, the story is quite unknown to me.[2] This is perhaps a little surprising— a pithy anecdote of this sort with a simple plot might well be expected to travel readily, or indeed, considering the fairly obvious nature of the joke, to have originated independently in various places by the process usually known as polygenesis.

However, for obvious reasons, many stories of the joke type may often enjoy a wide enough circulation without ever breaking into print. There is certainly a good deal of material to be got, in the Gaelic speaking areas of Scotland as elsewhere, the existence of which one could never have suspected from earlier collections either in print or manuscript. Of course some of the material itself might be regarded as unprintable— in other cases a collector might regard such stories as being beneath his notice. Another point is that a good many collectors in the past have been clergymen or men in some sort of 'official' position such as Alexander Carmichael from whom some storytellers would keep parts of their repertoire well hidden.[3]

One rather unusual point about the story is that, coming as it does from a mixed Catholic and Protestant area, the minister and priest are lumped together as butts of the joke. One might have expected it rather to be told of two ministers in a Catholic area or two priests in a Protestant one, though of course, the teller might deliberately adjust it for a mixed audience.

Text

Bha ministeir ann a shiod trup agus cheannaich e each o cheard agus bha 'ministeir a' foighneachd dhe'n cheard:
'Dé seòrsa beothach a th'ann?'
'Leòr' ' ors an ceard, 'beothach làidir. Sin agad beothach math.'
'Tha thu cinndeach', ors a' ministeir, ors esan, 'gu bheil e làidir?'

'Leòr',' ors an ceard, ors esan, 'tha e cho làidir,' ors esan, ' 's gu slaodadh e,' ors esan, 'an Diabhal.'

Agus cheannaich a' ministeir an t-each, agus, an ceann latha na dha as deaghaidh sin dh'fhalbh a' ministeir 's bheairtich e 'n t-each a . . . ann an gige beag a bh'aige, agus thadhail e air an t-sagart.

'Tha mi air beothach eich a cheannach a seo,' ors a' ministeir, agus thuirt e ris an t-sagart:

'Thugainn,' ors esan, 'an gabh sinn,' ors esan, 'cuairt.'

Dh'fhalbh a' sagart còmhla ris 's am beothach aca, dìreach, 's bha iad a seo a' dìreadh bruthach mór mór agus thòisich an t-each air toir fairis. Thug an t-each fairis, agus có thachair orr' ach an ceard agus:

'Tha,' ors a' ministeir, 'am beothach tha seo,' ors esan, 'air toirt fairis,' ors esan, 'agus chan eil,' ors esan, 'lùth idir ann. Nach tuirt thu rium,' ors a' ministeir, 'gu robh e cho làidir,' ors esan, 'gu slaodadh e 'n Diabhal?'

'O thubhairt,' ors an ceard, 'ach tha e slaodadh dà dhiabhal an drasda.'

The Minister's Horse (*Translation*)

There was once a minister and he bought a horse from a tinker and the minister was asking the tinker:

'What sort of beast is it?'

'Indeed,' said the tinker, 'a strong beast. That's a good horse for you.'

'You're sure,' said the minister, said he, 'that it's strong?'

'Indeed,' said the tinker, said he, 'it's so strong,' said he, 'that it could pull,' said he, 'the devil.'

And the minister bought the horse, and a day or two after that, the minister went and harnessed the horse in a little trap he had, and he called on the priest.

'I've bought a horse here,' said the minister, and he said to the priest:

'Come on,' said he, 'let's go for a run.'

The priest went with him, and they had the horse there, and here they were climbing a very steep hill, and the horse began to give up. The horse gave up, and who should meet them but the tinker and:

Said the minister, said he, 'This beast has given up,' said he, 'and' said he, 'it has no strength at all. Did you not tell me,' said the minister, 'that it was so strong' said he, 'that it could pull the Devil?'

'O, so I did,' said the tinker, 'but it's pulling two devils just now.'

NOTES

1 Donald MacKay (Domhnall Thormaid Bhain) a crofter, now in his 70s, first attracted my attention as a good singer with a repertoire that includes some of John MacCodrum's songs. He has also recorded a number of well-told stories and anecdotes.

2 A one devil/two devils idea occurs in a 14th-15th Century Irish anti-clerical anecdote *The Burial of the Priest's Concubine*, but the story differs considerably from the present text. A priest's concubine dies and a large number of people fail to lift the body. A cunning professor asks that two priests' concubines should be brought. The two carry the body away very easily to the Church for burial. The Professor explains that it is not to be wondered at that two devils should carry off one devil. (Jackson 1951:179.)

3 An informant in S. Uist said to the late Dr Calum MacLean in 1960 (translated): 'Long ago, you know, people used not to tell. People used not to tell it to the likes of you at all, you know—the ones who went around looking for stories and songs and charms of all kinds, they used not to give them anything, you know, that had to do with religion.' SA 1960/21.A.1.

This is probably too sweeping a statement when one considers the success of Carmichael for instance, in collecting religious material, but the point is a valid one nevertheless.

REFERENCES

SA

   School of Scottish Studies Sound Recording Archive.

JACKSON, K. H.

 1951 *A Celtic Miscellany*. London.

Analytical Aspects of 'The Conundrum'

JAMES PORTER

Peter R. MacLeod, the composer of 'The Conundrum', was born at Uig, Isle of Lewis, on 13 December 1878, and died at the Erskine Old Soldiers' Hospital, Glasgow, on 16 June 1965. He joined the Territorial Army in the early 1900s, enlisting in the 7th Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), and achieved the rank of Pipe-Major during World War I; he saw active campaign at that time in Egypt and at Gallipoli.[1]

Apart from Army service, he was employed as a shipwright on the Clyde in Connell's Yard, Whiteinch and at Fairfield's from 1900 till 1927, when he was involved in an accident which necessitated the amputation of his right leg. He did not work again until 1941; he then returned to the shipyards, and was re-employed there until his retiral in 1955 at the age of 77.

Peter MacLeod composed over 200 tunes for the bagpipe (notable among these being 'Lady Lever Park', 'Pipe-Major Donald MacLean',[2] 'Dr MacKinnon's March',[3] 'Hugh MacPhee',[4] 'Major Manson' and 'John Morrison of Assynt House'). A comprehensive edition of his work is to be published in the near future by the Bagpipe Music Index Co., Glen Ridge, New Jersey, in conjunction with a series of recordings made by the composer's son, Peter R. MacLeod junior, who lives at present in London.

According to Mr MacLeod, his father was an unknown quantity as a composer before 1928, '. . . when he produced me before the best pipers in the world and I was acclaimed a child prodigy. [Mr MacLeod would then have been about 12 years old, and had been taught solely by his father.] . . . . From that day on his status as a

knowledgeable man of piping never dimmed and he established himself as one of the truly prolific and good . . . composers of this century'.

'The Conundrum' itself was written 'round about 1930', and was first played by the son of the composer for the Scottish Pipers' Association at its weekly meeting in Glasgow. In Mr MacLeod's words—'. . . some of the "experts" claimed it was off beat and that my father could not put it down in music and maintain the normal number of beats to the measure'. A rhythmic trick of this kind is unusual in pipe-marches, though one can see from an examination of other marches by the same composer that displacement of rhythm is a distinctive fingerprint of his style (cf. 'Dr MacKinnon's March' and 'Hugh MacPhee').

The title 'The Conundrum' was applied to the tune spontaneously by Mr MacLeod's eldest sister on first hearing it; it refers, of course, to the change of rhythmic accent in bars 1 and 3. In many ways it is a remarkable tune since, apart from the irregularity of rhythm already mentioned—which appears throughout in various forms—there exists a stringent and economic use of melodic motif that is more usually the property of *piobaireachd*.

I have approached the analysis from four main points of view:
- (I) form
- (II) cadential/tension relationships
- (III) rhythmic stress-pattern
- (IV) motif (structural/rhythmic)

The formal outline is shown with the tune itself (p. 243). It will be evident that the function of section B is to provide first of all the formal contrast as antithesis to A, with an appropriate recapitulatory cadence in its repeat which lowers the tension for the rhythmic alterations that appear in A'. B' again raises the tension in the manner of B, but incorporating a final section h–j that refers only indirectly to a–b', *viz.* rhythmically and through the introduction of new figuration derived from a, β, γ', δ and ϵ.

The cadential relationships are laid out as shown (p. 244). These are essentially connected to the tension variation, *e.g.* the connection between c–d and g–f ", f ''', where the rhythmic alteration of position of the high A on the chanter creates a significant variation of tension before the cadences at the fourth and eighth bars.

The structural motivic plan (p. 245) is based on groupings of motifs; these are basically three in number, and are enunciated at the outset of the tune (a, β, γ). δ is related structurally to a', while ϵ is an integral part of a (but has been extracted here at h to indicate its relationship to the new motif ϵ'', and also to show that these motifs are fluid and inventively dovetailed).

The rhythmic pattern is laid out in tabular form (p. 244). A and B exhibit the same rhythmic structure, though the displacement of accent in A' is not reflected in B'; h and j revert in a recapitulatory way to a and b'.

THE CONUNDRUM

CADENTIAL/TENSION RELATIONSHIPS

RHYTHMIC STRESS-PATTERN

STRUCTURAL/RHYTHMIC MOTIF

The rhythmic figure ϕ and its correlative ψ contribute the assymetrical effect that puzzled the 'experts'. Nevertheless, it has been said that pipers frequently find difficulty in marching to the tune because of this displacement of rhythm.

A further, though minor, rhythmic peculiarity can be observed at c in the change to even semiquavers instead of preserving the dotted figuration.

The rhythmic and structural aspects in the use of motif are often inseparable; *cf.* the part played by γ as a structural motif as opposed to a purely rhythmic one.

The motif a'—the anacrusis at the beginning of B—is related structurally to a and δ: to the former as a tonal and rhythmic anacrusis, to the latter as a variant of the structural idea of the three-note motif incorporating the high A on the chanter. It is further an important link with the tension relationships in the contrasting 8-bar sections.

The motif γ manifests itself in rearrangements noted in γ' and γ'' and their subsequent link with δ (p. 245). An examination of these motifs reveals another important aspect, *viz.* γ' is the retrograde inversion, and γ'' the inversion (both transposed) of γ itself. Again, the cadential motif δ' is a retrograde version of δ, and the link between ϵ and ϵ' is patent. (*N.B.* It is debatable whether in fact the composer intended these inversions and retrogrades in a fully conscious way. On the other hand, three-note motifs of this kind are common in all pipe-music because of the limitations of the instrument, and the economical exploitation of them here can hardly be totally fortuitous.)

β is a structural link between a and γ, appearing in altered positions of its arpeggio character in the various sections with notable variants in h–j, where the motivic and rhythmic structure is subtly altered under the influence of the first appearance of the tonally important chanter D.

NOTES

1 The biographical information in this introduction to the analysis has been drawn from correspondence with P. R. MacLeod (Jun.), and from 'Ceòl na Pìoba (7): Pàdruig MacLeòid' le Fionnlagh MacNèill, *Gairm* Aireamh 29, Am Foghar 1959.

2 Both published in Pipe-Major Donald MacLeod's *Collection of Music for the Bagpipe* Book I, Glasgow (Mozart Allan) [n.d.].

3 Published in *Gairm* Aireamh 29, Am Foghar 1959.

4 Published in *The Seumas MacNeill Collection of Bagpipe Music* Book I, Glasgow (The College of Piping) 1960.

Book Reviews

Witchcraft is a perennially fascinating subject and interest in it is by no means always healthy. For the squeamish, accounts of witch trials and executions are both nauseating and depressing, while for the more sadistically-minded, such accounts offer endless scope. Many studies of the origins and nature of witchcraft and its related quasi-magical practices have been made, and there are various theories, both scholarly and romantic, as to its true character. Some would trace its ancestry back to Stone Age fertility cults, whereas others see true witchcraft as a phenomenon peculiar to the mediaeval era.

Dr Briggs, in her scholarly and sensitively-written book, considers some of the theories of the origins of witchcraft with caution and with critical appraisal. She is primarily concerned with the impact of witchcraft on English life and letters, and she investigates the emergence, and then the development, of witchcraft references in the writings of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and in the literature of seventeenth-century England. She discusses the probable sources of these witchcraft elements—whether they occur as a result of the growing influence of the Continental witch trials which were connected with the great witch persecution by the Church, or whether they stem from genuine folk beliefs and practices rather than from academic or ecclesiastic concepts. In her brief, but stimulating conclusion she says: 'The expression of witch beliefs in England from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, might be graphed like a temperature chart. From a steady, almost matter-of-course level of belief it rises gradually to a low peak somewhere soon after the accession of James the First, drops steadily until the Civil War and then rises to its sharpest and highest peak at about 1650. Thence it drops and rises in saw-like jags until the beginning of the 18th century, when it falls into a lysis, and goes steadily and swifty down to almost zero.'

Dr Briggs begins her study with an examination of the background of belief in witches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the subsequent witch mania which was apparently encouraged by extreme Puritan and Roman Catholic opinions. An interesting aspect of the cult was the fact that the educated as well as the ignorant believed in it. Indeed, highly learned people were sometimes regarded with suspicion and believed to possess powers of a non-natural kind. She examines the differences between black and white magic. In the writings of the period it is not easy to disentangle classical allusions to witchcraft and magic from native folk beliefs. The Elizabethans themselves were not greatly preoccupied with the fear of witchcraft, but after James I's accession, and his own personal concern with such matters, it came more

into prominence. Although, as Dr Briggs emphasises, it is very difficult to find out how much witch belief in the England of our period was founded on oral tradition and how much stemmed from classical and scriptural allusions, the witch trials themselves give us a true insight into the nature of popular belief at the time. In England, torture as such was banned, although methods were used, such as the keeping of the accused from sleep until they were almost frenzied with fatigue, which could hardly be called anything else. For evidence, the witch trials in England relied more on the accusations of neighbours, including young children, than on the evidence of the accused, and as a result, in the accusations we get to the real level of folk belief. The writings of the learned are next considered, and here we see them to have been on the whole moderate and unemotional. These are discussed in some detail, as is the poetry of witchcraft, with many attractive passages of quotation. In the drama of the Elizabethan era too, witchcraft was treated less seriously than in seventeenth-century plays. Dr Briggs points out that magicians were much more common literary characters than were witches, and again many passages are quoted in illustration. After magicians, other semi-occult figures, such as quacks and tricksters, exorcists, astrologers and pseudo-alchemists are considered in their relationship to the literature of the age. Next come devils and imps, for the Devil himself was a very real being in seventeenth-century minds, and he was frequently associated with witch orgies. Other aspects of folk belief, such as amateur magic, charms, spells and potions of every kind are dealt with, and this is followed by an interesting section on fate and fortune. The lives of the people then, as now to a certain extent, were hemmed in and stifled by superstitious practice and the belief in the inexorable nature of fate, and interpretations of dreams. There is a final chapter on the role of Robin Hood and his link with witch traditions.

The appendices are extremely useful, especially perhaps the short glossary of terms used in the writings on witchcraft and magic, and the charms and spells given in Appendix IV. There is a valuable classified bibliography which gives the reader an idea of the range and nature of Dr Briggs researches into her subject.

Altogether, it is a book on a subject which is in itself endlessly fascinating, written in a calm and objective fashion, with charming illustrations and many exerpts from the literature under consideration, and it provides pleasurable and stimulating reading for both layman and specialist alike.

<div style="text-align: right">ANNE ROSS</div>

Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition by Anne Ross. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1967. xxxiv + 434 pp. 10 maps, 96 plates. £6 6s.

Dr Ross's long-awaited book, the scope and calibre of which was foreshadowed by the various detailed studies which she has produced in the last decade, marks a turning-

point not only in this specific branch of Celtic research but in related aspects of Iron Age and Romano-Celtic archaeology. The book itself, like Janus, has two faces, and like the Janiform figures which the author interprets and illustrates in passing, these faces have been most skilfully addorsed. Excluding the diffuse, if valuable, comments by contemporary Classical authors, comments inevitably proceeding from an external viewpoint, our information about what may loosely be called 'Celtic pagan religion' is derived from two bodies of data. One is the corpus of surviving portrayals (normally in stone) of deities and semi-deities, with or without cult attributes; the other is the mass of references (normally oblique and gnomic) embedded in the oldest strata of Celtic literature, much Celtic poetry of the 'middle' period, and (so Dr Ross claims) even, marginally, in current or nineteenth-century popular belief and legend.

There is, of course, no shortage of books purporting to describe the beliefs and religious practices of the pagan Celtic-speaking peoples, both of these islands and of the Continent. It would be invidious to specify examples, but this is a genre which shows no signs of decay, and is well-represented in the last two decades. The difference between these books, and Dr Ross's, is fundamental. The commonest source for the 'popular' work seems to be pre-extant writing on the same broad topic, though gleanings from the (now often very extensive) runs of such periodicals as *Folklore*, and to a minor extent information derived orally in the field, are also used. Such works are often, at best, useful syntheses of existing views (errors and all); at worst, they tremble on the fringes of lunacy. They probably bear no more relation to the past as it really was than did the equally numerous accounts of (say) the complex social organisations of the Australian aboriginal tribes compiled by rangers and missionaries in the late Victorian era.

Dr Ross's strength lies in her power of associative thought, her prodigious memory, and the unique combination of talents which she has brought to bear on her work. The approach to the Celtic literary and popular sources is linguistic, not romantic, the outcome of a first-class Honours degree in the appropriate languages and of many seasons of field-collection in the vernacular. The treatment of the tangible remains of Celtic belief, some in Roman contexts, some in native ones, is based on years of patient, painstaking, often frustrating field-work, where bad weather, the absence of adequate photographic light, and the unrecorded removal (or loss) of individual sculptures can easily deter. The worn or eroded condition of so many sculptured pieces makes personal inspection, sometimes re-inspection, essential; and the whole corpus of contemporary European thinking on the archaeology and origins of the Celtic-speaking peoples, a rapidly-changing subject, must at the same time be not only followed but mastered.

Viewed simply as a great descriptive catalogue, Dr Ross's achievement would command our admiration and our gratitude. Despite constant exhortations and resolutions to produce such, British archaeology is not all that well served when it comes to illustrated corpora of prehistoric or later documents, and (by comparison with our European colleagues) this is notably true of the Iron Age and later periods. But *Pagan*

Celtic Britain goes much further. The author's approach is to some extent taxonomic. Having introduced the topic of sanctuaries, temples, and cult-sites (chapter I), she is able, with some justification, to split the portrayals, actual and literary, of religious beings and cult-objects up into six main classes (the cult of the head, horned gods, warrior gods, goddesses, birds, and animals), to each of which a chapter is devoted; and within each class, to list the partly-overlapping varieties and derivatives. A final chapter, for which Romanists will be peculiarly grateful, analyses the plethora of native cults in North Britain, particularly those which seemed to have flourished in the shadow of Hadrian's Wall, with its kaleidoscopic and polyglot population of natives, legionaries, auxiliaries, traders, and invaders, its remote hinterlands, and its dramatic history.

In describing the various sculptured stelae, heads, figured panels, and minor metal-work—and these range, as the numerous plates show, from the mundane and derivative right up to some magnificent pieces of stark power and terrifying understatement— Dr Ross adduces, from a very wide range of (mostly Old and Middle Irish) sources, passages which describe similarly attributed heads, figures, juxtaposed objects, and even partly narrative scenes. This is a device which, from imperfect sampling and much mis-handling, has tended in the past to arouse suspicion, archaeologists being most reluctant to accept such links as anything but fortuitous. The sheer weight of the author's evidence, the cumulative effect of these extraordinary and sometimes quite night-mareish extracts (they read like Jungian or psychedelic writings), coupled with—might one add?—the reader's confidence in Dr Ross's ability to translate afresh from these sources, must forever still uninformed criticism on this score. Modestly described (p. 5) as 'a suggested method of approach, not a final statement, on a much-falsified aspect of life in a limited area of barbarian Europe', the author's work appears to lead her, and us, to the conclusion that the 'religion' of the pagan Celtic-speaking peoples was a state of mind, a bundle of (to us) not-quite-comprehensible attitudes to a world in which the real and the potential were never wholly distinguished.

Two strong after-impressions remain, at any rate with this reader. The first is the concept, reinforceable from kindred lines of research but all too often overlooked, that the Celtic-speaking peoples were already old when they reached Britain—old linguistic-ally, old in their social structure, old in their beliefs—and that, as Henri Hubert with Gallic detachment long since stressed, the story of Celtic Britain is that of the Decline, not of the Rise, or of the Greatness, of the Celts. Dr Ross deals, and she is probably the only scholar qualified to do so, with the religious beliefs of the Celts from a late baroque stage onwards and downwards into their inevitable confusion and decline. Centuries of dark and turgid practice, its rationale wholly forgotten, must underlie the iconography she depicts. The second thought is that her book forms yet another timely reminder, to the very wide public who seem to be interested in anything Celtic, that Celtic art, in the legitimate meaning of this term, has nothing to do with the Iona High Crosses, the Book of Kells, the tartan epidemic, war memorials, or those horrible little pattern-books which still trickle out from Glasgow. It is an art as powerful as that

of the great sullen monoliths of Easter Island, of pre-dynastic Egypt, of early Etruria, of the Eskimos; and here, with the authority which springs from years of purposeful study and grinding hard work, its most important manifestation is given a proper significance.

CHARLES THOMAS

ROBERT KERR

(1889–1967)

Robert Kerr, Honorary Research Fellow at the School of Scottish Studies, who died on 4th December 1967, will be remembered at the School with particular gratitude and affection.

In 1933, while Keeper of the Royal Scottish Museum's Department of Art and Ethnology, Kerr helped to found the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society and, as its Honorary Secretary for two decades, sustained it by his enthusiasm and energy.

Retiring from official duties in 1954, he offered his services as an indexer in an entirely voluntary capacity to the School of Scottish Studies, then recently-established in his old university. (Kerr had graduated with first-class honours in Classics, and for many years commanded the Infantry Unit of the University O.T.C.)

There followed many busy and happy years. Unfailing each morning at nine o'clock he was at his desk in the School's library; while his afternoons were regularly spent working, as Honorary Curator, on the coin collections in the National Museum of Antiquities. Thus he continued a full day's work right up to his last illness. No one sought his help in vain, and he was respected and loved by all of us who had the good fortune to work with him. Above all else the development of the School's Central Card-Index, for which he accepted responsibility as co-ordinator and one of the principal contributors, testifies to his competence and zeal.

Another side of his character has been aptly described by a former colleague: 'A man of kindly and modest demeanour, he could exercise a penetrating wit, free from malice, whenever the occasion called for it, usually supported by an appropriate quotation from the classics.'

In paying tribute to the memory of this generous man, it is fitting to remember his wife and two sons who survive him.

B. R. S. MEGAW

Scottish Studies in 1966

An Annual Bibliography

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

Local and Social History

ABERTAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Aspects of Antiquity*: a miscellany by members of the Archaeological Section of the Abertay Historical Society; collected by Elise M. Wilson. Dundee, Abertay Historical Society, 1966.

ANDREW, K. M. 'Jet-Age Village.' *The Scots Magazine* (January 1966) 353–8.
[Monkton, Ayrshire.]
'The Grey Castle.' *Scottish Field* 113 (March 1966) 32–34.
[Suilven.]
'Land of Lochs.' *Scottish Field* 113 (August 1966) 40–43.
[Western Inverness-shire.]
'Jura.' *Scottish Field* 113 (December 1966) 57–59.

ANDREWS, KEITH. 'A Sheet of Early Wilkie Sketches.' *The Scottish Art Review* 10, No. 3 (1966) 6–9.
'A Preliminary Study for Wilkie's "Pitlessie Fair".' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 177–8.

ANON. 'Crathes Castle.' *Scottish Field* 113 (November 1966) 36–39.

ATKINSON, R. R. 'The Rise and Fall of Douglastown.' *The Scots Magazine* (July 1966) 340–4.

BANKS, GEORGE. 'Over the Ord.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (December 1966) 19–23.
[The Sinclairs.]

BARCLAY, ROBERT S. 'Population Statistics.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 45–52.

BARRON, HUGH. 'Notes on the Ness Valley.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–63) 43 (1966) 150–71.

BARTON, JOHN M. 'Some Monuments in Badenoch.' *Creag Dhubh* 3, No. 2 (1966) 89–91.

BELL, L. J. A. 'Newhaven still holds on.' *The Scots Magazine* (December 1966) 272–82.

BROWN, HAMISH M. 'Rum—Isle of Surprises.' *The Scots Magazine* (November 1966) 164–72.

CAMERON, DONALD. *The Field of Sighing: a Highland Boyhood*. London, Longmans, 1966.

COOK, ROGER. 'Jedburgh—a town with a past and a future.' *Scottish Field* 113 (February 1966) 41–45.

COULL, JAMES R. 'Population Trends and Structures on the Island of Westray, Orkney.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 69–77.
'The Economic Development of the Island of Westray, Orkney.' *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 82 (1966) 154–68.

CROSBIE, GEORGE. 'Neidpath to Tweedsmuir.' *Scottish Field* 113 (February 1966) 50–52.

CUTT, WILLIAM T. 'The Orcadian in Canada.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 63–69.

DONALDSON, GORDON. *The Scots Overseas*. London, Robert Hale, 1966.
Northwards by Sea. Edinburgh 1966.
[Northern Isles shipping services.]

DORWARD, GEORGE. 'History of the Local Police. Part I—(Up to 1850).' *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society* (1965) 27–47.

ELDER, MADGE. 'The Good Folk of Lauder.' *The Scots Magazine* (August 1966) 447–56.

ENGLISH, RONALD. 'Colonsay.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (March 1966) 51–4.

FLEMING, MAURICE. 'In Search of South Uist.' *The Scots Magazine* (February 1966) 441–53; (March 1966) 544–54; (April 1966) 43–52.

FRASER, FIONA THORBURN. 'A Renfrew Jewel.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (November 1966) 42–45.
[Memories of Eaglesham.]

GIBSON, COLIN. 'The Lomonds.' *The Scots Magazine* (May 1966) 102–10.

GILLANDERS, FARQUHAR. 'The West Highland Economy.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–3) 43 (1966) 250–75.

GORDON, SETON. 'Men of Mull.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (August 1966) 8–13.
[Clan Maclean.]

GRAHAM, ANGUS. 'Cove Harbour.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1963–4) 97 (1966) 212–25.
[On Berwickshire coast.]

GRANT, DONALD. *Old Thurso*. Caithness Notebook No. 4. Thurso, Caithness Books, 1966.

HADDOW, T. M. 'Gourock.' *Scottish Field* 113 (July 1966) 20–23.

HENDERSON, I. A. N. 'Lockerbie Life.' *The Scots Magazine* (June 1966) 226–33.

HENDERSON-HOWAT, A. M. D. 'Castle in Clydesdale.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (September 1966) 48–49.
[Craignethan.]
'Dalkeith Tolbooth.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (December 1966) 42.

HENDRIE, WILLIAM F. 'In the Bathgate Hills.' *The Scots Magazine* (January 1966) 320–7.
'The Moss Lairds of Blairdrummond.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (December 1966) 34.
'From Celts to Covenanters.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (October 1966) 16.
[Kinneil Parish Church.]
'Scotland's Little Holland.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (April 1966) 41–43.
[Grangemouth.]

HEWISON, W. S. 'Twentieth-Century Orkney.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 38–44.

HILLSON, DICK. 'Fochabers.' *Scottish Field* 113 (October 1966) 30–35.

R

HORN, BARBARA L. H. (Editor). *Letters of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre 1799–1812.* Scottish History Society, Fourth Series, **3**. Edinburgh 1966.

HORN, D. B. 'The Origins of Mountaineering in Scotland.' *The Scottish Mountaineering Club Journal* **28** (May 1966) 157–73.

HORN, D. P. 'The Roads of Moidart.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (July 1966) 32–35.

HULBERT, JOHN. 'The Island of Lighthouses.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (December 1966) 13–15.
[Isle of May.]

HUME, J. R. and BUTT, J. 'Muirkirk 1786–1802. The creation of a Scottish industrial community.' *The Scottish Historical Review* **45**, No. 2 (October 1966) 160–83.

HUTCHISON, HARRY. 'Kilwinning.' *Scottish Field* **113** (May 1966) 44–47.

JARDINE, W. G. 'Landscape Evolution in Galloway.' *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series, **43** (1966) 1–13.

KEIR, DAVID (Editor). *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The City of Edinburgh.* Glasgow, Collins, 1966.

KINLOCH, ROBERT. 'Leadhills Library 1741–1966.' *The Scots Magazine* (May 1966) 125–6.

KNIGHT, ISOBEL. 'Newport & Tayport.' *Scottish Field* **113** (August 1966) 28–30.

'Muthill.' *Scottish Field* **113** (November 1966) 42–45.

LAMBIE, ALISON. 'Benderloch.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (May 1966) 36–39.

LITTLE, G. ALLAN. 'A Monastery in the Kail Glen.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (April 1966) 51–53.
[Pluscarden Priory, Morayshire.]

LOGAN, ROBERT ARCHIBALD. 'Highlanders from Skye, in North Carolina and in Nova Scotia: 1771–1818.' *The Scottish Genealogist* **12**, No. 4 (February 1966) 92–108.

MACDONALD, REV. ARCHIBALD. 'Old Highland Records: A Miscellany of.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–63) **43** (1966) 1–10.

MACDONALD, D. MACDONELL. 'Argyll—the Campbell's Kingdom.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (February 1966) 19–25.

'Macdonell's Road to the West.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (March 1966) 19–23.

'Skye—an Island Kingdom.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (May 1966) 19–23.
[Macdonald of Sleat.]

MCDOUGALL, D. R. J. 'Aviemore: the golden village.' *Scottish Field* **113** (January 1966) 18–20.

MACKAY, DONALD. *This was my glen.* Caithness Notebooks No. 2. Thurso, John Humphries, 1966.

MACKAY, JOHN. 'Dunning.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (March 1966) 11–13.
[Parish and village in Perthshire.]

'East Lothian's Innards.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (May 1966) 42–45.

MACKAY, JOHN. 'The First Settlers.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 1–7.

MCLAREN, MORAY. 'Leith.' *Scottish Field* 113 (April 1966) 38–43.

'Royal Mile Resurrected.' *Scottish Field* 113 (September 1966) 32–37.

MACLEAN, J. 'MacLeans in Holland and Flanders.' *The Scottish Genealogist* 13, No. 1 (August 1966) 21–22.

MACNAB, P. A. 'Old King Cole.' *Scottish Field* 113 (January 1966) 53.
[Cole's Stone, near Tarbolton in Kyle.]

'Through "the Wilderness" to Macculloch's Tree.' *The Scots Magazine* (March 1966) 511–18.
[Ardmeanach, Isle of Mull.]

MACPHERSON, A. FRASER. 'Further Gleanings from the Forfeited Estate Papers.' *Creag Dhubh* 3, No. 2 (1966) 77–87.
[Papers relative to Cluny.]

MACPHERSON, ALAN G. 'An Old Highland Genealogy and the Evolution of a Scottish Clan.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 1–43.

MACPHERSON, Lt. Colonel ALEXANDER KILGOUR. 'Sliochd Iain—The Macphersons of Pitmain.' *Creag Dhubh* 3, No. 2 (1966) 73–77.

MCSHANE, JOHN. 'The Subway.' *Scottish Field* 113 (December 1966) 27–29.
[Glasgow underground railway.]

MARTIN, COLIN. 'Wallace's Guerilla Forest.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (August 1966) 34–36.
[Ettrick Forest.]

'Around Criffell.' *Border Life* 1, No. 3 (December 1966) 33–34.

MARWICK, ERNEST W. 'Age of Stagnation.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 24–30.

'The Beginnings of Modern Orkney.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 31–37.

MEGAW, B. R. S. 'The Topography of "Pitlessie Fair".' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 178–80.

MILLER, RONALD. 'Place and People.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 79–89.

MOFFAT, ROBERT. 'A Famous Old Border Family.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (October 1966) 19–21.
[The Eliotts.]

MOISLEY, H. A. 'The Deserted Hebrides.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 44–68.

MOONEY, HARALD L. 'Norse Invasion and Rule.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 8–16.

MORRISON, ALICK. 'The Contullich Papers.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–3) 43 (1966) 197–218.

MUNRO, JEAN. 'Strathglass, Home of the Chisholms.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (January 1966) 20–23.

'The Mackenzie Country.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (November 1966) 19–23.

MUNRO, R. W. 'Some Hebridean Hosts (The Men behind the Travellers' Tales).' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–3) 43 (1966) 219–49.

MURPHIE, WILLIAM. 'Lethanhill—A Deserted Village.' *The Scots Magazine* (September 1966) 525–31.
[Near Patna, Ayrshire.]

MURRAY, D. C. 'Notes on the Parish of Duthil.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–3) 43 (1966) 24–45.

MURRAY, GEORGE; APTED, M. R.; and HODKINSON, IAN. 'Prestongrange and its Painted Ceiling.' *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society* 10 (1966) 92–133.

MURRAY, WILLIAM HUTCHINSON. *The Hebrides.* London, Heinemann, 1966.

NEWALL, FRANK. *Excavation of prehistoric and mediaeval homesteads at Knapps, Renfrewshire.* Paisley, Museum and Art Galleries, 1966.

PATERSON, L. S. 'Rothiemurchus.' *Scottish Field* 113 (January 1966) 21–22.
'Loch Leven.' *Scottish Field* 113 (March 1966) 19–23.

PATTERSON, ANDREW. 'Tollcross to Morningside in the Olden Days.' *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 32 (1966) 189–217.

PITCAIRN, LAWRIE. 'Profile of Dumfries.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (September 1966) 43–45.

PREBBLE, JOHN. *Glencoe: The Story of the Massacre.* London, Secker & Warburg, 1966.

PREVOST, W. A. J. 'Moffat Spa in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.' *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series, 43 (1966) 137–46.

PURDIE, JOHN. 'The East Neuk of Fife.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (June 1966) 11–15.

PURVES, G. D. 'A Religious Corner of Scotland.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (August 1966) 17–19.
[Coldingham Priory.]

PYE, ROGER F. 'Clan MacThomas. I.—The Ancient Chiefs.' *The Scottish Genealogist* 12, No. 4 (February 1966) 87–91.

ROBERTSON, KENNETH. 'The Macneil Stronghold.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (July 1966) 19–23.
[Clan Macneil.]

ROSE, IAN. 'The Sailors' Kirk.' *The Scots Magazine* (May 1966) 127–31.
[The Old West Church, Greenock.]

S., H. D. 'Burra Isle Before the Bridge.' *The New Shetlander* 76 (Spring 1966) 31–33.

SCOTT, JACK GILLESPIE. *South-West Scotland.* London, Cory, Adams & Mackay, 1966.

SCOTT, MARY A. 'Return to Scotland.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 17–23.

SCOTT, R. E. 'Hawick.' *Border Life* I, No. 2 (November 1966) 47–48.

SHEARER, JOHN; GROUNDWATER, W.; and MACKAY, J. D. (Editors). *The New Orkney Book.* London, Nelson, 1966.

SILL, RONNIE. 'Alexander Sturrock—The Shetland Pirate. II.' *The New Shetlander* 76 (Spring 1966) 7–9; III. 77 (Summer 1966) 26–28; IV. 78 (Autumn 1966) 6–8.

SIMPSON, W. DOUGLAS. 'St. Magnus Cathedral.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 70–78.

SKINNER, BASIL. *Scottish History in Perspective: A Companion to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*. Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1966.

'Skirling Fair and the Painter James Howe.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 112–14.

SMALL, ALAN. 'The Villages of the Howe of the Mearns.' *Folk Life* 4 (1966) 22–29.

SMITH, IAIN CRICHTON. 'Under MacCaig's Tower.' *The Scots Magazine* (September 1966) 541–50.
[Oban, Argyllshire.]

SPENCE, JOHN. 'Life and Work in Moorland Orcadia in Days of Old.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 163–6.

STEEDS, JUNE. 'The High School of Dundee.' *Scottish Field* 113 (March 1966) 42–45.

STEVEN, CAMPBELL R. 'Corners of Loch Lomondside.' *Scottish Field* 113 (February 1966) 24–25.

'The Great Glen.' *Scottish Field* 113 (May 1966) 24–27.

'Two burghs of Galloway.' *Scottish Field* 113 (September 1966) 38–41.
[Newton Stewart and Wigtown.]

'Glen Fruin.' *Scottish Field* 113 (October 1966) 52–54.

STROMIER, GEORGE. 'The vagaries of Princes Pier' [Greenock]. *Scottish Field* 113 (February 1966) 33–34.

'Craigendoran Centenary.' *Scottish Field* 113 (May 1966) 62–63.

THOMSON, DERICK S. 'The Macmhuirich Bardic Family.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–3) 43 (1966) 276–304.

TOWILL, EDWINS. 'An Old Edinburgh Landscape.' *The Scots Magazine* (January 1966) 340–3.
[A painting by James Ogilvy.]

TRAIN, VERA. 'The Gordons of Gight.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (April 1966) 54–55.

TRANTER, NIGEL. 'The Bass.' *The Scots Magazine* (March 1966) 523–31.
[The Bass Rock in the Firth of Forth.]

'Gullane, Gillan or Goolan?' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (March 1966) 42–45.
[Gullane in East Lothian.]

'Peebles.' *Border Life* 1, No. 1 (October 1966) 25–26.

WALKER, FRANK. 'The Feuding Mackays.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (April 1966) 19–23.
'The Flannans 1900.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (December 1966) 24–26.

WEBSTER, COMYN. 'Tain.' *Scottish Field* 113 (June 1966) 26–29.

WEIR, TOM. 'Charlie Passed This Way.' *The Scots Magazine* (July 1966) 346–57; (August 1966) 461–70; (September 1966) 567–78.
'A Lodge in the Wilderness.' *The Scots Magazine* (October 1966) 2–10.
[Prince Charlie's hide-outs.]

'150 years in the Highlands.' *Scottish Field* 113 (June 1966) 10–13.

'The Canal that nearly missed the Boat.' *Scottish Field* 113 (November 1966) 30–35.
[Caledonian Canal.]

WHEELER, P. T. 'Landownership and the Crofting System in Sutherland since 1800.' *The Agricultural History Review* **14**, Part 1 (1966) 45–56.

WHYTE, DONALD. 'Scottish Stone-Masons in Texas.' *The Scottish Genealogist* **13**, No. 2 (October 1966) 4–6.

WOOD, GEORGE O. and SCOTT, FRANK T. 'Report to the Hawick Archaeological Society of the Excavation at Crumhaugh Tower, by the Society's Field Section 1962–1965.' *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society* (1965) 3–26.
[Medieval type farmstead.]

WOOD, JAMES. 'Sons of Thane.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (June 1966) 19–23.
[Clan Mackintosh.]

'Speyside People.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (September 1966) 19–23.
[Clan Grant.]

YOUNG, DOROTHY. 'Caroline Park.' *Scottish Field* **113** (April 1966) 70–71.

Occupations and Crafts

BAMFORD, FRANCIS. 'Some Edinburgh Furniture-Makers.' *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* **32** (1966) 32–53.

BRISTER, CHARLES. 'If it floats, we'll build it.' *The Scots Magazine* (July 1966) 327–34.
[Boat-building at St Monance.]

'Pliant Cane and Nimble Fingers.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (March 1966) 32–33.
[Basketmaking.]

'The Old Name.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (September 1966) 37–39.
['Cleekmakers' in St Andrews.]

CHRISTIE, WILLIAM. 'A Fisherman's Diary.' *The Scots Magazine* (February 1966) 483–8.
[Robert Lees, Stonehaven, 1809–1831.]

COULL, JAMES R. 'The Mobile Scottish Fisherman.' *The Aberdeen University Review* **41**, No. 3 (Spring) 175–8.

HENDRIE, WILLIAM F. 'King James Nationalised Scotland's Silver Mine.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (January 1966) 36–37.
[Mine at Hilderston, West Lothian.]

'Three of the Best.' *The Scots Magazine* (April 1966) 62–65.
[Tawse-making.]

HENDRY, BROWNLIE. 'Charles Macintosh 1766–1834.' *Scottish Field* **113** (December 1966) 61.
[Inventor of waterproof fabrics, etc.]

IRWIN, FRANCINA. 'Prelude to the Paisley Shawl.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (February 1966) 44–47.

LUCAS, JOHN. 'Scotland for Craftsmen.' *Scottish Field* **113** (September 1966) 29–31.

MARTIN, COLIN. 'A Border Bowmaker.' *The Scots Magazine* (February 1966) 471–5.

MORRISON, OONAGH. 'Dunmore—an old Pottery in the Carse of Stirling.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (August 1966) 42–43.

PAUL, W. PRATT. 'Ghost Ships of the Isles.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (July 1966) 36–39.
[The 'puffers'.]

PHILLIPS, D. 'Last of the Leerics.' *The Scots Magazine* (March 1966) 519–22.
[Lamplighters.]

Material Culture

ANDERSON, CECILY and GORDON. 'The Old Tannery.' *The Aberdeen University Review* **41**, No. 3 (Spring 1966) 161–73.

APTED, M. R. *The Painted Ceilings of Scotland 1550–1650.* Edinburgh, H.M.S.O., 1966.

BUIST, J. S. 'Last of the "Fifies".' *The Scots Magazine* (May 1966) 158–63.
[The ferry service between Dundee and Fife.]

DONNACHY, IAN L. 'Water and Wind.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (May 1966) 47–49.
[Mills.]

FENTON, ALEXANDER. 'Hand Tools in Agriculture.' In: *Traditional Tools and Equipment* (Ed. J. Geraint Jenkins). Museum Assistants' Group, Transactions No. 5 (September 1965) 15–24.
[Mainly Scottish references.]
'The Begbie Farm Account Book 1729–70.' *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society* **10** (1966) 22–54.
[Includes transcript of Account Book.]
'Material Culture as an aid to local history studies in Scotland.' *Journal of the Folklore Institute* **2** (1965) 326–39.

FENWICK, HUBERT. 'From Pele to Palace.' *The Scots Magazine* (June 1966) 266–71.

FERGUS, DAVID. 'Windmills Turning in My Dreams.' *The Scots Magazine* (March 1966) 577–84.

FIRTH, JOHN. 'The Dwelling House.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 157–9.
[Reprint of excerpt from *Reminiscences of an Orkney Parish.*]

GRAHAM, ANGUS. 'The Deil's Dander.' *Folk Life* **4** (1966) 84–85.
[Inside of kiln?]

JESPERSEN, ANDERS. 'Watermills on the River Eden.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1963–4) **97** (1966) 237–44.

MEGAW, B. R. S. 'Women Coal-Bearers in a Midlothian Mine (A Contemporary Drawing of 1786).' *Scottish Studies* **10** (1966) 87–89.

MEGAW, J. V. S. ' "Evening in a Scots Cottage"—a note on the stock-and-horn.' *Scottish Studies* **10** (1966) 114–16.

MONTEATH, PAUL. 'The Old Scotch Plough.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (October 1966) 34.

PUDNEY, JOHN. 'The Skye Folk Museum.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (May 1966) 30–31.

RAE, JANET K. 'Museum of Childhood.' *Scottish Field* **113** (July 1966) 18–19.

RYDER, M. L. 'A Note on Sheep-Shearing Stools.' *Folk Life* **4** (1966) 15–21.
[Contains Scottish references.]
'Some Eighteenth-Century Shetland Wool.' *Scottish Studies* **10** (1966) 190–3.

SKINNER, BASIL. 'The Heugh Mills at Dunfermline.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 188–90.

STROMIER, GEORGE. 'Steamers of the Clyde.' *Scottish Field* 113 (February 1966) 35; (March 1966) 24; (April 1966) 68; (May 1966) 68; (June 1966) 40; (July 1966) 60; (August 1966) 59; (September 1966) 60; (October 1966) 64; (November 1966) 76; (December 1966) 44.

STUART, SHEILA. 'Small antiques.' *Scottish Field* 113 (January 1966) 49.

WEIR, TOM. 'The bloomery of Bonawe.' *Scottish Field* 113 (October 1966) 42–45.

WHYTE, JOY SCOTT. 'Scottish Silver Teaspoons.' *The Scottish Art Review* 10, No. 4 (1966) 8–13, 29–30.

WILLIAMS, JAMES. 'A Sample of Bog Butter from Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire.' *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series, 43 (1966) 153–4.

Costume

DUNCAN, MARTHA. 'Canadian Provincial Tartans.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (January 1966) 16.

GRANGE, R. M. D. *A Short History of the Scottish Dress*. London, Burke's Peerage Ltd., 1966.

Custom and Belief

DOMHNALLACH, TORMOD. 'Na Buidsichean.' [The Witches.] *Gairm* 55 (Summer 1966) 203–9; 56 (Autumn 1966) 350–6.
'Manaidhean.' [Omens.] *Gairm* 57 (Winter 1966) 88–90.

HAYNES, DOROTHY K. 'Up Wi the Souters.' *The Scots Magazine* (September 1966) 506–15. [The Selkirk Common Riding.]

HOLE, CHRISTINA. *Saints in Folklore*. London, Bell, 1966.

HONEYMAN, A. M. 'Midwifery in Dundee.' *Folklore* 77 (1966) 132.

JAMIESON, K. B. 'Wood-Sense and Myth.' *An Gaidheal* 61, No. 1 (January 1966) 9–10; No. 3 (March 1966) 33–35.
'Lugh's Blood-Fire.' *An Gaidheal* 61, No. 8 (August 1966) 94–95.
'Scotland's Brycheiniog.' *An Gaidheal* 61, No. 11 (November 1966) 127–8.

LOCKWOOD, W. B. 'Noa Terms of the Gaelic Fishermen.' *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 11, Part 1 (December 1966) 85–99.
[Taboo words.]

LOUDON, JOHN. 'Old Street Games.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (March 1966) 27–29.

MACDONELL, A. and MCROBERTS, D. 'The Mass Stones of Lochaber.' *The Innes Review* 17 (1966) 71–81.

MACDONALD, D. MACDONELL. 'The Holy Pool.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (November 1966) 11–13.

MCHALE, JOHN. 'Gatherings and Games.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (September 1966) 9–11.

SWIRE, OTTA F. 'The Wisdom of the Highlander.' *The Scots Magazine* (June 1966) 214–21. [Highland proverbs.]

Tales and Local Stories

BRUFORD, ALAN. 'Two More Stories from Atholl.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 162–70.

CAMPBELL, J. L. 'Angus MacLellan M.B.E. ("Aonghus Beag") 1869–1966.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 193–7.
[Obituary of storyteller.]

DRAWBELL, JAMES. 'Who can explain these things?' *The Scots Magazine* (April 1966) 56–61.
[Second sight, etc.]

E., L. D. 'Strong Man of Yell.' *The New Shetlander* 77 (Summer 1966) 33.

HENDERSON, HAMISH. 'The Humph at the Fuit o' the Glen and the Humph at the Heid o' the Glen.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 89–92.

'The Soldier's Bible.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 180–2.

IRVINE, FRED. 'Shetland Fables.' *The New Shetlander* 78 (Autumn 1966) 12–13.

MACDONALD, DONALD A. 'Riobaidh agus Robaidh agus Brionnaidh.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 92–104.

'An Taillear agus a Bhean (The Tailor and the Wife).' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 182–7.

MACINNES, JOHN. 'MacMhuirich and The Old Woman from Harris.' *Scottish Studies* 10 (1966) 104–8.

MACKELLAIG, NEIL. 'A John Paul Jones Tradition in the Hebrides.' *The Innes Review* 17 (1966) 185–6.

MORAY, ANN. *A fair stream of silver: love tales from Celtic lore.* London, Longmans, 1966.

PICARD, BARBARA LEONIE. *Hero tales from the British Isles.* Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1966.

SWIRE, OTTA. *The Outer Hebrides and their legends.* Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1966.

Traditional Song and Music

CAMPBELL, C. 'Let us praise the Laird.' *Scotland's Magazine* 62 (June 1966) 16.

COLLINSON, FRANCIS. *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland.* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.

DUNCAN, P. S. 'James Bruce Duncan (1848–1917).' *Folk Music Journal* (1966) 65–91.

EISENSTADT, MAURICE. 'The Bagpipe Scale.' *Piping Times* 18, No. 12 (1966) 6–19.

FOWLER, DAVID C. ' "The Hunting of the Cheviot" and "The Battle of Otterburn".' *Western Folklore* 25 (1966) 165–71.

HARRIS, CYRIL M.; EISENSTADT, MAURICE; and WEISS, MARK R. 'Sounds of the Highland Bagpipe.' *Piping Times* 18, No. 8 (1966) 8–13.

HENDREN, J. W. *A Study of Ballad Rhythm, with special reference to Ballad Music.* New York, Gordian Press, 1966.
[Reprint of Princeton Studies in English No. 14, 1936.]

HENDRY, BROWNLIE. 'Lady Nairne.' *Scottish Field* 113 (August 1966) 44.

LINDSAY, JAMES P. 'Invermark College of Piping 1965.' *Piping Times* 18, No. 5 (1966) 10–11.

MACDONALD, MAIRI A. 'A Remarkable Family Tree.' *The Scots Magazine* (February 1966) 430–40.
[MacLennans, pipers and dancers.]

'The Mod.' *The Scots Magazine* (October 1966) 21–28.
[History of the Mod.]

MACINNES, JOHN. 'Gaelic Songs of Mary Macleod.' *Scottish Gaelic Studies* **11**, Part 1 (1966) 3–25.

MACIVER, J. 'Remarks on Titles of Ceol Mor Tunes from the Campbell Canntaireachd Collection.' *Piping Times* **19**, No. 2 (November 1966) 7–11; No. 3 (December 1966) 6–8.

MACLELLAN, JOHN A. 'Angus MacKay of Raasay.' *Piping Times* **18**, No. 6 (1966) 10–14.
[Nineteenth-century piper.]

MCNEILL, ALASTAIR. 'The Mod.' *Scottish Field* **113** (November 1966) 92–93.
[Inverness Mod 1966.]

MONTGOMERIE, WILLIAM. 'A Bibliography of the Scottish Ballad Manuscripts 1730–1825.' *Studies in Scottish Literature* **4**, No. 1 (July 1966) 3–28; No. 2 (October 1966) 79–88.

RITCHIE, JAMES T. R. 'Troubadours of the Terracing.' *The Scots Magazine* (March 1966) 566–72.
[Football songs.]

SCOTT, JAMES E. 'The MacCrimmons, the Story of a Piping Family.' *Piping Times* **19**, No. 2 (November 1966) 21–23; No. 3 (December 1966) 21–23.

WILGUS, D. K. 'The Oldest (?) Text of "Edward".' *Western Folklore* **25** (1966) 77–92.

Names

BLAKE, JOHN L. 'Distribution of Surnames in the Isle of Lewis.' *Scottish Studies* **10** (1966) 154–61.

CHISHOLM, S. L. 'The Chisholm Surname in the U.S.A.' *Clan Chisholm Journal* **9** (1966) 5–6.

LOUDON, JOHN. 'Trails (and Trials) of a local Etymologist.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (September 1966) 46.

MUNRO, HETTY. 'Place Names of Caithness and their Probable Derivation.' *An Gaidheal* **61**, No. 7 (July 1966) 77; No. 8 (August 1966) 89; No. 12 (December 1966) 143.

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H. 'Scottish Water-Courses as Boundaries.' *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences* (Amsterdam 1963) 327–33. The Hague, 1966.

'[Notes on] Scottish Place-Names 26. Blackadder and Whiteadder.' *Scottish Studies* **10** (1966) 78–87.

'Notes on Scottish Place-Names 27. Thurso.' *Scottish Studies* **10** (1966) 171–6.

'The Story Behind the Name.' *The Scots Magazine* (January 1966) 338–9; (February 1966) 423; (March 1966) 543; (April 1966) 27; (May 1966) 147; (June 1666) 282; (July 1966) 335; (August 1966) 460; (September 1966) 584; (October 1966) 94; (November 1966) 163; (December 1966) 258–9.

TAYLOR, A. B. 'The Place Names of Orkney.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 53–57.
'Personal Names in Orkney.' In: *The New Orkney Book* (London 1966) 58–62.

TRANTER, NIGEL. 'Fothrif—a Quest.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (December 1966) 37–41.

Miscellaneous

AITCHISON, JAMES. 'Pre-Glasgow Days.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (June 1966) 30–32.
[Life of David Dale, or 'Bailie Nicol Jarvie'.]
'Bruce's Leprosy.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (November 1966) 30–31.

BARRON, R. 'Some Unrecorded Words and Meanings in the Gaelic of Badenoch.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–3) **43** (1966) 11–23.

BEECHAM, A. H. 'List of Books and Articles on Agrarian History issued since September 1964.' *The Agricultural History Review* **14**, Part 1 (1966) 57–64.
[Includes Scottish references.]

BEVAN, BRYAN. 'James VI.' *Scottish Field* **113** (June 1966) 52.

CAMPBELL, CHARLES. 'The Battle of Rullion Green.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (November 1966) 14–15.

CAMPBELL, C. M. 'A Gallimaufry of Scots Humour.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (December 1966) 32–33.

COUPAR, ALEX. 'Hello, Skerryvore. . . .' *The Scots Magazine* (May 1966) 148–52.
[Skerryvore Lighthouse.]

DE BÚRCA, SEÁN. 'On the Origin and Language of the Goidels.' *Studia Celtica* **I** (1966) 128–37.

DICKINS, BRUCE. 'An Orkney Scholar: Hugh Marwick 1881–1965.' *Saga-Book* **17**, Part 1 (1966) 1–17.

DRAWBELL, JAMES. 'Angry Young Man.' *The Scots Magazine* (February 1966) 410–16.
[Robert Burns, the rebel.]

DUNFORD, JOYCE. 'Cockpit.' *Scottish Field* **133** (May 1966) 34–35.
[Cock-fighting in Scotland.]

HENDERSON, HAMISH. 'Some Thoughts on the Clearances.' *The Scots Magazine* (November 1966) 123–8.

KENT, F. E. 'A Simple Tape-Loop Repeating Device.' *Scottish Studies* **10** (1966) 108–12.

MACASKILL, ALEX. J. 'Differences in Dialect, Vocabulary and General Idiom between the Islands.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–3) **43** (1966) 64–88.

MACCUISH, D. J. 'The Origin and Development of Crofting Law.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–3) **43** (1966) 181–96.

MACDONALD, NORMAN. 'Some Rare Hebridean Gaelic Words and Phrases.' *Scottish Gaelic Studies* **II**, Part 1 (December 1966) 38–59.

MCDONALD, WILLIAM R. 'Scottish Seventeenth-Century Almanacs.' *The Bibliotheck* **4**, Nos. 7 and 8 (1966) 257–322.

MACGILL-FHINNEIN, GORDON. 'Ath-bheothachadh na Gaidhlig an Eirinn agus an Albainn.' [The Revival of Gaelic in Ireland and in Scotland.] *Gairm* **54** (Spring 1966) 135–44.

MACKAY, JOHN. 'Scottish Prints and Painting.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (June 1966) 35–39.

MACKAY, WILLIAM. 'The present Position of Gaelic.' *An Gaidheal* **61**, No. 10 (October 1966) 115–16.

MACKINVEN, HAMISH. 'Edinburgh Royal Infirmary.' *Scottish Field* **113** (January 1966) 33–37.
  'Glasgow Royal Infirmary.' *Scottish Field* **113** (September 1966) 42–45.

MACLEAN, S. 'Notes on Sea Imagery in 17th Century Gaelic Poetry.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–3) **43** (1966) 132–49.

MACLEOD, MURDO. 'Gaelic in Highland Education.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1960–3) **43** (1966) 305–34.

MACQUEEN, JOHN. 'Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis.' *Studies in Scottish Literature* **3**, No. 3 (January 1966) 129–43.

MARTIN, COLIN. 'The Lost Battlefield.' *Scottish Field* **113** (April 1966) 46–48.
  [Mons Graupius.]
  'The Black Watch Mutiny 1743.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (May 1966) 13–15.

MATHER, J. Y. 'Aspects of the Linguistic Geography of Scotland II: East Coast Fishing.' *Scottish Studies* **10** (1966) 129–53.

MUNRO, J. W. 'Our Woodland Heritage.' *The Scots Magazine* (May 1966) 170–78.

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H. 'Scottish Studies in 1965: An Annual Bibliography.' *Scottish Studies* **10** (1966) 214–24.
  'Index: Volumes 1 (1957)–10 (1966).' *Scottish Studies* **10** (1966) 225–68.

PAUL, W. PRATT. 'The Scottish Navy.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (November 1966) 32–34.

RAWNSLEY, J. E. 'Early Scottish Maps and their Makers.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (February 1966) 14–16.

ROHAN-CSERMAK, G. DE. 'Une ethnologie nouvelle de la Grande-Bretagne.' *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* **41** (Jule-Decembre 1966) 151–66.

SEMPLE, JOHN MACKENZIE. 'Seaforth's First Fight.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (May 1966) 34–35.

STEWART, MARGARET E. C. *Discovery and Excavation Scotland 1966.* The Scottish Regional Group of the Council for British Archaeology.

TRANTER, NIGEL. 'The Romantic Scot.' *The Scots Magazine* (November 1966) 132–41.

WORSDALL, FRANCIS. 'The Achievement of "Greek" Thomson.' *Scotland's Magazine* **62** (July 1966) 42–45.

Index

Volume 11, 1967

Items in bold type denote titles of contributions, the names of contributors appear in small capitals. County abbreviations are those used by the Scottish Place-Name Survey (Check-list in *Scottish Studies* 10:225)

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

11

1967

Contents

VOLUME II 1967

CONTENTS

Plates