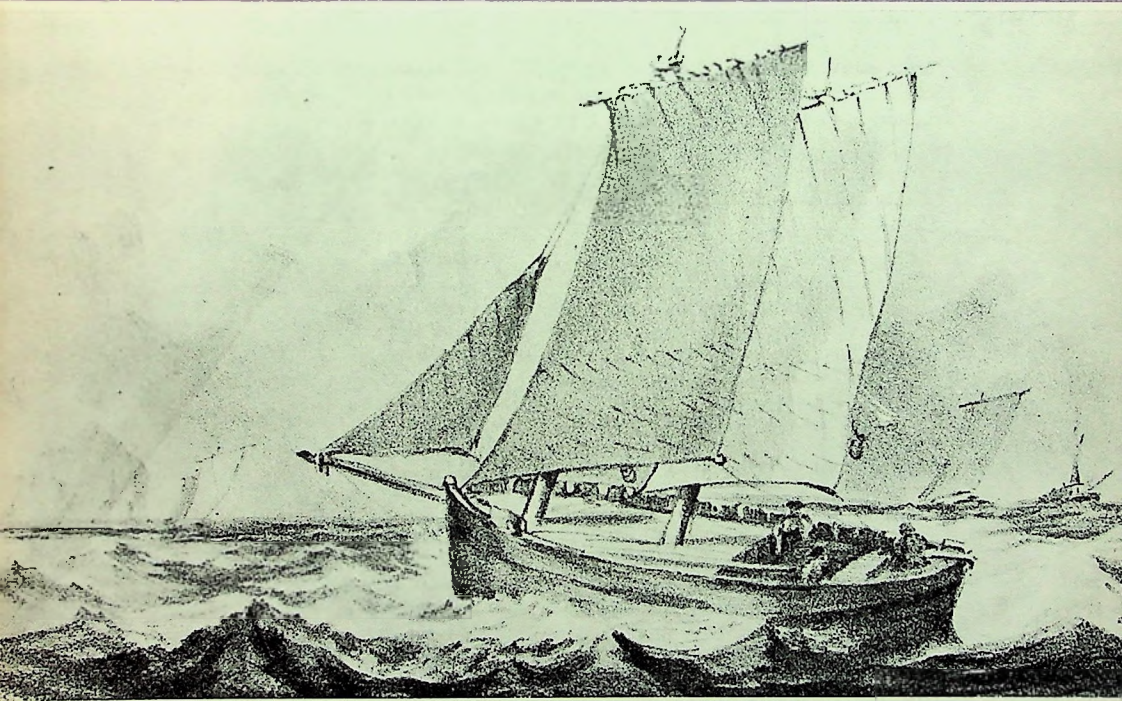# Scottish Studies

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part one

Newhaven Decked Fishing Boat off the Bass, about 1864

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PART 1

PART 2

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Aspects of the Linguistic Geography of Scotland*

III : Fishing Communities of the East Coast (Part 1)

J. Y. MATHER

My main purpose, in this series of articles, has been to try to exploit the specialised linguistic findings of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland in the direction of what, in my first article, I called 'the problem of the outside world'. I suggested that although the discipline of linguistics is generally and properly directed inwards to its own internal coherence, yet particular aspects, like linguistic geography, may often be concerned with an external relationship with what, by definition, is not linguistics. Hence, some sort of relationship between one aspect of linguistics (dialectology) and a discipline as seemingly remote as ornithology was worked out in the first article; and in the second, some notice was taken of both diversity and uniformity in nomenclature in certain techniques in east coast fishing in Scotland.

If speech is regarded as a piece of observable human behaviour, it is clear that particular speech studies may be of considerable help in any sort of essay in demography. I propose, therefore, in this article to develop a particular linguistic theme and to try to apply it, as a marker, to the study of some east coast fishing communities. I wish to limit the geographical area, for this part of the article, to the stretch of coast-line which lies between the entrance to the Moray Firth and the mouth of the Tweed because, at least so far as I have been able to study the situation, there appears to be a relatively simple division there into two distinct communities defined both linguistically and culturally. I shall reserve for a second part the study of what seems to be a somewhat more complex and recondite phenomenon, namely, the origins and subsequent movement of fisher population along the east coast.

In my second article (Mather 1966:131) I touched on what the American linguist Weinreich called 'external dialectology', the dialectological aspect of the process of checking and counter-checking linguistic and cultural areas against each other (Weinreich 1954:398). Our present problem, therefore, is not merely to show the dialect areas of the east coast of Scotland, but to show their correlation with areas delimited by other criteria—for example, other cultural criteria by which people are grouped into recognisable communities, not necessarily speech communities. In the two areas of the

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east coast which I wish to examine there appears to be a remarkable coincidence between the distribution of certain conventions and techniques in the traditional small-line fishing and the use of certain vowel systems in dialect speech. Small-line fishing, as is well-known, has now ceased as an extensive enterprise on the east coast, although it is quite easy to find men who have practised it. This means that its conventions, which can now suffer no change whatsoever, are readily available to us for objective study.

This, of course, is a special case of conservatism but the general conservatism which has long dominated the outlook of east coast fishing communities is also important for our purpose since it makes for stability in our categories (Mather 1965:130; 1966: 129). Hugh Miller, born and bred in just such a community, never tired of writing about it. It was impossible not to be struck, he wrote (Miller 1844:330), with 'the stationary character of the fisherman, compared with that of all the other working men of the country. There have been scarce any improvements in the profession of the white-fisher for centuries. His circle of art is the identical circle of his great-grandfather; . . . he is acquainted with exactly the same fishing banks, and exactly the same phenomena of tides and winds; he sails in a boat of the same rude construction, and employs implements that have undergone no change.' In fact, Miller adds, it was only the beginning of the herring fishery on the Caithness coast—which required a completely different mental attitude from the fisherman—which liberated him from his 'sluggish, inert, incurious gravity' where his very motions 'appear rather automatical than efforts of volition'.

Theoretically, almost any marker—and not simply a demonstrably conservative one—will serve to show distributions of almost any phenomena, provided only that the marker is itself pragmatically effective. And it is certainly part of the advance of science deliberately to juxtapose two seemingly unlikely markers and to pray for what Radcliffe-Brown once called 'the imaginative perception of an analogy which others have not seen' (Radcliffe-Brown 1957:30). In juxtaposing vowel systems and small-line techniques I do not necessarily think I can 'prove' anything very much. I am simply trying to report certain facts as I have found them in the field in the hope that someone may have the imaginative perception to spot the analogy.

On the east coast there has been, in this past 200 years, some reflection on the origin and identity of the fishing communities, and I should like to look at this for a moment. Oddly enough, there has sometimes been a little—perhaps unconscious—attention given to this very problem of correlation by those who have concerned themselves a little with the various problems of classification. For example, H. C. Folkard who wrote much on sporting topics and also on fishing-boat types in the middle of last century, divided Scottish fishing boats into two main types. For its own sake this does not, of course, necessarily concern us here, nor was Folkard particularly original in this. What *does* concern us, however, is that he also manipulated his dichotomy to define the racial types of the men who manned the same boats (*cf.* Mather 1966:135). One

type of boat, he considered, was 'always manned by a race of people descended from the Scandinavian colonies established in many parts along the eastern coast of Scotland', and the other is manned by 'a distinct race from the others being exclusively Celts'. (It is necessary to remember that we are dealing here only with the east—the North Sea—coast and not with a more obvious comparison between the east and west coasts of Scotland). In fact, Folkard said, the Scandinavian types 'would deem it a derogation of their creed to have a Celt among the crew in one of the first described luggers, while it would be equally so on the part of the Celts to carry a Scandinavian in their boats' (Folkard 1863 : 32).

Of course, the situation was no doubt not so simple as it appears from this parallelism, and Folkard was probably altogether too confident if what he was doing was extrapolating from his boat types to exact statements about the races who manned them. Nevertheless, we must concede that the boat types were readily verifiable and observable data. The racial types and their identity much less so. Perhaps the whole point would have appeared more forcibly to us if Folkard had been observing a more primitive situation—like a Malinowski in the South Seas—where all that was known were the observed characteristics of boats and the behaviour of boats' crews. It is worth mentioning, however, as a simple matter of observed distribution, that of the two boat types, Folkard's 'Scandinavian manned' type (the 'Fifie' as it is generally called) extends from Berwick to Whitehills; his 'Celtic manned' type (the 'scaffie' as it is generally called) extends from about Whitehills to Wick. Northwards from Wick and into Orkney and Shetland, the 'Scandinavian' type again obtains.

The Mythology of the Settlements

Much of the reflection on the east coast communities appears, however, not as taxonomy but as mythology or near-mythology. Invariably the communities are given some sort of origin from the other side of the North Sea—sometimes, indeed, an English origin from the southern part of the North Sea—and almost always through some simple event like a shipwreck which is held to explain the relatively few surnames which are to be found in this or that village. Aeneas Mackay (Mackay 1896:223), for example, refers to the popular tradition that the fishers of Buckhaven are 'sprung from a shipwrecked crew of Brabant in the reign of Philip II', and that the people of Tentsmuir 'were at one time called Danes'. Presumably the straight factual answer to such traditional lore is to be found in analyses like that of J. M. Houston (Houston 1948:129) or in J. R. Coull's article in this present number of *Scottish Studies* (p. 17). In fact, Dr Coull there speaks of the fact that many of the surnames of the fishing villages can be paralleled among the landward population, which 'is cogent evidence for the fisherfolk having sprung mainly from the local populace'. This may not take care of all the facts, however. Even if some few exceptions are explained—like the Fletts in Findochty as coming from Orkney—the Patiences and Skinners in the Black Isle are, I believe, still unaccounted for.

However this may be, John Leyden, in the glossary to his edition of the *Complaynt of Scotland* (Leyden 1801:347) *sub voce* 'Landwart' noted that 'along the east coast of Scotland the fishermen are chiefly of Flemish and Danish origin, and retain many words of their respective languages', and Hugh Miller supplemented this by saying that in some parts of Buchan 'the fishers are regarded as derived from an ancient colony of Flemings, and as still retaining not only national peculiarities of character, but also distinctive traits of form and feature, especially noticeable, it is said, among the women'. Indeed, for the fishers of the Firth of Forth Miller even went so far as to bring in the newly discovered photography as evidence, as shown in David Octavius Hill's 'exquisite calotypes . . . pencilled by the agency of light without exaggeration or error' (Miller 1844:329). The photographs illustrate such foreign characteristics, he says, that they remind the connoisseur 'not of the British, but of the Dutch school'. But Miller gave his own rationalisation of the romantic exclusiveness of the fishing population by imputing this to the circumstances of the occupation of fishing itself which, in fact, actually neutralised any particular tradition of Scottish nationality: 'So strongly marked is the *professional* character in this class', he wrote, 'that it is found to neutralize in them the *national* character, and to take its place *as national* in reference to some other country, in the floating traditions of the people' (Miller 1844:327). Much the same point was made by a modern writer (Green 1936:110) when he spoke of the fishing settlements as self-contained and the inhabitants 'more familiar with other parts of the British coast than with their own hinterlands'.

Anyone who has travelled much up and down the east coast will be able to add further items to the mythology. There are the alleged descendants from the shipwrecked Armada, appropriately known as the 'Dons' (I myself know only two such families but in two widely separated places. There must be many more.) And there is the mythology of the Fair Isle knitting pattern, again derived from Spain through the Armada. Miller was perhaps on less fanciful ground when he argued that Cromarty was peopled from the south (by a plantation of James VI) and owed nothing to the Gaelic influences surrounding it. He draws his argument, not from supposed racial characteristics or shipwrecks or anything of the sort, but from social and institutional characteristics. 'The distinguishing trait in . . . the Highland population of Scotland', he wrote, 'is a species of Toryism which connects the lower to the higher classes and proves that the attachments of the feudal system may survive long after its forms are abolished. In Cromarty there is none of this; on the contrary two-thirds of the people are marked by the unyielding independent Whiggism of the English and Lowland Scotch' (Miller 1862:149).

It is beyond my competence to examine in detail what I have called (perhaps even wrongly called) the mythology of the east coast fishing communities. But I take it that it represents—some of it fanciful, some of it soundly based if rudimentary—an attempt to view the problems of description and identity of these communities. It is the purpose of this article, in looking at these problems, not so much to give evidence

of a documentary and statistical nature—which has been exploited in various places by specialist geographers or economists like O'Dell and Walton, Coull, Gray, Houston, Winn Green (as well, of course, as Anson's well-known descriptive and artistic work)—as to show what sort of evidence the linguistic markers can afford.

The Linguistic Markers

In a number of common monosyllables (whose history from OE is, in general, adequately known) the dialect reflex from an original OE ō, in the northernmost area—from about Fraserburgh to Stonehaven—is the vowel /i/.[1] That is, the word *boot* would be /bit/, *good* would be /gwid/, *roof* would be /rif/, *spoon* would be /spin/, *moon* would be /min/, *cool* would be /kil/. In the same series of words and in the relatively small area from Gourdon to Catterline the vowel is /ɷ/, *i.e.* /bɷt/, /gjɷd/, /rɷf/, /spɷn/, /mɷn/, /kjɷl/. Further south, in the area Ferryden, Arbroath and into the east neuk of Fife—Crail, Anstruther, etc.—the vowel is /e/, that is /bet/, /ged/, /ref/, /spen/, /men/, /kel/. The Berwickshire coast is a special case which I will enlarge on presently.

This series of words, could, of course, be extended and, to those who know and use the dialect, it would be predictable. This is so because the words used to demonstrate this point are not isolated or random but hold together in a pattern which is determined by their origin and by their history. It is this patterning which is so useful for demonstration purposes in linguistic geography, and various types of pattern can be detected, and not only one which is historically based. For instance, I recently did a small experiment to try to find out how front vowels were employed in the area we are at present considering. (Front vowels are, roughly, made in the front of the mouth. The /i/ of /bit/, /rif/, etc., is a front vowel. The /ɷ/ vowel, which we have also already noticed, is a back vowel—made, roughly, in the back of the mouth.) My experiment showed that invariably, and in all phonetic contexts, the inventory of front vowels diminished as one proceeded northwards from Gourdon to Peterhead. This simply means that a dialect speaker, say, at Boddam will use fewer front vowels in his inventory than a speaker at Gourdon. Put another way, this means that more words have levelled under one particular vowel sound (a front vowel in this case) at Boddam than at Gourdon. Because of this levelling the inventory has diminished. It is not necessary to reflect on this for whatever it might mean philologically. It is offered simply as a report from the field and as a marker to define if not absolutely distinct speech communities, at least a demonstrable gradient in speech behaviour in a given connection and in a given area.

The Small-line Techniques

For my purpose, I now want to consider, over roughly the same area of the east coast, the conventions and techniques of the small-line fishing. This type of fishing—now almost wholly given up in favour of seining or trawling methods—is one of the traditional fishing methods of the area with which we are concerned. Small-line

fishing was a winter and spring fishing for haddock, often continued into the summer for codling. It was often worked consecutively with the great-line fishing, and the gear is, in fact, a lighter version of the great-line which is prosecuted further off-shore for what were called the 'great' fish, like cod or ling. The pattern of the white-fishing early last century as it was conducted out of the Firth of Forth was set out in some of the evidence presented to Captain Washington in his Enquiry into the 1848 disaster on the east coast. It appears that the men fished with the great-line from about 1 October in 30 fathoms on the Mar Bank, drawing into the May Island about Christmas time; and thereafter with the small-line and in smaller boats, until about June. Then the herring fishing began and continued for 10 or 12 weeks (Washington 1849:60).

The small-line consists of the main line (the *back*) with shorter lengths of thinner line (the *snoods*) attached to it at intervals of about 40 to 45 inches. The line is set with an anchor (usually a stone), and a *tow* (a line without hooks) leads from this to the *bow*, which is a marking buoy (Fig. 1). The actual lengths of line vary considerably, but as
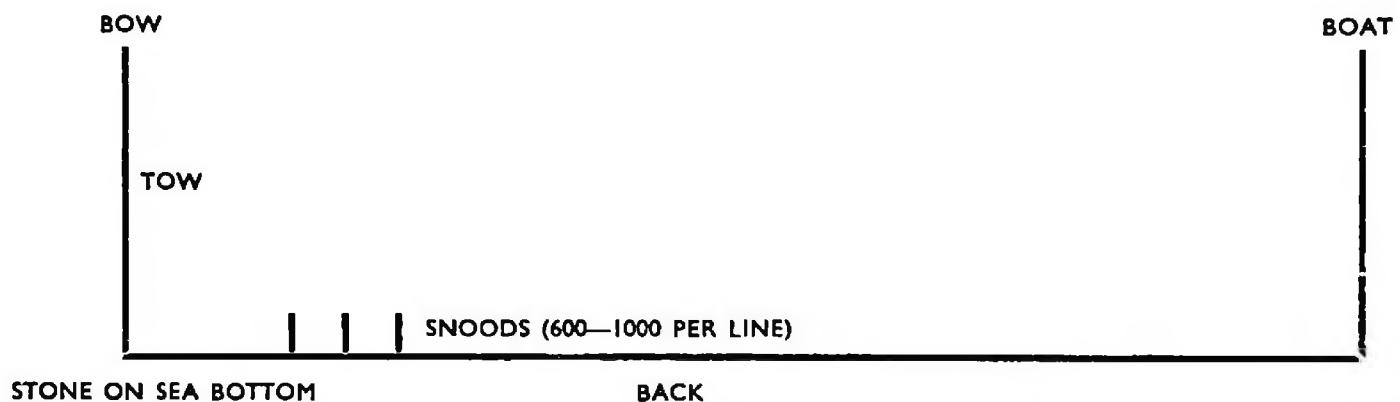
FIG. I Diagrammatic representation of small-line (length of line approximately 600 fathoms, and often several lines joined together).

a datum a *string* (of approximately 60 fathom) can be said to have 100 hooks and 10 *strings* can make one *line*. These figures are specific for Eyemouth, for instance, but variations range from Gamrie which has only 5 *strings* (of 100 hooks) to a line, to Arbroath which has 7 *strings* (of 200 hooks).

Plate I (i) shows a detail of a small-line, namely, a single *snood* (s) made fast to the *back* (b). The horsehair *tipping* (t) is a continuation of the snood and is attached to the hook by a whipping. The process of whipping is called *beating the hooks* and the technique is to work from a pirn of *beating thread* which is held close to the body with a girdle. By this means a controlled tension can be applied to the thread. The *snood* is bent on to the *back* with a clove hitch (ii), but with sufficient tail left, after the hitch has been made, to be turned back round the lay in the form of a kind of plait (p). This plait—which stiffens the *snood* considerably at this point and prevents ravelling and twisting—is called the /kɔnəl/ in Fife, the /stɛlʃən/ in Berwickshire, the /stʌltən/ in Gourdon and the /pɛn/ in Aberdeenshire. The names for the parts of the line— *snood*, *tipping*, etc.—have also, of course, a diversified distribution. The word *tipping*
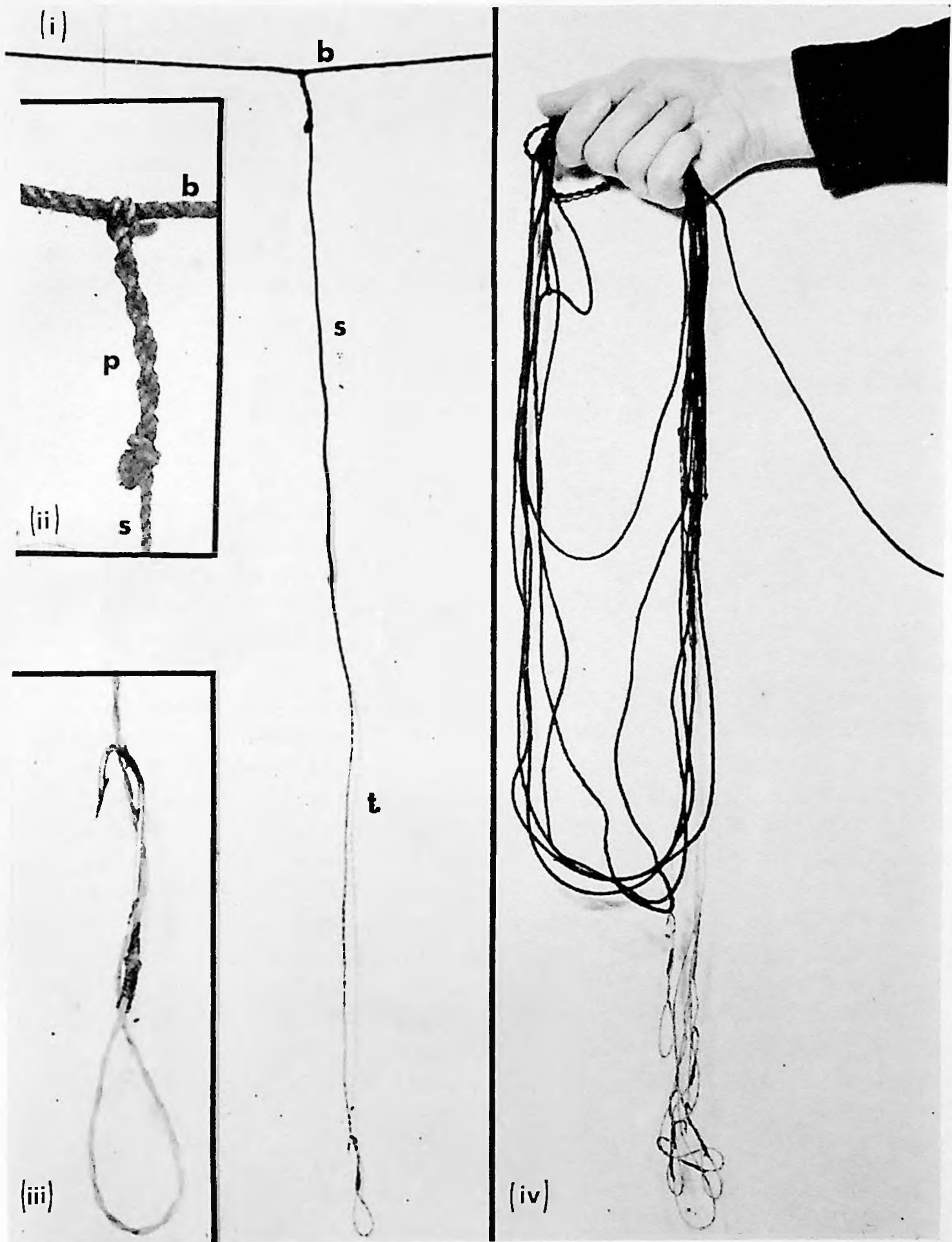
PLATE I Details of small-line.

(Photographed from a line given by Arthur Johnson, Cowdrait, Burnmouth)

PLATE III Scull. (Reproduced by permission of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.)

PLATE II Fishwife from Cromarty with creel (c. 1900).

or *tippit*, is used chiefly north of the east neuk of Fife, but in the east neuk itself, and in Berwickshire (and also further south in Holy Island and Seahouses) the word is /ɛmp/. Snood is variously /snid/ (Moray Firth), /strud/ (Black Isle) /sned/ (Angus, Fife). *Back* seems to be undifferentiated.

In the division of labour in a fishing family the position of the women was, of course, extremely important. The wife invariably baited the line and, very often, she carried it back from the boat to the dwelling after the fishing. For example, at Skateraw the women went down to the boat when it returned from sea with its catch, carrying an empty *creel* (Plate II) which the men filled with fish and carried up from the shore. (The village of Skateraw, like so many on the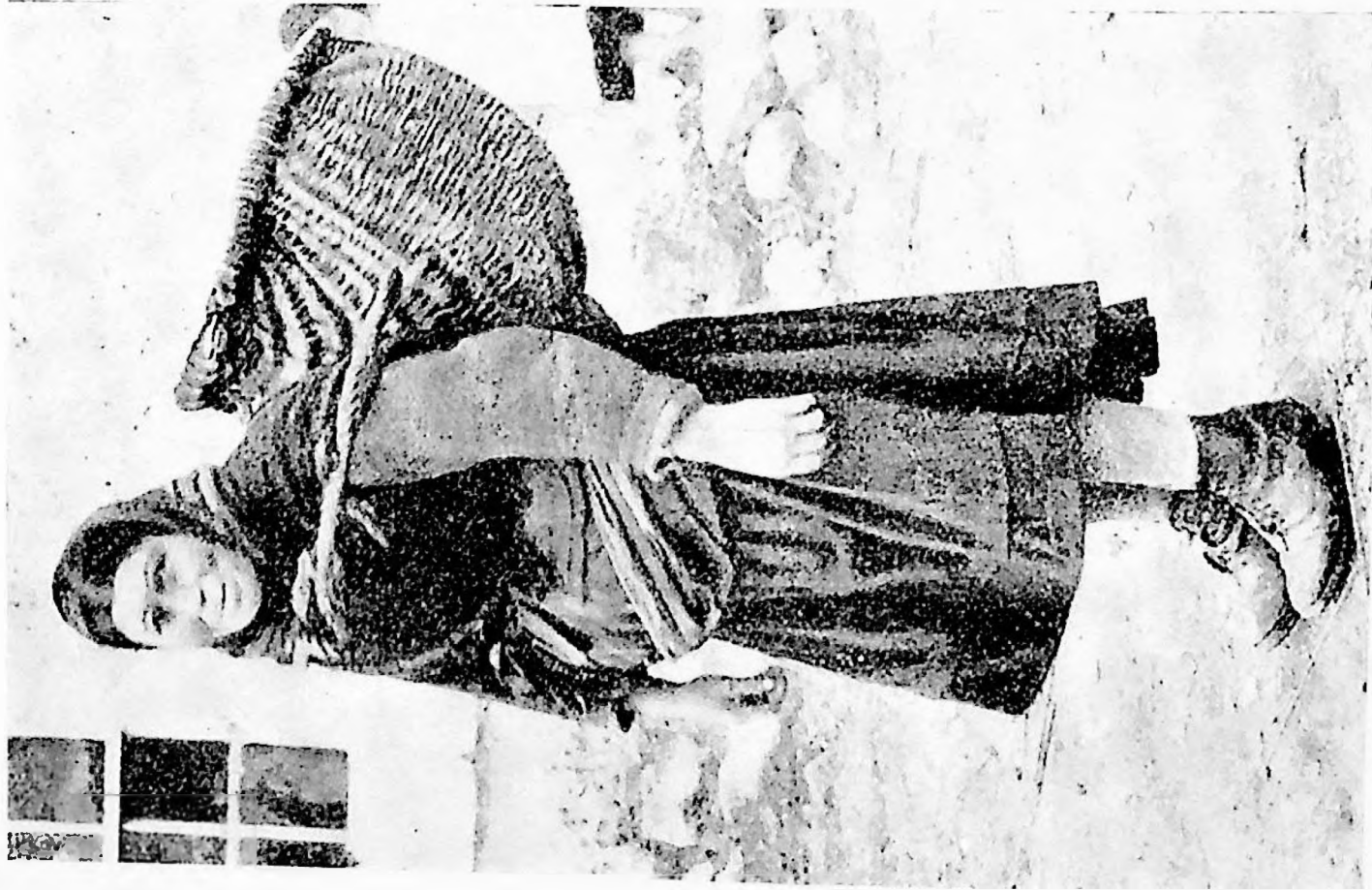 east coast, lies at the head of a steep path up from the harbour.) The women brought back the lines in a *scull* (Plate III). Creel and scull have to be distinguished here. The *creel* was the basket used by the women to sell fish in the country; the *scull* was the basket containing the lines. It was, of course, taken to sea in the boat. Sometimes the lines were laid in a wooden tray rather than in a *scull*. This tray was generally called a *backet*.

These details are important because they lead to the consideration of an important and significant division in the area. In *one* part of the area—the north part, from Catterline (south of Stonehaven) northwards—when the line is hauled at sea it is hauled in bights and these are carefully laid in the scull a few at a time. Plate I (iv) shows a few bights of a small-line held in the hand. The *tippings* are also seen as falling more or less together, because in hauling the *back* and the *snood* are gripped together as far as the beginning of the tipping. Thus, if there is a fish on the hook it has only the comparatively short length of the *tipping* to contain its movements as it is taken into the boat. Both *back* and *snood* are controlled.

In the *south* part of the area (*i.e.* Johnshaven, Gourdon, Arbroath, as well as the Fife ports and the Berwickshire coast) the line is hauled hand over hand and, although the same method of control is used over *back* and *snood* together, the line is not taken in bights but is allowed to fall indiscriminately.

There are reasons—at least ostensible reasons—for these differences in procedure. In the north part of the area it is argued that lines are better kept dry since they last longer and can be baited more easily; and besides this, *two* lines are employed, *i.e.* one is being fished at sea while the women are baiting the other ashore—and this is a more convenient and more efficient procedure. Indeed, as we shall see presently, sometimes *three* lines are employed—one at sea, one baiting, one drying. The method of hauling in bights makes it possible for a pole, or as it is usually called a 'spiletree' or 'line wand' to be passed through the bights and the line hung out on the pole to dry (Plate IV). In fact the 'spiletree' is often inserted in a convenient hole in the wall of a cottage, with the other end supported in a wooden crutch. Or else it is laid on projecting stones in the gable. One can still see these holes or projecting stones to this day. The stones are most noticeable, for instance, in Broadsea or Cairnbulg. Plate V is of an existing cottage at Broadsea with the stones clearly visible.

Against all this, however, is the technique of the south part of the east coast. First, although there may have been two lines used alternately there were certainly not three, for there was no stipulation that a line must be baited *dry*. Hence, with no drying of lines, there was no 'spiletree'. Furthermore, the hand over hand technique of hauling is now given a rational explanation, for with no 'spiletree' and no drying there was no necessity for hauling in bights. The line was brought ashore wet, 'redd' into a creel or basket—or 'hamper' as it is called in Gourdon—and baited, still wet. It was often argued that a wet line was easier to shoot. On the other hand, those whose way of life supported the drying of the line claimed that it was easier to bait and had greater flotation in the water. Both arguments are, no doubt, rationalisations. Naturally, all lines had to be dried sometimes in order to bark them, for barking is a necessity not only to preserve the line but to rid it of the slime which makes it almost impossible to haul. Besides, it is said that fish are rather repelled by an old and slimy line. A newly barked line always fishes better.

'North Folk' and 'South Folk'

Nevertheless, if we look at these matters a little more closely, we shall find that the ostensible rationalisations for the virtues of one technique against the other melt away before the actual basic realities of two quite different situations. It is clear that the people themselves are very aware of the differences. They call themselves 'North Folk' or 'South Folk' and note, with an obvious awareness in either case, not only the other's odd way of handling small-lines, but also the shibboleths of the different vowel systems. Some informants however point out that the 'wet'/'dry' line dichotomy is an ideal rather than a real situation, for if a man is fishing full-time and continuously, his line will be 'wet' even though he uses, alternately, a line at sea (fishing) and a line ashore (baiting). The implication is that at some point a break has been made with a conservative tradition in the interests of speed and expediency. On the other hand, it seems significant that in some 'North Folk' places (and only there) the system of *three* lines which we have already noted was commonly used: one fishing, one baiting, one drying. It may be that this is a convention which has its basis in a traditional, leisurely, subsistence type of fishing—a fishing, above all, which was not commercialised or at least only commercialised to the extent of local country sale by the fish-wife. From this point of view the drying of a line is correct fishing practice, although certain deviations from this may be thought to be expedient.

There are one or two other points which seem to be significant here. The Gourdon lines were longer—half as long again as, say, a Skateraw line, although some 'North Folk' lines—Cairnbulg, for instance—were longer than Skateraw, but not so long as Gourdon. (The lengths were: Gourdon 12 strings, Cairnbulg 10 strings, Skateraw 8 strings—a string being 60 fathoms.) A further point is that it was a 'South Folk' practice to 'stick the hooks' at sea (this is to turn the point of the hook into the horse-hair—see

Plate I (iii)) but the 'North Folk' always did this ashore in the process of 'redding' the line. This difference, it is to be noted, may mean no more than that the 'South Folk' went further into the sea, in bigger boats and therefore had more *time*, on the return passage, to 'stick the hooks'. Some informants—Eyemouth, for example—have told me that it was done if possible. Gourdon and Arbroath ('South Folk') informants insisted that it was always possible. On the other hand my informants at Gamrie and Skateraw said that even if occasionally possible it was never actually done. It was considered to be a task which was properly done ashore.

I would emphasise at this point that the information I am here considering, both on the vowel systems of the dialects and the conventions of the small-line fishing, is information I have gathered in the field from informants who have accepted as natural and proper a particular selection of vowel sounds and a particular technique in the use of a small-line. The information is thus not an inference from dialect literature or from the reports of Fishery Districts, or from the evidence of the *Statistical Accounts*, or from an early description of the Scottish fisheries like Sir Robert Sibbald's manuscript (Sibbald 1701). From this kind of direct evidence from field-work, therefore, a pattern is displayed, a particular, structured, 'set' (so to speak) given to the communities along a defined stretch of coast-line. What remains now is to see, working from this initial patterning, what amplification, commentary, interpretation or criticism can be adduced from other sources—for the dialects from written sources and from the researches and postulations of philologists on the history of the various dialect forms, and, for the fishing conventions, from important documentary material like the *Statistical Accounts* or Sibbald's manuscript.

There is, first of all, nothing directly in the results of the fieldwork which will indicate how long the reported divisions have existed, or when they became differentiated. However much we may suppose a dimension in time to be inherent in the material, the field techniques can only *display* it territorially. It is possible, however, to build up a picture from the written sources—say, from the seventeenth century for the fishing conventions and from the early sixteenth century for the dialects. A critical comparison between these two known points of time may, of course, be important and even vital for a final assessment. In the same way a critical comparison between the diachronic evidence of the written sources and the synchronic evidence of the field-work may also be vital for the purpose of checking and counter-checking.

Historical Evidence

I take it that the key concept in the historical study of the east coast fishing communities from the seventeenth century to the present day is their development from what James Thomson called the 'cottar system' of fishing—*i.e.* a part-time system, the rest of the time being given to work on the land—to a full-time, independent fully professional system (Thomson 1849). The point has also been made by modern writers like O'Dell
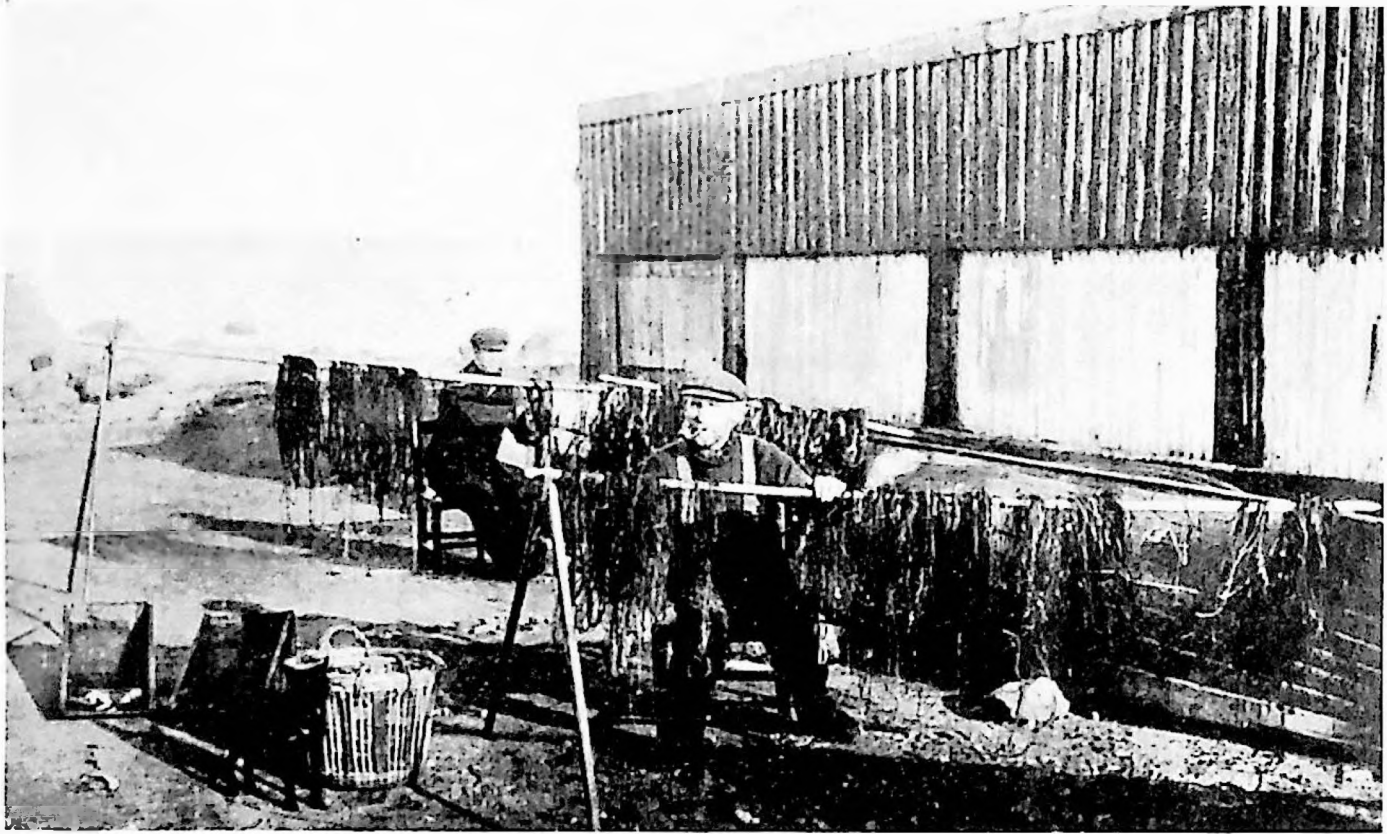
PLATE IV Lines on spiletrees at Portsoy, c. 1920.

(Photograph reproduced by permission of J. Slater, Portsoy.)

PLATE V Cottage at Broadsea showing line-stones.

and Walton where they analyse the situation in the fishing industry in the eighteenth century: 'The dichotomy of fisher and farmer folk which was to become so prominent in later years was hardly evident, although new fishing settlements were being built' (O'Dell and Walton 1962:121).

Nevertheless, the historical evidence shows that, at least by the time of the first *Statistical Account*, this fisher/farmer dichotomy was unevenly distributed over the east coast. Certainly, this source notes that for Portlethen and Findon (*i.e.* in our 'North Folk' area) there was for a fisherman an acre, a garden, liberty of fuel and harbour for a £3 rent. And there were, at Findon two boats for six men each, and three yawls for four men each; and at Portlethen three boats and one yawl (S.A. 1792, IV:454). But there is another pattern—and this, significantly enough, at Gourdon at the very heart of where we have noted 'South Folk' conventions as showing up most strongly. Here, at the time of the first *Statistical Account*—*i.e.* about 1792—there was a type of person who was not a part-time fisherman/part-time crofter, but a part-time fisherman/ part-time sailor. We are told that the whole-time fishermen were all decrepit old men and in fact unable to occupy themselves with anything else. There were 12 such men and they manned four small yawls. It is true that in 1760 there had been 30 men manning three large-size boats and several smaller yawls, but by 1794 it appears that the most energetic fishing was done by 24 men who manned eight small cargo vessels—in all of about 300 tons burden—which belonged to Gourdon and traded in lime, grain, and coals in the summer time, but were laid up in winter time when the 24 men betook themselves to the fishing (S.A. 1794, XIII:6). Furthermore, at Arbroath at the time of the first *Statistical Account* it seems possible to distinguish yet another category—the fisherman/pilot. Sir William Fraser (Fraser 1867:lxxxii n.) has a note, based on evidence in a private letter at Ethie House, that the first establishment of a fishing community at Arbroath was from an immigration from Auchmithie in 1705. But this failed—apparently because of the harshness of the tenure under Lord Northesk—and eventually the contributor to the first *Statistical Account* could report only three boats and 14 fishermen and even so, he said, the men depended more on pilotage than on fishing (S.A. 1793, VII:344). However, it is clear that trade, if not fishing, was increasing. George Hay (Hay 1876:322) notes, for example, the important memorial presented in 1786 to the Town Council by John Spink preses of the Seamen Fraternity and by the mercantile interests of the town, arguing that a new and enlarged harbour was vital because of increased trade. The project was, in fact, completed just before the end of the century, and it is clear from the *Statistical Account* that experienced fishermen found added work as pilots. When, in 1830, a new and more permanent and successful influx of fishermen came in from Auchmithie and established their community at the foot of the High Street in Arbroath (Hay 1876:377), there was already a flourishing seaman/pilot community in the town.

But we need not suppose that all fishers on the east coast were, at least by the end of the seventeenth century, either cottar/fishermen or (somewhat later) sailor/fishermen or

even pilot/fishermen. The Robert Sibbald manuscript (Sibbald 1701) seems to indicate that Fife, Orkney and Shetland, and the Firth of Clyde were centres of a fully professional fishing at that date. Aeneas Mackay—who does not give his source—says that the Fife fishermen 'were occupied nearly the whole of the fishers' year. There was no need as in districts farther from markets for the Fife fishermen to eke out a scanty living by agriculture' (Mackay 1896:223). There was certainly a commercialised fishing centred on the Edinburgh market even for fishermen north of the Forth (*i.e.* in Fife) at the time of the first *Statistical Account*, for it is there stated that boats from the south side met those from the north side in the middle of the Forth and the catch was transferred in order to be taken to the market at Edinburgh (S.A. 1793, IX:338). Indeed, the contributor to the *Account* for St Monance seems rather disturbed at this practice, for its effect was to raise the price of fish to country consumers in Fife. 'Formerly', he tells us, 'the practice was that out of the fleet of boats belonging to the town, two were obliged in their turn to come in to the harbour and offer market for two hours for the supply of the inhabitants. But that good regulation being now overlooked the fishers have wholly laid it aside. This has enhanced the price of fish here that it is but little below the market at Edinburgh, and they are difficult to be obtained' (S.A. 1793, IX:338). This seems to imply that the simple economy of the fish-wife had at least the virtue of being able to sell fish cheaper than at the large and centralised market. The part played by Fife in the development of such a market is further illustrated by a story in George Gourlay's *Anstruther* which recounts that in 1821 a young Anstruther grocer, Robert Taylor, noticed the demand in Edinburgh for the 'finnan haddie' (which he had never even heard of until then) and noticed, too, that they came from the north. It occurred to him that Fife haddocks might equally well be used, and so successfully was this idea exploited, Gourlay tells us, that 'on a single day (9th January, 1869) the haddock catch of the fleet at Anstruther, fifty tons by the one-and-forty boats, price 10/- per cwt., was smoked, and so far served next night for the supper tables of Glasgow' (Gourlay 1888:53).

The sort of historical and documentary evidence which can be brought to bear on the patterning which I believe my reports from the field display, may therefore reinforce the interpretation of the 'North Folk' as a community maintaining a certain stage of development—as shown in the division of their labour, the disposal of their catch and the conventions of their small-line techniques—for longer than (for instance) the 'South Folk'. Thus, for Cowie, Muchalls, Skateraw—so the first *Statistical Account* tells us—the fish caught were all locally consumed. And up to a fairly recent date— so I have been informed for Findon, Portlethen, and Cove—the catch was either all or in part sold locally, or was smoked and the relatively short journey to Aberdeen was made to sell personally in the 'yellow' market, *i.e.* the market for smoked fish. It is necessary, of course, to note here that the development of large commercial markets within the area, such as Aberdeen or Fraserburgh, rests on comparatively new seining and trawling and steam-lining methods which have exploited the traditional

fishing skills in a variety of ways. On the one hand, particular places (Torry, for instance) have tended to grow through the immigration of fishermen from outlying fishing villages in which they no longer find sufficient inducement to live; and, on the other hand, a large harbour (Fraserburgh, for instance) has been able to offer shelter for the vessel and market for the catch while the fishermen themselves continue to live in their traditional fishing villages.

Linguistic Evidence

We still have to consider the linguistic evidence. It will be clear that the line of demarcation which I set out between the /i/ vowel and the /ɷ/ vowel as markers in comparable phonetic contexts coincides almost exactly with the division in small-line techniques which I have outlined. In other words, the 'North Folk' who say /bit/ for *boot*, /rif/ for *roof* and so on, also dry their lines, haul in bights and accept certain other conventions which we have just examined; while 'South Folk' in the vicinity of Gourdon say /bɷt/, /rɷʃ/, etc., and further south (at Arbroath and into the East Neuk of Fife) say /bet/, /ref/, etc., and both have another set of small-line conventions. The demarcation is not absolutely exact because the Gourdon /ɷ/ vowel extends northwards to Catterline, which in all other respects belongs to the 'North Folk'. The case of the Berwickshire coast we shall look at presently.

Historians of the language, in considering the /i/ vowel have considered that its antecedent—which existed generally perhaps until the early sixteenth century—was a rounded vowel of the type /ɸ/. Orthographically, this is usually represented in Scots by *ui*. Thus, *buird* = English *board*; *fuird* = English *ford*, etc. Such a rounded vowel, in fact, still exists in one or two dialects in Scotland—in Roxburghshire and the Glens of Angus, for instance, and in Orkney and Shetland. It is further supposed, however, that this vowel existed in two forms, not only in different phonetic contexts but also in different areas. (*Scottish National Dictionary* 1931, I:xix). Thus, there was a close rounded vowel as /y/ and an opener rounded vowel, as /ɸ/. The /y/ type also still exists in one or two isolated dialects in Scotland—there is a pocket at Thornhill in Dumfriesshire, and also occurrences around Crieff and Comrie. When, however, in the course of their development these vowels became unrounded, one of the developments for the first type was to /i/ and for the second to /e/. The /i/ type exists, as we have already seen, in the 'North Folk' area (giving the /bit/ /rif/ series), and the /e/ type in the larger part of the 'South Folk' area (giving the /bet/, /ref/ series). The date for the first recorded instance of the unrounded /i/ is 1542 in the Council Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen where *rief* (= *roof*) is given (Müller 1908: 62), and we must suppose that the sound existed for a considerable time before that. We seem to have here two historic speech communities, at least separate enough to be defined in this way, and dated by this marker for the fifteenth or sixteenth century. They may also, as we have seen, be established by such another market as a particular set of fishing conventions.

The /ɔ/ vowel of Gourdon and Catterline is not very easy to explain. It is a back vowel not a front vowel and it seems odd that it should occupy a relatively small area on the east coast and be surrounded by a large area having front vowels, either rounded or unrounded, in the same context. It may, of course, represent the back vowel, or at least the mid-back vowel, which A. J. Ellis received for *some* words—but by no means all—of OE ō origin from his informant in Glenfarquar (10 miles west of Stonehaven) in 1877 (Ellis 1889:762). This informant, Mr John Ross, Rector of The High School at Arbroath, but a native of Glenfarquar, seems to have been a keen and accurate observer for he gave Ellis a detailed analysis of the dialect which included a front-rounded vowel, 'the well-known Scotch sound nearly *eu* in French *peu*' (*op. cit.* 757) in a variety of words of OE ō origins such as: *broom, do, done, noon, spoon, moor, soot*. This front-rounded vowel Ellis accepted and indeed equated with the Roxburghshire vowel of the same type and the same origin. Nevertheless there were a few words in the series, such as *good, flood, stool, floor*, which, according to Ross, had a back vowel. It may be that, as a tentative hypothesis, we should look to the fisherman/sailor type of population which we have already established, which might easily have imported it along with the lime and coals. There is an entry in the Fraser Papers (Fraser 1924:55) which says that 'the fishers of Gourdon and Johnshaven have a peculiar sort of dialect occasioned by some boats' crews having been at one period brought from Yorkshire by Viscount Arbuthnot and the Earl: *Horse* they pronounce *ors*; *head, ide*; *Hand—and*; *hole—ole*; *ox, hox*; *hen, En*; *hat, at*; and so forth'. This 'peculiar sort of dialect' is thus not the vowel phenomenon we are considering, but the loss of initial h, which is generally considered to be a Cockney phenomenon but which was at one time very widespread among east coast fishermen in Scotland. (It still occurs, of course, in some places—noticeably in the Black Isle.) The loss of h, or the addition of h, therefore, does not necessarily prove anything about an immigration from Yorkshire or anywhere else. It would, however, be an interesting twist to this entry from the Fraser Papers if it turned out to be correct in a different way, since the use of the Gourdon vowel we are considering is a much odder phenomenon than the dropping of aitches.

There is one further point to be made in considering the /i/ vowel. Further south on the east coast—on the coast of Berwickshire—there are two places which can be significantly compared: Burnmouth, a fishing village; and Flemington, separated from it by half a mile of very steep hill, an agricultural village. The places differ linguistically in at least one important phonological aspect, namely, precisely this vowel that we have been considering. The dialect reflex of OE ō in Burnmouth is again /i/—as in /bit/ = *boot*, /rif/ = *roof*, /gid/ = *good*, /min/ = *moon*, /til/ = *tool* and so on. But in Flemington it is /ë/, *i.e.* /bët/, /rëf/, /gëd/, etc. The pronunciation in Flemington is, in fact, the general dialect pronunciation in the inland parts of Berwickshire, and, indeed, even on the coast /bët/, /rëf/, etc. reappears at Coldingham and St Abbs, so that there is only a relatively short portion of the Berwickshire coast with this particular vowel in this particular connection.

Are we then to link Burnmouth in any direct way with the 'North Folk'—postulating, that is, some sort of sea connection which would make it feasible, and also make feasible the overleaping of the 'South Folk' area which we have already established? I do not think that any of this can be maintained, for there was no special sea link, that I am aware of, to support it. And, if we wanted to bring in the evidence from small-line techniques at this point, this would be against us, for we must note that Burnmouth has a 'South Folk' set of conventions. They do not use the 'spiletree' or haul in bights, or dry their lines. In fact, if we look a little further south still, we shall probably find a clue. The vowel exists, in precisely those contexts we are here considering, in western Northumberland (cf. Hinds 1896:19). It also exists, for example, at Norham and in one very important professional word in the Tweed salmon fishery, namely, the word /tilz/ which is the word for the machine for making ropes—/ðə tilz/. It is, of course, the word 'tools' which has become fossilised, so to speak, in this particular traditional and professional connection. The word, as it happens, is one of the series which we have set up for our purpose. The whole series also exists, with this particular vowel, at the Greenses harbour at Berwick. (This harbour, and not the river, is the traditional line-fishing community in Berwick.) With all this in mind, therefore, it is possible for us to assume that the speech community as it presents itself to us today stretches at least from the region of Norham on the Tweed down the river and northward along the coast to Burnmouth and Eyemouth. And it is perhaps the history of this which we ought to consider for the history of the fishing communities of the Berwickshire coast. At least, the /i/ vowel we are considering seems to follow just this course, i.e. down the river and northwards along part of the Berwickshire coast. The fact that there is a different vowel, in comparable words, on the Northumbrian coast, from that in the Northumbrian hill country may mean that there has been a more recent 'push', so to speak, from the south and up the coast leaving a more archaic form in the interior, which has turned down the river and then northwards. In fact, the vowel of the coast of Northumberland is of the same type as the Gourdon vowel we have already examined, and it may be that its presence in Gourdon is an extreme and somewhat more complicated example of this 'push' up the coast. The /ë/ vowel of the landward parts of Berwickshire (and, as we have seen, of *some* parts of its coast) is the result of a more general development in southern Scotland which has, nevertheless, not wholly succeeded even yet in ousting the /i/ vowel.

If this explanation for the occurrence of this vowel on part of the Berwickshire coast is accepted and if the hypothesis I have suggested for the occurrence of the /ɔ/ vowel in the Gourdon area is also accepted, then this leaves us with two major areas—an /i/ area and an /e/ area which coincide fairly well with what we have already discussed for the small-line techniques, i.e. a distinct 'North Folk' and 'South Folk' patterning with the division more or less at Stonehaven. I do not know how this will commend itself to those with more extensive and detailed knowledge of the area than I, but I hope at least that I have reported the facts fairly, even if my hypotheses about certain aspects

of them are questioned. One thing I believe ought to be said: it is that there has been altogether too little of *real* value on Scottish speech in ostensible descriptions of Scottish regions, local customs, life and manners. Even if (with some well-known exceptions, notably the footnote to the account for Duffus, Morayshire, in the first *Statistical Account*) the first two *Statistical Accounts* are considered to be too old for this sort of thing, it is still possible to hear either nothing at all on the subject (as in the current *Third Statistical Account*), or a description so resoundingly metaphorical as to stun us into believing that we have at last learnt something (about, for example, the speech of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire described in a recent book on the east coast, as 'an arsenal of the broadest, coarsest Scots, hard, concrete words that hit . . . like clods of earth'). Somewhere between dead silence on the one hand and the thud of earth and concrete on the other, there must be an occasion for a middling sort of voice to be heard, which will try to describe, as coolly and objectively as possible, ordinary people who have been doing ordinary things all their lives, like baiting lines or just speaking to each other; and which will also try to develop some sort of reasonable technique for the comparison of both the conventions and the speech.

NOTE

1 Type within oblique brackets signifies a phonemic transcription (using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet) of the word rendered in conventional orthography. The following key words may assist readers to identify the phonetic symbols used here and later in this article:

/i/ as the vowel sound in English *beet*
/ʊ/ as the vowel sound in English *put*, as distinguished from the more characteristically Scottish sound in the same word which is most often the vowel of English *loot*.
/e/ as the vowel sound in English *hate* when pronounced as a 'pure' vowel and not as a diphthong.
/ë/ as the vowel sound in English *bit*.
/y/ as the vowel sound in French *lune*.
/φ/ as the vowel sound in German *schön*.
/ɔ/ as the vowel sound in English *sawn*.
/ʌ/ as the vowel sound in English *but*.
/ə/ as the first (unstressed) vowel sound in English *about*.
/ʃ/ as the *sh* of English *hush*.
/j/ as the *y* of English *yard*.
/ð/ as the *th* of *the*.

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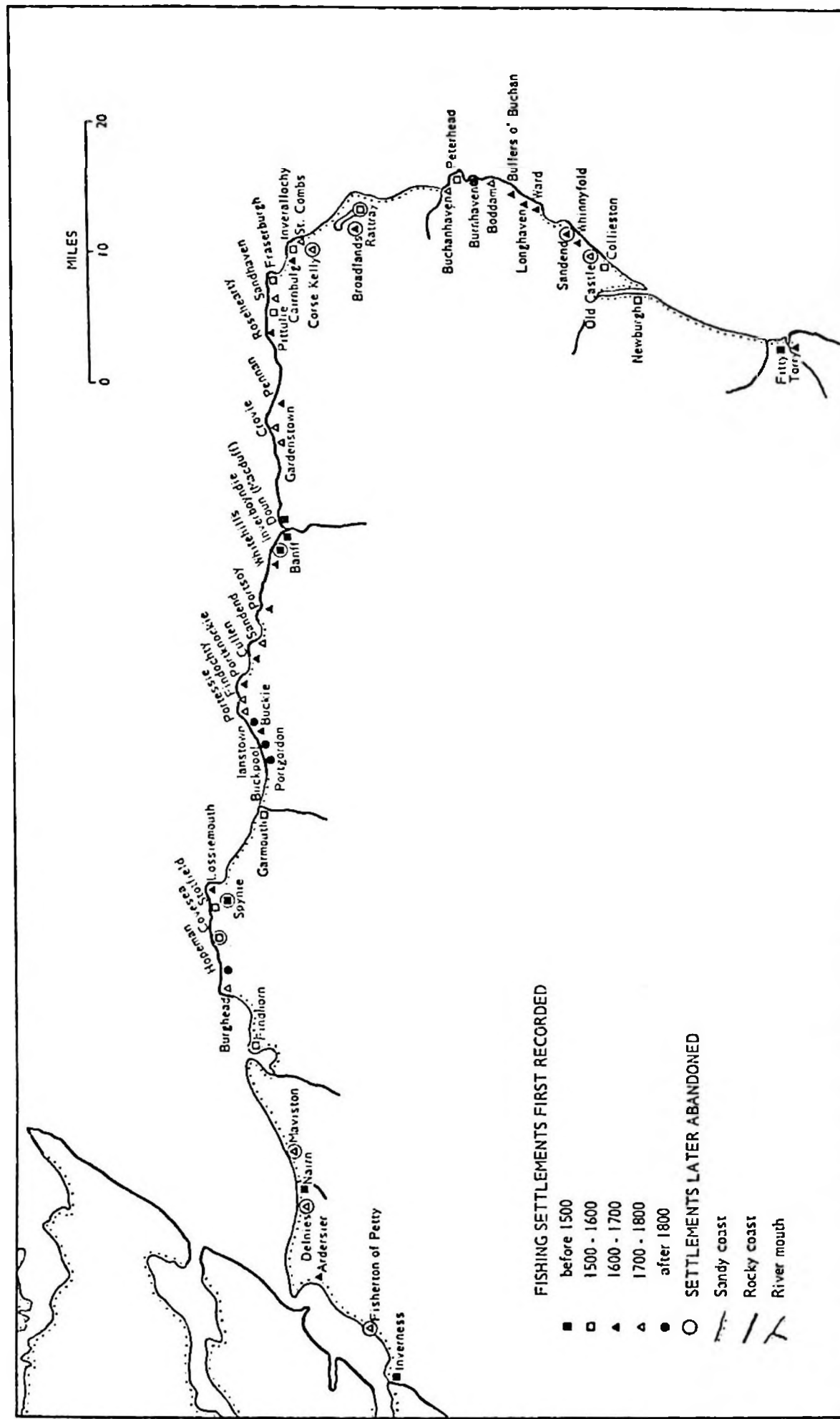
Fisheries in the North-East of Scotland before 1800

J. R. COULL

The spectacular increase in activity in fishing in the North-East of Scotland (here defined as the area north of the Mounth and as far west as Inverness) in the nineteenth century is well known to those even casually acquainted with the modern growth of the region. It is less well known, however, that this area has been involved in fishing since the beginning of recorded history, and sporadic archaeological traces suggest that fish have featured in the food supply since the earliest human settlement. The indications are that through the great part of history fishing has been practised in association with farming, and the development of it as a highly specialised occupation is a relatively modern phenomenon, not more than two or three centuries old. While the main early effort appears to have been directed at the easier goal of taking fish in the rivers, there is evidence that shell and other sea fish were exploited in the early centuries of our era during the Iron Age, and medieval documents indicate the catching of both white fish and herring. Sea fisheries become better known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which appear to have been a period of slow expansion in harmony with national economic trends; and this expansion was certainly projected into the eighteenth century, when the way of life of the fisherfolk becomes clearer, especially in the pages of the Old Statistical Account. By 1800, the foundations had been laid on which the vigorous growth of the nineteenth century, associated with the famous Scottish herring fishery, could take place. In the rise of the fisheries, the lairds of coastal estates were the prime movers as organisers and entrepreneurs, and the fisherfolk on their part eventually developed into distinctive communities separate from their farming neighbours, and in them the work was organised on a family basis.

The Evolution of the Settlement Pattern

Archaeological evidence of early activity in sea fishing is scanty. It is known that the community which lived at Forvie (on the north side of the Ythan mouth) were gathering shell fish from the beds in the estuary before the start of the Christian era, as well as catching river fish (Kirk 1953–4:170). In the area too there are several promontory forts of the Iron Age, the inhabitants of which would have had the opportunity to exploit sea fisheries, and at one of those at Dundarg (Simpson 1954:46–7) excavation has revealed fish bones which are probably those of cod. Also in a cave at Covesea have been

B

MILES

FISHING SETTLEMENTS FIRST RECORDED

before 1500
1500 - 1600
1600 - 1700
1700 - 1800
after 1800

SETTLEMENTS LATER ABANDONED

Sandy coast
Rocky coast
River mouth

Fishing Settlements in the North-East of Scotland.

found bones from the head of a fish of the cod family, although their age is uncertain (Neill 1930–1:207–8).

The earliest documentary references to specific settlements in the coastal zone occur in the context of churches founded in them, such as that at Aberdour (Aberdeenshire) in the late sixth century (Scott 1928:209) and those of Fordyce (Banffshire) and Forres (Moray) at the end of the seventh century (Simpson 1935:79). These indicate a population living in the coastal area, which may have obtained part of its sustenance from fish.

From medieval times onwards, fishing is referred to in a variety of documents, although right until the latter part of the seventeenth century seldom in a manner which gives any clear indication of its importance. While rights to fishings are mentioned occasionally in the context of charters, the most frequent early mention is in trade—especially when fish were exported and customs levied on them; but it is more than likely that the proportion of the catch recorded in trade represents but a minor proportion of the whole. Evidence for coastal settlement from the earlier maps, beginning with those of Pont in the early seventeenth century, can be brought to bear on the issue. However, it is frequently not clear on the maps of Pont and Gordon (1654) whether settlements are in fact coastal or some distance inland; and even when the situation becomes clearer with Roy's map of the mid-eighteenth century, the existence of a settlement at the coast is not an absolute guarantee of its involvement in fishing. Even so, the map evidence is a useful complement to that from other documents. In several cases the existence of a settlement later concerned with fishing can be shown earlier than fishing itself; and an additional complication here is that some of the villages first come on record as 'Seatown of...' or 'Fishertown of...', indicating a later origin than the main place of the name: this occurs, for example, at Cullen, Boddam, Pennan and Petty, and on occasion it can be difficult to discern which of the two settlements is implied.

The first definite indication appears to be the right to white fish included in the charter granted by Robert the Bruce to the burgh of Aberdeen in the early fourteenth century (Gordon 1842:appendix, 30), and in the same century the ancient right of the See of Moray to the fishing in the Loch of Spynie, which then communicated with the sea, is mentioned in a letter of Bishop Bar (Cramond 1888:16). It is also in the Ecclesiastical context that mention is made of the distinctive fishing quarter of Aberdeen—the village of Fittie which occurs in the Registrum Episcopatus Aberdoniensis in the thirteenth century (Alexander 1952:58), and which is also mentioned in 1441 when both the white and salmon fishings were in the hands of the Crown during a vacancy of the See of Aberdeen (Exchequer Rolls 1882:95). The fairly frequent references to the export of 'mulones' (cod) from Aberdeen also in the fifteenth century suggest that it was the main centre of commercial white fishing at this stage, and there is also a record of stockfish being brought from Aberdeen to the King in 1457 (Exchequer Rolls 1883: 231). The involvement of Banff at the same period is shown by the custom levied on

cod in 1486 (Exchequer Rolls 1886:446), while Down (now Macduff) is referred to as a 'fish-town' as early as 1440 (Cramond 1893:2), and the tithes of white fish were included in a lease of the lands of Innerbundy (*i.e.* Inverboyndie, Banffshire) in 1458 (Cramond 1886:4). Herring fishing was also prosecuted at this time in the inner Moray Firth, as export of the fish from Inverness was recorded on two occasions (Exchequer Rolls 1882:231; 1883:469), and in the early part of the sixteenth century the importance of this fishery is also mentioned by Hector Boece (Boece 1821:xxxiii). A fact of undoubted significance is that the earliest records of sea-fishing occur at settlements located at river mouths, including Aberdeen, Banff, and Inverness, which were also involved in the salmon fisheries on the lower reaches of the rivers (Coull 1967:33): and it appears probable that the men who caught the salmon also ventured beyond the river mouths—no doubt outside the main salmon season—to fish the sea as well. It may well be that the other river-mouth settlements of Nairn, Findhorn, Peterhead and Newburgh were all involved from an early date in both river and sea-fishing, as they certainly were in later times.

However vague the earlier phases of activity may be, there are records of fishing at sixteen points on the coast in the sixteenth century, and from this time at least there was an increase in both the number and size of fishing settlements. A possible stimulus to the fisheries was the occurrence of years of bad harvests on land, which was all too well known in Scotland in earlier times. Most of the places mentioned in the sixteenth century are on the Aberdeenshire coast, although it is not certain whether this represents the true balance of effort, as the more sheltered waters of the inner Moray Firth may have been relatively intensely exploited. Certainly the fisheries of this section of the coast greatly impressed Robert Gordon of Straloch in the middle of the seventeenth century (Gordon 1907:309); but in the sixteenth century there appear to be definite records of only half-a-dozen places on the coast west of the Spey. Between Aberdeenshire and the inner Moray Firth, there was activity at Banff itself, and probably also at the burghs of Cullen and Portsoy; and in the Enzie district, which was to become one of the main centres of activity and advance, 'fishing takis' were included in a grant of tack at Rannes in 1579 (Cramond 1890:3).

With the economic growth and increasing prosperity in Scotland during the seventeenth century, activity in fishing expanded, and there was some proliferation of villages along the coast: it is, however, impossible to gauge precisely the number of new settlements created, as some which appear in records for the first time may be earlier foundations. Thus the Aberdeenshire Poll Book (1696) reveals that by the end of the century the number of communities engaged in fishing in the county was eighteen, and descriptions of the coast in 1683 (Garden 1843:100-7) and 1721 (Hepburn 1843:98-100) show an active and valuable fishery; at the latter date it was stated that every coastal parish had at least one 'fisher toun', and many of them had two. In the coastal area of Banffshire, in the same century, the granting of rights to white fishing in a number of seisins at the coast was prominent (Bell 1812:54), and by 1700 there were

eight fishing villages on this section of the coast. At the same date there were at least eight other settlements concerned with fishing west of the Spey.

The fuller records from the eighteenth century show more clearly the prolongation of expansion towards the modern period and the prominent hand of the lairds in shaping it; and by 1800 the number of fishing settlements at nearly fifty was coming close to that of today. During the century the great majority of the settlements expanded considerably and there was the founding of several completely new villages; there was also the building of more adequate cottages for the fisherfolk, and by the end of the century the appearance of villages planned on a regular geometric layout: the Improving Movement wrought changes at the coast as important as those inland.

The early 1700s saw the new foundations in Banffshire of Gardenstown (N.S.A. XIII:291), Portessie and Findochty (O.S.A. XIII:401). These had mainly the old type of layout with houses huddled by the beach, but Buchanhaven (Aberdeenshire), built from 1780 (Neish 1950:75), was laid out in orderly rows, as was the village of St. Combs which was built to a plan from 1771 (T.S.A. Aberdeen 1960:313) to replace the older nearby village of Corsekelly, and at about the same time too Collieston was rebuilt. One of the best examples of eighteenth-century growth occurred on the east side of the mouth of the Deveron, where the old settlement of Down was rebuilt and greatly expanded, and the laird's name incorporated into the new name of Macduff (Cramond 1893:1–9). The mark of planning was to become more obvious after 1800, with the grid layout of the rebuilt Burghead (N.S.A. XIII:40–1) and of the 'new town' of Cullen (N.S.A. XIII:342) which is planned around a square, and overlooks the older seatown down by the beach; at Aberdeen too, the site of the fishing quarter of Fittie was moved in 1808, and a new village built around two squares (N.S.A. XIII:73–4). On a bigger scale, this grid layout was to be seen even more prominently in the larger fishing towns, and Peterhead, Fraserburgh, Macduff, Buckie and Lossiemouth all were to have nineteenth-century expansion on a grid plan.

If expansion, both in number and size, was the keynote of the settlements, it was not so in every case. Thus the village of Corsekelly (as stated above) was abandoned, possibly because the accumulation of coastal sand had rendered it too far from the sea and made it difficult to bring boats ashore. Three miles to the south, the village of Rattray which had been erected a burgh of regality in the sixteenth century (Cumine 1887–90:118), had its outlet to the sea blocked by the accumulation of sand which closed off the Loch of Strathbeg, and disappeared from the map in the early years of the century. Sandend (on the Aberdeenshire coast) ceases to be recorded as a fishing settlement also at about the same time. The burgh of Findhorn had to be rebuilt twice with the coastal changes at the river mouth (T.S.A. Moray and Nairn 1965:328), and on the inner firth the centres of Delnies, Maviston and Fisherton of Petty were all in decline by 1800 and ultimately ceased to have any concern with fishing. A main reason for the abandonment of settlement appears to have been natural selection, the open shores and points liable to sand accumulation being rejected in favour of those with

better landing places and harbours. The changes in the Culbin Sands, which culminated with the destructive encroachment of sand at the end of the seventeenth century, are well known, and old iron fishing hooks are still to be found among them (Bain [n.d.]: 13).

In the north-east, there is prominent alternation of sandy coastal stretches with ones which are rocky, and often cliffed; and in fishing settlements there was a marked preference for the latter. Sand could be eroded away or built up over the years, and did not give good sites for house building; open sandy shores too could be difficult to approach from the sea, and a boat could bed down in drifting sand once it had been pulled upon the beach. Rocky stretches, on the other hand, gave more stable house foundations, and shelter was often available on a raised beach ledge at a cliff-foot. With these sites it was the general rule that if there was at all sufficient space houses were huddled, gable-end to the sea, at the cliff-foot, as at Pennan, Crovie and Sandend, for example; otherwise the houses would be built on the cliff-top (as at Whinnyfold and Portknockie), whence the landing beach would be reached by steep and often slippery paths. However, this was obviously less convenient as the work of baiting lines and gutting and splitting fish was done in the houses, and the baited lines had to be carried down to the boats, while the catch had to be carried back to the houses. Another advantage that the rocky stretches of coast had was that on the rocks and shingle beaches split fish could be spread to dry, and dried fish was already a considerable trade item in the eighteenth century.

The earliest houses in the villages were very simple structures, like those of nearly all the poorer classes in Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: to judge from the foundations which were cleared from the site of Corsekelly in the 1950s, and from occasional buildings which have survived elsewhere, the houses were only four or five yards in length, and had earthen floors with central fire-places and thatched roofs; and at least in Buckie there were examples with the door in the gable-end (Hutcheson 1887:64). With the Improving Movement, the houses of the fisherfolk improved with those of the rest of the Scottish people, and the usual house-style became a more substantial 'but-and-ben' with walls of stone and lime, although earthen floors and thatched roofs generally continued to the end of the period under review.

The origins of the fisherfolk constitute a problem closely bound up with the origins of their settlements. There appears to be little to substantiate the colourful tales to be heard at various points of the coast which would trace their roots to such sources as the Norse settlement. The dialects spoken in the fishing villages are, in fact, characteristic of the North-East division of Lowland Scots, and many of the surnames of the villages can be paralleled among the landward population. These constitute cogent evidence for the fisherfolk having sprung mainly from the local populace. In the matter of surnames it is an outstanding fact that each village has only a very few traditional surnames, suggesting that it was only handfuls of families from which each community was descended: thus in St Combs there were Buchans, Cowes, Bruces and Strachans;

Portknockie had its Mains, Woods, Slaters and Piries, while Boddam had its Cordiners, Sellars and Stephens; and virtually every village is similar. However, there have been incomers who have become integrated into these coastal communities: the Fletts and Slaters of the Buckie area are descended from early eighteenth-century immigrants from the North Isles, while the Murrays came from Helmsdale (Hutcheson 1887:17), and there may have been some incomers from Fife. Although at least in Portessie there are fishing families which are known to have been engaged in farming at an earlier date (Hutcheson 1887:17), most of the new foundations recorded appear to have been settled in the first instance from fishing villages already in existence. Thus the first people in Portknockie moved the short distance from Cullen, while those at Findochty came from Fraserburgh, and Findhorn provided the fishermen who commenced operations at Portessie (O.S.A. XIII:408): all these were founded in the half-century up to 1727, while at the end of the century some of the Nairn fishermen resettled in Ardersier (O.S.A. XII:388). These movements appear to reflect the enterprise of landowners on different parts of the coast in promoting fishing as a means of economic betterment; and the migration of fishermen and fishing families is a frequent occurrence when records become fuller after 1800.

The Fisherfolk and the Land

If it is not easy to state when many of the various fishing settlements originated, it is a good deal more difficult to investigate the way of life of the people in them right until the time of the Old Statistical Account. No doubt some of the distinctive practices and superstitions of the fisherfolk recorded from the later eighteenth century onwards go back a considerable time into the past. A very prominent feature of the more modern period is the social separation of the fishing from the farming population, which was certainly fostered by the very different ways of life of the two groups: 'The cod and the corn dinna mix' is one of the traditional sayings of the Moray Firth coast. But if apart at the deeper levels of community life, and with inter-marriage between the two groups virtually unknown, there were trading links between the fisherfolk and their farming neighbours which were vital in securing their food supply.

There are indications, however, that the separation between farming and fishing was at one time much less severe, and that it is largely related to the growth of more specialised commercial fisheries in the last two or three centuries. Crofter-fishers were formerly more common, and indeed examples of them were still to be found in the inter-war years of the twentieth century in the area of Gardenstown.

The early burghs, where fishing is first recorded, all had their farm-land, and the fishers certainly had some of this. Thus the first feuars of Peterhead (Arbuthnott 1815: 18), mentioned on the town's erection to a burgh of barony in 1593, were fishermen who had small plots (each about one-fifth of an acre), with the right to common pasture and peat-cutting on the town moss, while the burgh of Rattray was involved in fishing at the same period, and had infield, outfield and common land (Cumine 1887–90:18).

The first map of the burgh of Aberdeen, made by James Gordon in 1661, shows plots
attached to the fishermen's houses in the village of Fitty, and in 1683 Garden of Troup
referred to the farming practice of the fisher towns on the north coast of Aberdeenshire,
which included the growing of oats and barley (Garden 1843:106). Significant too, is
that in the entries in the Aberdeenshire poll-book of 1696, five fishers are recorded
resident in ferm-touns in the vicinity of Rattray, while there are four others at Sandend
in Cruden parish, and in 1759 Down (later Macduff) was a community of thirty-four
crofter-fishers (Cramond 1893:5). In the Buckie area, there are several instances of
families of farming extraction who took to fishing in the early eighteenth century, and
in the same century every fisherman in Buckie had at least half-an-acre of ground,
mostly in the 'Yardie' (Hutcheson 1887: 62), a strip of ground at a low level by the
beach: but by this time most of the fishermen hired local crofters to cultivate their land.
As late as 1771, the village of St Combs was laid out with plots for potatoes attached
to the houses, and there are also several instances in the Old Statistical Account of
villages with their cultivation plots; while in Whitehills in Banffshire, long noted for
its prowess in fishing, the men had plots of $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres each as late as 1840 (N.S.A.
XIII:237). The cultivation up to the mid-eighteenth century was for the pro-
duction of oats and (more especially) barley for meal, although from that time
potatoes were to become the main crop. In this context too, it is of significance that to
this day a part of the golf course at Inverallochy in Aberdeenshire is still known as the
'Hempland', and in former times grew hemp which was used in making lines.

While there is ample evidence to demonstrate the necessary earlier connection of the
fishing population with the soil, there were by the latter eighteenth century interesting
contrasts. Thus in the parish of Rathen (Aberdeenshire), the fisherfolk of the villages of
Cairnbulg and Inverallochy were conspicuous in being the only section of the popula-
tion without land, although some of them rented potato ground from farmers (O.S.A.
XI:15). In the nearby parish of Crimond, on the other hand, the only fishing was done
by members of the farming community living near the coast, who went out only in
fine weather to catch for domestic use (O.S.A. XI:49).

Fishermen appear to have been like a great part of the Scottish tenantry of the period
under review in being tenants at will subject to the laird or to a tacksman to whom he
sublet the fishings. This persisted into the latter part of the eighteenth century, as is
instanced at Fraserburgh, where the fisherman was bound to serve for a fixed period
in a boat (Cranna 1914:56); and at Buckie it is reported that the laird Dunbar drove
the men to sea when they were reluctant to go out in adverse weather (Hutcheson
1887:62). As well as those with the formal status of tenants, squatters may have been
included in some of the villages; and indeed in 1780 the first settlers in the village of
Buchanhaven (now part of Peterhead) were squatters (Neish 1950:75).

The boats were usually supplied by the lairds, although in the decades before 1800
it had become usual for the fishermen themselves to own the smaller yawls which were
often employed for inshore winter fishing. A usual system was that the fisherman paid

a single rent for his shared boat, and his house and yard (Bell 1812:54), and the laird undertook to replace the boat every seven years. There is evidence that in earlier times part of the rent was paid in fish and in services, as occurred in Peterhead where the original feuars of the burgh teind fish (N.S.A. XII:370), and at Cullen in 1642 four fishing skippers incurred the displeasure of the Earl of Findlater for their failure to pay their dues of 'two dissoun fishes' for each day spent in fishing (Cramond 1888:41). At Buckie, about 1800, an annual token payment of six dried cod or ling (Hutcheson 1887: 19) were still included in the fishermen's rents, although at the same time the old payments of teind fish at Fraserburgh seem to have fallen into desuetude (Cranna 1914:56); and Buckie men were still liable for the service of 'binnage' freights to the laird (Hutcheson, 1887:19), which chiefly involved the transport of building materials (stone and timber) along the coast of the Moray Firth. At the close of the eighteenth century, the annual rents paid by the fishermen were in the region of £5 to £6; at this time the value of the boats which they got every seven years was around £15 to £20, and at Buckie a boat fitted out with necessary gear for fishing cost £24 (O.S.A. XIII:402), suggesting that about half the rent was reckoned for house and ground, the other half being for the boat. At the same time, it was usual to allot a share of the catch to the maintenance of the boat; thus at Torry the boat got an equal share with each of the six-man crew (one-seventh) (O.S.A. VII:206), while at Fraserburgh the proportion was one-sixth (Cranna 1914:56).

The regulation and organisation of fishing was not, however, entirely within the hands of lay lords, as it was never the practice to fish on Sundays. This was prohibited for river salmon fishing as early as the reign of Alexander II, and the ruling of the Kirk Session of Aberdour in 1699 that the local boats should not stay out later than sunset on Saturday nights shows a similar practice in the area after the Reformation. At the same time complaints were recorded against two fishwives who had sold fish on a Sunday (Cramond 1896:29).

The Work of Fishing

The actual work of fishing was a specialist craft, and as this emerges more clearly in the eighteenth century, it shows organisation on a family basis with a considerable measure of self-sufficiency in the fishing communities, and with a pattern of activity related to the cycle of the seasons. By the later eighteenth century too it represented in total an economic effort of considerable moment, with hundreds of boats involved, and prices for fish which the Old Statistical Account shows to have been relatively high.

While there were variations from one part of the coast to another, the main effort was always directed to the catching of white fish by lines of different types, and there was an intimate knowledge of the various grounds (such as the 'Coral' and 'Hill Ground' in the Moray Firth, and the 'Castle Hard' off Aberdeenshire), and of the fish they provided at different times of year. The type of boat most generally used was from 23 to 30 feet, up to 4 tons burthen and was crewed by six men and sometimes a

boy; but even at the end of the eighteenth century there were few villages with more than six or seven of these boats. They had masts and sails, but oars were also much used in propelling them. All villages appear to have had a smaller size of boat, too, of about 17 feet long, crewed by four men and used mainly for winter fishing close inshore, but also used by boys and older men at other times. By the latter part of the century, however, bigger boats were also in use in the centres of Peterhead (Arbuthnott 1815: 42), Fraserburgh (Cranna 1914:56) and Buckie (Hutcheson 1867:17): these were over 30 feet long with two or three masts and crews of eight or nine men, but, like the smaller craft, they were open boats. The origin of these boats of the East Coast 'fifie' type is problematical, as there are no descriptions of them earlier than the mid-nineteenth century (Mather 1966:134). Most of the boats were sufficiently big to require the efforts of more than their crews to launch and beach them, and the womenfolk often helped although the work was very heavy. Bad weather not infrequently halted operations, especially in winter. At such times, the worst hazard was often coming in to land, as this generally involved approaching open beaches through the breakers. There were some harbour works from at least the sixteenth century at the bigger centres, although storms frequently caused severe damage to these early structures. From as far east as the Buckie area, boats might even run to the Comarty Firth in adverse weather (Hutcheson 1887:64), as it was easy to negotiate its wide entrance into the sheltered waters beyond. However, all the villages have their own grim record of disasters: as a single illustration, at least twenty boats were lost during the eighteenth century in the Buckie area, mostly with all hands. In some villages there were more deaths at sea than on land (Hutcheson 1887:18).

A considerable variety of white fish could be caught at most times of the year, although the 'Back of Eel' period from about January to March could be a difficult time through shortage of fish on the grounds (little else than cod being available) and bad weather. Where they were fished, herring and mackerel had a pronounced summer season, as had the dog-fish which tended to follow the herring shoals. The same also applied to the shell fish—lobster and crab.

Particular grounds could be noted for the fish they yielded. Rattray cod were much sought after in Aberdeenshire, while in the Moray Firth the 'Skate Hole' is self-explanatory, and turbot were caught off the Bullers o' Buchan. The grounds were generally located by lining up landmarks on shore, of which the most prominent were Mormond Hill, the Durn and the Bin Hill of Cullen, although reference was also made to features on the west side of the Moray Firth, such as the Sutors of Cromarty. If the practice at Fraserburgh is at all typical, there were also cases where the fishing on particular banks was recognised as belonging to particular crews (Cranna 1914:59).

The winter period, from about October to February, was generally the time for working close inshore from the smaller boats mainly for haddock and codling, although in Buckie the bigger boats were used the whole year round. 'Small lines' were mainly employed, the term indicating that the actual lines were relatively thin and light, the

hooks small and more closely spaced, and it was generally a smaller class of fish that were caught. Even so, boats would shoot up to two miles of line, with up to 3,000 hooks (Arbuthnott 1815:39), to catch cod, haddock and flat fish. February and March tended to be a less active period, and men spent a good deal of time ashore in the maintenance of boats and gear, but there followed the most important spring great-line season, in the prosecution of which Buckie and Peterhead were outstanding. For this boats would venture up to 40 miles offshore, and might stay out two or three days at a time, shooting their lines once a day. Each crew member had his own line, and at Peterhead the total number of hooks was over 400 (Arbuthnott 1815:39), but at Buckie each man in a crew of eight or nine had a line with 100 to 120 hooks (O.S.A. XIII:402). In this fishery, cod and ling were the main fish sought, but halibut and skate were also important. Great-lining went on until well into June, and afterwards the inshore and small-line fishing might be resumed, although in the Buckie area the men then prepared for the summer herring season. Another variation occurred in some years on the north coast of Aberdeenshire, where mackerel were fished with unbaited hooks if they appeared; and from at least the mid-seventeenth century (Garden 1843:100) there was also a fishery for dog-fish which might last into November. In the late eighteenth century this latter was on a considerable scale all along the coast: the fish was dried for winter food and its liver-oil provided fuel for lamps; and before 1800 it was being sought as fertiliser by farmers improving their land (Cranna 1914:58).

Lobster and 'partan' crabs were caught on the lines in earlier times, or simply gathered inshore at low tide, and only in the late eighteenth century is there any record of creels being introduced (O.S.A. VII:206). By 1800 there was an organised trade with the London market, and in 1792 two English companies engaged Buckie fishermen to catch lobsters (O.S.A. XIII:405), and at Peterhead (O.S.A. XVI:548) and elsewhere men were involved in catering for the same market.

Although there is an isolated reference to fishing for herring in Peterhead in 1733 (Anon 1907:71), and in Aberdeen between 1787 and 1797 ten boats big enough to qualify for the Government's tonnage bounty (minimum burthen 20 tons) were fitted out (*Parliamentary Papers* 1803:294-5), the only serious efforts in this field were by craft on the Moray Firth. Inverness had been sporadically involved in it for centuries, and tradition has it that men from Fife introduced the drift-net fishery for herring to Buckie before 1700 (Hutcheson 1887:34); while in Nairn a company was formed to promote it in 1712 (Bain 1928:246) with a fair measure of success. The main early fishery was in the inner Firth where most were caught in August, although in Pennant's time (1769) they were already being fished through the winter as well (Pennant 1771:178). In Buckie the older method of working was with four-men crews, each man having a net, the nets being of linen and having stones fixed to their lower end to make them sink and requiring to be dried almost daily to minimise the deterioration caused by salt water. Here, in a six-week season beginning about 20 July, men in a good year might earn as much as in all the other forty-six weeks (Hutcheson 1887:18), and there

were specialist curers ashore who dealt with the catch. Such a situation obviously encouraged expansion in herring fishing, and to this end in Inverness twenty-two boats qualifying for the tonnage bounty were fitted out between 1771 and 1797 (*Parliamentary Papers* 1803:294–5). Greater success was still at this stage enjoyed by smaller craft, and by the end of the century there were between 200 and 300 herring boats in all the Moray Firth coasts (with crews of 7 or 8 men) (*Parliamentary Papers* 1803: 140), and the main fishery was already moving to Caithness where the Buckie fleet played a prominent part. The stage was being set for the great nineteenth-century expansion, and fishermen were already developing the greater degree of mobility which was an essential concomitant.

However, the boldest ventures before 1800 in the North-East were made from other bases. Peterhead (O.S.A. XVI:609–10) and Fraserburgh (Cranna 1914:56) had fitted out bigger boats to go to Barra Head cod fishing in summer; and, from the former, some boats actually ventured as far as Iceland, herring fishing on the West Coast was attempted, and fifty years of whaling effort in the Arctic was begun as the century ended. But these developments were less enduring than the rising herring fisheries of the Moray Firth coasts.

Essential for successful white fisheries were adequate supplies of bait for the lines: the main sources of supply were the mussel beds of the estuaries, especially of the Ythan and Findhorn, but mussels were also collected on the foreshore of the Inverness Firth, and indeed brought into the area from the extensive beds of the Montrose Basin and the Cromarty and Dornoch Firths. Prior to about 1700, they were also collected from the inlet at Rattray (Hepburn 1843:98), before it was finally closed off from the sea by the bay-bar which now impounds the Loch of Strathbeg. At the end of the eighteenth century fishermen from all the villages made periodic trips to load their boats with mussels which, on their return, they 'sowed' on scalps on their own village foreshores to keep them fresh until required. At Torry, for example, it was the practice to make two or three trips a year to the Montrose Basin for this purpose (O.S.A. VII: 205–6).

In earlier times reliance on more local supplies was usual, and as early as 1570 fish bait on the foreshores were among the appurtenances of lands granted to Alexander Fraser of 'Pettowlie' (Pittulie) in the north-east of Aberdeenshire (Aberdeen and Banff Collections 1843:101). A century later in the same area, Garden of Troup speaks of gathering shell-bait off the rocks, and of transplanting it from the outer rocks to those nearer the shore for winter use (Garden 1843:100); lug-worm and sand-eels were also used in summer, and salted mackerel and saithe in winter. Butcher offal is also recorded as having been used by the fishermen of Torry (O.S.A. VII:205).

Traditionally, the work of baiting the lines, and of gathering and shelling the bait beforehand, was the work of the women, helped by the children. A significant illustration of this is that the school roll in the Aberdeenshire parish of Slains fell markedly in summer at the end of the eighteenth century, when everyone over six or seven years

old in the villages of Collieston and Old Castle was fully occupied in baiting (O.S.A. V:280).

Till the end of the eighteenth century too, there was a large element of self-sufficiency among the fishermen in making their own gear, including their lines of hemp with horsehair snoods, and also their own hooks (Hutcheson 1887:30). Where herring were fished, the men made their own nets, and sails for the boats were also made, although the boats themselves were built at a few of the bigger centres on the coast, including Cullen, Peterhead, Banff and Garmouth.

Disposal of the Catch

A considerable proportion of the fish caught was always consumed fresh in the coastal villages and towns, and in their immediate farming hinterlands; and prior to the eighteenth century, this certainly accounted for the major part of the catch. However, storage for winter use and for longer-distance trade required that part of the catch be preserved. The main method here was by splitting and drying the fish on rocks and shingle beaches, usually with some salting to improve preservation. This process took upwards of a month, and it was the work of the women and children to spread the fish out in dry weather and collect them together again in wet (N.S.A. XIII:338). Particularly in winter when drying was impracticable fish were also cured in barrels, and smoked.

The local trade was generally the responsibility of the fish-wife, a well-known figure in traditional Scottish life. Right into the nineteenth century (and even the twentieth) a proportion of this was by barter, the fish being exchanged for meal, butter, cheese and eggs in the fermtouns, giving a necessary supplement to what the fishers produced from their own plots. The fish-wife might carry her creel a return distance of 16 miles in a day (Pennant 1771:147), and Francis Douglas noted that they came before breakfast to Aberdeen from the village of Newburgh (13 miles away) to sell their wares in the weekly Friday market (Douglas 1782:150).

Although the restriction of market privileges to the burghs no doubt hampered the growth of commerce in fish, there was some longer distance trade from early times; and the purchase of 1,000 skate by the merchant William Buddith of Inverness at Fraserburgh in 1568 (MacKay and Boyd 1911:lxxvii) is an indication of the scale this could attain. This trade increased as activity in fishing expanded, and by the early eighteenth century Peterhead was especially prominent as an exporter. The fuller records of the later part of the eighteenth century reveal a trade which had grown to quite remarkable proportions: prices were rising, and the levels instanced in the Old Statistical Account suggest that the fishermen were not without a considerable incentive. At Collieston, the bigger fish like ling and turbot were fetching 1s. or more each, while skate and cod and sole were all worth 6d. each (O.S.A. V:275), although smaller fish and those less desired by the market realised considerably lower prices; at Peterhead cod fetched between £1 and £1 10s. per dozen (O.S.A. XVI:541), while lobsters at different

points on the coast were worth 2½d. each. It is noteworthy that in Robert Fergusson's poem 'Leith Races', written in the mid-eighteenth century, the following verse occurs:

> The Buchan bodies through the beach
> Their bunch o' Findrams cry
> And skirl oot bauld, in Norland speech,
> 'Gweed speldins—fa' will buy?'

The reference is obviously to visitors from the North-East who were hawking their fish; and speldings (dried whitings) were a traditional product of Collieston especially. Regular contacts had been forged with the ports of the Forth and Tay, and also with London; and while it is impossible to assess the total volume of this trade, there are available illustrations of its scale. Thus from Whitehills the annual value of outgoing trade was between £500 and £600 (O.S.A. XIX:307), while Portsoy and Cullen between them sent away fish to a value of about £840 (O.S.A. XII:143), and about one-half the catch from the Aberdeenshire parish of Slains (*i.e.* the villages of Collieston and Old Castle) were disposed of in the same way (O.S.A. V:275). Salt evaporated on the Forth, needed in the preservation of the fish, was one of the main return cargoes, and hemp for lines is also recorded, along with the domestic requirements of wool and coal. Buckie men went in May to Glasgow, and even to Ireland with a part of their catch, as well as making shorter trips to the ports of the inner Moray Firth to sell dried fish in summer and dog-fish liver oil in winter, and a return cargo here was bark for preserving the lines (Hutcheson 1887:23–24). There was also a regular trade from Peterhead to London, which took the form of 400 to 600 barrels of salt cod and haddock (O.S.A. XVI:541); and dried dog-fish were sent from Rosehearty and Pittulie (O.S.A. V:98) to the same destination.

In sum, by 1800 there had already developed on the North-East of Scotland considerable fisheries; the numbers of the fisherfolk had increased to be a reservoir of skilled manpower despite the hardships and periodic disasters of their life, and had achieved by the standards of the time a fair measure of prosperity. They were also involved in, and to some extent backed by a commercial organisation which gave scope for further expansion. After 1800 the fishermen were finally to achieve their independence of the lairds, their numbers to continue to grow and the whole scale of operations to expand; their boats were to increase in size and become decked over. This was to be accompanied by a large-scale turn-over to herring fishing in response to further government encouragement, together with centralisation of operations as the main centres acquired better harbours and other facilities which the larger boats needed. A mobility was also to develop, which took many of the fishermen (and numbers of their dependents) as far as the voes of Shetland, the wharves of Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft in East Anglia, and to fishing harbours in Ireland. There was, however, a necessary formative period of slower growth before the foundations were well and truly laid for the pattern of fishing we know in modern times.

NOTE

An important source in the preparation of the paper has been that of oral tradition. The majority of former practices recorded here are either within the memories of the older fisherfolk, or have been handed down by their forebears. Such information has been a main guide to research, and the attempt has been made to corroborate oral tradition with documentary evidence wherever possible.

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Some Geographical Aspects of Crofting in 'Lochaber'

DAVID TURNOCK

Although traditionally 'Lochaber' is only a small region round Fort William—the lands long held by the Camerons of Lochiel—it is convenient today to define the area in terms of Fort William's effective sphere of influence. For the present study this has been taken to include the parishes of Arisaig and Moidart, Kilmallie, Kilmonivaig and Glenelg in Inverness-shire, the parishes of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, Ardgour and Morvern in the Ardnamurchan District of Argyll and the parish of Lismore and Appin in the North Lorn District of Argyll. Lochaber so defined is a key area today in terms of Highland development. Its population increased slightly from 16,387 in 1951 to 16,572 in 1961, and by 1966 it had risen to 19,008. Yet, as has been shown (Turnock 1966), this pattern of growth does not permeate the whole region and apart from Fort William and the other main centres of Kinlochleven and Mallaig the landscape bears many of the signs of economic stagnation and of population decline from a mid-nineteenth century peak.

There is little good, flat land apart from that found in the Great Glen and in certain coastal areas, notably Appin, Morvern and the island of Lismore. Rugged, mountainous country dominates the interior and falls into two distinct sections: one, the Ben Nevis and Glencoe area whose major glens, Glen Coe and Glen Spean, carry the main roads to Fort William from Glasgow and from Kingussie respectively; and the other, the remoter country lying west of the Great Glen. Apart from Mallaig with its steamer and car-ferry connections (Turnock 1965) the routes leading west from Invergarry and Corran Ferry end in remote coastal districts such as Ardnamurchan, Glenelg, Knoydart and Moidart, whose dwindling communities have largely been bypassed by the economic developments of the present century. Morvern is perhaps a special case in that forestry and silica sand-mining have introduced an element of stability.

Crofting is a significant but not dominant element in this physically and economically diversified region, for Lochaber has been shown to be marginal to the main crofting area of Scotland (Moisley 1962). In view of Lochaber's position astride the southern part of the Great Glen the Improving Movement and other lowland influences were more keenly felt (Storrie 1965) than in districts further north and west, where recent studies (Caird 1958; Moisley 1961) have shown that the status of the small farmer was not so seriously eroded over the long term. Yet while Lochaber as a whole may be

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considered as a 'residual' crofting area like Easter Ross (Tivy 1965) there are striking
local variations between parishes within Lochaber. This is demonstrated in Table I
where the numbers of croft holdings in each parish are listed and their valuation com-
pared with that of farm units. The varying importance of common grazings (shown as
a percentage of all rough grazings) can also be appreciated. The parish of Ardnamurchan
and Sunart and the parish of Morvern represent the two extreme cases in respect of all
the criteria used but otherwise the pattern is far from regular since in Glenelg, although
only 8·6 per cent of the total rough grazings comprise township common pastures, the
valuation of croft land is almost equal to that of farm land. It is with these varied
patterns of croft land and crofting agriculture within Lochaber that this paper is con-
cerned.

TABLE I

Some Criteria for Assessing the Dominance of Crofting, 1962

Parish	a	b	c
		%	%
Ardgour	50	5·2	18·0
Ardnamurchan and Sunart	211	20·4	139·0
Lismore and Appin	112	3·0	24·3
Morvern	9	0·3	2·1
Arisaig and Moidart	73	1·0	35·7
Glenelg	106	8·6	91·8
Kilmallie	124	7·4	36·7
Kilmonivaig	66	8·8	27·0

a Number of croft holdings (as surveyed in Tables II and III).

b Area of common grazings as a percentage of all rough grazings.

c Total value per annum of croftland expressed as a percentage of the total value per annum of all the
farms in the district.

Source: Field work.

The Distribution of Croft Land

The crofting area in 1886 (Fig. 1) shows the degree to which the small tenants, formerly
the dominant element in Highland agriculture, had become restricted by processes of
voluntary migration and clearance. In Appin, closest to the industrial south, people
drifted away relatively early, while in Moidart religious persecution on the Clanranald
estate prompted a substantial emigration by tacksmen and small tenants alike. Indeed
while the population of Lochaber as a whole rose from 16,939 to 19,009 between 1755 and
1798, Ardnamurchan was the only parish to show a fall in population (from 5,000 to
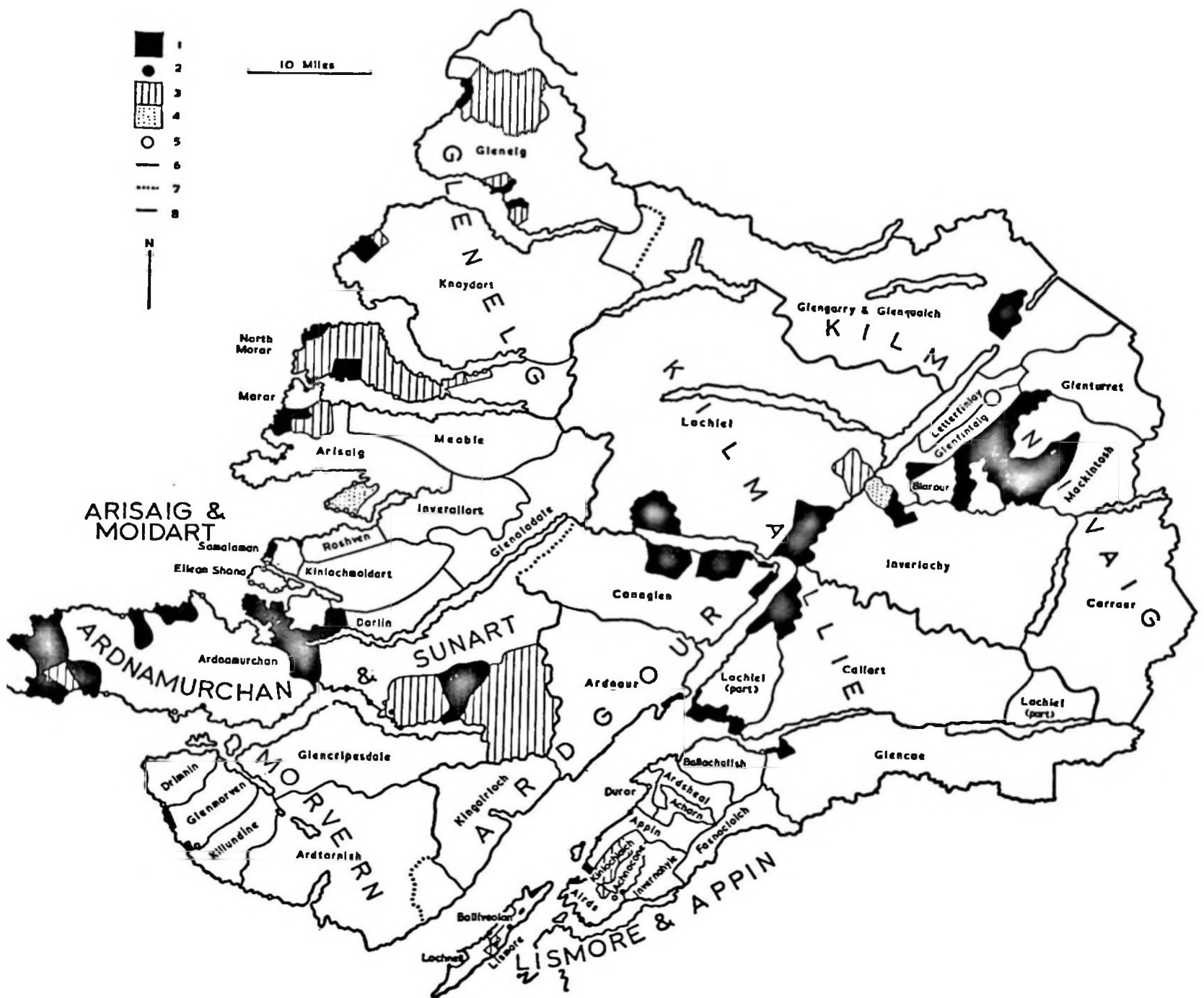4,542) (O.S.A. 1798:587). But elsewhere stronger measures had to be adopted in the

FIG. 1 Croft land in Lochaber.

1. Croft land in 1886 still in crofting today.
2. As above but an individual holding.
3. Smallholdings formed since 1886 (including common grazing extensions and some small farms which now have croft status).
4. Croft land in 1886 now lying derelict or removed from crofting.
5. Former crofting township now empty.
6. Parish boundary.
7. Parish boundary (where it does not also form an estate boundary).
8. Estate boundary.

Note: Because it is necessary to study the evolution of crofting against the background of the estate pattern of the time, the boundaries shown relate to the nineteenth century and do not indicate any of the fragmentation which has taken place since 1860.

nineteenth century when a deterioration in economic conditions made it necessary to introduce commercial sheep farming on much of the estate land and so confine the activities of small tenants (Turnock 1967c). They were generally grouped together on a small section of each estate, usually by the sea where fishing could be developed, but in the few cases of landlocked estates such as those of Glengarry and Mackintosh the lower part of a tributary glen was selected. The degrees to which each estate considered the interests of their crofters (as the small tenants became known) are reflected in the great variations in the amount of land earmarked for resettlement. There was relatively generous provision of grazings on the Ardnamurchan, Conaglen, Lochiel and Mackintosh estates (6,000 acres at Bohuntine and 7,723 at Galmore in Glen Roy) compared with the more ruthless clearances in Glenelg, Knoydart and Morvern where the few communities which remained were tightly enclosed around small grazings; only 300 acres were provided for 23 tenants at Camusbane on Loch Hourn. The net effect of these changes has been to remove the small farming element completely from many districts and to promote great variations in the size of holding elsewhere (Turnock 1967b).

But superimposed on this pattern were the results of the land settlement movement which was prominent at the turn of the century when the declining fortunes of commercial sheep farming in the Highlands made smallholdings a more appropriate form of land organisation. Such new holdings were included within the scope of the crofting legislation, which dates from 1886, and Figure 1 shows the extent of these later additions to the crofting landscape. In many cases these new holdings were effectively small farms and generally lacked township organisation or common grazings, and they fall into a number of categories. Some small farms were able to satisfy the requirements of the 1886 Act and consequently achieved croft status then: these lie exclusively on the North Morar estate (Glenelg). Secondly, the Congested Districts Board, whose powers in Lochaber extended only to Glenelg Parish, effected some subdivision of farms (again in North Morar) and extended certain common grazings to allow sheep stocks to be introduced. This happened at Arnisdale (Camusbane and Corran townships), Glenelg (Galder) and North Morar (Bracara and Mallaig) but was only a modest version of the sweeping programme of resettlement previously recommended in the report of the Royal Commission (*P.P.* 1895). Thirdly and most significant was the formation of smallholdings with croft status under the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919. Farms were broken up in Ardnamurchan (Ardery, Carnoch, Drimnatorran, Ormsaigmore and Ranachan), Lismore (Ballygrundle and Craignich), Appin (Kinlochlaich), Arisaig (Kinloid) and Glenelg (Beolary and Scallasaig). Although powers are still available, no further new holdings have been formed since the 1920s and under present conditions, with a premium on technical ability and capital resources, further formation of smallholdings is unlikely.

Today, therefore, there is not only an uneven distribution of croft land in Lochaber but the actual crofting area is the work of several processes of reorganisation which did

not always have similar economic objectives. Certainly the small holdings formed after 1919 aimed at the establishment of small but viable farming units, even though in the aftermath of war the desirable social policy of settling as many families as possible may have been allowed to compromise this economic objective. Yet for the older crofting townships viability was even more elusive. The Deer Forest Commission of 1892 reported that 'the kind of holding to which for the most part crofters are accustomed is one affording a home, but making it necessary for the crofter to supplement what he derives from his holding by labour or fishing or by carrying on a trade or business. In various districts those who came forward to give evidence rather showed that they had not reached the idea of a self-sustaining holding and craved our attention to the great demand for the smaller size of holdings' (*P.P.* 1895:10). Croft holdings, especially the small potato patches lotted individually or in small groups to cottars and various estate employees can only be viewed in the context of a fairly regular ancillary employment. So prominent was income from other sources that the justification of awarding security of tenure to these tiny holdings in 1886 may well be questioned. The Napier Commission's recommendation was not to award security to the tenants of the smallest holdings for, in view of the adversity of economic conditions, this 'would tend to fix them in a condition from which they ought to be resolutely though gently withdrawn' (*P.P.* 1884:39).

The health of crofting depends not only on agricultural activity but also on the strength of the local economy generally, and changes in employment structure in the present century have had important effects on the stability of crofting. Declining employment in farming, domestic fishing, deer forests and local trades has often led to the complete abandonment of some crofts or made for a largely absentee or elderly tenantry. The results have varied according to local accessibility and the existence of replacement economies. Areas hit the worst tend to be those lacking road access: most small communities in this category have disappeared since 1886. The Ardnish peninsula on the Arisaig estate, Eilean Shona and Eigneig in Moidart, the Loch Nevis townships east of Kylesmorar and Skiary on Loch Hourn, are all cases of complete abandonment by small tenants this century. These small, often rocky holdings are now used for grazing by some neighbouring farmer or crofter. But apart from these limited areas where complete depopulation has occurred there are many instances where the local response to changing economic conditions has come by way of under-use of croft land and the treatment of the croft simply as a home rather than an agricultural subject. It is necessary therefore to study these varying degrees of utilisation to see if a coherent pattern emerges which can be set alongside the simple distribution of croft land.

A Recent Survey of Crofting Agriculture

The results of a personal survey of crofting in Lochaber in 1962 are given in summary form in Tables II and III. Amalgamation has reduced the number of holdings very

considerably since the end of the nineteenth century, but it is difficult to supply an accurate figure for the total number of crofts at that time as the Crofters Commission (established in 1886) did not visit every township in Lochaber. In 1962 there were 741 holdings and of these only 440 could be classified as agricultural units, for 180 had no crops or stock and were either completely derelict or used only for hay. The remaining 121 were sublet, legally or informally, to other crofters or, occasionally, to farmers—a practice which is now recognised officially by the Commission. Of the 440 agricultural units only 198 had sheep stocks, while 372 kept cattle: a reflection of the limited grazings in many nineteenth-century townships where provision was only made for the summering of cattle. 376 units had some arable cultivation but only in 196 cases was this sufficient to justify application to the Commission for cropping grants. On many crofts the area cultivated did not exceed one-eighth of an acre but those crofters applying for grants were cultivating, on average, only 2.5 acres.

There were interesting local variations in emphasis, however, in terms of differentiation within the region. First there was a high proportion of crofts lying derelict or used only for hay in Arisaig and Moidart (33 per cent), Ardnamurchan and Sunart (30 per cent), and Lismore and Appin (25 per cent), a feature which, along with the high rate of subletting in Lismore and Appin (33 per cent), reflects the prominence and inadequacy of tiny holdings which are suitable only for cattle. The other parishes showed more activity: thus Glenelg and Kilmonivaig had a high proportion of holdings with a sheep stock—54 per cent and 48 per cent respectively, compared with only 8 per cent in Arisaig and Moidart. This is due to the large common grazings allocated in Kilmonivaig in the nineteenth century, and in Glenelg to common grazing extensions and the establishment of smallholdings there. Ardgour, Kilmallie and Kilmonivaig showed the greatest interest in cropping: 56 per cent, 40 per cent and 39 per cent respectively of the crofts in these parishes applied for cropping grant, whereas in Glenelg and Lismore and Appin this fell off to 14 per cent.

The labour inputs were an important aspect and it was interesting that in Lochaber only 10 per cent of the crofters were working on their holdings full-time (Table III). Even this low figure may be unrealistic because some may well have obtained part of their income from interests in tourism or business which the survey did not reveal. Again the difference between the number of crofts worked full-time and the number of viable units was quite considerable: some full-time crofters may well have been underemployed. Almost 50 per cent of the crofters were working permanently or periodically in another job, with the British Aluminium Company, Forestry Commission, Post Office, County Councils or estates. Another 30 per cent were retired and the remaining 11 per cent were living away from their crofts, often permanently. But interesting again were the local contrasts: the proportion of part-time crofters was highest in Kilmallie (69 per cent), Ardgour (67 per cent), and Arisaig and Moidart (64 per cent), falling to 37 per cent in Ardnamurchan and Sunart. On the other hand the proportion of absentees was highest in Ardnamurchan and Sunart (21 per cent), Lismore and Appin (13 per

cent), and Glenelg (11 per cent), and the proportion of retired tenants was as high as 38 per cent in Kilmonivaig and 33 per cent in Ardnamurchan and Sunart, Glenelg and Lismore and Appin.

TABLE II

Crofting Survey 1: Holdings and Agricultural Units, 1962

Parish	No. of Holdings	Agricultural Units				Cropping Grant Appli- cations*	Holdings Derelict or used for hay only	Holdings Sublet
		a	*b*	*c*	*d*			
Ardgour	50	41 (82)	40	34	13 (26)	28 (56)	4 (08)	5 (10)
Ardnamurchan and Sunart	211	117 (55)	110	99	53 (25)	41 (20)	64 (30)	30 (15)
Lismore and Appin	102	42 (41)	21	38	17 (17)	14 (14)	26 (25)	34 (33)
Morvern	9	4 (46)	4	4	1 (11)	2 (22)	4 (44)	1 (10)
Arisaig and Moidart	73	44 (60)	42	41	6 (08)	21 (29)	24 (33)	5 (07)
Glenelg	106	66 (62)	48	56	57 (54)	15 (14)	21 (20)	19 (18)
Kilmallie	124	81 (65)	72	71	19 (15)	50 (40)	21 (17)	22 (18)
Kilmonivaig	66	45 (68)	39	29	32 (48)	25 (39)	16 (24)	5 (08)
Total	741	440 (59)	376	372	198 (27)	196 (26)	180 (25)	121 (16)

A croft *holding* is defined as the land held by one tenant in one township. An amalgamation of two or more non-adjacent crofts are counted as one holding if they are in the same township but as two if they are in different townships. Vacant crofts are counted as separate holdings. An *agricultural unit* is a holding with crops or stock belonging to one tenant. These are the same in number as croft holdings, after allowance has been made for subletting and dereliction.

Agricultural Units: *a* Total number of units.
                               b Units with arable cultivation.
                               c Units with cattle stock.
                               d Units with sheep stock.

Figures in brackets are percentages of the total number of holdings in the parish concerned (as shown in the first column).

Sources: Field Work and *Crofters Commission.

These two pictures of agricultural enterprises and the status of the crofters show considerable correlation. In parts of Lochaber, notably Ardgour, Kilmallie and Kilmoni- vaig, the crofting scene is relatively healthy with a good average size of holding and a good measure of agricultural activity. 82 per cent, 65 per cent and 68 per cent

respectively of the crofts are agricultural units and the young tenantry is supported by the wide range of ancillary employment offered in the Fort William area. In much of Lismore and Appin employment opportunities are good, but croft land is just too limited in extent to support agriculture on any scale today. Less than half the crofts are farming units and many crofters are retired or absent. In Ardnamurchan and Sunart the small size of many holdings, especially in the old fishing townships, coupled with remoteness and limited ancillary employment (apart from forestry in Sunart), makes for

TABLE III

Crofting Survey 2: Tenants, 1962

| Parish | No. of Tenants | Number and Percentage of Tenants who are: | | | |
		a Full-time Crofters	b Part-time Crofters	c Retired	d Absentees
Ardgour	46	5 (11)	31 (67)	9 (20)	1 (02)
Ardnamurchan and Sunart	194	18 (09)	72 (37)	64 (33)	40 (21)
Lismore and Appin	102	11 (11)	44 (43)	34 (33)	13 (13)
Morvern	5	1 (20)	3 (60)	1 (20)	—
Arisaig and Moidart	59	5 (08)	37 (64)	15 (26)	1 (02)
Glenelg	95	13 (14)	40 (43)	30 (32)	10 (11)
Kilmallie	123	7 (06)	71 (69)	26 (25)	—
Kilmonivaig	58	4 (07)	27 (47)	22 (38)	5 (08)
Total	682	64 (10)	325 (49)	201 (30)	70 (11)

Information is lacking on 19 tenants in Kilmallie, 2 in Glenelg and 1 in Arisaig and Moidart. They are included in the total but not in the classification.

Source: Field work.

a similar picture of decay. Yet there are 18 full-time crofters in this parish, owing to the positive effects of land settlement. Glenelg is in a similar position, for the limited employment opportunities in the west have had a depressing effect, except on the newer smallholdings which support a more viable sheep farming economy. In Arisaig and Moidart however, in spite of a high proportion of dereliction, 64 per cent of the crofters have some other employment, and tourism is important. At Bunacaimb, a small township on the edge of Keppoch Moss near Arisaig, there is an admirable combination of crofting agriculture and tourism which is supporting a prosperous community.

The Future of Crofting in Lochaber

Relatively large holdings and local employment opportunities promote stability in crofting townships in Lochaber, but the general pattern is clearly one of decline. Crofting has disappeared in some localities while in others there is a distinct impression that the system has degenerated into providing homes for the elderly and for a privileged section of a predominantly industrial society. On the smaller holdings, crofting agriculture constitutes an anachronistic and uneconomic method of farming, yet one which is difficult to reorganise because of the historical legacy of the nineteenth century—first the Clearances and later the rigid land laws. The Taylor Commission reported in 1954 that crofting 'as now organised is fighting a losing battle against the social and economic forces of the day' (*P.P.* 1954:para. 10), and recommended legislation to secure the reorganisation of townships. Under the Crofters (Scotland) Act of 1955, the Crofters Commission was reconstituted with powers to reorganise, develop and regulate crofting.

Now cropping and improvement grants along with agricultural subsidies have certainly encouraged some agricultural interest but, in spite of additional legislation in 1961, reorganisation of croft land has proved very difficult and does not appeal readily to either landlord or tenant. This is partly due to the rigidity of previous legislation and township organisation which can easily stifle and suppress the initiative of the young and more enterprising tenants, but it did not prevent reorganisation of Blaich (Ardgour) in 1958 (Fig. 2). Here there was a large area of land and a dwindling but active tenantry,
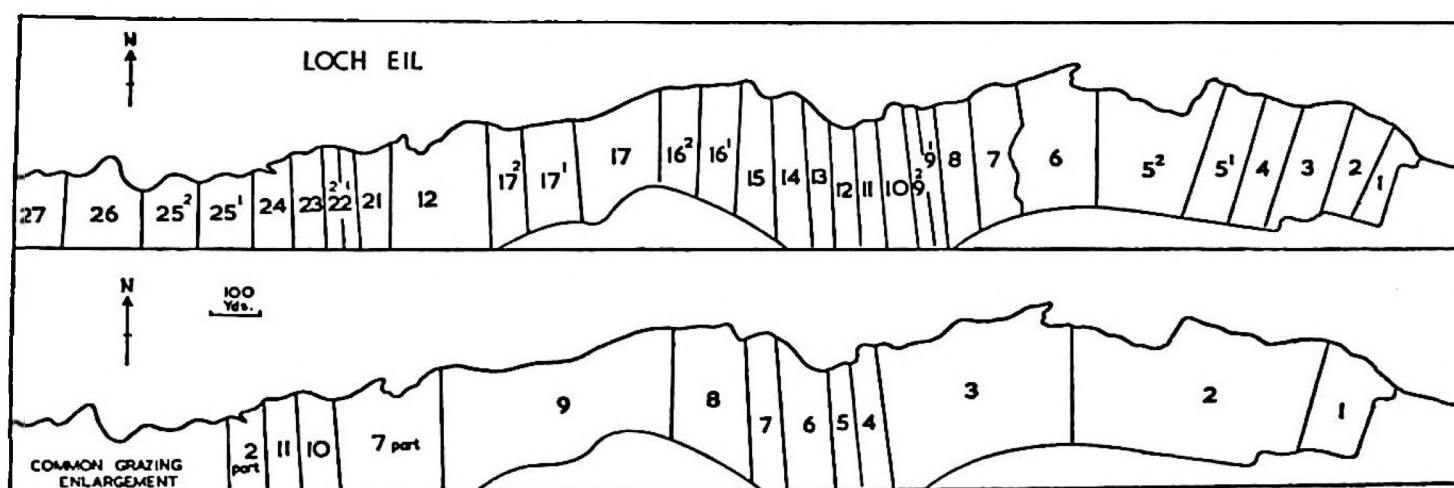

FIG. 2 Blaich, Ardgour. Showing the pattern of croft holdings before and after reorganisation.

conditions which made for a general desire to consolidate the pattern of fragmented holdings which had arisen from spasmodic amalgamation of non-adjacent crofts in the past (Turnock 1963:37). The number of holdings was reduced from 25 to 11, with a grazing of 2,936 acres. All the ten tenants are of working age and five are employed full-time on their crofts.

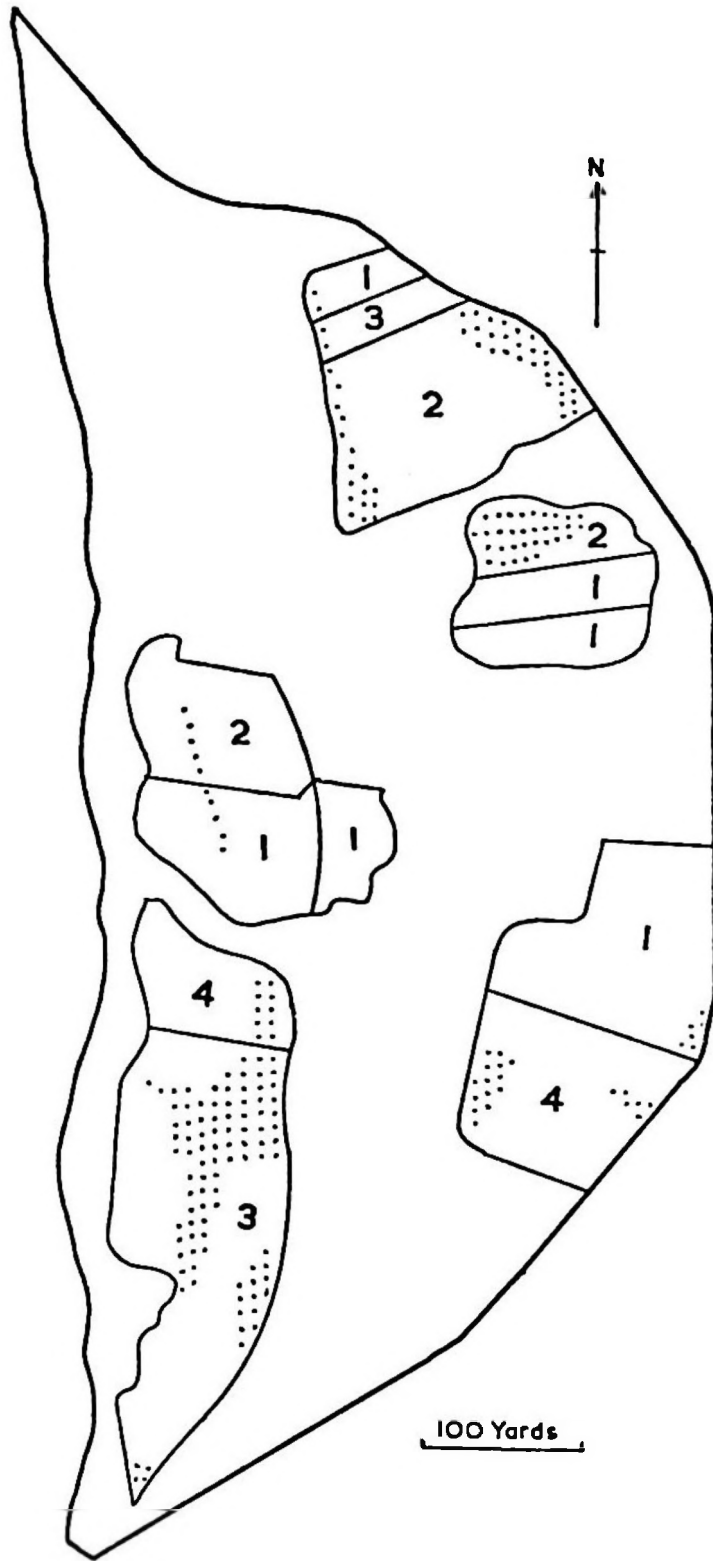Many other townships could well be better organised, such as Bohenie in Glen Roy

FIG. 3 Bohenie, Kilmonivaig. Showing the fragmented nature of holdings, many of which are of limited value because of the rocky patches (denoted by the shading).
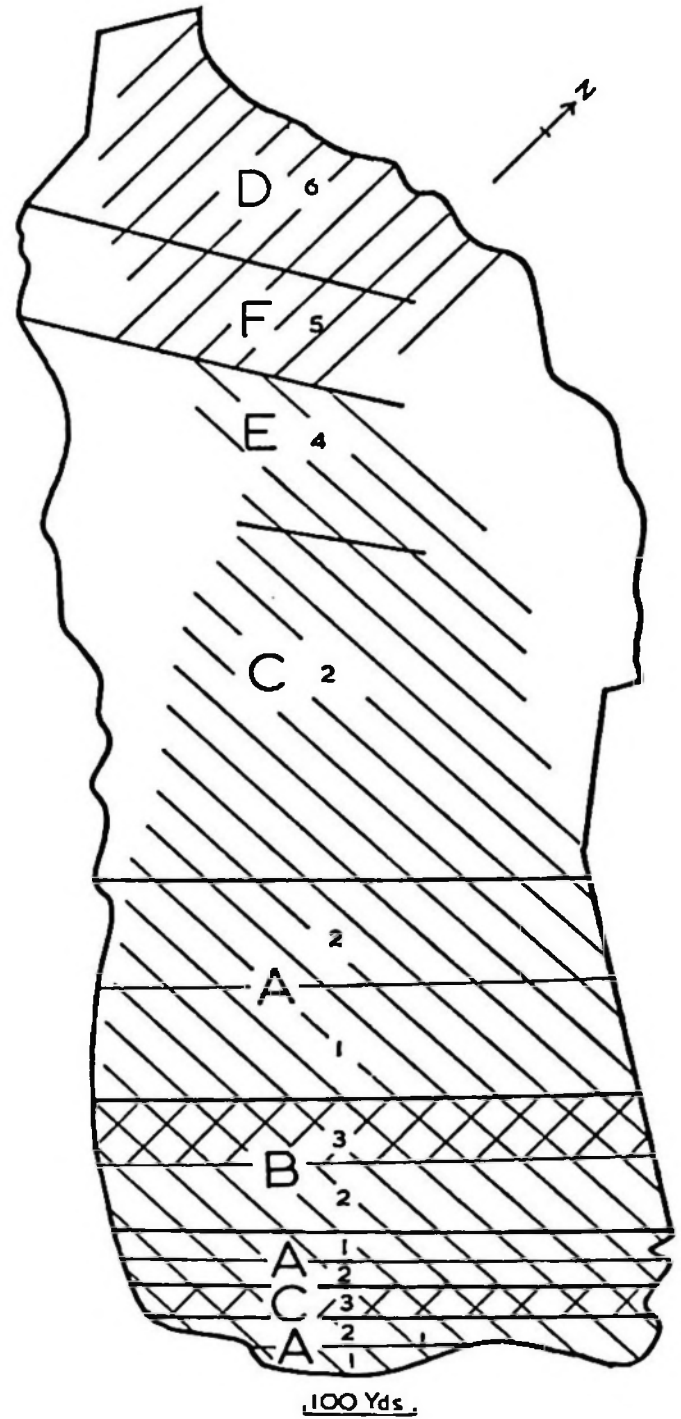
FIG. 4 Kilmory, Ardnamurchan. Showing the pattern of six croft tenancies (1,2,3,4,5,6), six croft holdings (A,B,C,D,E,F) and three agricultural units (shown by contrasting types of shading). A number of tenancies (1,2,3) are unconsolidated and some have been formed by dividing crofts A and B. The smaller number of agricultural units results from dwindling and subletting.

(Fig. 3) where the arable is very dispersed, and Kilmory in Ardnamurchan where fragmentation of holdings is excessive (Fig. 4). But in the majority of cases there is insufficient land in terms of either quantity or quality to form even one viable unit. The grazings may be steep and rocky and the arable land not only small in area but further handicapped by thin, hungry soils or rendered inaccessible by open drains. Again, there is a natural unwillingness on the part of the agriculturally inactive to give up their land without compensation. Enlargement of holdings by bringing additional land into crofting is therefore often advocated by the crofters themselves and at a meeting of the Federation of Crofters Unions in December 1962, Mr W. Cameron of Lochaber Crofters Union called for an immediate survey of land to be rehabilitated and made into economic holdings. However, although a smallholdings policy may have been a sound proposition at the turn of the century as an alternative to afforestation for deer when sheep farming fell on bad times, it is doubtful whether the state of farming today would encourage the formation of new small units which would call for a very heavy investment per acre in buildings and machinery.

Some crofts are in effect small economic farms, but the average croft is far too small for viability to be a realistic aim. The Crofters Commission (1955/56:para. 110) have it on record that 'it is the essence of our mandate to maintain the crofting population', but this cannot be achieved by agricultural development alone, even less today than it could in the nineteenth century. Maybe too much weight has been placed on agriculture as a solution to the problem, for the main demand by crofters in areas suffering heavy depopulation is for new employment.

Lochaber as a whole fares better than many parts of the Highlands, for agriculture in general is only one component of the region's highly developed industrial economy (Turnock 1966) which makes for one of the lowest rates of unemployment in the whole of the Crofting Counties. But much of the work is available only in the main centres, a situation which present developments are exaggerating (Turnock, 1967a:60). Tourism and forestry offer possibilities in rural areas, but such opportunities cannot occur everywhere. For instance, while Bunacaimb has fine *machair* sands and good communications by road and rail as a basis for tourism, Camusbane (Arnisdale) has only a stony beach at the end of a minor road. Again, trees cannot be grown economically on the rocky, steep, exposed ground of Moidart and West Ardnamurchan, irrespective of the need for additional employment by the crofters.

In townships such as Ballachulish, Fort William, Glencoe and Invergarry where the flourishing economy of Lochaber has most effect, part-time crofting would be less likely to lead to under-worked land and to the abuse of the privileges and safeguards which were awarded to crofters on the basis of nineteenth-century conditions. However, in these areas, crofting is losing much of its distinction as a social force since crofters tend to be only one of several elements in a growing industrial community; while the demands of urban development have led to considerable losses of croft land in some townships near Fort William (Turnock 1968).

Other townships, especially those on the west coast fringe of Ardnamurchan, Glenelg and Moidart, face further dwindling of their numbers and deterioration of age structures. With the way Highland development is taking place, their remoteness and limited land resources must continue to weigh against them and threaten their survival. These cases inevitably arouse strong feelings, but it should be considered whether the remains of an economy of an overpopulated landscape of the nineteenth century can necessarily provide a sound framework for growth in the present age.

NOTE

Much of the material in this article was gathered as a result of intensive field work in Lochaber in 1962 and 1963. As well as general enquiry, the Valuation Rolls of Inverness-shire and Argyll provided useful information. The minutes of evidence submitted to the Napier and Deer Forest Commissions (*P.P.* 1884; *P.P.* 1895) give a valuable insight into local conditions at that time, as do the Annual Reports of the Crofters Commission from 1886.

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Notes on Collection and Research

Scottish Place-Names : 31 Falkirk

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The situation with regard to the study of individual Scottish place-names is such that, unless there exists a competent regional account of the place-nomenclature of a certain area—and there are very few such accounts—, even names of larger inhabited places, such as towns and cities, lack the kind of near-comprehensive documentation which allows a detailed analysis. Glasgow, Dundee, Paisley, Kilmarnock, Lanark, Peebles, Kirkcaldy, Banff, Nairn and many others all fall within this category. This does not mean that the etymology of these names is not known; in fact, we can fairly confidently etymologise all the names just listed. However, the gradual development of the name, both in form and application, and the ultimate emergence of the modern spelling cannot normally be followed from any printed discussion of these names. In each case it is necessary to amass one's own list of spellings by laboriously searching through the relevant records. This task should become considerably easier once the archives of the Scottish Place-Name Survey have been arranged in such a way that the hundreds of thousands of early spellings they contain are accessible in conjunction with each name, but such an arrangement cannot be expected to be available for quite a number of years to come.

It appears necessary therefore that, from time to time, the present series of place-name articles should, in addition to the discussion of broader issues such as historical stratification and geographical distribution, devote some space to the examination of individual names such as the ones listed above; this particular note is therefore concerned with the name *Falkirk* which might with justification have been added to the group of names in question. Falkirk is a fascinating name in many respects but in this context and on the basis of our present knowledge it will not be possible to touch on all of these. We are also more fortunate than with most individual names in so far as there does exist at least one quite detailed attempt at an account of the derivation and meaning of the name. This account was published almost eighty years ago (Miller 1893) and elucidates much of what we have to know about the historical background of the place called Falkirk, beyond the purely linguistic data necessary to establish a reliable etymology. Unfortunately the author of that treatise does not show the same competence

when it comes to the discussion of the meaning of the name and squanders his hard-earned documentary knowledge on an unacceptable etymology which we shall allude to below (p. 57, note 12).

First of all, it is necessary to present a list of the various forms as they occur from the eleventh century onwards (or at least from the twelfth). This list cannot be comprehensive, especially from the sixteenth century onwards, but all the relevant spellings will be shown:

(a) *egglesbreth*　*c* 1120 (1165–70) Symeon of Durham
　　　　　　　　c 1150 Historia post Bedam
　　Eglesbreth　? 12th cent. (16th cent.) Leland I, 384
　　eaglesuret　1185–98 Chron. Melrose[1]
　　Eglesbryth　1268 Holy. Lib.

(b) *Egelilbrich*　1164 Holy. Lib.
　　Eiglesbrec　1166 Holy. Lib.; *Egglesbrec* Stevenson, *Illustrations*
　　Egelbrech　1190–1200 Roger de Hoveden
　　Eglesbrich　1247 Holy. Lib.
　　An Eaglais Bhreac　Mod. Gaelic

(c) *Varia Capella*　1166, 1240, 1247, 1319 Holy Lib.;
　　　　　　　　　1242 Pontifical of St Andrews
　　Varie Capelle　(gen.) 1319 Holy. Lib.; 1531 (1534), 1537 RMS

(d) *la Veire Chapelle*　1301 CDS
　　la Vaire Chapele　1303–4 CDS
　　la Veyre Chapele　1304 CDS
　　la Veire Chapele　1305 CDS

(e) *la Faukirk*　1298 CDS
　　Faukirk　s.a. 1298 1298 Chron. Lanercost; 1391, 1468 ER;
　　　　　　　c 1460 Harding Map of Scotland; 1511 RMS;
　　　　　　　c 1564 Nowell Map of Scotland
　　Fawkirk　1391, 1392 Holy. Lib., 1537, 1632, 1634 RMS
　　Fawkirc　1391, 1392 RMS
　　Fawkyrk　1531 (1534) RMS (twice)
　　Fauskyrk　1564 Mercator Map of British Isles
　　Fauskirk　1570 Ortelius Map of British Isles

(f) *Falkirk* 1458, 1557 (1580), 1580, 1581, 1587, etc. RMS;
　　　　　1546 Holy. Lib., 1551, 1591–2 ER; 1594 Brech. Reg.,
　　　　　1595 Mercator Map of Scotland

A discussion of this unusually great variety of forms and spellings must of necessity be preceded by some comment on the identification of the forms listed under (a), with

Falkirk, and of their relationship to each other. The first four, as well as Hoveden's *Egelbrech* under (*b*), all occur as part of an annal for 1080 which in more or less identical terms states that 'Quo anno idem rex Willelmus autumnali tempore Rodbertum filium suum Scotiam contra Malcholmum misit. Sed cum pervenisset ad Egglesbreth, nullo confecto negotio reversus, Castellum Novum super flumen Tyne condidit.'[2] From this entry it is, of course, by no means clear where in Scotland *Egglesbreth* lies, and it is only natural that at first it should have been looked for in the most southern parts of the country. Sir David Dalrymple, for instance, equated it with Bridekirk near Annan, regarding *Eggles-* as standing for *Ecclesia* and the whole name for Latin *Ecclesia Bridgidae* (Dalrymple 1776: 19 *n*); and in his index to the works of Symeon of Durham, Arnold thinks of a possible identification with Eccles in Berwickshire (Arnold 1885 : II, 416).Whereas Egglesbre*th* led Sir David Dalrymple to Bridekirk, the reading Egglesbre*ch* suggested '*Eglesbrec*, the old name of *Falkirk*' to Chalmers who further argues (1807 : I, 419 note *h*) that 'if Robert had penetrated to *Annan*, he must have entered Scotland, from Cumberland, on the west: but, as his irruption was bounded by Falkirk, he must have come down to this well-known town, the scene of so many conflicts, through Northumberland, whether he certainly returned', to found Newcastle. Chalmers' view has become the generally accepted one, but although we are in agreement with it too, it was necessary to point out the, at least partly, extra-linguistic nature of the argument.

Although a detailed account of the history of the chronicles involved cannot be part of this discussion, it is however essential to give a brief survey of the relationship of the spellings to each other in order to assess their value and standing as the earliest, and therefore extremely important, forms of our name. The main question which arises in this respect is whether these spellings have come down to us independent of each other or have some kind of connection. The fact that they all occur in practically identical annals referring to the same year (1080) rules out the first alternative or at least makes it very unlikely; what we must determine therefore is the nature of the connection which exists between these five spellings. This in turn depends on the nature of the relationship of the sources. As far as Hoveden is concerned, both the *Historia Regum* ascribed to Symeon of Durham and the so-called *Historia post Bedam* (Stubbs 1868 : I, xxvi and xxxi–xxxiii) are considered to be among his sources, a supposition supported by the presence of the phrase *autumnali tempore* which only occurs in these three versions (see note 2 below). For the Chronicle of Melrose, the existing version of Symeon, and the *Historia post Bedam* Anderson claims that the relationship is collateral[3] and that for their Northern English and Scottish material they all go back to a Northumbrian source of which no surviving text is known and which probably included a chronicle that ended before the annal for 1130 (Anderson 1936 : xi). This would mean that the *egglesbreth* which occurs in that part of the *Historia Regum* for which Symeon himself is thought to have been responsible,[4] the *egglesbreth* of the *Historia post Bedam*, and the *eaglesuret* of the Melrose Chronicle derive

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from the same original spelling, whereas Hoveden's *Egelbrech* derives from the *egglesbreth* of Symeon and the *Historia post Bedam*. Little can be said by the present writer about the exact source of Leland's *Eglesbreth* which is said to have been extracted 'ex libro incerti autoris de episcopis Lindisfarnensibus'. It is the same annal but without the Symeon/*Historia post Bedam* addition and is undoubtedly derived from the same source as the Melrose and Symeon passages, although perhaps closer to the first. The genealogy is therefore to be taken to be something like this
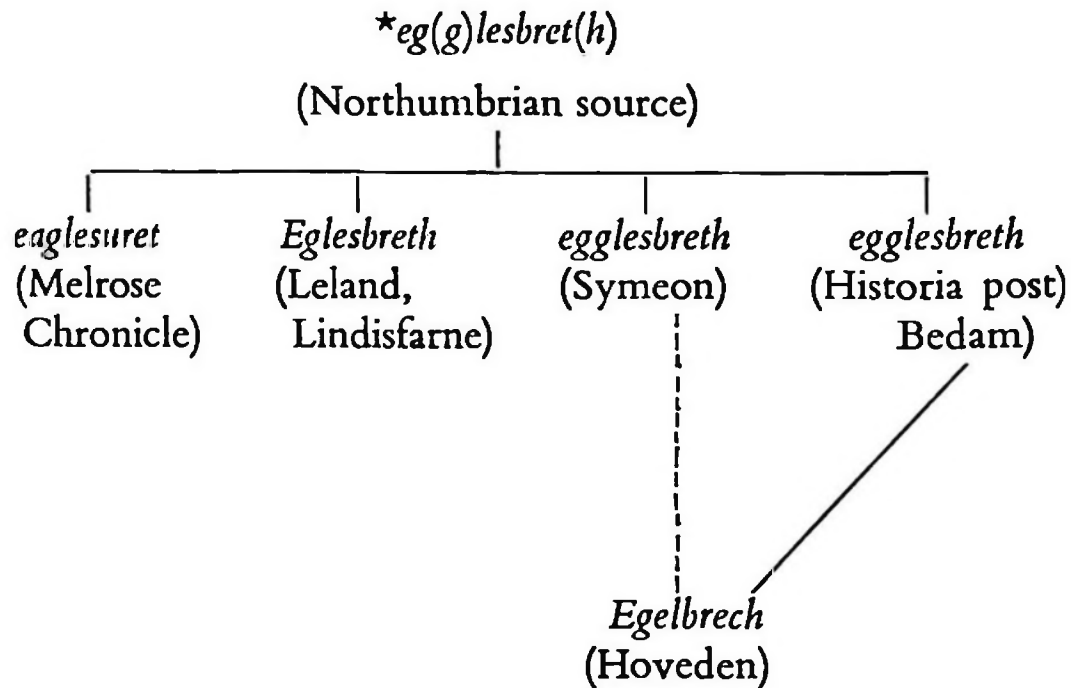
Consequently we have to take all these entries as one which is rather important when it comes to the assessment of the final consonant. This is clearly *-t* in the Melrose Chronicle (see Anderson 1936:28) and *-th* in Symeon and the *Historia post Bedam*.[5] For the *-th* of the Lindisfarne spelling we have to take Leland's word for the time being. On the basis of these four independently derived forms it appears reasonable to assume that the Northumbrian source also had *-t(h)*. Curious in this respect is Hoveden's *-ch* but if *-t* and *-c* were similar in the Symeon and *Historia post Bedam* MSS (see note 5 below), then a *-ch* could easily have been misread for a *-th*. In this connection, it is interesting that Leland read the Symeon spelling as *Egglesbirch* (1770 : II, 356) and copies the Hoveden form as *Egelbereth* (1770 : III, 199) which is at least a measure of the difficulty by which readers of the respective manuscripts were confronted when trying to distinguish between *c* and *t*, or other letters for that matter, since the *eaglesuret* of the Melrose Chronicle, if found in isolation, would hardly have allowed even the most daring scholar to amend it to **egglesbret(h)*. With this background in mind, we have to take our starting-point as being a spelling ending in *-bret(h)*. Seeming confirmation of such a form comes from a much later and completely independent source, a charter in 1268 by Gamline, Bishop of St Andrews to the Church of Holyrood, listing amongst other possessions 'Ecclesiam de Eglesbryth que hodie varia capella

nuncupatur' (Innes 1840:66). This is in confirmation of an earlier charter of 1240 in which unfortunately our name becomes illegible after *Egl-* (Innes 1840:64). We are therefore not in a position to judge whether the *-th* is a misreading for *-ch* or an accurate copy. One is inclined, under the circumstances, to decide in favour of the former,[6] as a singular *-th* appears to be somewhat out of place in a series of charters and bulls which otherwise only show *-ch*, but certainly its existence must be taken into account in any evaluation of the *-th* spellings for the annal of 1080.

With or without support from the Holyrood charter, however, these spellings and their hypothetic source are there for us to interpret and should not be pushed aside lightly by emendation, as everybody before Watson used to do, who threw out the suggestion that Symeon's *Egglesbreth* might be a British form (1926:349), a proposal which prompted Johnston to add to his earlier derivation as Gaelic *eaglais breac*, the alternative 'or W[elsh] *eglwys brith*', 'speckled church', in the third edition of his dictionary (1934 : 176). How serious and acceptable is the notion that a spelling occurring in a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century Northumbrian (monastic) annal might represent a genuine British (=Cumbric) place-name in Central Scotland? First of all, it must be stated that, as *eglwys*<Latin *ec(c)lesia* is feminine in Welsh, the adjective would be *braith*<*breith* and not *brith* and also should show soft mutation after a feminine noun, *i.e. fraith*. Presumably a late eleventh-century form would have been something like **egluis breith* (Jackson 1953:330; 1954:71-3). However, as the corresponding mutation is never shown in the Gaelic form of the name (where one would have expected at least the occasional Anglicised **vrech*, or the like), it is perhaps not necessary to take the apparent non-lenition of the initial consonant too seriously in this context. Perhaps more difficult to accept is the representation of *-ei-* by *-e-* in *-breth* for *-breith* although this would seem to have a parallel in *Eden-*<*Eidyn* in the twelfth-century forms of the name Edinburgh (Jackson 1959 : 42), nor is it easy to understand why the alleged Cumbric name should have contained an adjective etymologically less closely related (*brith*<**brikt-*) to Gaelic *breac* rather than the cognate *brych* (feminine *brech*)< **brikk-*. In addition to these two arguments, even bearing in mind the great power of survival inherent in place-names, it is not at all plausible that, unless a Strathclyde source with a Strathclyde version of the name was involved, a Northumbrian chronicler of the late eleventh century should retain a pre-Gaelic Cumbric form of the name at a time when Gaelic must have been spoken in the Falkirk area for at least 300 years, at the most conservative estimate. In the present writer's opinion, the Northumbrian source which provided the Chronicle of Melrose, Symeon of Durham, *the Historia post Bedam*, and the Lindisfarne chronicle quoted by Leland with the spelling **eg(g)-lesbreth* was probably a fair copy of either a whole chronicle or, which is more likely, a number of draft annals, including the one for 1080, in which a copyist unfamiliar with the place-name misread a *-c-* in the draft version for *-t-*. We would therefore put a draft annal, perhaps not written much after the year 1080, before the fair annal in the Northumbrian source which all three (or four) chroniclers used, and assume that

eg(g)lesbreth was a misreading for *eg(g)lesbrech*. This would, of course, not turn it into a Gaelic name on phonological grounds but would at least allow us not to attach too much importance to the Northumbrian spelling as an indication of the survival, and therefore previous existence, of a Cumbric name for Falkirk.[7] The isolated *Egles-bryth* in the Holyrood Charters would be explained in a similar fashion (see p. 51 above).

We must now consider what are, in the light of the modern Scottish Gaelic name for Falkirk and for historical reasons, apparently Gaelic forms of the name. Of these, the spelling in the confirmation charter of 1166, by Bishop Richard of St Andrews to the Canons at Holyrood, is the most straightforward for it presents us with an unequivocal *-brec* as the second element. The fact that the editor of the Holyrood charters read *Eigles-* whereas Stevenson has *Eggles-*, has no influence on the etymology and only illustrates the difficulties even nineteenth-century and earlier experts encountered when transcribing these charters.[8] Undoubtedly *Eiglesbrec* (*Egglesbrec*) stands for something like *Eaglais B(h)rec* which must have been the twelfth-century Gaelic form of our name. The charter spelling is vital when it comes to the interpretation of the respective references to Falkirk in the Bulls of Pope Alexander III in 1164 (*Egelilbrich*) and Pope Innocent IV in 1247 (*Eglesbrich*) as both of these, on the surface, show Brythonic rather than Gaelic forms of the adjective 'speckled'. The final *-ch* does not seem to have presented a problem to any other scholar discussing this name[9] but is in need of some explanation. Everything hinges, of course, on the question as to whether it represents an unvoiced spirant $[\chi]$ or the homorganic stop $[k]$ in pronunciation. Unfortunately there is nothing in these two Bulls to indicate what *ch* normally stands for but as the names were presumably not taken down from oral dictation but copied from documents which had reached Rome from Scotland previously,[10] it is perhaps not the orthographic habits of the scribes at the Holy See which matter here, but rather the significance of these spellings within a Scottish context. It should, however, be noted that Heriot appears in both Bulls as *Herth* which undoubtedly means a voiceless dental stop (perhaps with strong post-aspiration), and that Bathgate is given as *bathcat* and *Bathketh*, respectively, where both spellings must have the same phonetic value. It is reasonable to assume that like *-th* and *-t-*, Anglo-Norman *-ch* and *-c-* might also be interchangeable in final position, or at least that *-ch* does not indicate a spirant. Then there are, if our previous arguments are acceptable, those other two spellings in *-ch* in addition to those occurring in the Bulls, *i.e.* the *egglesbrech* of the Northumbrian annal and the emended *Eglesbrych* of the charter of 1268 (and its predecessor of 1240). As far as the latter is concerned, the same situation appears to have existed as in the Bulls, *i.e.* both charters have *Herth* and *Bathketh* for Heriot and Bathgate, respectively. The *Eglesbryth* for *Eglesbrych* (=*Eglesbryc*) sequence gains support from the spellings which are found in the same chartulary for the name Kirkcudbright which, after being mentioned properly as *Kyrkecuthbert* in the twelfth century, is shown as *Kyrcudbryth* and *Kircudbrich* in the fourteenth and finally as *Kyrkcuthbryt* in the sixteenth. For Symeon's

version *egglesbreth* = *egglesbrech*, it is significant that in the same annal he has *Malchol-mum* which is rendered by Hoveden and the Melrose Chronicle as *Malcolmum*, and that elsewhere he has *Uchthredum* against Hoveden's *Uchtredum*. It is therefore not unlikely that his source had *-brec* and not *-brech* and that the ending *-et* in the *eaglesuret* of the Melrose Chronicle is a copy of an earlier *-ec*.[11] In this writer's opinion, there seems consequently little doubt that we are here dealing with various versions and develop-ments of an original final *-c*, or rather a velar voiceless stop [k], which points to a Gaelic *-brec* as the second element in our name.

This leaves us with the presence of the vowel *-i-* (or *-y-*) in the spellings found in the two Bulls and in the charter of 1268, and presumably also that of 1240. It is difficult to think of this as a mere spelling variation as the full stress would be on this syllable, and one can only assume that this might be a reflection of a dative used as a locative, although Modern Gaelic appears to have standardised the nominative in this particular name.

Having dealt with the recorded Gaelic forms of the name, we must now look at the Latin versions which invariably are *Varia Capella* in the nominative and *Varie Capelle* in the genitive. They all occur in Latin texts, but Miller alleges (1893 : 60) that 'there are no historical documents showing the exact significance of the words *Varia Capella*, usually translated as meaning "the Spotted or Speckled Church".' His own conclusion is that 'the term "Varia Capella" is ... a figurative form of expression in which the unsatisfactory relations subsisting between the parties interested are ascribed to the church itself' and he feels that the term 'the broken church' quoted in the First Statis-tical Account (vol. 19, p. 72) 'exactly expresses what took place when its status was reduced to that of a chapel in 1166' (*ibid.* : 61).[12] In contrast to Miller, it is our own contention that the existing documentary evidence provides us with a very good in-sight into the exact usage and meaning of *Varia Capella* which cannot be construed simply to mirror unsatisfactory ecclesiastical arrangements and developments. The first important pointer in this respect is the observation that, from the very first, *Varia Capella* almost exclusively occurs in the phrase *Eiglesbrec que Varia Capella dicitur* (1166). Sometimes the word *nuncupatur* is used instead of *dicitur* and the charters of 1240 and 1268 even add the word *hodie* 'to-day' before the Latin name. Only in the charter of 1319, the Pontifical of St Andrews (1242) quoted by Anderson (1922 : II, 522) and the reference in the Register of the Great Seal of 1531 does the term appear alone; and only in one instance, the last, is it linked with *Fawkirk* (RMS 1537 : apud ecclesiam Varie Capelle *alias* Fawkirk).

Obviously the phrase '*Eiglesbrec* which is (now) called *Varia Capella*' implies that a change of name has taken place. It does not simply mean that 'Mediaeval records use the Latin synonym' (Stirlingshire Inventory 1963 : 150, note 7). As *Varia Capella* in this phrase fills the exact slot normally allotted to the vernacular term in Latin docu-ments of this kind, the conclusion is not that the Gaelic name has been translated into Latin but that here we have the Latin version of the new English translation of the Gaelic

name, *Faw Kirk*. It is therefore evidence of the fact that by 1166 English was already so widely spoken in the area that, in a bilingual situation, the Gaelic place-name could be translated into the incoming language, whereas there was probably very little, if any English influence in the Falkirk region in 1080.[13] After 1268, nobody seems to have used the Gaelic name anymore, and by 1319 *Varia Capella* is probably accepted scribal and ecclesiastic usage for *Faw Kirk*. That this is likely to have been the case is supported by the Norman French form *la Veire Chapelle* which, with variations, appears in Norman writs of the first decade of the fourteenth century.[14] The Latin term bows out in 1537 when *Fawkirk* is acknowledged to be the (vernacular) alternative.

Without the Latinised evidence we would not have known of the existence of the English name until 1298 when significantly it first appeared with the (French) definite article; and another century goes by before it is quite frequently found in official documents. The first element in *Faukirk, Fawkirk* is Middle English *fawe, faȝe* 'variegated, of various colours' (*Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* 2, 426) which is not unknown in Scottish place-nomenclature, one of the chief examples being a compound with *side*, as in Fallside in Lanarkshire, Falside in East Lothian, Fife (2), Roxburghshire, and West Lothian, Fawside (Berwickshire) and Fawsyde (Kincardineshire). Various forms of the English name are used right into the seventeenth century, including the curious *Fauskyrk, Fauskirk* which only occurs on maps [15] and clearly shows that the adjective *faw(e)* is no longer understood so that on the analogy of other names, it seems to have been taken to be a personal, perhaps a saint's, name.

The last important phase of the history of our name starts in 1458 when we have the first isolated instance of the spelling *Falkirk* which from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards dominates the scene although as late as 1634 it shares the references to the place with *Fawkirk* in one and the same charter. This new spelling must be understood as a result of false analogy, because the first element of our name was obviously considered to be in the same category as Scots *ba'*<*ball*, *wa'*<*wall*, *fa'*<*fall*, etc. An unhistorical *-l-* was therefore introduced into the 'standard', non-dialect spelling and has remained there ever since. In its turn it has produced the modern pronunciation-spelling ['fɔlkɛrk] which is now used by everybody except the inhabitants of the town itself who still call it Fawkirk ['fɔ: kɛrk]. How long they will be immune to the influence of the spelling is another question.

Our name can therefore demonstrably be shown to have started out as a Gaelic **Eaglais B(h)rec* before 1080 (with a reasonable possibility of an earlier Cumbric name) and to have been translated into English by 1166 although there is initially only indirect evidence for this in the Latin *Varia Capella* and the Norman French *la Veire Chapelle*. This new English name is *Faw Kirk* which like the Gaelic and the Latin names means '(the) speckled church', a meaning which must have been derived from the peculiar (sand-stone?) aspect of the church,[16] unless a painted wooden church or one built in wood and stone can be envisaged. By false analogy, a new spelling *Falkirk* is produced from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards which in turn

Century	Gaelic	Latin	Norman French	English Faw-, Fau-	Fal-
11	*egglesbreth* (= *egglesbrec*) (1080)				
12	*egglesbreth* (?) *Eglesbreth* *Egglesbrec* *Egelilbrich* *Eglesbrich* *eaglesuret*	*Varia Capella* (1166)			
13	*Eglesbryth* (1268)	*Varia Capella*		*(la) Faukirk* (1298)	
14		*Varia Capella* *Varie Capelle*	*la Veire Chapelle* etc. (1301–1305)	*Faukirk* *Fawkirk* } (1391) *Fawkirc*	
15				*Faukirk*	*Falkirk* (1458)
16		*Varie Capelle* (1531, 1537)		*Faukirk* *Fawkirk* *Fawkyrk* *Fauskirk* *Fauskyrk*	*Falkirk* (1546, etc.)
17				*Fawkirk* (1622, 1634)	*Falkirk*
18					*Falkirk*

has given rise to a new pronunciation ['fɔlkɛrk] although this is hardly used in Falkirk itself. The Gaelic name has survived as *An Eaglais Bhreac* but because of the modern English spelling and pronunciation, the connection between *Breac* and *Fal-* is now obscured and no longer immediately discernible.

The documentary evidence reflecting this development can, in conclusion, be summarised as shown in the table on the previous page.

NOTES

1 Wherever possible the source abbreviations are those recommended in the 'List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560' which was originally published as an Appendix to *The Scottish Historical Review* 42 (1963) but is also available as a separate reprint.

2 This is the Symeon of Durham version (Arnold 1885 : II, 211); in the greatly abbreviated version of the *Historia Regum* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (ms. nouv. acq. lat. 692) our passage reads (f. 35–35v):

'quo anno idem rex Willelmus autumnali tempore Rodbertum filium suum scotiam contra Malcolmum (f. 35v) misit. Sed cum pervenisset ad egglesbreth nullo confecto negotio reversus castellum novum super flumen Tine condidit' (Communication from M. Pierre Gasnault, Conservateur, in a letter of 24 February 1969).

The phrase 'autumnali tempore' is found here, in the *Historia post Bedam* and in Hoveden but is missing in the Melrose Chronicle and Leland's excerpt. Its presence in the *Historia post Bedam* was kindly confirmed by Mr H. M. Colvin and Miss P. M. Higgins (see note 5).

3 Earlier, however, he had stated (Anderson 1922 : I, 46 note 2) that the paragraph containing our name 'is derived from S.D., II, 211' but even then pointed out the fact that 'S.D. says that the invasion took place in the autumn time'. Stubbs was of the opinion that Hoveden's immediate predecessor was the compiler of the *Historia post Bedam* (1868 : xxx–xxxi) which 'in its turn resolves itself into two elements, the compilation known as the "History of Simeon of Durham", and the "History of Henry of Huntingdon" (*op. cit.*: xxvii).' Blair, although accepting and ably summarising most of Hoveden's arguments (1939 : 91–2), however, states quite firmly that the two versions of the joint sources as surviving in Symeon and the *Historia post Bedam* 'are not derived directly one from the other, but are laterally related', the latter in fact being a reduction of the two conjoined chronicles it incorporates rather than a faithful copy.

4 See Blair 1963 : 112 and 117. For the non-Northern and non-Scottish parts this is almost completely derived from Florence of Worcester, but our part of the annal for 1080 is not from that source. As a whole, the manuscript of the so-called *Historia Regum* was evidently 'written at Sawley in the West Riding of Yorkshire during the second half of the twelfth century, probably *c.* 1165–70' (*op. cit.*: 116).

5 Dr R. L. Page, Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has kindly checked this spelling, at my request, in the only full MS extant of Symeon. He comments (letter of 21 January 1969): 'I have checked MS 139 new foliation 112v; the name form is *egglesbreth* as in the Rolls Series edition. There is similarity between *t* and *c* letter forms in this hand, but I think no doubt that the name form you want ends in *-th*.' The spelling is confirmed as *egglesbreth* in the abbreviated MS of the *Historia Regum* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris by M. Pierre Gasnault, Conservateur (see note 2). Similarly, Mr H. M. Colvin, Librarian of St John's College, Oxford, has kindly looked at f. 54v of their MS 97, the so-called *Historia post Bedam*, and informs me (letter of 22 February 1969) that 'the place-name is written "egglesbreth". The "t" could be read as "c", but comparison with other *t*s and *c*s makes it clear that it must be regarded as the former letter.'

In the other MS of the *Historia post Bedam* (Royal MS 13.A.6, f. 72) the name is also written as *Egglesbreth*, according to Miss P. M. Higgins, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum.

Apart from confirming this spelling, Miss Higgins has also taken the trouble to look at the name-forms in the various Hoveden MSS in the British Museum. Her comments (letter of February 26, 1969) are as follows: 'The name is spelt "Egelbreth" in Royal MS 14.C.2, f. 62b and in Arundel MS 150, f. 30. However, the folio in the latter is a post medieval insertion by William Howard. "t" and "c" are frequently written in precisely the same way in the hand employed for Arundel MSS 69 f. 47b, moreover the word in question is smudged, but it is probably "Egelbrech" rather than "Egelbreth".'

Evidently the spelling printed by Stubbs in the Rolls Series was taken from the last MS but as it appears to be the odd one out at best, we can probably assume Egelbre*th* for Hoveden, too. In that case Leland's *Egelbereth* from Hoveden would not be so curious, as he may have seen another MS. It is interesting, however, that the, perhaps unjustified and certainly unqualified, -*ch* ending led to the identification of the name mentioned in the 1080 annal, with Falkirk.

6 Miller (1893 : 60) does not seem to see any problem here and without hesitation extends *Egl*- to *Egl*[*isbrich*] in the 1240 charter.

7 Skene (1887 : 36 note 75) considers our name in conjunction with the personal name *Brychan* and makes the church of Falkirk 'the chief church' in *Manau Guotodin*, although he quotes the name in the form *Ecglis Breacc*. There is no indication in any of the primary sources known to the present writer to substantiate that claim or, indeed, to show that the church at Falkirk existed in the time of the Gododdin.

8 It looks as if Stevenson transcribed the original Harleian charter, 111. b. 14 (Stevenson 1834 : 13), whereas the version printed in the *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis* is from a copy in the then Advocates' Library (Innes 1840: lxxx).

9 It is possible that they simply regarded it as an indication of a pre-aspirated consonant, but did pre-aspiration exist as early as the twelfth century and, if so, was it a feature of this particular dialect?

10 The obvious copyist's error *Egelil*- for *Egles*-, or the like, is probably to be attributed to the later notary's transumpt which is published in the *Holyrood Charters*.

11 In their introduction to the facsimile edition of the Chronicle, the editors particularly draw attention to the presence of 'occasional confusion between *c* and *t*; *e.g. Stoctorum* stands for *Scottorum* . . .' (Anderson 1936 : lxxix).

12 In the rest of his paper which otherwise is an excellent collection of source material, Miller goes on to argue that both *Eglesbrich* and *Fawkirk* mean 'the church at, or on the wall', a view which for many reasons is wholly unacceptable.

13 To say that 'on this showing Gaelic was still spoken in the district in 1080' as the Stirlingshire Inventory does (1963 : 150 note 7) would be applying the wrong kind of emphasis. It would be more correct to state that, on the evidence of the 1080 annal, the district of Falkirk was still largely mono-glot Gaelic in that year or a little later. The peculiar function of the phrase *que* (*hodie*) *Varia Capella dicitur* also evidently rules out the theoretical possibility that *Fawkirk*, although not recorded until the medieval period, is really some centuries older and goes back to the time when the Falkirk region was part of English-speaking Northumbria, before the Scots crossed the Forth to the South.

14 Unfortunately I have not been able to trace Johnston's reference '*a*. 1300 *MS Digby* Locus qui Anglice vocatur ye fowe chapel' (1934 : 174) which shows a similar use of the definite article and points to the Norman term as being a translation of the English.

15 The map evidence was kindly supplied by Dr A. B. Taylor. Only spellings not genealogically derived from each other have been quoted in our list.

16 The *Stirlingshire Inventory* (1963 : 150) feels that the form in the annal for 1080 'suggests that the building was parti-coloured, perhaps through the use of two kinds of stone occurring in the same

quarry.' In addition, we are informed that 'in 1810–11 the whole structure was demolished, apart from some portions of the tower' and that a new church was 'added to the existing steeple'.

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' *The Scottish Hecate* ': *A Wild Witch Chase*

ALISON HANHAM

When I was working for the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, the name 'Nicneven' came within my province and it was necessary to decide whether it was the personal name of one particular historical witch[1] or the more generalised title of a folklore figure.[2]

A number of writers, following Jamieson (1808), make the identification of Nicneven with the 'gyrecarlin', on extremely vague grounds. The most specific statement, which Mrs Kirsty Larner kindly drew to my notice, is that by R. H. Cromek:

> 'We will close our history of witchcraft with the only notice we could collect, of a celebrated personage, called the *Gyre Carline*; who is reckoned the mother of glamour, and near a-kin to Satan himself. She is believed to preside over the '*Hallowmass Rades*'; and mothers frequently frighten their children by threatening to give them to *McNeven*, or the *Gyre Carline*. She is described as wearing a long gray mantle, and carrying a wand, which, like the miraculous rod of Moses, could convert water into rocks and sea into solid land.'

Cromek goes on to recount that she so solidified Lochar Moss. T. Davidson, in reproducing this passage in *Rowan Tree and Red Thread* (pp. 8–9), omits the caveat of 'the only notice we could collect' and adds 'the Gyre Carline or Nicniven, the Hecate or Mother witch of the Scottish peasantry . . . was a mysterious divinity [*sic*] about whom there are many notices in the traditionary and legendary lore'. He also seems to ascribe Nicneven's appearance as a childish bogey to Fife in place of the Galloway area. D. A. Mackenzie moves her further: 'The Carlin was sometimes called "Nicnevin", an interesting Gaelic survival in the Lothian and Border Counties' (1935:150).

In Scott's *Abbot* (1820) Magdalen Graeme disguises herself as 'Mother Nicneven' in Kinross during Queen Mary's imprisonment in Loch Leven. To Chapter xxvi Scott appends the note: 'Mother Nicneven. This was the name given to the grand Mother Witch, the very Hecate of Scottish popular superstition. Her name was bestowed, in one or two instances, upon sorceresses, who were held to resemble her by their superior skill in "Hell's black grammar".'

Nicneven's earliest, and indeed only authentic, literary appearance is in Alexander Montgomery's *Flyting with Polwart*, written before 1585. In the Tullibardine MS of

the poem (Stevenson 1910) 'Nicknivin with hir nymphis' take the infant Polwart to nurse and teach it various feats of witchcraft, 'with chairmes from Cathnes and Chanrie of Ross'. The Hart print of 1629 (Cranstoun 1887:lines 268, 383) has the name as *Nicneuen*, but the scribe of the Harleian version puts *Nieniren* throughout, probably through an easy misreading of an unfamiliar name in the original. In fact Hecate herself also appears in this part of the *Flyting*, and Nicneven seems to be a separate figure. Montgomery gives us no more details about her.

There are some documentary references to an actual witch called Nicneven or Nic Neville, said to have been burnt at St Andrews in May 1569. *The Historie and Life of King James the Sext* (1825:40-41), of which the relevant part was written before 1597, says that in that month the Regent went to 'Sanctandrois, whare a notable sorceres callit Nic Neville, was condamnit to the death and brynt, and a Frenchman callit Paris, wha was ane of the devysers of the Kings death, was hangit in Sanctandrois, and with him William Stewart, Lyoun King of Armes, for dyvers poynts of witchecraft and necromancie'. In the later MS of this work, as printed at Edinburgh in 1804, the name is given as Nicniven. In the seventeenth century Lord Herries (1836:115) turns her into a man, perhaps confusing the feminine patronymic Nic- with the abbreviation for Nicholas. The St Andrews Kirk Session Records (Fleming 1889) have very little about witches, and no mention of any Nicneven or NicNeville at this period. Nor does there seem to be anything in the Justiciary Proceedings for the appropriate date, though Paris and Stewart appear.

The second scrap of historical evidence occurs in the record of the trial for witchcraft of John Brughe of Fossoway, 24 November 1643 (Books of Adjournal of the High Court of Justiciary, vol. 8:337-8). Brughe is said to have learnt his charms from a 'wedow woman namet Neane VᶜClerith of thrie scoir of 3eirs of aidge quha was sister dochter to Nikneveing that notourous and infamous witche in Mon3ie quha for hir sorcerie and witchcraft was brunt four scoir of 3eir since or thairby.' This is very interesting, for two reasons. It ties up with the statement in the *Historie of James VI*, since 1569 is near enough to 'four scoire of 3eir since or thairby', and bears out that work in the statement that 'Nic Neville' was a notable sorceress, since she was still famous in 1643. And it introduces the village of Monzie into the story.

At this point we return to Montgomery and the realms of folklore. At line 492 in the Tullibardine copy of the *Flyting*, when Nicneven and her cronies have finished with the infant Polwart, 'Vnto þe cocatrice in ane creill they send it'. But Hart has 'To Kait of Creife in an creill soone they gard send it' (l. 473), and the Harleian version also gives 'Kait of Creif'. Cranstoun has a long and, on the face of it, thoroughly irrelevant note on Kait of Crieff, designed to show that Crieff remained notorious for witches 'long after Montgomerie's time'. He reproduces a passage from *Crieff: Its Traditions and Characters* by D. Macara, Edinburgh (1881) about one Kate MᶜNiven of Monzie executed for witchcraft in 1715. This curious story relates that Kate was employed as a nursemaid by the Graemes of Inchbrakie in the parish of Crieff. The laird one day went

to dine at Dunning, taking his own knife and fork, as was then the custom. At dinner he was annoyed by a bee buzzing round his head, and put down his knife and fork to shoo it away. When he went to pick them up again they had disappeared. On his return home, Kate found the missing knife and fork in their usual place at Inchbrakie. It was assumed that she had turned herself into the bee and was responsible for the theft. She was condemned for witchcraft and burnt in the spring of 1715. Mr Bowie, the minister of Monzie, with other gentlemen of the neighbourhood, secured her conviction and she prophesied that

> 'so long as the Shaggie Burn ran west, there should not be a lineal descendant to the house of Monzie, nor the minister of the parish ever prosper, both of which prophecies [adds Macara] have been realised in an astonishing manner. The laird who was a means of condemning her was the only one who interposed on her behalf at the eleventh hour, and Kate in gratitude spat a bead out of her mouth, and declared that so long as that charm was preserved by the family, the house of Inchbrakie would never want a direct heir, which has been duly verified to the present time' [Macara:202].

The odd thing is that this absurd tale, pointless even by the usual standard of witch stories, is not as irrelevant as Montgomery's editor seems to believe. As we have seen, there *was* a notorious witch from Monzie called Nicneven, and as we shall shortly see, Macara's date of 1715 is nonsense, though persistent nonsense. The *New Statistical Account*, *sub* Monzie, calls the lady M'Nieven and puts the date of her execution between 1711 and 1722. According to the same source, the Monzie Kirk Session Minutes start in 1691, with a gap from 1706 to 1711, but evidently do not mention the episode.

A more systematic attempt at a history of Crieff than Macara's volume of chat is Alexander Porteous' *The History of Crieff* (1912). On pages 91–2 Porteous also relates the story of Kate and her burning on the Knock of Crieff, on what was still called 'Kate Macnevin's Craig'. Porteous, having probably seen the account of John Brughe's trial in Dalyell's *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland* (1834:233) or Alex. G. Reid, *Annals of Auchterarder* (1899:195 ff.), gives her name as Kate Nike Neiving, and the date as 1563, *i.e.* eighty years before 1643. He has the further details that Kate was dismissed from her post at Inchbrakie on suspicion of trying to poison the laird's son, and returned to Monzie, but fell under further suspicion and 'was dragged before the Presbytery of Auchterarder, when her guilt was apparently irrefutably proved. She was accordingly sentenced to be burned'. The young laird of Inchbrakie happened to pass just before sentence was carried out, and attempted in vain to save her. She spat a blue bead to him from a necklace she wore, 'instructing him to preserve it securely, and assuring him that so long as it was kept in Inchbrakie, the estate would never be alienated'. Porteous proceeds to give what purport to be quotations from Louisa G. Graeme, *Or and Sable: A Book of the Græmes and Grahams* (1903), but since the words he attributes to Miss Graeme are merely his own summary of her account, it is better to go to her book direct.

Miss Graeme's version of Kate's various prophecies came to her from her mother, Mrs Lawrence Graeme, wife of the third son of the George Graeme, 9th of Inchbrakie,

who succeeded in 1796. For Miss Graeme, the truth of the story is indisputably proved by the presence of the bead and another alleged relic in the family possession. In the Graeme version there is no mention of the Minister of Monzie. Kate cursed the Laird of Monzie, on whose land she was executed: 'from father to son she said Monzie shall never pass, no heir of line should ever hold the lands now held by him; then she cursed the Kirktoun of Monzie: in future year by year its size and population should decrease, no share in all the growing prosperity of the surrounding towns and villages it should hold, and ever by some hearth amidst its cottage homes should there crawl an idiot. . . .' The Laird of Inchbrakie, on the other hand, was to keep 'the dark blue bead' in his possession and on his house and lands, and so long as that was done 'Inchbrakie's Laird should never want a son nor Inchbrakie's son his lands'.[3] The bead, also described as a 'moonstone sapphire', was set in a ring, which George Graeme 9th ceremonially placed on the finger of each of his daughters-in-law to ensure a supply of heirs. But unfortunately the important part of the injunction was not observed. After the 11th laird had come of age (1870) Inchbrakie was let and Mrs Lawrence Graeme took the family charter chest into her own house for safekeeping. Her daughter and the laird were both present at the dramatic moment when it was seen that the precious ring had been removed from Inchbrakie along with the papers. 'A few years after . . . the first acres of the Aberuthven portion of the property was sold, bit by bit the land slipped from the old barony, and so far the 11th baron has no son to gather them again' (Graeme, 1903:411). According to Burke's *Landed Gentry*, Inchbrakie was in fact sold to the Laird of Abercairney in 1883, and the 11th Laird of Inchbrakie, who lived in Manitoba, died unmarried in 1926 and was succeeded as head of the family by his cousin's son David Henry Graeme, 12th of Aberuthven, of Fonthill, Devon.

Porteous concludes his account of Kate McNiven with a quotation from *The Holocaust*, a poetic epic on her execution by the Rev. George Blair, minister of Monzie (1845). The historical notes to this work explode the date of 1715, and explain the origin of some of the plausible details, such as the name of the minister, Mr Bowie, given by subsequent narrators. The poet, with a refreshing display of scholarly honesty, makes it clear that he had been unable to find any authentic account of Kate's trial or execution, and had been obliged to rely on dubious tradition for the story, and to assign a fictitious date of his own to the events.

The earliest date to which I can take Kate's story is 1818, when C. K. Sharpe, in a footnote to his Prefatory Notice to Robert Law's *Memorialls* (lxxxiii) rehearses 'a tradition current in Perthshire' about Catherine Niven, former nurse to the family of Inchbrakie, who was strangled and burnt on the Knock of Crieff. This version has the spitting out of the blue stone and the promise that it would ensure the prosperity of her foster son's house, but there is no mention of a curse on Monzie, attempted poisoning, or stolen cutlery. Sharpe cryptically remarks that the name Niven was 'probably bestowed by her neighbours from that of the Fairy Queen'. He has a similar comment (quoted in the 1825 supplement to Jamieson's *Dictionary*) about Nic Neville of St Andrews.

The name Kate, and stories about bees and beads, belong to local tradition and myth. But evidently there was a witch called Nicneven, or something like that, at Monzie in the late sixteenth century. George F. Black, in *A Calendar of Cases of Witchcraft in Scotland 1510–1727* assigns her a date of '*c.* 1615', but gives no reason. He rejects Porteous' 1563 as due to confusion with Nic Neville of St Andrews in 1569, rather oddly, as Porteous shows no sign of having heard of Nic Neville. There are no extant records for the parishes of Monzie or Crieff as early as this, and the records of the Presbytery of Auchterarder start in 1668. No corresponding person, or story, appears in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials* (1833).

Many other puzzles remain: not least Montgomery's 'Kait of Creif'. He appears to distinguish her, if he is indeed referring to a person, from Nicneven. Did he in fact, as Porteous suggests (p. 50) write 'Skait of Creif'—a mound about half a mile south of the town where courts were anciently held—and if so, why? Is Scott (and by implication, Sharpe) right in suggesting that Nicneven was a nickname given to several witches? Why do Cromek and Jamieson identify Nicneven with the Gyrecarlin? Was Nicneven of Monzie burnt at St Andrews in 1569, or was the chronicler of the reign of James VI perhaps slightly muddled, so that the Regent really attended the execution of Paris and Stewart at St Andrews, and the execution of a witch called Nicneven/Nic Neville elsewhere on the same journey? The repetition of 'Sanctandrois' in the passage does read a little oddly. If Nicneven of Monzie was burnt at Crieff, when did this occur, and with which Graeme of Inchbrakie was the story originally connected? If any weight can be put on the story of the dinner-party at Dunning, the Graeme concerned could be George, 2nd of Inchbrakie, served heir to his father in 1555 and died 1576, whose father-in-law was Andrew Rollo of Dunning, 6th of Duncrub. George's son Patrick, who died in 1635, acquired Monzie in 1613, having married its heiress as his second wife, and it went to their son. Miss Graeme says that it was sold again in 1666 to Colin Campbell,[4] another descendant of George Graeme 2nd of Inchbrakie. The point about these events is that either could give rise to a *retrospective* story about a prophecy concerning the failure of lineal heirs. I do not think we need worry about the fork that figures incidentally in the tale. Such an implement is supposed to have been unknown in sixteenth-century Britain, but the casual mention of one is entirely consonant with the late date of the extant versions of the story.

Cromek's evidence, since it relates to the Galloway area, is very difficult to fit into the picture, except on the assumption that there was indeed a generalised tradition. Such oral tradition is notoriously difficult to pin down. Scott may have drawn on his own knowledge of folk-lore in his portrait of 'Mother Nicneven', but he does not say so, and his note could well be derived from Jamieson and Cromek: the wording is very reminiscent of Jamieson's.

There is no reference in the admittedly scanty records of Scottish witch trials to Nicneven as a ritual nickname used by any real witches, still less to any chief witch or witch goddess so called. And it is not at all clear what significance attached to the name

Hecate in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literary sources like Montgomery's *Flyting* and *Macbeth*.

If Nicneven was once pre-eminent among Scottish witches, she is so no longer. Neither Margaret Murray nor Elliot Rose (1962) even mentions her. Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions* is in the bibliography to *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (Murray 1921), but Margaret Murray has no reference to the Brughe case.[5]

For the historian, the sole piece of relatively solid fact, vouched for by some kind of first-hand evidence, is that there was at least one famous witch named Nicneven before the date of Montgomery's poem. The rest, in the absence of any further documentary evidence, remains one of the minor mare's nests of Scottish history.

NOTES

1 'NICNEVIN, *prop. n.* Also *Nicnevin* [sic]. The name of a witch well-known in medieval Sc. folklore' (*Scottish National Dictionary*. Ed. David Murison. Edinburgh 1965).

2 'NICNEVEN, *s.* A name given to the Scottish *Hecate* or mother-witch; also called the *Gyrecarlin* . . .' (Jamieson 1808).

3 This part of the prophecy failed to work in the case of George, who predeceased his father the 7th Laird in 1737.

4 A James Campbell of Monzie was concerned in another local case of witchcraft in 1683 (Law 1818: lxxxii–lxxxiii).

5 Oddly, since it has a high frequency rate among the names she lists, Miss Murray does not include Katherine in the eight personal names that she suggests, rather implausibly, were especially favoured by witches (p. 255). Had she done so, she might have noted that Hecate was a disyllable in Shakespeare, and derived the witch name Kate from Hecate, not Katherine. I throw in this suggestion as a not-unworthy parallel to her connection of *Alison* and *Marion* with a British Goddess called Anna!

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A Reconsideration of the Place-Names in 'Thomas the Rhymer'

E. B. LYLE

The four variants of 'Thomas the Rhymer' (Child 37) which derive from the Scottish Border[1] contain three definite place-names: *Huntlie bank/banks, the Eildon tree,* and *Farnalie.* There is no doubt that the setting of the ballad is the Eildon Hills in Roxburghshire, but the nineteenth-century identification of the places mentioned are open to question.

    The name that can be located with the greatest degree of certainty at present is the least well known, Farnalie, which occurs only in Child's variant *D.* This variant ends with the Queen of Elfland's parting words to Thomas:

> 'Gin ere ye want to see me again,
>   Gang to the bonny banks o Farnalie.'

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Scott quoted these lines in the second edition of his *Minstrelsy* (Scott 1803:321), and there connected Farnalie with Fairnalie in Selkirkshire (Royal Commission 1957:43–5). He had apparently not noticed, in relation to this occurrence of the name, a *farnileie* on the Eildon Hills which appears in a document drawn up in 1208 after the settlement of a dispute about land-ownership between the monasteries of Melrose and Kelso.[2] Since the boundary described in this document has remained the southern boundary of the parish of Melrose,[3] it is possible to pin down the location of *farnileie*, which is presumably to be equated with the *Farnalie* of the ballad. The relevant section of the document runs:

> ... *et* sic uersus north usq*ue* in akedene. *et* sic ascendendo usq*ue* ad cr*uc*em iux*ta* uiride fossatu*m*. *et per* uiride fossatu*m* usq*ue* ad cr*uc*em que sita *est super* sprowesdene. *et* sic ascendendo usq*ue* ad fonte*m* iux*ta* albam spinam. sic*ut* riuulus ei*us*dem fontis descendit. Et sic p*er* farnileie usq*ue* ad salices. *et* cruces. *et* fossas q*ue* fa*c*te su*n*t i*n* medio mo*n*te usq*ue* ad su*mm*itate*m* ei*us*dem mo*n*tis.

> ... and then northwards to *akedene*, and then upwards to the cross beside the green ditch, and by the green ditch to the cross which is placed above *sprowesdene*, and then upwards to the spring beside the white thorn, as the stream comes down from that spring. And then by *farnileie* to the willows, and the crosses, and the ditches which were made in the middle hill to the summit of that hill.

The name *akedene* is at first puzzling, for the only comparable name on modern maps is Oakendean House to the north-east of the hills, well away from the boundary, but a charter granted by Robert, Earl of Roxburghe, to the feuars of Bowden in 1607, indicates that Glenburnie Burn was then called *Ekidean burn* (Jeffrey 1864:52). As shown on the accompanying map, the boundary from east to west first runs in a north-westerly direction to meet Glenburnie Burn (*uersus north in akedene*) and then goes up (*ascendendo*) along Glenburnie Burn. The boundary turns northwards again, and then follows a stream up to its source (*ascendendo usque ad fontem iuxta albam spinam. sicut riuulus eiusdem fontis descendit*). This is apparently at the point marked *spring* on the map, for this is the only source of a stream on the boundary line in this area. To the west, in the direction of the summit of the middle hill, lay *farnileie*, which reached *usque ad salices*, i.e. presumably before the point where the middle hill rises as a distinct cone, for willows are not likely to have grown on its steep slope.

Modern maps are again confusing to an attempt to locate *Huntlie banks*, *Huntlie bank*, or *the Huntlie bank*, as the place is named in the opening of variants *B*, *C* and *E*, for the name Huntlyburn House to the north-west of the Eildon Hills derives from Scott who re-named what had been called Toftfield when he bought the property (Lockhart 1837:82). He also called Dick's Cleugh the Rhymer's Glen (Grierson 1932–7, IV:539; Parsons 1964:95–8), and pointed out some place in this region as *Huntley Bank* (Irving 1835:63, 95). However, in a letter to David Laing, Scott remarked, 'There is another
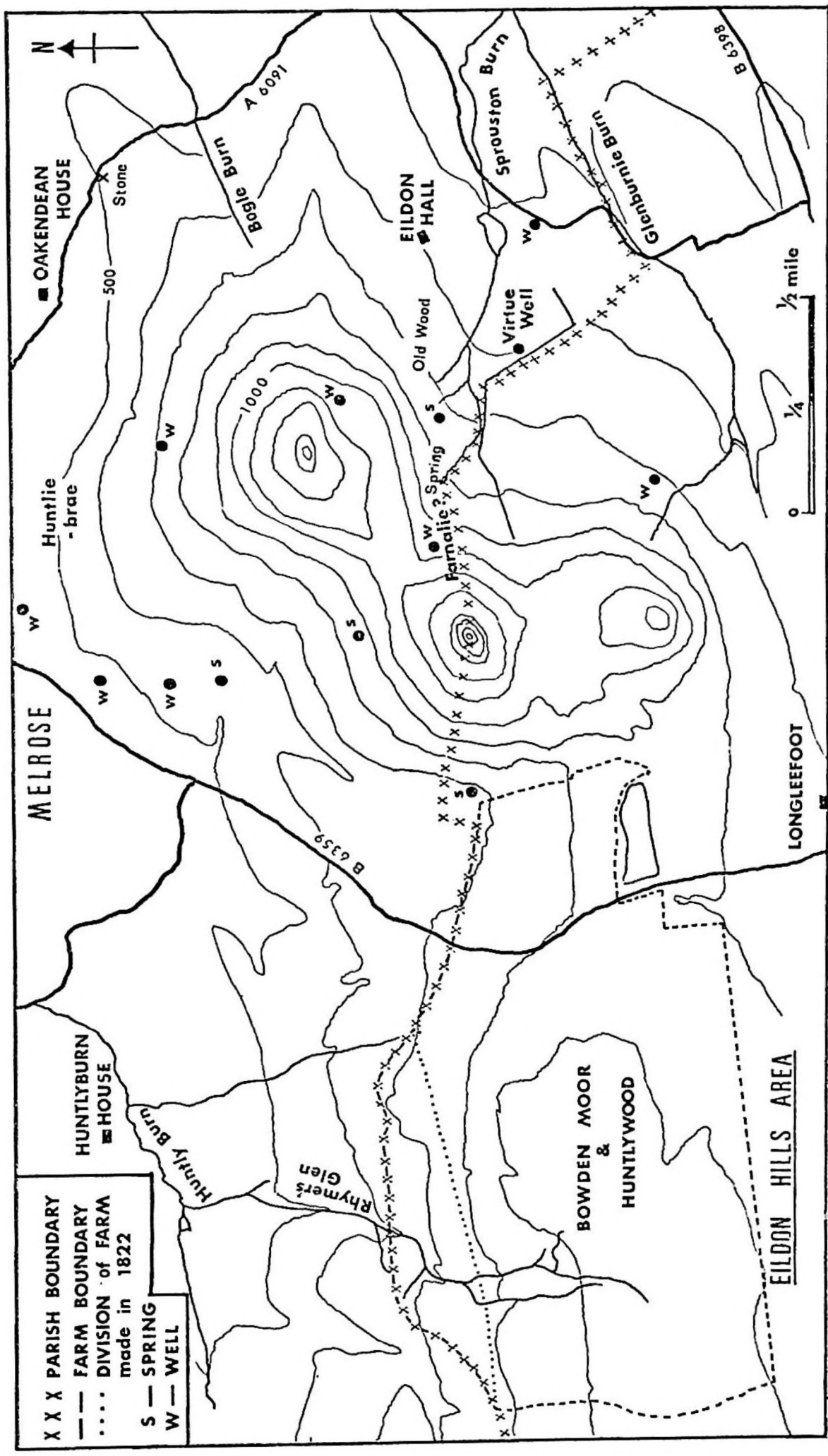
Map of the Eildon Hills area, adapted from O.S. 1:25,000.

Legend

X X X PARISH BOUNDARY
— FARM BOUNDARY
· · · DIVISION of FARM made in 1822
S — SPRING
W — WELL

HUNTLYBURN ■ HOUSE

Map labels

MELROSE

N

OAKENDEAN HOUSE
× Stone
A 6091
Bogle Burn
500

Huntlie -brae

W
1000
W
W

Huntly Burn
Rhymer's Glen
B 6359

Farnalie ? W ? Spring
Old Wood
S
S — Virtue Well
EILDON HALL

Sprouston Burn
Glenburnie Burn
B 6398

LONGLEEFOOT

BOWDEN MOOR & HUNTLYWOOD

EILDON HILLS AREA

0   ¼   ½ mile

Huntly-Bank on the Eldon Hills nearer to the Eldon tree than mine. But I am determind mine is the right one. It is but fair to mention this though Huntlywood is the name of the farm seventy acres of which belong to me' (Grierson 1932–7, VII:277). Scott owned '68 acres 3 roods & 30 poles or thereby' of 'the lands of Bowden Muir and Huntly-wood',[4] and it appears that 'his' Huntly-Bank was evolved from the name Huntlywood, which is found as early as 1606 in *Inquisitionum Retornatorum Abbreviatio* (III) where there is an entry for 24 April concerning *Halydene cum manerie et Huntliewood infra baroniam de Boldane* [*i.e.* Bowden]. To the south of the section of the estate of Abbotsford referred to by Scott is the property which now bears the name of Bowden Moor, but which was formerly called 'the farm and lands of Bowden Moor and Huntlywood'.[5] The map shows the extent of the lands of Bowden Moor and Huntlywood before the transaction in 1822 by which Scott received part of the property.

The place referred to by Scott as 'another Huntly-Bank' was actually called Huntlie-brae. It is mentioned by John Bower in the second edition of his *Description of the Abbeys of Melrose, and Old Melrose, with their traditions:* 'At the foot of Eildon hills, above Melrose, is a place called Huntlie-brae, where Thomas the Rhymer and the Queen of Fairies frequently met, according to tradition' (Bower 1822:125). The use of *Huntlie-brae*, not *Huntlie bank*, indicates that this was a local name independent of the ballad or of enquiries about the ballad. When Bower says 'according to tradition', however, he is quite probably speaking of the story of the traditional ballad (possibly as amplified by Scott), and not of an independent topographical legend. The position of Huntlie-brae on the map is that pointed out in 1875 by James Curle of Melrose, who had heard the place-name from his father (Murray 1875: lii, n.1).

The occurrence of two *Huntly* names, Huntlywood and Huntlie-brae, about a mile and a half apart to the west and north of the Eildon Hills suggests that the area may have been known as Huntly.[6] If so, *Huntlie bank* or *banks* may have been anywhere within it, or *Huntlie banks* may have been the general name for the whole region. The plural *Huntlie banks* is found only in variant B of the ballad, but it is the normal form of the name in the fourteenth-century romance-prophecy *Thomas of Erceldoune* to which the ballad is related (Murray 1875: lines 28 and 679).

The Eildon tree, which is mentioned in all four of the Scottish Border variants, is named also in *Thomas of Erceldoune* (Murray 1875: *e.g.* line 84), and there is no likelihood of finding on the Eildon Hills at the present day a tree which was referred to in the fourteenth century. A stone beside the A 6091 is said to mark its site,[7] and again Scott was the first investigator to comment on the identification: 'The Eildon Tree, from beneath the shade of which [Thomas] delivered his prophecies, now no longer exists; but the spot is marked by a large stone, called Eildon Tree Stone. A neighbouring rivulet takes the name of Bogle Burn, (Goblin Brook) from the Rhymer's supernatural visitants' (Scott 1802:249). Scott uses the name Bogle Burn as supportive evidence for the site of the tree but the word *bogle*, as Scott shows by his translation *goblin*, could not have been applied to the Queen of Elfland, the only 'supernatural visitant' associated

with Thomas. John Bower does not refer to the Eildon tree by name but says only, 'A little to the east of [Huntlie-brae] is the trysting-tree stone' (Bower 1822:125). The stone clearly marked the site of a trysting-tree, but it seems possible that a trysting-tree on the slope of the Eildon Hills, well known because it stood by the roadside and was within easy reach of the town of Melrose, would be identified as the Eildon tree even if there were no long-standing tradition to this effect. Scott associated the Eildon tree with the delivery of Thomas's prophecies, and its name may have been familiar to those who lived in its vicinity not so much through the ballad as through the current prophecy quoted by Scott (Scott 1802:276):

> At Eildon tree if you shall be,
> A brigg ower Tweed you there may see.

Since the evidence for the accepted site of the Eildon tree is rather thin, other traditions about trees should not be excluded from consideration. It was recorded in 1875 that 'the late James Williamson of Newstead' pointed out a spot 'a quarter of a mile higher up the base of the hill' as the site of the Eildon tree (Murray 1875: l, n. 2). There is an Old Wood to the west of Eildon Hall, and James Hogg, who in general drew on traditional material (Simpson 1962:64, 116), has a fairy transformation in 'The Hunt of Eildon' take place at a tree above Eildon Hall which he calls the Old Moss Thorn (Hogg 1837:13–15).

It seems unlikely that a tree would have been given the prominence of being called the Eildon tree unless the spot on which it grew had associations going back to pagan times. Anne Ross lists among the holy places of the Celts 'individual trees especially in proximity to grave mounds or sacred springs' (Ross 1967:40, 20–52), and it may be that the more lasting mounds and springs will suggest the whereabouts of the Eildon tree. There is a cairn on Eildon Mid Hill (Royal Commission 1956:70), and there are a number of wells and springs (marked W and S on the map) in the region of the hills. There are two records that wells on the Eildon Hills were considered therapeutic, and are therefore likely to have been of religious significance at an earlier period. Adam Milne wrote in 1743 that '*Dunstan*'s and *Eldun* Wells are still made use of by the Country People as a sovereign Remedy against Cholicks' (Milne 1743:44–5), and John Bower remarked that the wells about Eildon Hall 'have been much frequented as medicinal, being a sovereign remedy against any leprous disorder' (Bower 1822:121–2). The one called Virtue Well was clearly among those considered to have healing powers. The spring on the boundary at the edge of Farnalie had a white thorn growing by it in 1208 and it is possible that this was the Eildon tree referred to in the fourteenth century. Other springs and wells in the same neighbourhood may also be within the bounds of the area called Farnalie.

There may be one further place-name in the ballad. In variant *E*, the Queen of Elfland is said to come riding down by *the lang lee* [8] and the romance-prophecy at the same point speaks of *a longe lee* (Murray 1875:line 36, Thornton MS.). This is probably

not a proper name, but it may be worth drawing attention to the Longleefoot marked on the map to the south-west of the Eildons.

NOTES

1 The four Scottish Border variants are Child *B*, part of *C*, *D* and *E*. *B* is from a collection made 'in the Counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk & Peebles'. The other three are known to derive from places near the Eildon Hills: the local references in *C* from near Earlston (4 miles to the north), *D* from Kelso (11 miles to the east), and *E* from Longnewton (3 miles to the south). Quotations are from Child's texts (Child 1882–98, I:324–6, IV:454–5).

2 Scott knew that part of the boundary described in this document (Innes 1837:134–6) was that of Abbotsford (Morton 1832:220). The section quoted here is transcribed from the original document in the Scottish Record Office, GD.55/145. Abbreviations are expanded in italics.

3 'The present limits of the parish [of Melrose] . . . correspond with the boundaries of the earliest possessions of the monastery' (Innes 1851:284). I am indebted to Dr W. F. H. Nicolaisen for drawing my attention to this source of information.

4 Scott's acquisition of this land was recorded on 9 December 1822 (Scottish Record Office, P.R. 73, fol. 52).

5 This wording occurs in a lease, dated 1 June, 1888, between 'Henry Seton Karr Esq. of Kippielaw, M.P. and Mr George Heard of the farm and lands of Bowden Moor and Huntlywood' which is in the office of Curle, Muir & Co., Solicitors, Royal Bank Chambers, Melrose. I am much indebted to Mr J. A. Harris for locating this lease and a plan of the Karr property which showed the farm boundary.

6 There is a region of this name about ten miles to the south-west of the Eildons, which stretches for over two miles from Huntly Clints, Inner Huntly, Huntly Cleugh and Huntly Burn, by Huntly Hill, Huntly Covert, and Huntly Rig to Outer Huntly (O.S. 249415–226441). In the Eildon Hills area, the names Huntly Burn and Huntley Wood 'a small plantation which stood on the hill side above Chiefswood' near Huntlyburn House (Murray 1875:lii) seem to be derived from Scott, as otherwise Scott would presumably have mentioned them in his letter to Laing (Grierson 1932–7, VII:277).

7 Murray (1875:l–li) discusses the site, which is marked on O.S. map, scale 6 inches to 1 mile, as *Eildontree Stone Site of Trysting Tree* (336565). There is an inscription at the site.

8 The manuscript reading (NLS MS. 877, fol. 177r) is *the Lang-lee*, but no importance can be attached to the use of the capital letter since the writer, Mrs Christiana Greenwood, frequently began common nouns with capitals.

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The Date of Pont's Survey and its Background

B. R. S. MEGAW

After more than sixty years, the current renewal of serious interest in the earliest survey of Scotland—of which many of the original manuscript drafts survive in the National Library of Scotland—is indeed welcome. Following the note in the last issue of *Scottish Studies* (Kinniburgh 1968:187–9) two points which escaped the admirable Caleb Cash (1901, 1907) may be mentioned briefly.

Unknown to Cash, a further manuscript sheet of Pont drafts had survived in the Advocates' Library; but this was not rediscovered until after 1925, when it also was deposited with those already in the National Library. Although both sides of this sheet are partially obscured by later jottings (evidently by Pont himself), the map

drafts are of much interest. One side bears the only surviving fragment of the original survey of the Hebrides (part of South Uist)—the rest being known only from the plates engraved in Holland two generations later, for Blaeu's Atlas of 1654. The other side bears an early version of part of Pont's map of Lothian—the only one of his maps to be engraved apparently during his life-time. Detailed investigations of both sides of this sheet are under way.

Apart from the welcome (but rather vague) statement in a letter of Robert Gordon of Straloch, dated 24 January 1648, that Pont 'unaided, undertook this work more than forty years ago'—*i.e.* before 1608—Cash (1901:404–10) was unable to trace any other reference to the period at which the survey was made. As one of the drawings (of Clydesdale) bore the date 'September and October 1596', Cash put forward the hypothesis that Pont's survey might be assigned to the 'blank' period of his life, between graduation at St Andrew's, in 1584, and appointment as minister of Dunnet, in Caithness, in 1601. This was truly an inspired guess, for Cash was quite unaware that the clue he sought had already been printed—in the *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland 1596–1597* (C.S.P.I. 1893:40). Nor does it seem to have been noticed since in any other study of the subject. Writing from Dublin to Sir Robert Cecil in London, on 20th July, 1596, Dionise Campbell (then Dean of Limerick, but a member of the Argyll family) reported thus, as summarised in the calendar of the original letter:

> Has lately returned into Ireland. The success of his [dis]course held with the Earl of Argyle. Is informed that one Pont, who has compassed the whole of Scotland, purposes to set forth a perfect description of that land. Has ordered a copy for Sir Robert upon the first edition . . . Left the Earl very well affected to Her Majesty's service, without prejudice of his loyalty and honour.

The Dean's meeting in Scotland with the young Earl of Argyll (which had secured a promise of armed aid against the 'rebel' O'Neill) had taken place during April 1596 (C.S.P.Sc. 1858:710). Thus we are entitled to assume that by the summer of 1596, Pont had virtually completed his basic field-surveys, and was already accepting orders for his intended atlas of the counties of Scotland—almost sixty years before its eventual posthumous appearance. Perhaps the Clydesdale drawing, of the autumn of the same year, was dated just because it marked the end of his truly astonishing labours, so vividly described by Gordon of Straloch (Cash 1901:408–10). In view of this fresh chronological evidence, however, Mr Kinniburgh's description of Straloch as 'Pont's collaborator' clearly goes too far; Straloch only graduated two years later—and then continued his studies in Paris until September 1600, when he returned to Scotland at the age of about twenty.

Pont's work was not 'supported by the favour and assistance of any person of high rank', as Straloch afterwards related, and in the absence of other evidence one can only assume that his father, Rev. Robert Pont, himself a Lord of Session and (as Provost of Edinburgh's Trinity College) the provider of his son's source of income, was the prime mover behind the project for an atlas of Scotland. The model undoubtedly was Saxton's

Atlas of England and Wales, completed in 1579—the first of its kind for the British Isles—financed by Seckford, and supported by the Queen herself. Saxton's first plates were engraved in 1574, and it may be no mere coincidence that this was the very year in which the young Pont received his first grant of an income from Trinity College lands. However that may be, the resemblance of Pont's work to that of Saxton extends even to details of style and selection of map-symbols. Although much of Pont's manuscript work looks confused and rough, one must always recall that, in an immensely difficult terrain, he had none of Saxton's advantages; and much of England had been surveyed before Saxton began. It is also probable that the Pont drawings that have survived are only his rough drafts, and that the fair copies never returned from the Dutch printing-house.

Regarding Pont's technical methods, Mr Kinniburgh is undoubtedly right to urge closer study of his manuscripts maps. In this respect (at least) Pont has proved in the end more fortunate than Saxton, none of whose original county maps have survived to our day. Moreover, light is also thrown on Pont's working methods by the very considerable body of what are evidently his field notes preserved by the Gordons, and published by Sir Arthur Mitchell (1906–8:2, 144–92, 509–613), though these must be used with discretion since changes and additions were made in the course of their transcription. Perhaps the main technical question is whether Pont used triangulation methods in his work? At first sight this may not seem very likely, but it is now established that already 'by Saxton's time the principle of triangulation was becoming known in England, and instruments for angular measurement were being made by London craftsmen. This enabled larger areas, such as counties, to be surveyed more rapidly and more accurately' (Bagrow 1964:165).

Lest it be thought that Pont's pioneer status in Scottish cartography might be explained by descent from a Da Ponte 'nobleman of Venice', the chronological impossibility of this alleged pedigree was long ago exposed (Wodrow 1834, 1:504). Moreover, right up to the Reformation his father bore the entirely native surname of Kinpont (variant, Kilpont), inherited from medieval forbears who owned the West Lothian estate of Kenpunt (Black 1946: 404). What ancestry could be more fitting for one whose work has still so much to offer to the study of the place-names of his country?

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POSTSCRIPT

Just after this note was sent to the printer, two valuable additions to our understanding of the Pont MS. maps appeared in the December 1968 part of the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 84 (1968). Mr Jeffrey C. Stone's 'Evaluation of the "Nidisdaile" Manuscript Map by Timothy Pont' (S.G.M. 1968:160–171) is a model for further local studies based on the collection of thirty-five manuscript drafts attributed to Pont and now preserved in the National Library of Scotland. The article by Messrs D. G. Moir and R. A. Skelton (1968:149–159), based partly on the Blaeu-Scotstarvit correspondence discovered in the N.L.S. in 1967, throws new light on the history of Pont's maps and the preparation of Blaeu's printed Atlas of 1654.

<div align="right">B.R.S.M.</div>

Book Reviews

The Life of Robert Burns by D. B. Snyder. Archon Books, Hamden, Conn. 1968. Pp. 524. $14.00.

The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns, edited by James Kinsley. 3 vols. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1968. Pp. 1625. £9 10s.

Librarians and students of Scottish Literature will welcome the reappearance of Snyder's biography (originally published in 1932), for it has long been out of print; but they will deplore the price, which is excessive for the unaltered and unabridged reprint of a work requiring considerable correction. That the book must still be considered one of the best biographies of Burns does not alter the publisher's obligation to bring it up to date, or at least to indicate in an appendix errors noted by reviewers when it first came out. Some of these are on trivial bibliographical points, but others are slightly more serious: for example, Snyder dismisses as a fabrication Lockhart's account of Burns's part in the capture of the smuggling brig *Rosamond* in 1792, although there is documentary evidence in the National Library of Scotland which Dr H. W. Meikle used to vindicate the Lockhart story. Again, in his presentation of the Ayrshire ecclesiastical background Snyder says the Old Lights and New Lights were 'formed out of' the schismatic Associate Synod, whereas Burns applied these terms not to dissident sectaries but to factions within the official Church of Scotland itself. Burns presented the public library at Dumfries with a copy of De Lolme's work *The Constitution of England*, but Snyder gives its title as *The British Constitution*, thus missing the nationalistic irony of Burns's wish that 'they will take it as a Creed of British Liberty—until they find a better'. Snyder's final chapter, 'The Man and the Poet', is dull and unsatisfactory, especially on the poetry; and his dismissal of Currie's account of Burns's deterioration during the Dumfries period needs to be examined again today in the light of R. D. Thornton's recent reappraisal of Currie.

The long awaited Oxford *Burns* comprises two volumes of text with Preface; a useful appendix that lists poems wrongly attributed to Burns or of dubious authorship; and indexes of airs, titles and first lines. There is an additional third volume containing a textual introduction, a commentary of 531 pages, a list of contemporary portraits, the text of the most notable verbal impressions of Burns by those who had met him, and a model glossary. For the first time in any complete edition we have before us 'all the identifiable airs for the songs in their eighteenth-century form'. In choosing his copy-text the editor has given priority to (1) Burns's holographs and transcripts revised in his

hand, and (2) the first edition; at the same time, there has been constant collation with subsequent manuscripts and editions. Not only does he provide the serious student with the best text of the poems and songs, but his background and factual notes are superior to those of any previous editor.

In order to test his method let us examine his treatment of *Holy Willie's Prayer*. His text is the Glenriddell MS, collated with six other MSS and with Stewart's two editions of 1801–2. Following Glenriddell, he gives us 'A guide, a *ruler* and example/To a' thy flock', instead of the more concrete (and Biblical) 'buckler' of Stewart's editions. Again, he prints the Glenriddell 'Wha bring thy *rulers* to disgrace/And *open* shame'. To the modern reader the first of these seems far less concrete than the 'elders' of Stewart's texts; but Kinsley is surely right, on aesthetic as well as scholarly grounds, in rejecting the '*public* shame' of Stewart and five manuscripts: 'public' is precise but neutral, whereas 'open' carries associations of yawning gulfs, bleeding wounds, running sores and perhaps even ragged garments. The well-known fifth stanza from Stewart's edition of 1802 (deleted by Henley and Henderson), which begins 'O L—d thou kens what zeal I bear, When Drinkers drink, and swearers swear', is printed here within square brackets. It is not in Glenriddell, and therefore the editor would delete it from his ideal text as a weak intrusion from an early MS that brings in the fear of the Lord 'at an inappropriate point'. He prints 'While Auld wi' hingin lip gaed sneaking/And hid his head', the reading of Stewart 1802 (though there spelt 'snakin') and all surviving holographs, as preferable in both style and sense to 'While he (*i.e.* Aitken) . . . held up his head' from Stewart 1801. In the penultimate stanza, logic as well as fidelity to Glenriddell leads him to prefer a succession of 'hims' to Stewart's more euphonious 'them' for the third word of the second line:

> L—d, in thy day o' vengeance try him!
> L—d visit him that did employ him!
> And pass not in they mercy by them,
>   Nor hear their prayer;
> But for thy people's sake destroy them,
>   And dinna spare!

Having chosen the most authoritative copy, then, Kinsley does not allow aesthetics to drive him towards a composite text, although he is always aware of artistic criteria. Even where an editor does no more than scrupulously follow his copy, he should surely note differences between his punctuation and that of previous standard editions, at any rate where interpretation is affected. For example, Kinsley follows Glenriddell in having a comma between 'O may't ne'er be a living plague' and the following 'To my dishonour', a restoration that clarifies the syntax at the same time as it slows down the tempo. Glenriddell's omission of a comma between lines 3 and 4 of stanza V ('I'm here, a pillar o' thy temple/Strong as a rock,') halves the pause between the lines. The restoration of the comma between 'God' and 'confound' in 'But God, confound their stubborn

face, and blast their name' has an important *literary* consequence; it is a direction to the reader that Willie has not given vent to a common oath, but is still addressing the deity in a confidential manner, and his 'confound' is therefore a word of the fullest possible meaning. The Kinsley text of *Holy Willie's Prayer* thus gives the poem a clearer and more logical structure than it has in any previous edition and accurately reflects 'the state of the poem' at the time the Glenriddell MS was put together, though it sacrifices some colourful readings which Burns favoured at one stage of the poem's history.

It is when we come to the new edition's commentary on the poem, in Vol. III, that its superiority to Henley and Henderson is most evident. By citing the scriptural parallels and the relevant passages in the Westminster Confession Kinsley brings out the subtlety of Burns's use of Presbyterian Scots-English; and his critical exegesis is both authoritative and succinct. His criticism of the other major poems can be similarly praised. His notes are more than a bare summary of recent criticism, for in almost every case he adds his own judgment—*e.g.* his scepticism towards critics who interpret *Tam o'Shanter* in terms of multiple *personae*, his rejection of those who would play down Burns's indebtedness to Augustan thought (he mentions Henley and Henderson, Catherine Carswell, David Daiches and Maurice Lindsay), his comments on the tone and humour of *The Auld Farmer's New-Year-morning Salutation to his Auld Mare, Maggie*. Particularly welcome is his acceptance of the modern reappraisal of *The Cotter's Saturday Night* and *The Vision*—the first as 'a bold linguistic experiment in an accepted mode', which is not necessarily inferior to Fergusson's *Farmer's Ingle*, the second as 'a monologue on the Scottish cultural achievement and the art of poetry, in a descriptive frame, with a series of "subsidiary prospects".' His more antiquarian notes are a sheer delight, like that on *To a Haggis* (p. 1222); but occasionally there are quotations we could have done without, such as Wordsworth on *Death and Dr Hornbook* (p. 1055) and *On a Scotch Bard* (p. 1176), which tell us more about Wordsworth than about Burns.

Following John C. Weston, Kinsley would excise the Merry Andrew's song from *The Jolly Beggars* (actually, he prints it in smaller type) as an interruption of the dramatic action that does not represent Burns's final intention. It is a judgment similar to that which wishes to remove 'O L—d thou kens what zeal I bear' from *Holy Willie's Prayer*. At times, however, he seems inconsistent. Thus he argues for the authenticity of the lines *On Tom the Chapman* on the ground that they have 'nothing untypical of Burns', but is sceptical about *The Tree of Liberty*, though he admits that *some* lines 'have a Burnsian quality, and there are some correspondences with his acknowledged work'. This revolutionary song is greatly superior poetically to the contemporary English *Tree of Liberty* broadsides published in London—which, incidentally, the editor does not mention. If Burns did not write the song, who did; who else in Scotland was capable of it?

As important as the new text, and the printing of the airs to the songs, is the critical attitude underlying Kinsley's commentary. When he annotates the poems, he gives due weight to English poetic models and ideas; Burns is not regarded as the vehicle of some

mystically conceived Scottish Tradition. It is only when we come to the songs that there appears to be a difference. There, says Kinsley, on a page on which the words 'tradition' and 'traditional' occur no less than five times (p. vi), Burns 'worked to recover and consolidate the *native* lyric tradition', and 'an edition of his songs, inevitably, to some extent, another "Museum" of that tradition'. But what is the precise meaning of 'native'? There is surely also a sense in which an edition of Burns's songs is a Museum of an *English* tradition (*Clarinda, Mistress of my Soul; Lovely Davies; Where are the Joys I have met in the morning?*). When one considers how frequently the song books, miscellanies and chapbooks printed in Scotland published English and Irish songs, and how frequently Scottish songs appeared in London, Newcastle, Liverpool and Dublin, it does not seem fanciful to speak of a single all-British song-culture in the eighteenth-century, with Scottish and English strands. Is this, perhaps, what Kinsley means by 'native'? In any case, the lyric 'tradition' is not an abstraction but a medium in which the poet works. A Burns song is the product of the poet's emotional state at the time, the tune he has in mind, and a set of stylistic stimuli which may include an inherited chorus or refrain, floating folksong phrases, fixed 'tea-table' phrases and syntactic 'frames' such as a set question-and-answer pattern ('Wha is that at my bower door?'). From one point of view the song arises out of the poet's knowledge of himself and other people; from another, out of what Kinsley calls 'tradition'—that is, out of the poet's organised perception of the congealed experience of his predecessors. It is more profitable to regard the writer as a living, struggling being to whom 'tradition' is a tool, than as tradition's 'silly vassal'. Kinsley does this admirably in his notes on the individual songs; it is only occasionally, as in the Preface, that there is a tendency to hypostatise tradition. On pages 1066–7, however, he seems to accept an allied notion—that of a general dissociation of sensibility in Scottish Augustan culture, but without exposing the idea to critical scrutiny.

It is remarkable that such an enormous undertaking contains so few omissions, misprints and errors of fact and judgment. To help non-specialist readers, titles by which works are generally known should have been included in the Index of Titles: *The Jolly Beggars* as well as Burns's own title, *Love and Liberty; A Vision* as well as its first line, *As I stood by yon roofless tower*. Ritson's two versions of *Johnie Cope* are printed in his Vol. II, pages 84–8, and not on pages 424–8. It is more relevant to say that *My daddy forbade* (p. 1263) is in *The Tea-Table Miscellany* and is probably by Ramsay, than that it is 'reprinted' by Herd. On page 1062 the central place of benevolence in eighteenth-century ethics is considered in relation to Pope and the philosophers without any mention that such concepts were popularised in Burns's *milieu* by the Freemasons. It is implied (p. 1019) that *The Mare of Collingtoun* in Watson's *Collection* is written in 'Standard Habbie', whereas it is in an eight-lined stanza. In *John Barleycorn* the 'systematic allegory of threshing, winnowing and processing for brewing' are not innovations by Burns, but must have come down through oral tradition from such texts as the seventeenth-century *As I went through the North Country* from which John Ashton claimed that

Burns 'stole' his *John Barleycorn*. And in his notes on the songs the editor does not take into account the sources of *My Daddy forbade*, *Hey ca' thro'*, and *The Highland Widow's Lament* reprinted by Frank Miller in his pamphlet on the Mansfield Manuscript (Dumfries 1935), from which it is clear that Burns's versions of these songs are more nearly 'folk' than has hitherto been supposed.

It would no doubt be possible to multiply such petty cavillings, but they are of no importance when set beside the whole.'When the rich carpet is stained, the fool points his finger and laughs; the wise man covers the blemish with his foot.' Here there is no stain, but merely a few inconspicuous droplets, easily ignored. The Oxford *Burns* will surely take its place as one of the great works of twentieth-century scholarship, as important in its own way as were Grierson's *Donne* or Geoffrey Keynes's *Blake*. Skilfully combining the biographical-chronological approach of the Chambers-Wallace edition of 1896 with the critical acumen of Henley and Henderson of the same year, it does not altogether supersede them, though it is immeasurably more accurate—for example, the scholar will still consult Henley and Henderson for their printing of some sources and analogues; but its sophistication and apparently effortless combination of bibliographical and critical skills render the Oxford *Burns* the best edition of a major Scottish poet that has yet appeared.

THOMAS CRAWFORD

The Claim of Scotland by H. J. Paton. Allen and Unwin, London 1968. Pp. 279. 42s.

One of the most significant things about this unusual book is its authorship. That it should have been written by someone with the career and background of Professor Herbert Paton is remarkable and surely symptomatic of a rapidly changing climate of opinion. Many similar works arguing the case for greater devolution have been written, particularly in the depressed 'thirties; but never by distinguished Oxford dons in retirement. Professor Paton is aware of the anomaly. In his foreword he tells us that it was a book that had to be written, preferably by someone else; but no one else obliged, and in taking the task upon himself the author was fully conscious of the dangers he incurred. As he movingly puts it, 'I write this plea for Scotland even at the risk of losing whatever reputation for sanity I may have acquired in the course of a life spent almost equally in Scotland and in England'.

No sensible reader will doubt Professor Paton's sanity for a moment; no fair reader will feel that the book can possibly damage its author's high reputation as a philosopher; and no humane reader, whatever his politics, will find Paton's concern for his country reprehensible. *The Claim of Scotland* is an eminently sane book and in many respects a model of exposition. Its fifteen chapters cover most aspects of present-day Scotland—notably its politics, administration, education and culture. The treatment is somewhat

cursory; and the style cool and lucid. Indeed, the book as a whole is a little too temperate, as the author from time to time recognises by indulging in some delightfully pungent comment. If English readers fail to appreciate the humour they concede the point: they are good at codding others but cannot abide being codded.

Professor Paton admits that a good deal of what he has to say is not new and that much of it may be regarded as trivial. One feels inclined to agree. More factual discussion, less rumination on stereotypes, and fewer anecdotes would have made for a weightier study. But the author has a good plea in bar of criticism. He contends that many of the points he makes may be trivial in themselves but are indicative of an unhealthy English attitude to the union. Indeed, most English people have no attitude to the union, anymore than they have an attitude to osmosis. For them Scotland becomes 'Scotlandshire', and its inhabitants are expected to behave like imitation Englishmen—perfect only if they can drop the letter 'r' wherever it is needed and intrude it wherever it is not.

The trouble is that admirable as all things English may be they are no part of a Scotsman's natural inheritance. As Professor Paton rightly observes, 'the Scots resemble the French rather than the English. These differences are never so sharp as they appear, but it seems fair to say that there is a genuine contrast between the Scottish approach and the English distrust of abstract thinking, their preference for rule of thumb, their dependence on precedents, and—if we may mention this again—their glorification of "muddling through".' The result of this natural disparity and enforced conformity is a shambles. In discussing the whole sorry mess in all its miry reaches, Professor Paton reserves his hardest blows for those déracinés who curry favour with the powers that be by maligning their country and its traditions while rarely displaying much knowledge of either. Incredibly, this is one of the recognised routes for advancement and more in use now than at any other time.

Professor Paton correctly diagnoses the current nationalist fever as a reaction to 'muddling through'. He contends that the government of Scotland is a mockery, that the U.K. political parties have hopelessly discredited themselves, and that as a result of mismanagement by self-styled experts the condition of Scotland steadily deteriorates, and not merely with reference to Mammon. Professor Paton's prescription is that recommended by the Liberal Party—a federal union. His book then is not purely destructive, as some unionist critics have alleged, but is constructive as well. Indeed, it advocates a means—possibly the only means left—of preserving the United Kingdom. But the machine politicians can hardly be expected to appreciate such sophisticated thinking. Besides, the party hacks, so blind in so many ways, see only too clearly that even a measure of genuine self-government (never mind Mr Heath's proposed Assembly) would dispel for ever the vapid nonsense that masquerades as politics in Scotland today.

I have few basic criticisms to make of Professor Paton's readable and thought-provoking book. He tends to assume throughout that complete independence for Scotland is a chimera or at any rate highly undesirable. He may well be right. But as a philosopher he ought to have seen that this judgment cannot be an absolute: his book

would have been all the better for some contingent discussion of this fundamental question. It is a weakness characteristic of far too much writing on the subject. What is the good, for example, of desiring the survival of Scotland, as Mr Linklater does in his recent book of that name, only to shy clear of the real issues in the last few paragraphs? In short, even the most patriotic rhetoric is no longer enough. The need is for some very hard, very searching, and ruthlessly honest thinking on the whole subject. We do not always get it from Professor Paton. In particular I regret the general tone of his references to the Catholic Irish in Scotland, or, to give them their proper title now, Scots Catholics. Here the author tends to be unjust, simply underwriting the prejudices of an age that has gone. Indeed, there is still in his approach much that is conventional and unsubstantiated. I wonder, for example, if youthful Scots venerate the crown and worry about Scottish heraldic devices. I very much doubt it. Yet many of them do seem to care a great deal about Scotland and to worry about its future. And as the young go, so will Scotland—let the 'experts' (economic, political, or whatever) huff and puff as they please.

WILLIAM FERGUSON

Arbeit und Volksleben: Deutscher Volkskundekongress 1965 in Marburg. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mitteleuropäische Volksforschung an der Philipps-Universität Marburg-Lahn. A. Allgemeine Reihe, herausgegeben von Gerhard Heilfurth und Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann. Band 4. Otto Schwartz & Co, Göttingen 1967. Pp. xi+442. 36 plates.

Presumably Proceedings or Transactions of a congress are published for four main reasons: first, to enable participants to read again the papers which they heard when attending the conference; second, to allow them to study the contributions which, for one reason or another, they were unable to go to at the time when they were delivered (parallel sessions would come under this heading); third, to give those who were unable to attend the congress a chance to familiarise themselves with the contents and trends of the lectures given; and fourth, simply to provide a permanent record of the conference programme. The usefulness of such Proceedings largely depends on the quality of the programme itself. Even excellent standards of scholarship are not enough if they are not moulded into a framework. Transactions of conferences with a theme are therefore more likely to be successful as publications than those which cover a lot of ground without any thematic thread running through them: unequal standards of contributions are less noticeable if they all shed light on a central subject. However, whatever the merit of any Proceedings of any congress on any subject may be, the published account is most likely to appeal and be useful to those who actually attended the conference in question.

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The present reviewer was one of the almost five hundred members of the German Folklore Congress which took place in Marburg in the autumn of 1965. This was a congress with a theme: 'Die Arbeit in ihrer Bedeutung für die menschliche Welt' (work in its significance for the human world), a subject which could naturally not have been expected to be covered in its entirety and therefore received the kind of limited treatment which falls within the competence and range of knowledge of a conference of this nature, *i.e.* work as observed, analysed and interpreted by the cultural anthropologist, the ethnologist, and the folklorist. Of the various aspects which immediately suggest themselves, eight were assigned to special 'working parties': settlement history and vernacular architecture; (agricultural) implements; traditional art; language; folk narrative; song, music and dance; custom; and the specifically German problem of East German folklore, relating particularly to the large section of refugees and displaced persons. This proved to be a very fruitful arrangement which not only allowed for the detailed analysis of particular problems in each section but also for the subsequent discussion of important points by anybody who cared to contribute.

In the Congress Proceedings which appeared two years later under the title of *Arbeit und Volksleben* (Work and Folklife), these working groups are also used to break down conveniently the published material. Not only are all the papers assigned to their respective sections but each resulting group of articles is prefaced by a short 'chairman's report' on the work of the section, summarising the particular nature of the problems discussed and the results obtained through such discussion. This is a good and desirable innovation in the editorial treatment of such Proceedings and can only be welcomed, not only by those who were in the midst of this or that sequence of argument, and perhaps contributed their own little stone to the mosaic, but also by those who would like to know what kind of lessons were learned at Marburg and what the special significance of this particular gathering of scholars is likely to be in the development of our knowledge of the subject. In addition, three very full indices—one of personal names, one of place-names and one of objects and ideas—open up the contents of the 37 papers in an especially useful fashion. Mainly because of this very solid and imaginative editorial work do we have a well-produced volume (with a surprising number of excellent half-tone illustrations) which is so much more than just another collection of papers which happen to have been delivered during the same week to more or less the same audiences.

There may not be much in such a volume that can be said to have any direct bearing on Scottish studies in the same field. On the other hand, there is a good deal which from a comparative point of view may serve as an example, or if not that at least provide a stimulus or food for thought, for similar researches in Scotland. In this respect, one notices chiefly the idea of giving ergological studies a perhaps unaccustomed but valid place in ethnological research, always of course as part of the total culture in which the work to be studied is carried out. That this is not a plea for a kind of folkloristic time-and-motion man is obvious although even this sphere of economic

endeavour may already have developed its own folklore and customs. The interpretation of vernacular architectural traditions within the context of the economy of the region and the structure of society rather than as manifestations of ethnic qualities might be another notion which, although not new, might deserve a new emphasis in Scotland at a time when the term vernacular in its architectural implications has found a new platform for discussion. In the field of traditional narrative, at present undergoing an almost violent change in the reassessment of the whole question of categories, both of form and contents, the practically shapeless although by no means unstructured *Arbeitserinnerungen* (memories about one's work) emerge as a folkloristic phenomenon, whether as part of a more comprehensive life story, an exchange of views and experiences, or the mere bragging in front of one's workmates, friends in the pub, or family (a category of function here). Related to this is the study of the kind of narrative genres and subjects which are found suitable, or even necessary, to accompany work. Work songs have had considerable attention over the years but the 'work narrative' and the place of work as a story-telling situation and locale seem to demand their share of analysis too. Similarly the attitude to work as shown in traditional narratives of all kinds deserves some scrutiny. Finally, and the list is really much longer, the whole spectrum of relationships and interactions between work and custom calls for far more detailed examination in depth than it has had so far. Particularly the creative or re-creative use of leisure hours, the beginning and end of a particular job or process of work as the dominating factors in traditional practices, superstitious elements and taboos, seasonal employment and calendar festivals, and many similar aspects offer themselves immediately. In this way, the folklore and traditions of the working day emerge as attractive and essential subjects demanding our attention, and the notion is forever silenced which would exclude the urban industrial society from the territory in which the investigator of such matters is allowed to move with approbation.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

Folktales of Norway, edited by Reidar Thorwald Christiansen. Translated by Pat Shaw Iversen. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1964. 284+xlv pp. 28s.

As the first volume reviewed in *Scottish Studies* of a fine series of 'Folktales of the World', this deserves a welcome. The plan is roughly that of all the volumes in the series. The general editor, Professor Richard M. Dorson, as learned a student of folklorists as of folklore, has supplied a foreword on the collection and study of folktales in Norway: much of it is devoted to an account of the great nineteenth-century collectors P. C. Asbjörnsen and Jörgen Moe, their correspondence with Jacob Grimm, and their translator Sir George Dasent, whose work inspired J. F. Campbell of Islay to begin

collecting folktales in the Highlands. Professor Dorson seems also to be responsible for the comparative notes at the head of each story, which refer to Christiansen in the third person. These are not always as complete as they seem: for instance *Giske* ends with a variant of AT 1791 (*Cailleach nan Cnò*), which is more closely connected with the unclassified motif which occupies the bulk of the story than the opening AT 1383, under which alone it is classified.

The editor of this volume, Professor Christiansen, is particularly well known in these islands for his work on Gaelic tales and ballads. He has clearly selected stories relevant to his own recent work: well over half the book is taken up with *sagen*, local historical and supernatural legends, most of them concerned with *huldre* and other Norwegian beings resembling our own fairies. Christiansen's own introduction is largely a fascinating description of the different varieties of these creatures and their doings, with a brief note of other national characteristics in the tales. International wonder-tales (*eventyr*) and comic anecdotes seem under-represented, and there is no example of the animal fables which have certainly been collected in Norway. A closer look, however, shows some justification for this apparent imbalance, at least if the selection is intended to do justice to recent collectors and introduce new tales to English-speaking readers. Of the sixteen international tales ('fictional folktales') in the final section only one was collected after 1900, and all but four are in Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*. In the rest of the book tales collected in the nineteenth century are only slightly in the majority. The selection of *sagen* is an interesting one, with several types given in two or three different forms for comparison, and the *märchen* at the end will at least encourage the reader to look for more in Dasent.

Though some quarter of each volume is scholarly material, anyone who likes stories can find good reading in the series, and a cheap paperback re-issue with fewer notes could make an invaluable introduction to folktales from countries as near as Ireland and as distant as China. It is a pity therefore that, though Mrs Iversen has translated Norse tales before, her renderings are not more attractive. Perhaps this is a judgment coloured by Limey prejudice against an American idiom which often seems an uneasy mixture of the formal and the folksy. Perhaps also the greater accuracy of her translation makes it flow less smoothly than Dasent's (whose freedom, however, might be forgiven in view of Asbjörnsen and Moe's own mild 'improvements' of the texts they collected.) But surely Dasent's 'I can sleep in the side-room' is clearer than 'I guess I can lie in the closet', and 'maybe there's witchcraft in it' more natural than 'there can be some devilment about it'. Mrs Iversen's constant use of constructions like 'You'll have to do it, you will', though less common than the literal equivalent in Norwegian, jars in English. Occasionally she improves on a mannered rendering of Dasent's such as 'Ritter Red' for 'the Red Knight' or 'the Man o' the Hill' (from *Tom Jones*?) for 'mountain troll'; but what is the point of her 'Whittenland', half-way between *Hvidtenland* and Dasent's obvious 'Whiteland'?

In any case this collection can be no substitute for *Popular Tales from the Norse* and

Tales from the Fjeld: but the selection of the shorter local tales which makes up the greater part of the book is unique in English, and justifies this volume's place in a series which as a whole cannot be too strongly recommended.

<div align="right">ALAN BRUFORD</div>

Irish Wake Amusements by Seán ÓSúilleabháin. The Mercier Press, Cork 1967. 188 pp. 8s. 6d.

The *cluiche caointe*, coupled by convention with the raising of an ogham stone in descriptions of funerals in Modern Irish romances, was translated by nineteenth-century country scholars as 'wake games'. Nowadays older sources such as the Dindshenchus of Carmun and the Homeric parallels may lead us to visualise something rather more like a school sports day: but there can be little doubt that the parlour games and by-play which formed part of every Irish wake until this century were the worn-down remnants or the common man's imitation of these athletic contests at the burial of pagan heroes. Traces of other ancient beliefs can be glimpsed too, along with the simple desire to pass the time and dispel the gloomy thoughts natural with a corpse in the middle of the company. There is an element of mischief-making which recalls the tricks played at Hallowe'en by young people impersonating, according to the usual theory, the dead who were supposed to roam that night: at wakes, perhaps, they were in the house to welcome the newcomer to their number. Again, the spirit of the departed had to be placated with blood; at any rate, a fight was considered an indispensable part of a funeral in Ireland as in the Highlands, and there was often fighting at the wake also, where some of the wake games were apparently deliberately aimed to make people angry. The tricks played on the unwary and the matchmaking games carry a suggestion of initiation ceremonies, as if the wake-house were the place where young people were received as members of the adult community. But the basic purpose of the ceremony, as Seán Ó Súilleabháin points out in his last chapter, was to show respect to the dead man with a farewell party before his departure to the other world, just as emigrants to the New World were seen off with an 'American Wake'.

From another point of view the wake was one of the main social functions in rural Ireland: in Irish love songs the man often says that he met the girl first either in church or at a wake, *ar an dtórramh thíos ar an Mullach Mór*. So the games were often of the sort calculated to get a party 'warmed up': Hunt the Slipper, Hide and Seek and dancing were common entertainments, as well as matchmaking games—like those played by schoolgirls, or waulking women in the Hebrides—kissing games and even mock marriages. But every sort of game could appear: cards and board games, trials of strength and skill—sometimes actual athletic contests followed in the morning—charades of various sorts, and tricks like 'The seat between the King and Queen' or catch games for

the company on the lines of 'Simon says' or 'The Minister's Cat'. Many of these last kinds are still played by schoolchildren in Britain. Riddles, tongue-twisters, songs and story-telling were other amusements.

Seán ÓSúilleabháin, Archivist of the Irish Folklore Commission, describes all these customs in detail, with full references to printed sources for each. (Curiously enough there is no direct reference to the Folklore Commission's own MS collections, whether because these were made too late or concentrated on other subjects, or simply because there were enough references without them.) An interesting but all too short chapter deals with the lost custom of keening and the composition of impromptu elegies. The constant opposition of the Church, from the seventeenth century on, to drinking, dancing, mock marriages and other merriment at wakes is fully documented, and the survival and eventual decline of these customs is traced up to the present day, with frequent parallels from Scotland, England and the Continent. The description, at the beginning, of country wakes today is useful for non-Irish readers, and there is an index to the various games. The book, smoothly translated by the author from his *Caitheamh Aimsire ar Thórramh* (An Clóchomhar Tta, 1961), makes one of the most interesting additions to the Mercier Press's prolific outpouring of paperbacks on Irish themes.

ALAN BRUFORD

Scottish Pageantry by Albert Mackie. Hutchison, London 1967. Pp. 256. 45s.

Throughout Scotland the spirit of the past has strikingly survived and expresses itself in colourful ceremonies and pageants. In this book Mr Mackie surveys the whole scene in prose and picture, and in tracing the origins and development of our Scottish pageantry throws many fascinating sidelights on our history. The book is illustrated with nine colour-prints and forty black-and-white pictures.

Whilst the Scottish Court has promoted much of the national pageantry, beyond the long line of kings stands the imposing figure of the Lord Lyon King of Arms—the direct descendant of the High Sennachie of Druidic times, one of whose duties was to recite the genealogy of the King at each successive Coronation. Lyon has preserved the heraldic glories of medieval times, and his skill and knowledge are manifest in our coronations (up to and including Charles I), Royal Progresses, Parliamentary Processions and other great occasions. Many of these are described here in detail, culminating in our present Queen's Accessional Visit to Scotland in 1953, with its climax in the Kirk of St Giles, where the Queen entrusts the Honours of Scotland—the Crown, the Sceptre and the Sword of State—to their noble bearers. The scene was enriched by the colourful ermine-caped robes of the peers and the civic dignitaries, the scarlet and gold and the tartans of the military uniforms, the green uniforms and high-plumed hats of the Royal

Archers, the Court dress of the ladies—with the added colour of the stained-glass windows and the banners and the tabards of the Lord Lyon and his heralds.

On all high occasions the Knights of the Thistle—roughly the Scottish equivalent of the Knights of the Garter—the High Constables of Holyrood, and the Royal Company of Archers—the Queen's Bodyguard in Scotland—are conspicuous.

Since the prorogation of the Scottish Parliament, the pomp and pageantry associated with the Riding of the Parliament has been largely transferred to the Opening of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, when a Guard of Honour attends the Lord High Commissioner (the Queen's representative) and a Royal Salute of twenty-one guns is fired from the Half-moon Battery at the Castle.

The pomp and splendour of the Lyon Court survives in the Royal Proclamations at the Mercat Cross, when the Lord Lyon, with a Guard of Honour, is hailed by sound of trumpet.

Our Scottish regiments have been foremost in preserving our national identity, our local patriotism, our traditions and ceremonies, as well as the dress, music and dancing of the Gael. The Military Tattoo on the Castle Esplanade is the supreme attraction each year at the Edinburgh Festival.

The Law Courts have their own ceremonial, and at the opening of sessions of the Courts the Lord President, the Lord Justice-Clerk and the twelve Senators of the College of Justice walk in procession in their wigs and robes to the Kirkin' Ceremony in St Giles. So with other learned bodies, notably the Universities, all of which have picturesque ceremonies such as installations and graduations. There are solemn and impressive processions consisting of the Chancellor, Principal, Senatus, representatives of the Students' Representative Council, and honorary graduates, headed by the bedellus or mace-bearer, with a display of gowns, vividly coloured hoods, mortar-boards and velvet bonnets.

To our Town and County Councils we largely owe the preservation of local customs and regional pageantry. David I (c. 1080–1153) initiated a system of burghs all over Scotland, and for centuries our civic processions have been splendid affairs. Vestments and jewellery are conspicuous trappings of our municipal dignitaries, and their splendour Mr Mackie tells us, goes back to the times when royalty took a direct interest in the conduct of local affairs. Even in the smallest burghs we find admirably arranged local processions.

The author devotes a chapter to the local festivals of Scotland. 'There are festivals and pageants of some kind or other, somewhere or other, for some excuse or other,' he tells us, 'all the year round.' Some, like Beltane and Hallowe'en (the ancient *Samhuinn*) are of pagan origin. The Burning of the Clavie at Burghead and the spectacular festival of Up-helly-aa in Lerwick are among the survivals of the ancient Yule fires meant to aid by mimetic magic the return of the sun from the furthest point in its circuit to fructify the earth anew. The Riding of the Marches, so popular in the Border burghs, dates from the time when a ceremonial riding took place round the common

lands attached to each burgh to see that no encroachments on the boundaries had been made by any acquisitive neighbouring laird.

Mr Mackie surveys the cycle of the seasons, each with its appropriate festivals, and reveals to us an astonishing refloresence of local patriotism throughout Scotland from Shetland to the Mull of Galloway. This will greatly enrich the community life in the new Scotland we are all preparing to re-build.

F. MARIAN MCNEILL

Letters of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, 1799–1812, edited by Barbara L. H. Horn. Pp. xxviii + 346. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1966.

Ramsay was well on in his sixties when he began the letters that make this collection, and he wrote them to a comparatively young relative, the wife of his heir James Dundas. The letters have such a completeness, forming the picture of one man and his world, that they must have been one of his main forms of expression. Every week the carrier would take fruit, vegetables, butter, salmon, well aged mutton or Ramsay's first asparagus from Stirling to Edinburgh, and with the parcel went a letter. In return shopping might be done for Ramsay, cabbage seed, haddock or cod come back, but the generosity was predominantly one-sided and Ramsay sent the best of everything. (The earliest pears of June 1805 must be a misreading or miswriting for peas: the other is horticulturally impossible.)

He was living on his own in a small, austerely furnished house, four rooms besides the servants' domain. The £147 19s. 1d. at which his books and furniture were valued after his death would not mean much in middle-class comforts by the standards of the day. There was a large local society of lairds and their families near at hand, though not, according to Ramsay, what there had been once, and he laments the passing of the golden age of Clackmannanshire. For immediate personal contacts he had his tenantry and servants. His intimacy with his household is shown in his care of his servants when they are sick. He sees to it that one of the maids reads *Gulliver's Travels* to his house-keeper during her illness. It cheered her up, even though 'she believed not a word of it'. 'When my old servants fail . . . I shall be a helpless animal' wrote Ramsay with feeling, and fail they did. Mrs Watson, his housekeeper, died, and was found to have embezzled £300 from the butter making. Her successor held gay parties, and that would not do. Then came Mrs Metcalf, who could make broth as the old man liked it, and managed the household with discretion, lent Ramsay her watch when his own was stolen and read to him as his eyes failed, and at the end even wrote for him. Poor woman: she could hardly cope with his love of great words, and he continued to fill his letters with things like 'canebrificous'. He was indeed helpless and the correspondence ground to a halt.

It is a local picture Ramsay gives. His neighbours move around, but they gather their wives from near at hand, usually; their children come back and take over the houses. As befits an old man there is a note of decay. At Menstry in 1801 'the staircase up to the drawing room ruinous and everything bore the marks of desolation'. Tullibody was little better. Then it was reoccupied: parties were held under the lovely curving roof, and Ramsay could recall his youth. And now it lies in ashes. The centres of kinship and company change; Cardross replaces Tullibody. The great extended family, as those of us who still sustain it know, swept its members from generation to generation, muting griefs and giving life to the houses. It provided a world which left little need for a wider one. Miss Horn has faithfully traced the Dundas-Abercromby-Graham network of this world and set it out in a clear and attractive table. If she had had cause to take up the Dundas connection in other directions she would not have been puzzled by the identification of the Mr Trotter who figures with Lord Melville in 1805—surely Alexander Trotter of Dreghorn, Paymaster of the Navy, whose descendants married with Dundas's, and whose financial operations and evidence brought about the fall of Scotland's great man. 'I see not that Scotland is likely to gain aught by his fall' wrote Ramsay. He was right.

There is something of the contemporary in Ramsay's complaints about his world. Who today has not heard, or uttered, a hostile comment on the scantiness of female dress, on the deplorable habit of pulling down sound old buildings for new ones, on the current vice of over-eating, on the attenuation of religious belief? Here is the old man on these themes. 'Semi-Christianity which seems to be ashamed of, at least to keep aloof from, the doctrines and language of its great master and his apostles, is nearly akin, and little less unseemly and reprehensible than the semi-dress or quarter-dress so much in request of late among fashionable belles.' 'Warmth and decency are not incompatible with elegance.' The lack of current morals is contrasted with the past: true he had known a kleptomaniac northern lord, but 'that was disease' whereas today people rob each other under the guise of card-play from a lack of education in morals. Edinburgh is going downhill. It has new fine streets, but Ramsay would prefer 'something nearer Tuscan simplicity': 'when will this building frenzy end?' It is fast becoming a 'little London', 'its luxuries and pursuits are nearly the same'. The houses where Ramsay used to live are pulled down or have become slums, or worse still they are occupied by strangers. 'Nothing but English is now to be heard in Auld Reekie except among the high school boys.' Education is slack. Ramsay held 'the good *old way*, of rigid discipline exercised with discretion on lads of 15, 16 or 17 was the best human wisdom could devize to make good scholars, and prepare them to be good members of society', and we can tell what the 'discipline' means when he recommends the Westminster or Eton method of flogging boys into scholarship. Modern entertainment is too lavish, keeps too late hours, and Ramsay yearns for 'a proper dinner without traces of vanity or excess' and the simple balls and hops of his own youth. The diction may be new to us but not the sentiments.

The interest of Ramsay's mind is that he was intelligent, widely curious about life, letters and society, well read and old-fashioned. Perhaps he narrowed his topics for the particular reader. It was not the convention to talk politics to ladies and Ramsay thought 'mathematics and minerallogy' also not subjects for them. But we get views of Napoleon, 'the proud king of Assyria', or Ramsay's unwillingness to see Britain commit an army against him in the Peninsula, or George III's 'rage for conquest' and 'disposition to quarrel with all the earth'. What we do not hear of is the intellectual march of Scotland. That the country had contributed the greatest economist of the eighteenth century, a philosopher in the world class, mathematicians and chemists of great note, and was even at that time creating modern geology one would not know from these letters. For all his unwillingness to see Scotland copy England, Ramsay's intellectual life is English, not Scottish. It is the English poets and novelists who furnish his mind with quotations and references. Scott is mentioned occasionally, but Ramsay was not moved by his work. Burns's 'Cottar's Saturday Night' has struck home. Otherwise the Scottish contribution is sermons and nothing else.

Ramsay was ambivalent in his resistance to English culture. Boys should get their classics at English schools but resist the deplorable practice of fagging there. The English jury trial cannot be grafted on to Scottish law without bringing over Jamaican judges, jurors and attornies. If his neighbours insist on bringing in English wives he will be ready to be won over to them. 'It is not alwise expedient to tread in the steps of people richer and more polished than ourselves' he writes, but in various ways he has a sneaking affection for some of the changes that come from this foreign connection, besides the wives. But the most marked outside influence on lowland Scotland's gentry seems to be not so much England as the East India Company, bringing in more reliable wealth than London politics, sending back nabobs and captains, offering careers. Even the new religious tenets that Ramsay disliked are locally produced by the Haldane Baptist connection centred on Airthrey. Marriage with this group caused more severance and sadness than marriage into England or India. 'The *saints* are very greedy' he wrote sadly as he saw his cousin Elizabeth Joass drawn into the Haldane household by her daughter's marriage and lamented her growing coldness to him.

Friendship fails for other reasons than religion. The Abercrombys, except for one, ceased to be kind or attentive, and even that one was suffering from 'ossification of the heart', 'incurable', by the end of the letters. Health was failing too. The book shows a man who valued friendship, clung to it and worked at it, perhaps because of his sharp and exquisite sense of mortality. Early on Ramsay strikes a note that is to recur again and again. In 1800 he writes of his 'frail tabernacle', adding 'it is time to one who knows he has the seeds of disease in him, to think of setting his house in order'. He never ceased to remember these seeds. His doctor becomes more and more important to the old laird. In 1805 he is recommending the unusual prescription of five or six glasses of wine a day to counter a 'teazing pain' and insomnia. In 1808 Ramsay is persuaded his course is nearly over: 'one may live too long.' He is on broth with an occasional glass of wine.

In 1810 it is 'sowins', porridge and a little laudanum. But for Christmas he manages salmon and two glasses of burgundy. Only in 1812 with the failure of his sight, do the shadows really close in, two years before his death. Who is to say, exploring this lonely, courageous, loving mind with its active appreciation of place, time and change, that he had in fact lived too long?

ROSALIND MITCHISON

Books Received

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

Sporan Dhòmhnaill. Gaelic Poems and Songs by the late Donald MacIntyre, edited by Somerled MacMillan. Oliver & Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh 1968. Pp. 418. 35s.

The Hawk's Done Gone and Other Stories by Mildred Haun, edited by Herschel Gower. Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, Tennessee 1968. Pp. xxv + 356. $7.95.

English Ritual Drama by E. C. Cawle, Alex. Helm and N. Peacock. London 1967. Pp. 132. 30s.

Strange Things by J. L. Campbell and Trevor H. Hall. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1968. Pp. xvi + 350. 55s.

Scéalta ón mBlascaod by Kenneth Jackson. The Talbot Press, Dublin 1968. Pp. 96. 7s. 6d.

Hebridean Folksongs. A Collection of Waulking Songs made by Donald MacCormick, completed and edited by J. L. Campbell. Oxford University Press, London 1969. Pp. 375. 70s.

Our Scottish District Checks by E. S. Harrison. The National Association of Scottish Woollen Manufacturers, Edinburgh 1968. Pp. 167. £5 5s.

Eday and Hoy, A Development Survey by Ronald Miller and Susan Luther-Davies. Department of Geography University of Glasgow 1969. Pp. 94.

Sir John Scot, Lord Scotstarvit: His Life and Times by T. G. Snoddy. T. & A. Constable, Edinburgh 1968.

Temenos, vol. 4. Finnish Society for the Study of Comparative Religion, Helsinki 1969. Pp. 152. 15 Finnish Marks.

Seeing Scotland. An Official Guide to Countryside, Castles, Houses, Gardens and Places of Interest Open to the Public. The National Trust for Scotland, Edinburgh 1969. Pp. 104. 3s.

The Lime Industry in the Lothians by B. C. Skinner, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, University of Edinburgh 1969. Pp. 64.

A Register of Scottish Literary Studies. University Committee on Scottish Literature. 1969.

Scottish Studies

Volume 13 : 1969

part two

Part of Argyll from a map of 1734

Scottish Studies

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Scottish Studies

VOLUME 13 PART 2

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Book Reviews

Record Review

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The Tacksmen and their Successors

A Study of Tenurial Reorganisation in Mull, Morvern and Tiree in the Early Eighteenth Century

E. R. CREGEEN

This article considers problems of social and economic change in the former MacLean of Duart lands appropriated by the earls of Argyll, and particularly the effects of the abolition of the system of great tacksmen in 1737. Based on a large body of unpublished documentary evidence, much of it only recently made available at Inveraray Castle, it reassesses the respective parts played by the family of Argyll and their tacksmen in the management of these insular districts and questions the accepted view that the tenurial reorganisation vastly improved conditions for the tenants in general.

'We have now entered finally on the times of peaceful industry' (Argyll 1887:263). In these words George, 8th Duke of Argyll, an outstanding champion of Victorian property and progress, summed up the tenurial reorganisation which his forbear had introduced into Morvern and the neighbouring islands of Mull, Tiree and Coll.* Its architects, John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, and his friend and Commissioner, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session, would have been gratified by such a verdict. Forbes especially would have been rejoiced to know that as a consequence of his strenuous weeks of diplomacy and discomfort in the Inner Hebrides in the late summer of 1737, that clannish region had become a land of opportunity, progress and industry.

The Lord President had been principal manager of the Duke's business affairs since 1716 but it required a matter of unusual importance to bring him so far from the capital. Routine administration was left to the Chamberlain of Argyll or to one of his junior colleagues. The object of this expedition, however, was no less than the total reorganisation of the tenurial system that had hitherto governed the Duke's insular estates.

Culloden recorded the success of his mission in a report to the Duke immediately after his return to Inveraray (CCR 1884:387–394). It expressed the sober satisfaction of a man who had carried out a difficult assignment to the best of his ability. Great tacksmen, or tenants-in-chief, had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly of the Duke's northern estate and had supported their kinsmen and followers on their holdings as sub-tenants.

* See map on page 95, and frontispiece (plate vi).

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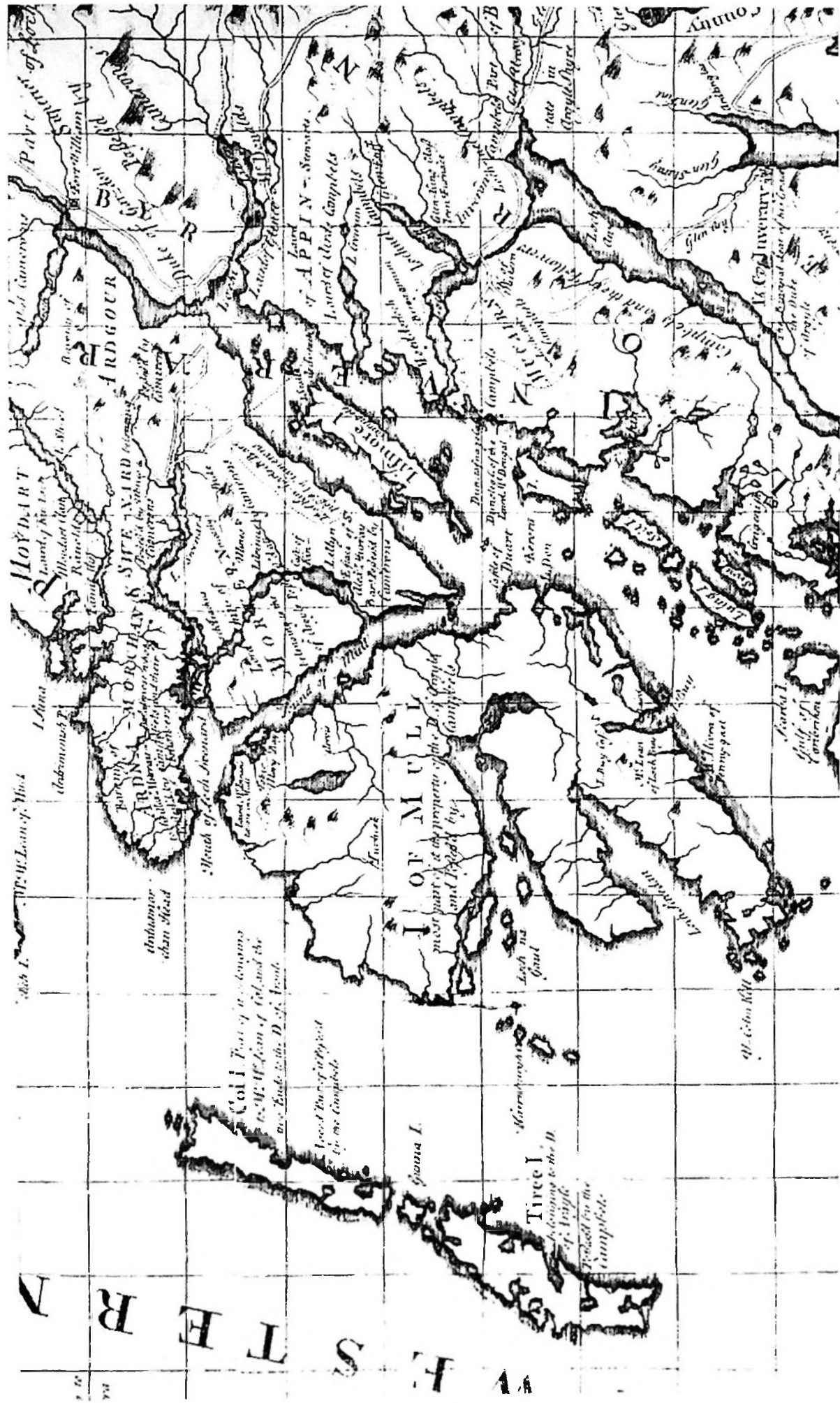
PLATE VI. Part of Argyll, showing ownership and occupation of land, 1734. From a map by I. Cowley, plate 2 in Sir Alexander Murray's *The True Interest of Great Britain, Ireland and our Plantations, London 1740.*

(Reproduced by kind permission of Edinburgh University Library.)

This was the custom on all Highland estates where the proprietor was a clan chief. Tacksmen were sometimes functionaries in the chief's service, such as harpers, historians and poets; sometimes heads of allied but unrelated followers; but most were relatives of the chief and heads of lineages or groups of kinsmen tracing their descent from the founder of the clan. The tacksmen were thus the chief's mainstay, serving to unify the clan proper of blood relations, and by their wider authority over their locality binding together all the diverse groups dwelling in the clan's territory into a political entity (Cregeen 1968:161–5). Culloden reported that he had removed these tacksmen and put in their place some hundred of tenants, large and small, to hold their farms directly of the Duke under written leases and on modern conditions. No longer subject to traditional prestations and labour services to the great chieftains, they would, he claimed, transform the backward agriculture of these remote districts, and under the beneficent guidance of their landlord bring undreamed-of prosperity both to themselves and the Duke of Argyll. Such were the sanguine predictions of Culloden's report.

The mission was a notable victory for the Lord President. A man no longer young, travelling in physical discomfort in wet and boisterous weather (with no other protection than his rhubarb and gum pills), handicapped moreover by ignorance of the language, he had confronted and overcome a formidable coalition of interests in Mull and Tiree. By a series of skilful moves, and with the aid of his travelling companions, he had induced the sub-tacksmen and sub-tenants to bid for leases in defiance of the tacksmen, and now returned to Inveraray with most of the lands let at higher rents. The 8th Duke summed up the financial achievement thus: 'In the final result, Culloden had the satisfaction of reporting that these large insular estates had been re-let, with some little immediate increase of rent, and such new conditions, as would lay the foundations of indefinite improvement for the future' (Argyll 1887:259). And his general conclusion on the great tenurial changes is contained in his comment on the terms of the new leases: 'In these words we see the symbol and consummation of a change which amounted to a revolution. In the abolition of all services, except a few strictly limited and defined, which were for purposes directly connected with the benefit of a whole district or of a large community, we see the last step, or almost the last, from the mediaeval to modern conditions of society. In the admission of a class to the benefits of leases who had hitherto been always tenants-at-will, and had in practice been often compelled to move from the necessity either of seeking protection or of rendering service, we see the elevation of a large portion of the people from a state of complete uncertainty and dependence, to a state in which they could rely, and could make others rely, upon definite engagements' (Argyll 1887:261–2).

In this view, an oppressive traditional system of land-tenure and social relations was swept away, and in its place there was established a beneficent modern system that opened the doors to technological advance, expanding production and higher revenues, and gave the mass of the people, for the first time, a measure of freedom and security. There appear to have been no snags and no disappointments. Partly because of the
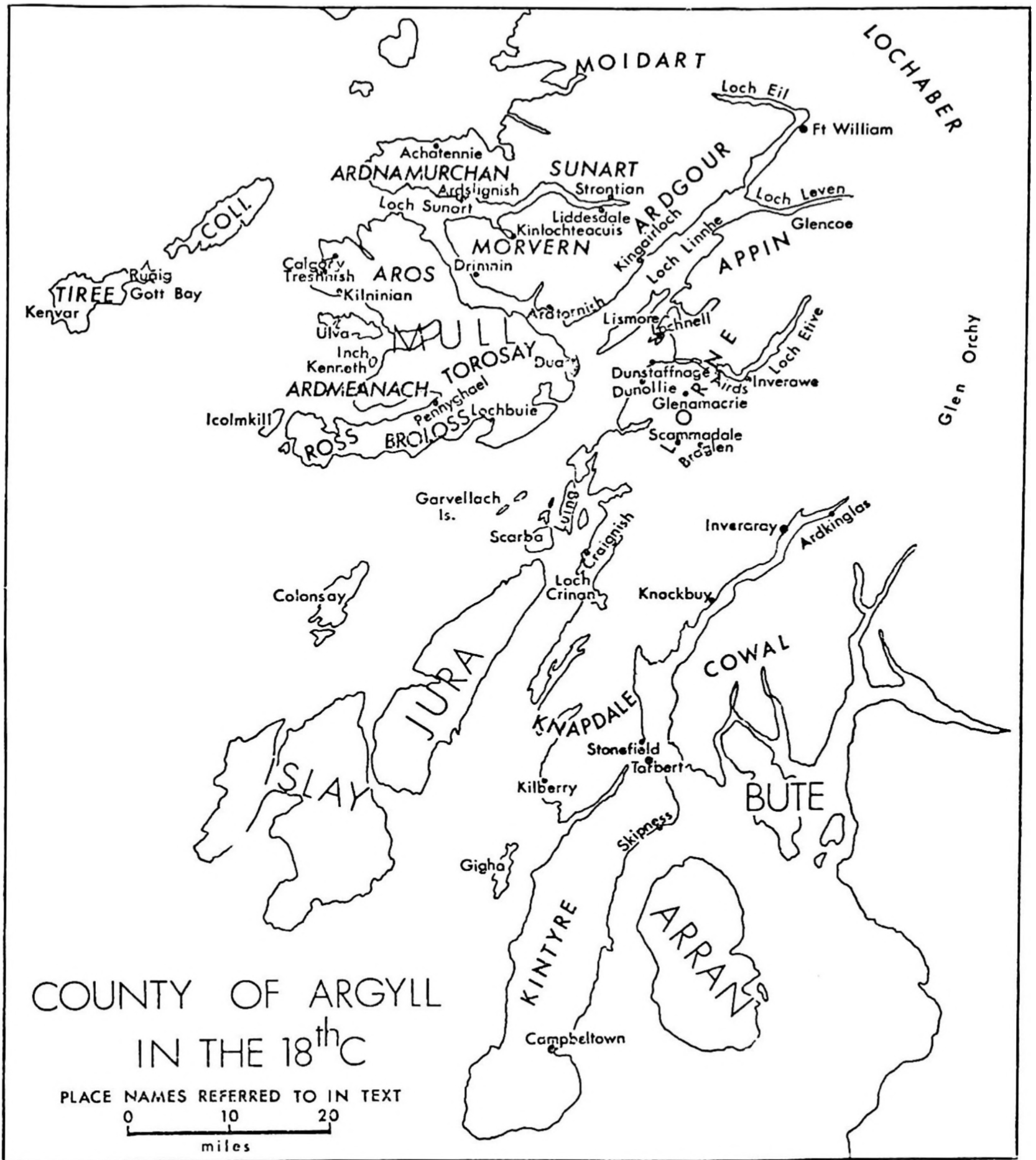
County of Argyll and neighbouring districts in the 18th century.

persuasiveness with which both Culloden and the 8th Duke presented the case, partly perhaps because of a general predisposition in most people to identify change with progress, their eulogistic view of the tenurial reorganisation gained a ready acceptance, and with it Culloden's sweeping condemnation of the tacksmen. An authoritative modern textbook, for example, contains the statement (probably reflecting an attitude general among historians): 'In 1737 Forbes of Culloden reported on the tyranny and oppression of tacksmen in Mull, Morvern and Tiree, and his assessment was confirmed time and again in the course of the eighteenth century' (Hamilton 1963 : 48).

The 8th Duke himself demurred against Culloden's extravagant attack on the tacksmen. They were, he said 'gentlemen in the best meaning of the term—men incapable of a dishonourable action, and disposed to deal as justly and humanely with their inferiors as was consistent with the standard of obligation universally recognised in their day and generation' (CCR 1884:384). There is moreover a great deal of contemporary or near-contemporary literature to suggest that they were not the unfeeling monsters that Culloden represented, and this is supported by studies by modern historians like I. F. Grant and A. McKerral.[1] Perhaps the chief reason for treating Culloden's remarks with caution is the important role played by the tacksmen as the native leaders and natural cement of Highland society, a role which Dr Johnson observed and appreciated (Johnson 1825:106–110, 172); and of all the commentators, travellers, reporters and observers in the Highlands in the eighteenth century, many of them notable, none brought to bear on the Highland scene so profound an insight into the nature of this society. If they were to be banished he predicted that the chief, who depended on their company, would depart and the whole society decay: 'If the tacksmen be banished, who will be left to impart knowledge or impress civility?'

The time is ripe for a re-examination of the circumstances that led to the tenurial changes of 1737 and the part that the tacksmen had played in the earlier system. It is equally important to draw attention to the aftermath of these revolutionary changes and to reconsider the justice of the 8th Duke's conclusions. This article, in dealing with these problems, will be largely based on documentary material. Some of this material was known to the Duke, but probably the greater part was unknown to him and has not previously been studied.

The Argyll Conquest and Settlement of the Duart Lands

The system abolished in 1737 derived from the conquest and annexation of the estate of MacLean of Duart by the 9th Earl of Argyll. The estate, which comprised the bulk of Mull and of Morvern, part of Coll, almost the whole of Tiree as well as a number of smaller islands, had been adjudged in 1659 to the 8th Earl (1st Marquess) of Argyll as the principal creditor of Sir Allan MacLean. The 9th Earl, restored to the estates of the forfeited Marquis in 1663, launched an invasion of Mull in 1674. The MacLeans resisted under Lachlan MacLean of Broloss—and more gallantly than the poet Ian Lom

represented—but the opposition had virtually collapsed by 1678–80, and the Earl proceeded to settle large tacks of land on prominent Campbell chieftains who had played a part in the conquest. The Earl's own forfeiture for his refusal to subscribe to the Test Act of 1681 and his execution for rebellion in 1685 gave the MacLeans a brief respite, but with the fall of the Stuarts in 1688 and the final forfeiture of the MacLeans of Duart in 1691 the Campbell hegemony of the western sea-board and islands of Argyll became finally established.[2]

The dominance of the earls, later the dukes, of Argyll over this western region depended almost entirely on the Campbell tacksmen and on the loyal settlers whom they introduced. The danger of insurrection was always present, and the MacLean chieftains, to whom the Jacobite cause was attractive, among other reasons, as a means of regaining their ancient lands, could count on the attachment of the native population. The tacksmen were thus of great political and strategic importance, occupying a role similar to that of the Campbell colonists and Lowland planters settled in Kintyre in the Civil War period (McKerral 1948:80–109), or the Scottish plantation in Northern Ireland in the early seventeenth century. They received from the Earls tacks (*i.e.* leases) of enormous extent and therewith power to settle their lands, to hold courts, to collect revenue, in particular cases to garrison castles, and in general to administer and regulate their tack-lands.

The earliest tacks went mainly to Campbell families who had been prominent in the expeditions against the MacLeans, in particular those of Inverawe, Dunstaffnage, Craignish, Auchinbreck and Lochnell, with their cadets, as well as Islay cadets of the Calder branch. There cannot have been much colonisation before the last decade of the seventeenth century, for the conflict revived during the 9th Earl's forfeiture. Moreover, before they could settle, the tacksmen and their followers had to remove the earlier tenants and resistance must have been common. Campbell of Inverawe, who received a tack of the extensive districts of Aros and Morenish in Mull in 1696, was bound 'within the space of three years after the term of Whitsunday to remove such of the gentlemen of the name of McLean as are at present tennents and possessors of the island as hereafter he shall be directed to . . . and shall not set the samen lands or any part thereof in tack or tennandry either to them or to any other gentlemen of the said name of McLean during his tack without the consent and approbation of the said noble Earle . . . be obtained thereto first in wryte' (ICP/M2 Tack to Inverawe).

Once the MacLeans and their friends were ejected—and a comparison of eighteenth century rentals with those of the seventeenth century is proof of the extent of their dispossession—it required only a decade or two to establish families of land-hungry Campbells, predominantly from the mainland district of Lorne, in the more fertile areas. Campbell of Stonefield, whose half-brother was among the colonists, reported the existence of three principal settlements in Mull in 1732—the Ross of Mull with Icolmkill, the south-eastern district of Torosay, and the northern district of Aros. These districts he described as 'sett in tack to gentlemen of the name of Campbell, who have

gone a good length to plant their several districts with people of the same name or their friends, and', he continues, 'it must be acknowledged that the tenants are beginning to manage their lands better than the rest of the countrey' (Argyll 1887:250; SL 3:39-40). The Ross was dominated by cadets of the Dunstaffnage Campbells, Torosay by cadets of Lochnell, who were also widely distributed in Aros (ICP/M—JR 1715; ICP/M—Rentals 1742 and later; ICP/M—G). Morvern was too much a Cameron stronghold to be healthy for Campbell settlement, and Tiree and Coll too remote, but several Campbell families do appear to have settled early in Tiree and numerous farms were held there by Campbells who actually resided in Mull. At the beginning of the eighteenth century these remoter islands were in tack to Sir Archibald Campbell of Cluanes, who belonged to a cadet family of the Calder branch,[3] but in 1716 Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas received a nineteen year tack on condition that he planted Tiree and the two ends of Coll 'with tenants of the name of Campbell and such as have not taken part in the Rebellion, in place of the natives, who were for the most part guilty of the same' (Paton 1913:151; 1915:17).

The colonists were at first exposed to the raids and reprisals of the MacLeans, which reduced some to poverty, others probably to flight. Most of them, however, remained as a privileged, envied and sometimes hated minority. (Cregeen 1968:160) They may have shown occasional lapses and several settler families became suspect for their political or religious leanings, but normally the colonies were foci of loyalty to the Argyll ascendancy in the midst of a generally disaffected native population, and re-presented an element of considerable political and strategic importance in the West Highlands throughout much of the eighteenth century. Not only were they a source of military recruitment—and the tacksmen were obliged by their leases to serve Argyll with the 'haill tenants and inhabitants' of their tack-lands 'in all hostages and other lawful expeditions as oft and whenever they shall be desyred or required therto . . .' (ICP/M2 Tack to Inverawe)—but they maintained a vigilant watch over disaffected neighbours, acted as an unpaid police force, provided intelligence of value to the Duke and Government concerning the whole western districts and actively discouraged any symptoms of Jacobite or Popish activity.[4]

The efficacy of the Campbell system was very much dependent, however, on suc-cessful colonisation. In Morvern the Campbell system failed signally to guarantee law and order and loyalty to the Government. The Duart lands in this district had been controlled by the Camerons and their chief, Locheil. In 1679, after their annexation they were set in tack to Cameron of Glendessary (Exhibits:132). His tack expired in 1715 however and was not renewed. Instead Dugald Campbell of Craignish became tacksman (Paton 1913:155), and settlers were introduced. The attempt to colonise was a complete failure. Like the peasants of Flanders and north-east France who, under their 'droit de marché' defended their security of tenure against intruded tenants by acts of systematic violence (Bloch 1931:183-5), the Camerons refused to be outed and operated a highly effective system of intimidation. Craignish and his uncle complained to the

Duke two years after their tack commenced: 'Thus stands it with your tacksmen, and though the times are peaceable elsewhere, the government fixed and settled, they live as in a country yet to be conquered and still to be reduced to the peaceable possession of its proprietor and master.'[5] In 1717 the wretched tacksman had been robbed by the Camerons of the year's rents, and acts of terrorism—cattle-houghing, arson, threats—continued throughout the twenties and thirties, and proved so effective that would-be settlers were frightened away. Willy-nilly, Craignish had to sub-let his lands to the Camerons as had also MacLean of Ardgour and MacLean of Kingairloch. Thus the Morvern lands, in spite of the Duke of Argyll's legal title, continued to be in the actual occupation of the Camerons and therefore controlled by Locheil. It is not surprising that it proved one of the main recruiting grounds of the Jacobites in 1745.

In Mull and Tiree, the Campbell system enjoyed greater success. True, clanship was declining in the 2nd Duke's time. The transfer of tacks to new tacksmen who were willing to pay a higher tack-duty inevitably weakened the strategic aspects of the system (ICP* 191 'State of the Duke of Argyle's Affaires.' Aug. 1716), and the increasing use of the shire levies must have affected the position of the tacksmen as military leaders of the clan. None the less, in the islands the Campbell system did in fact serve to limit the areas of overt Jacobite activity. This was apparent in 1745, when there was no general rising here despite the widespread sympathy that the Jacobites enjoyed among the native population (Fergusson 1951:99; ICP various papers).

The system of tacksmen in the insular districts was not simply a nexus of economic relations. It had been designed not only for the collection of revenue but for the reduction of hostile districts to order, for the settling of loyal colonists, for the administration of justice and policing of wide areas, and for political and strategic purposes that went a good deal beyond the simple collection of rent. Although it proved a failure in Morvern, and in the islands—as will shortly be explained—was increasingly subordinated to the Duke's financial needs, the original functions of the great tacksmen continued to be in varying degrees highly necessary and actively exercised.

The Tacksmen and their Tenants

The tacksmen's holdings were not, in these recently annexed colonial territories, limited to the modest few farms characteristic of many Highland tacksmen.[6] Perhaps because of their colonial nature, they ranged over whole districts of many square miles, and each one was the equivalent of a considerable landed estate. In 1730 there were only seven tacksmen for the entire annexed lands. Icolumkill and the fertile Ross of Mull were in tack to Donald Campbell, brother to Campbell of Scammadale (a cadet family of Dunstaffnage). The enormous district of Aros in Mull was held by Archibald Campbell of Ballimore or Achatennie, brother to Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, one of the most considerable of the Campbell chieftains. Torosay, the south-eastern district of Mull, was held by Colin Campbell of Braglen, another cadet of the Lochnell

branch. To two members of the clan MacLean, distinguished for their firm Hanoverian principles, were assigned other tack-lands in the west of Mull: Morenish to Donald MacLean of Calgary, Treshnish to Mr John MacLean, minister of Kilninian, who had succeeded Mr John Beaton as minister of Kilninian in 1702 and was learned in Gaelic history and literature (J. L. Campbell and D. Thomson 1963: XIV, 22, 23–35). The entire Morvern lands were in tack to Dugald Campbell of Craignish, and the Duke's property in Coll and Tiree to Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas, though he was represented by three important sub-tacksmen, Campbell of Clenamacrie, Campbell of Barnacarry and Alexander Maclachlan (CP 2970:183–187). The tacksmen paid tack-duties ranging from £900 to £4,000 Scots, averaging a sum probably above the rental of most estates in Argyll (ICP/M—R 1730).

Whether the tacksman resided or not (and only in Mull was residence customary) he sub-let most of his tack-land. The greater part of it, or even the whole, was rented to a fairly small number of gentlemen who were his kinsmen or friends. They held their lands on privileged conditions and sometimes enjoyed written leases continuing for the period of the chief tacksman's lease. They paid rents which, though higher than they had been in the late seventeenth century, were still relatively lower than those of the other sub-tenants (ICP/M—JR 1715; CCR 1884:388). Their holdings were commonly one, two, or more large farms, parts of which were in turn frequently sub-let.

The remainder of the tack-lands was sub-let to commoners who had a share in a jointly-held farm. Although their share in the land was small, these small tenants con-stituted the majority of a tacksman's sub-tenants. Duncan Forbes described these as 'ter tenants' in his report of 1737 (CCR 1884:388) and it was their interest that he claimed to be protecting against the oppressive tacksmen. They appear to have held on a year-to-year basis without written leases. Their rents were relatively higher than those of the sub-tacksmen (ICP/M—JR 1715), and although relaxations might be made in the event of general misfortune, their economic condition, being narrowly based, probably reflected fluctuations in trade and climate more quickly and sensitively than did that of the gentry. Their holdings, modest enough as they were, were further reduced by the widespread practice of sub-letting to kinsmen (Cregeen 1964:XXVII n).

A judicial rental of the Argyll lands of Morvern and Torosay taken in 1715 may be cited to illustrate how tacksmen allocated their lands. Torosay, in tack to Colin Campbell of Braglen,[7] consisted of twenty four pennylands.[8] Of these eight were let to thirty five joint tenants, whose average holding was rather more than a farthingland. The tacksman and his sons occupied four pennylands, and the remaining twelve pennylands were largely sub-let to six tenants—Archibald Campbell of Achindoun (3 pennylands), Donald Campbell of Achinard and his brother (2 pennylands), MacDougall of Ardmore (2½ pennylands), John McKinvine (1¼ pennylands) and a family named MacPhail (1 pennyland). (This leaves out of account roughly two pennylands which were let in fairly modest shares but not to joint tenants.) Apart from a farthingland occupied by

MacLean of Kingairloch and the holding of the McKinvines or MacKinnons (who appear to have been anciently there), little had been left of the old ascendancy.

At the same period, Cameron of Glendessary, as tackman of the Morvern lands, held 115 pennylands. Of these only a small fraction was let to joint-tenants, whose holdings averaged about 1½ pennylands (but the pennyland was not much more than a third of the pennyland in Mull); 84 pennylands, or three-quarters of the whole area, were occupied as large holdings. If one excludes Glendessary's own twenty pennylands, the rest ranged from three to ten pennylands and averaged six, which in Morvern was the equivalent of three merklands. Thus, both in Mull and Morvern, the tacksman's holding approximated in size to the 2½ merkland characteristic of the south-west Highlands.[9] Both large tenants and small sub-let part of their lands. For example, one of the four tenants of Kenlochteacus, Donald McAlister VcConil (alias Cameron) had a two pennyland, or one merkland, as his share, paying the tacksman £4 sterling and various payments in kind. He in turn sub-let two small portions, one a farthingland and one a half pennyland, to sub-tenants of the same surname as himself, at a rent that allowed him a slight profit (£16 Scots for the half pennyland). A large tenant, John McEan VcEan VcWilliam (alias Cameron), occupying the five pennyland of Aulistine, sub-let three pennylands to three sub-tenants named Cameron. Almost two-thirds of the Morvern lands were in the occupation of Camerons. MacLachlans, MacEacherns and Mackays also appear as major tenants with holdings of 10, 11 and 5 pennylands respectively, but there is not a single Campbell named in the rental.

The tacksman reaped a profit as farmer of the rents of his district. In Tiree the tacksmen before 1737 received a money rent approximately 30 per cent above the tack-duty which they themselves paid to the Duke, viz. £423 as compared with £325 (CCR 1884:390). In Mull the tackmen's surplus was comparable (see note 29). Sub-tacksmen and sub-tenants also derived some advantage from sub-letting, but in monetary terms it was not a great deal, representing in Morvern and Torosay a sum which was a fifth above their own rent for the land concerned, or even less (ICP/M—JR 1715). Possibly the principal advantage was that sub-tenants helped a tenant to pay his casualties and were a source of labour. Of Drumcragaig farm, the Sheriff recorded that 'the sub-tacksman has no benefit by them but that they free him of his pressand [present] sheep' (ICP/M—JR 1715).

Casualties paid to the tacksmen over and above the rent included a variety of farm produce—butter, cheese, poultry, eggs, sheep, veals and the like, and in Tiree a certain quantity of linen cloth.[10] Some were, or had been, due at stated seasons, like the 'Yuill and Pace presands' [presents] paid in Morvern in butter, cheese and veals. Others were irregular, like horse corn due from tenants in Tiree when the laird visited the island (MacPhail 1914:291; and ICP various papers). Such payment in kind were consumed in the household of the laird or the tacksman as there was no market for them, except briefly in Morvern and Sunart in the neighbourhood of the lead-mining settlements (CCR 1884:390-1; ICP/L 'Minutes of Business 1744'). Casualties were valued at

about a sixth of the total rent in Mull in the late seventeenth century; as the eighteenth century progressed they came to be no more than a twelfth or a fifteenth of rentals in the Highlands (Walker 1812 Vol. 2:78). In addition to such casualties a supply might be required on extraordinary occasions, as for instance the cow claimed by Glendessary of each of his tenants when he purchased Lochbuy's lands in Morvern (ICP/M—JR 1715). At a tenant's death, the herezeld (heriot) was due to his master in the shape of his best beast or other property and in spite of having been abolished by Parliament in 1617, it continued to be levied well into the eighteenth century.

Beyond payments in money or kind, the tacksmen were accustomed to receive a variety of personal services from their tenants impossible to evaluate in money terms. The tacksman, as a chieftain of the clan, could require his tenants to follow him in the clan array or in creachs and other exploits. He could further require labour services in various kinds of agricultural work, in carriages, in thatching, cutting peats and the like. Exact data for the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are rarely available; by the second half of the eighteenth century a reliable observer estimated that sub-tenants generally worked regularly one day a week for the tacksman and extra days in seed-time and harvest so that over the whole year a third of the sub-tenants' time was at the tacksman's disposal (Walker 1812 Vol. 2:54-5, 79-81). Buchanan quotes an instance of an even heavier burden of services in Scalpay, Harris, but it is significant that he observes that they had increased vastly, having been formerly eight or ten days in the year (Buchanan 1793:52-3). Indeed the decay of local custom as the eighteenth century advanced may well have been accompanied in some cases by an increase in labour services, a situation which would find a parallel in the increasing burden of serfdom in Russia and Eastern Europe generally in the eighteenth century.[11]

Basically, the tenurial system which existed in the insular districts derived from traditional Highland clan relationships, in which claims to land and wealth depended on kinship to the chief or service to him. It neither aimed at nor achieved any sort of egalitarian social system. On the contrary, it was the duty of the commoners to maintain the gentry of the clan—the chief and the tacksmen, to follow them in war and serve them in peace.

Nevertheless in the clan system, aristocratic and hierarchic as it was, sentiment and ties of real or pretended kinship tended to soften the harsh lines of class distinction and to bind society together (Cregeen 1964: 161-5). Even on grounds of self-interest if on no other, chief and tacksmen were reluctant to lose tenants who were also fighting men, and assisted them in times of hardship by furnishing meal and other supplies, by waiving or reducing the rent or by allowing arrears to go unpaid for long periods.[12] Without entering here into a full examination of the social functions of the tacksmen, it is as well to recognise that they discharged important economic functions which their eighteenth-century critics usually overlooked. In a society which was conspicuously lacking in capital, it was the laird and tacksmen who sustained much of the agricultural production by loans of seed grain, cattle, implements and work-horses under the system of 'steel-bow'—an arrangement which frequently enabled young tenants to graduate eventually

into farmers, with stock of their own.[13] Fishing depended a good deal on their provision of boats and nets (Anderson 1785:248; Gray 1957:115–18). As merchants they supplied isolated communities with essential goods and raw materials which no professional class of merchants existed to provide (Anderson 1785:165–7, 247–50), whilst by accepting rents in kind and organising the sale of these products in distant markets they performed the most important function of turning the Highlanders' products into cash.

One cannot assume, however, that even so early as 1720 or 1730, the norms of behaviour accepted in a more or less traditional society continued unaltered. Landed estates were beginning to come on to the market, a new phenomenon. In some parts of the Highlands it is evident that already a commercial outlook had begun to affect the relations of social classes. The wreck on the Irish coast of a vessel bound for the plantations brought to light in 1739 a sinister traffic in poor Highlanders carried on by certain Highland chiefs (Grant 1959:404–9). It represents an extreme case but it is significant of the stirrings of a profound change in social relationships in the Highlands.

'The Tyranny of Tacksmen'—or a Grasping Duke?

Culloden may have been justified in speaking of 'the tyranny of tacksmen' in 1737. He was capable of observing the poverty of the mass of tenants and the inadequacy of the system of food production. A system which may have given the population certain advantages and safeguards against oppression in the seventeenth century may have ceased to work well in the eighteenth. Indeed there is every sign that the system, as it existed in the annexed districts in the early decades of the eighteenth century, was failing sadly to provide proper safeguards for the welfare of the generality of the population. 'They speak of above one hundred familys that have been reduced to beggary and driven out of the islands within these last seven years' (CCR 1884:390). The Lord President perceived these symptoms of poverty and unrest and assumed that the whole fault lay with the monstrous tacksmen. 'Had the tacksmen been suffered to continue their extortions a few years longer', he wrote in 1737, 'the islands would have been dispeopled' (CCR 1884:391).

On the other hand, he may have hit upon the wrong explanation or a partial explanation to explain the facts which he observed accurately enough. There is at least a strong case for arguing that the distress of tenants in the annexed lands was due not so much to the system of tacksmen as to the pressures which this system was being made to bear in a more commercial age. This case must be more closely examined.

John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, was a man of humane impulses. In theory, at least, he had a strong desire to assist the sub-tenants on his estates. He clearly cast himself in the role of their protector and champion against oppression. Among the sparse instructions that have survived, the following to his senior Chamberlain expresses this attitude: 'You are to enquire into the condition of the sub-tenants of Glenaray and Glenshyra, and particularly to examine what rent each of them pays for his possession to my

tacksmen, and to report at Edinburgh in November what you find, and if they complain of any abuses you are to protect and redress them as far lawfully as you can' (ICP/M—L Instructions for Mr Archibald Campbell, 1729). Stonefield wrote in October 1732 that the Duke 'desired that I go to Morvern to make some settlement between the tacksmen and tennents to prevent oppression or severity by the tacksmen by exorbitant exactions or otherwise. He likewise recommends the procuring tacks to the sub-tennents' (SL 2: 64, 16 Oct. 1732).

In practice, however, the Duke's management had a less beneficent aspect. He caused judicial rentals to be made when tacks expired and new ones were being negotiated—in Morvern and Torosay in 1715, in Tiree in 1727, in Morvern in 1732, to name only some of these occasions. They might have been expected, in this context of humane concern and intervention, occasionally to lead to some downward revision in the rentals. In fact, on each occasion, the immediate result was an increase in the rental, sometimes a large one as in Tiree in 1727 and Morvern in 1732. Inevitably, and as a matter of course, the tacksmen passed the augmentations on to their sub-tenants. In 1732, for example, the intended tacksmen of Morvern successfully protested against an increased tack-duty levied from the previous Martinmas on the grounds that they had had insufficient warning to raise the rent of the sub-tenants for that year (SL 3:6–8, 6 March 1732).

At the judicial enquiry into the rentals of Torosay and Morvern in 1715, numerous tenants, speaking from long personal experience or as sons of former tenants, testified that money rents had never been so high. They were not exaggerating. The combined tack-duties of Mull, Morvern and Tiree climbed from £668 13s. 4d. Sterling in 1703 to about £1,300 in 1736. The rental of Tiree, which stood at £1,565 17s. 4d. Scots (about £130 Sterling) in 1674, had risen to £200 Sterling by 1706 and to £325 by 1727 (ICP/V65 'Memorial by Stonefield concerning Tyree' 1748). These were steep increases, even allowing for more settled conditions and good (though not rising) cattle prices (see graph opp. p. 144), and they affected the tacksmen's tenants immediately and severely.

Rising tack-duties, then, were passed on to the sub-tenants and must have contributed to their plight, producing results which were a flagrant denial of the Duke's proclaimed concern for them. How did this contradiction come about? The 2nd Duke was by no means the first of his line to regard his estates as primarily a source of revenue rather than of manpower. Both his father, the 1st Duke, and his grandfather, the 9th Earl, of Argyll had a distinctly modern approach to land-owning. The rental of the Kintyre estate approximately doubled in the last fifty years of the seventeenth century (McKerral 1948:86). One incident will illustrate with what business acumen affairs were handled. In 1690 the 10th Earl (later 1st Duke) was warned that offers for farms in Kintyre were likely to slump owing to the threatened migration of numbers of tacksmen and tenants across the narrow channel to Northern Ireland. Accompanied by a party of friends, he attended the auction of leases, and with their help succeeded in actually pushing rents

up higher (ICP/M—L 'Particular State of the Lordship of Kintyre', n.d.) A Whig outlook combined with their familiarity with English land-owning attitudes and practices doubtless suggested to the earls this new kind of commercial estate management,[14] whilst a steady policy of aggrandisement and princely spending rendered it necessary.

Through the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century the family of Argyll carried a load of inherited debt which was at once a symptom and a cause of their clamant financial needs. The 9th Earl, though restored to his family's estates in 1663, found revenue from his Scottish estates almost equalled by charges against it, the chief being debts of over a million merks (ICP/V62 'Private Accounts Estate'). The 2nd Duke succeeded to a family tradition grown already somewhat alien from their Highland background and to a family estate deeply in debt. His distant upbringing and education had given him the tastes of a great aristocrat, little of the Highland chief's warm regard for his clan. With a large slice of the revenues of his Scottish estates assigned to creditors, including the whole of the tack-duties of Mull, Morvern and Tiree,[15] it could have been predicted that heavier demands would soon be made on his tacksmen. Growing power and fortune increased rather than diminished the Duke's expenses—houses and improvements, new estates in England and Scotland, and all the cost of maintaining the style required of a grandee in that opulent age.

The Duke's urgent demands for remittances from his Scottish lands are mirrored in the letters of his Chamberlains and in instructions to these officials. 'His Grace's occasion for money is so pressing', ran an instruction from the Duke's Commissioners to the Chamberlain of Argyll in 1705, 'that there is a necessity to use the outmost diligence against those lyable in payment without exception' (ICP*/87 'Instructions to the Chamberlane of Argyll', 1705). Fear of disappointing the Duke was enough to throw the Chamberlain into furious activity. James Campbell of Stonefield wrote, panic-stricken, to his deputy in Kintyre, 4 March 1728, that the Duke 'expects at least £4,000 Sterling, and if you doe not more than you mention there is no way for getting it in this place. I hope you will be so wise as to spare nobody upon any account whatsomever, otherwise your credit and mine is at stake, so for God's sake bestirr yourself to purpose as you wish well to your own interest and that of, Dear Sir, your ser^t., James Campbell. P.S. . . . for God's sake haste in the rent' (SL 1:43-4).

There is little in the correspondence of the Chamberlain or elsewhere to lead one to think that positive and far-sighted ideas of estate management engaged the attention of the 2nd Duke, much, on the other hand, to indicate that revenue was a constant pre-occupation and that remoter goals were ordinarily subordinated to this. In so far as the Argyll estates remained solvent and reasonably well managed the credit is probably not a little due to the good sense of the trustees who administered the Scottish estates in his earlier years and to the experience and moderation of the two Campbell of Stonefield brothers, who acted successively as Chamberlain of Argyll under the 2nd Duke.

The steady pressure from above to maximise revenue undoubtedly altered the relationship of the tacksmen both to their kinsmen and to their sub-tenants. Their

traditional role was more and more overshadowed by their role as financial agents of their chief. A significant piece of evidence from 1716 suggests that already the process was far advanced. On the agenda for the meeting of the 2nd Duke's Commissioners in August 1716 the following item occurs: 'That new rentalls be made of Mull, Morvern and Tirrie conform to the report to be made by the Shereff [*viz.* James Campbell. See note 20] and Otter, who deponed the sub-tenants on the verity of their rents according to the Commissioners' order, and that the said lands be sett by way of roup [*i.e.* auction] or otherways as the Commissioners shall think just. It is to be observed that . . . the tacks of Aros and Morinish did expire a year agoe and the tacksmen renunced the same by way of instrument and they now design to compt as factors and not as tacksmen, which the Commissioners are to consider' (ICP* 191 'State of the Duke of Argyle's Affaires' Aug. 1716).

Although in the event the proposal that the tacksmen of these districts of Mull should become simply officials of the Duke was not accepted, the fact that it should have been made is an indication that some tacksmen had come to conceive of themselves as more closely related to the Duke's administration than to the populations whom they controlled. The suggestion that tacks might be open to offers is also very significant. Clan chieftainries were not wont to be offered for sale in this fashion in the Highlands. The Duke's tacksmen in fact were rapidly being transformed into a quite new kind of creature. Tacksmen who had bid high for their tacks were unlikely to be capable of discharging the responsibilities formerly expected of local chieftains, but would have to recoup themselves at the natives' expense.

There seems little room for doubt, though, that the *fons et origo* of the new kind of tacksmen is to be sought in the highly commercial policies of the 2nd Duke, which had already resulted in Kintyre in the supersession of the existing tacksmen by the sub-tacksmen in 1710.[16] If the tacksmen were indeed the pincers, as Culloden alleged, then the Duke was undoubtedly the hammer, and his strokes had not been light.

As custom broke down as a regulator of the social body, sub-tenants might find themselves subject to unusual and unfair burdens. Thus, in 1706, the bailie of Tiree, in a memorial to the Duke's managers, recalled 'that when in Edinburgh in Summer last I gave in a representation for the inhabitants of Tirie anent a decreet obtained against them by Donald Campbell for their herezelds, which they would be pleased to consider, for the tenants cannot be obliged to pay herezelds to the Duke of Argyll but only to the tacksman, who has been in constant use to uplift the same, and the tacksman is only lyable for his own herezeld when it falls due, which is and has been the constant practise of the shyre past memory of man. So it's hoped the manadgers will not ordain the tenants to make double payment but may ordain the said Donald Campbell to discharge them for the forsaid decreet' (ICP/V 65 'Memoriall for the Manadgers of the Duke of Argyle's Estate' 1706).

Thus the situation in the insular districts in the early decades of the eighteenth century was one of great confusion and contradiction. It was a situation that was to become

familiar later in all the Highlands and in many other undeveloped areas of the world. The inhabitants, living neither wholly under their traditional clan system nor wholly under a free individualistic, commercial system, were exposed to conflicting demands. The increasing monetary demands of the modern landlord were superimposed on the customary demands of the tacksmen, whilst the tacksmen themselves were driven more and more into a situation where higher rents were all-important. The unfortunate tenants had the worst of both worlds, with neither the economic opportunities of the new nor the safeguards of the old. From the standpoint of a modern man like Duncan Forbes it must have appeared beyond doubt that the time had come to sweep away all the confusions and inconsistencies of the existing system and to introduce a purely commercial landlord-tenant relationship which would open wider opportunities of productivity and trade.

The Immediate Causes of the Tenurial Re-organisation

A silent revolution was thus in progress throughout the 2nd Duke's time, and was transforming land-tenure and the social system well before 1737, but until a comparatively short time before the Lord President denounced the tacksmen, there were few indications that the system as such was to be abolished. Characteristically, the Duke appears to have decided on a total change as a result of developments in the 1730s which convinced him that the tacksmen were of no further use to him and that the sub-tenants could offer higher rents.

It was Morvern, that most turbulent of the annexed territories, that acted as the catalyst.[17] In 1732, following the expiry of Campbell of Craignish's tack, Archibald Campbell of Stonefield was engaged in negotiating new tacks in Morvern. Because of the excessive control that the Camerons enjoyed there, Stonefield proposed to divide the land between the Camerons and the MacLachlans, so that the MacLachlans might be used as a counterpoise to the Camerons, on whom they had previously depended for land. Under this arrangement the Camerons would have to remove from a part of the area which they controlled. Before the tacks were ratified, however, the situation was abruptly changed by the death of Ewan Cameron, one of the intended tacks-men, and by the arrival of a petition, signed by some forty Morvern inhabitants who objected to the granting of the tacks and who offered, in return for leases, a rent equal to that expected of the tacksmen, with a sum sufficient to pay a factor's salary in addition.

These unexpected occurrences may be said to have acted as the train of gunpowder that led straight to the tenurial revolution. Stonefield appears to have first brought forward at this time the idea of changing the existing tenurial system. He adumbrated it in a letter to the Duke on 5 September 1732 (SL 3:28-30). The grant of leases to tenants would, he argued, remove them from their dependence on the tacksmen and transfer their loyalties to the Duke—'It has been the misfortune of this country, and

I might say all the Highlands, that the tenants depended upon other chiefs than the landlord.'[18] There was also the advantage 'that there is a greater reason to expect that the lands will be better improved if sett in smaller parcels'. On the other hand, he pointed out, rents from such tenants would be less reliably paid, and in some areas like Tiree it was out of the question, for this reason, to dismiss the tacksmen.

In October 1732 he visited Mull and Morvern and reported the outcome to the Duke (SL 3:46-50, 20 Dec. 1737). The visit was significant not only because it gave him valuable first-hand information about these districts but also for bringing him into direct personal negotiations with the Morvern tenants whose petition had produced the new situation. The petitioners' grievances against the intended tacksmen he found exaggerated, but he agreed that they had grounds for apprehension if the Camerons received a tack. Moreover, he received information which for the first time established the complicity of the late Glendessary and other Cameron gentry in the theft of Craignish's rents in 1717; an act for which he was now able to demand full compensation. It was a discovery of crucial importance. It outraged Stonefield, who at once dropped all negotiations relating to the proposed tack to the Camerons. He recommended to the Duke that Morvern should be finally reduced to order by the appointment of a Campbell either as factor or as tacksman, and by prosecuting a methodical policy of colonisation by Campbell families and of policing by soldiers of the new Highland Companies, which were known as 'Am Freiceadan Dubh', 'The Black Watch', and were mainly officered in Argyll by Campbells. The choice between the two alternative systems of administration—a Campbell tacksman or a Campbell factor—was resolved by the fact that because of the danger of reprisals, in Stonefield's words, 'no Campbell will take the half of the country', *viz.* the Camerons' half.

The period from late 1732 until the late summer of 1737 was one of waiting and uncertainty. Donald Campbell Yr. of Airds was appointed factor of Morvern in early 1733 but was given no power to grant leases, presumably pending a general settlement of the entire insular districts when the tacksmen's leases in Tiree and Mull should lapse in 1735. He was instructed that the Camerons were to be tolerated, provided they behaved well, and the MacLauchlans were to receive favour (SL 2:75-7, probably Jan. 1733). Airds managed to let the farms advantageously on a year by year basis, but never attempted to collect rents unless accompanied by an armed posse. Cattle houghing and other acts of intimidation continued, and still no Campbell colonists dared to appear.[19]

Step by step a situation had thus developed in Morvern where the system of tacksmen had been in fact suppressed. It had come about, not through any deficiencies or oppressions of the system as such—for if a Campbell had been available, he would have been appointed tacksman—but as a result of a conflict of interests between chief and landlord. The only tacksman to be got represented the interests of Locheil, and had proved himself party to a criminal act against the representative of his landlord, Argyll. Rather than accept a manifest enemy to represent him, Argyll appointed a Campbell factor to collect his revenues and safeguard his interests.

That Argyll could do this, even if with only partial success, was significant of his growing power in a district so much under the influence of the Camerons. For the first time a group of tenants had emerged who were prepared to risk bringing charges against the dominant clan and to offer for farms against the Camerons. This perhaps would not have occurred had they not been emboldened by manifestations of the growing interest of the Government and of Argyll in establishing more effective control in this turbulent area. The work of General Wade, the forming of the Black Watch and Sheriff Campbell's recent tour of enquiry all assisted in this direction—and Campbell diplomacy too played a part by exploiting the rivalries of the clans in Morvern. 'As the possession of McLean's Estate, whereof this is a part, cost your Grace's predecessors no small trouble and expence', thus wrote Stonefield whilst negotiating the Morvern tacks with the Camerons and MacLauchlans in 1732, 'I thought it for your Grace's interest rather to lessen than increase the power of any sett of people, lest some time or other they should become uneasy and render the possession troublesome, and therefore thought it more advisable to divide the country between two clanns, since you have then a probable chance to have one of them always of your side' (SL3:11, n.d. probably Mar. 1732).

Estate Management in a Period of Economic Depression

Stonefield had had considerable influence on the formulation of the new tenurial plans, but it was not to be left to him to carry them through. A latent tension existed between the 2nd Duke and his Chamberlain. In the 'thirties the Duke depended on receiving approximately £4,000 of his Scottish rents and feu-duties in late March and early April each year. Rent increases had evidently already begun to place a considerable strain on the tenants, especially in the islands. Early in 1728 James Campbell of Stonefield reported that the sub-tacksmen of Tiree 'give in a vast account of losses by broken tenants and other damages they sustain . . . more for a year or two than the Duke has sustained in the whole estate these 22 years that I have had the honour to serve him' (SL 1:105–6, 14 Mar. 1728). It was the Chamberlain's task to make the Duke's rents effectual in conditions that were increasingly difficult during the thirties. The Duke, residing at Adderbury in Oxfordshire, was quite incapable of understanding the problem. Being without any intimate knowledge of conditions in the Highlands, he was simply irritated by interruptions or delays in his supplies of money.

The Stonefield brothers, on the other hand, had as Chamberlains of Argyll,[20] a close acquaintance with local conditions and daily experience of the immediate relationship between rents on the one hand and weather, harvests, cattle prices, drovers' failures and a score of other circumstances on the other. Moreover, they had the outlook of small lairds, depending as they did for most of their income on the rent of their lands in the north of Kintyre. Their chief concern as landlords was to realise a regularly-paid revenue, with as little arrears as possible, and they actively practised the article of faith

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expressed by Archibald Campbell of Stonefield in a letter to the Duke that 'a sure and well paid rent' was better than 'a high one ill paid' (SL 3:195, 10 May 1737). In their view, the worst eventuality was for a laird to be left with part of his lands untilled and 'waste' through the insolvency of tenants.

From these basic principles it followed, first, that when lands were to be 'set' and agreements made with tenants, all the holdings must be occupied, without any waste land. At each period of letting, the Stonefields showed great anxiety to ensure that all the 'rooms' were taken. If need be tenants in other districts were induced to come.[21] Secondly, it followed that honest and reliable tenants were preferred, though offering a lower rent, to tenants of uncertain credit and character offering more. High offers were treated with extreme reserve and might not be accepted. Finally, it was essential to prevent tenants from becoming insolvent, quitting their holdings and leaving the laird with his rents unpaid. Indulgence in time of need was therefore both wise and necessary. Archibald Campbell was only expressing practical wisdom when in December 1731 he advised the Duke against charging interest on arrears of rent in Kintyre: 'by experience I find in your Grace's affairs as well as in my own little concerns that it is necessary for a landlord to give some indulgence to his tennent according to his circumstances, and I'm afraid there was seldom more occasion for it than will be this year' (SL 3:1, 23 Dec. 1731). Stonefield's outlook and practice were by no means exceptional. During the depression of the seventeen thirties Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy, laird of a Lochfyneside estate, allowed tenants' arrears to run from three or four years before being cleared. It might also be necessary to give a struggling tenant practical assistance.

The Stonefield policy is illustrated by James Campbell's handling of the situation on one of his farms, where two groatland holdings[22] were liable to become waste by tenant failures in November 1728. One groatland was, if possible, he instructed his overseer, to be taken over by the rest of the tenants; 'but whatever you doe you must take care that no more of the lands be waste, even tho some of the rents should be given down [lowered] and that I rather doe by giving it out of my pocket'. The other groatland was likely to become waste by a tenant 'having lost his labouring horses', and in this case Stonefield recommended to his overseer: 'if no better can be done you must provide him in a horse. You very well know he was obliged to labour that ground till Whitsunday if he has anything in the world, and this is no time of year to put off lands, and indeed if you allow them to run away 'twixt terms this way I may have enough of waste lands in a short time' (SL 1:184-4, 8 Nov. 1728).

As Chamberlains of Argyll, both Stonefields attempted to apply these principles of estate management. It was no easy task. Economic conditions in the West Highlands appear to have been generally adverse in the decade preceding the Lord President's visit.[23] Most years saw the Duke's rents collected with difficulty in one district or more generally, arrears commonly high and tenants in frequent distress. Rents had never been higher, but the economy was extremely sluggish, owing, in particular, to the slackening

in the demand for cattle, on which rents almost entirely depended. There was scarcely a year between 1730 and 1740 when low cattle prices were not mentioned, or when, for this or other reasons, farmers and landlords in the West Highlands were not in difficulties. In 1733–4, one of the worst years, the failure of the harvest aggravated the distress. 1735–6 was perhaps the only crop-year when the Chamberlain's task was reasonably easy (SL 3:106, 14 Apr. 1736), but the spring of 1736 carried off many cattle in Kintyre and it was immediately followed by one of the worst years of the decade and the beginning of an emigration movement from that district which greatly alarmed the Chamberlain (SL 3:170, 19 Feb. 1737).

The Chamberlain was in the unenviable position of having to press tenants for higher rents in a period of severe economic depression. He did so with as much consideration as possible and only as a last resort adopted the self-defeating policy of impounding the stock of tenants in arrears. In his letters to the Duke, Archibald Campbell had frequently to excuse the state of the remittances, as, for example, in March 1734 when he wrote to the Duke: 'As the expence of the work[24] is not now so heavy as in former years, His Grace might have expected a greater remittance at this time, but the price of cattle has been so low that the returns have been small and late in coming to us. It is computed that in Scotland the price of cattle last year has fallen a crown a head. In Tiree and Morvern there is yet no rent come up. From the latter I expect to have some soon. Those countreys and Mull have not only suffered by the low price of cattle but likewise in their corns by the long drought last summer and the great shake in harvest, and they and other parts of the country are in a very lamentable condition at present by the death of their cattle, which they ascribe to the great rains that fell this Winter and yet continue' (SL 3:74–6, 21 Mar. 1734). By mid-April 1734 he had sent only £3,000 to the Duke.

The rentals of the insular districts were due to be settled in 1735, when the tacks of Mull and Tiree expired, but Culloden postponed the matter, probably hoping for an improvement in general conditions, which would produce better offers of rent. Although uncertainty continued, the shape of the future was becoming clearer. The tacksmen appear to have accepted the non-renewal of their tacks with reasonably good grace and to have complied with a request from Culloden to transmit to the Chamberlain, in Culloden's words, 'exact rentalls of the districts that fall within their severall collections, which may be a rule to the factor to be employed, together with what they honestly take to be the rent of their respective possessions in which they are to be continued'. He went on: 'That will I think oblige the Duke, it will be a rule for the immediate collection and will give light to the Duke or me, or any other person that may go to the spot to set the lands next year' (CP 2968:31, 14 Oct. 1736).

To lighten the Chamberlain's task, Culloden arranged for the appointment of a factor for Tiree and Mull in October 1736 (CP 2968:31–3). The person chosen was Archibald Campbell of Ballimore, a brother of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell and a kinsman of Stonefield. He had previously been one of the tacksmen of Mull and had

willingly resigned his tack when informed of the Duke's intentions. His having been a tacksman in fact commended him to Culloden since, as the latter wrote to the Duke, 'this man was perfectly acquainted with the condition of the estate and therefore able to controul the rentalls which the other tacksmen may offer if fallacious' (CP 2986:32, 16 Oct. 1736).

Ballimore began his rent collection in early February 1737, but made painfully slow progress because of the low price of cattle and the general poverty of these districts. In a report presented to Culloden in spring 1737, he detailed the problems facing him and offered certain advice. Tenants, he explained, in their anxiety to get land would make extravagant offers of rent which they could never pay. In Tiree, for example, the tenants had offered him sums totalling more than £400 Sterling, a large amount since this did not include the two ends of Coll. With cattle markets so depressed, and tenants so wholly dependent on them, he urged that in the future set of the islands, rents should be fixed at a moderate level, remarking: 'in my opinion if Tirrie, secluding the two ends of Coll, exceed much four hundred pounds sterling rent for some years, the tennants will not live happily'. He explained further that the tacksmen were at an advantage in collecting rents, since they could accept linen cloth and other produce or take young cattle which could be grazed for a year or two and then sold (CP 2970:183-6).

Tenurial change had thus become virtually certain some months before the Lord President paid his visit to the West. His report in 1737 strangely ignored the important preliminaries that had already taken place, including the receiving of offers from bodies of tenants (for offers were coming in from tenants in Morvern as well as Tiree) and the appointment of factors (SL 3:146-51, 3 Dec. 1736; 191-5, 10 May 1737). Yet if Culloden had not made his visit, it seems certain that Stonefield would have granted leases to a larger body of tenants in all districts. That it was Culloden and not Stonefield who in the event carried out the tenurial reorganisation was the result of a widening of the gap between the Duke and his Chamberlain.

The Duke and Chamberlain in Disagreement

In the first half of 1737 it became clear that the Duke had become totally dissatisfied with the management of his rents and believed that the fault lay not in the condition of the tenants but in the misconduct of his officials and tacksmen. A series of letters from the Chamberlain in the early months of 1737 spoke of devasting mortality among the cattle in Mull and Morvern, of impoverished tenants in the insular districts, and of a new and marked decline in Kintyre, where an alarming interest in emigration had suddenly developed. 'There is a great change in that good country within these two years', he wrote to the Duke on May 10th, and to explain why he was able to remit only £3,700, he claimed that rents were 'much worse than ever I knew them'. Evidently to rebut the charges that had been made, he went on, 'I can venture to say your case is not singular, and that it is not for want of diligence in the persons I employ to collect

the rents, but real want of money in the country. The factor of Morvern complains that the tenants are much impoverished there this year by the death of cattle in that country and that Mull has had the same fate, where as many are swept off as was in Kintyre last year. He likeways observes that it is a loss both to your Grace and the tenants in that country that they are so long in an uncertain state without leases and that it must affect the payment of rents till once they are settled' (SL 3:194, 10 May 1737).

The Chamberlain then made a proposal that was to be of great significance. 'If the Lord Advocat were to make a tour to those countreys as he once proposed, he might enquire into the circumstances of the tenants and the manner of payment of rents, discover the true cause of slow payments, settle with the tenants for new leases and give directions for the most prudent and speedy methods of collecting the rents.' He adds the wise counsel, 'That a sure and well paid rent is preferable to a high one ill paid must be allowed and deserves to be adverted to when these countreys are lett in lease' (SL 3: 193–5, 10 May 1737). Three weeks later, with only £258 received from Mull and Tiree, and £272 from Morvern, Stonefield defended the factor's zeal: 'I am perfectly persuaded if Airds had not exerted himself and had not, with some address, encouraged drovers to buy the tenants' cattle, it would not have been in his power to remit so much this year. I believe it will give him greater trouble that his Grace is not satisfyd with his management than that he should be discharged' (SL 3:188, 3 June 1737).

His letter of 22 June is a reasoned statement of the causes of the general economic depression, as he understood them, with a series of comments on the prospects of improving the rents in each of the insular districts. In view of later events, his remarks are of unusual importance, for he was to prove vindicated in almost every detail. Conditions were bad on the mainland as well as in the remoter areas. 'Since ever I had occasion to know anything of the business of this country there were always before this time of year eight hundred or a thousand cattle sold off from Kintyre to people from the Low Country, Galloway or our dealers here. This summer there is not a man come to the country to buy one head.'[25] The crisis moreover was common to all areas and all estates: 'The circumstances of tenants in this shire is very much changed for the worse within these two or three years. This I have access to know not only from the payments by his Grace's tenants, who are still in a better condition than the tenants of other heritors, except those in the islands, but likeways from the collection of cess[26] and from my own small concerns where I sensibly feel it, and in short in the course of all payments whatsomever.'

In Morvern, rents could not be raised any more, he argued, for he himself had augmented them considerably in 1732, and since then cattle prices had declined and the lead-mine, which 'made a circulation of money', had closed down.[27]. 'As for Mull, if it be lett at the rent the under-tennents paid, I'm afraid it will be too high and that the payments may not be regular since substantial tenants cannot be got to take it at that rate, the consequence of which is that the tenants will not be able to stand above a year

or two, and then several parts of it will be to lett again. . . .' Tiree was the greatest prob-
lem of all. 'What to say of Tiry I cannot tell. Most of the people are, and I believe ever
were miserably poor since the first settlement of people there. What will it signify to
give leases to people that will not be able to hold them above a year? Many of them
do not pay above twenty merks Scots of rent, and several only ten merks, and how a
family can be subsisted upon such a small proportion of land without any trade and pay
the rent is not easy to conceive, nor is it possible to get good tenants to go and settle
in that country without encouragement' (SL 3:202–5, 22 June 1737).

Stonefield evidently did not despair of influencing the settlement of these districts,
for he wrote: 'These things I thought it my duty to take notice of that his Grace might
have them in view when he gives directions for setting the lands.' And on the eve of
the departure of the Lord President, he wrote to the Duke's secretary, reinforcing his
views, urging the need for moderation in the rents and caution in granting leases. They
should be given, he urged, only to gentlemen and men of substance—'By gentlemen
I do not mean lairds or landed men but persons having a stock of two, three or five
hundred pound, for such are in these countreys so designed.' By leasing to gentlemen
as much land as they could occupy with their own stock, and permitting sub-tenancy,
he saw the best prospect of improving the rents. On this footing, he envisaged Tiree
being leased to ten or twelve tenants, some of whom would be non-resident or, better
still, to one tacksman (SL 3:210–13, 4 Aug. 1737).

Stonefield's credit had fallen low with the Duke and his advice had ceased to carry
much weight. Nevertheless, his statements on the economic situation in the 'thirties,
and in particular the serious effects which he attributed to low cattle prices, are consistent
and well supported. Reports by Ballimore and others authenticate what Stonefield said
and show that he was not simply making excuses for bad management. Cattle were,
after all, the lynch-pin of the Highland economy. There was usually little else to pay
the rents (Walker 1812 Vol. 2:46), and a sharp fall in price or a severe winter that swept
off large numbers of cattle could be disastrous to tenants—and lairds.

Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy (1693–1790), who dealt extensively in cattle at
certain periods and who was an intimate of Stonefield's, recorded in his rent-books the
prices which he allowed tenants for cattle given to him in payment of rents.[28] Whilst
not providing a fully reliable index for cattle prices in this period—for the numbers
bought vary from year to year from a handful to a score or more—Knockbuy's accounts
do give a valuable guide to the movement of cattle prices in the West Highlands from
1728 to 1786. So far as they go, they completely substantiate the Chamberlain's reports.
They show that cattle prices, though generally rising throughout the century, did so in
a succession of waves with marked crests and troughs, and that the deepest trough did
in fact occur between 1730 and 1740, and extended over most of these years (see
Appendix and graph opp. p. 144).

Tenants' cows bought by Knockbuy averaged £15 17s. Scots in the three year
period 1729, 1730 and 1731, but in the eight years that followed (1732–9) they sank to

an average of £13 3s. then climbed again to an average of £17 19s. in the ten-year period 1740–9. Bullock prices are a less useful guide, for the reasons given in the Appendix, but they indicate a similar pattern, with the 'thirties forming a trough between periods of fairly high prices (KP/R). This pattern is borne out convincingly by the prices paid by the Navy Victualling Board. Buying scores of cattle every week for barrelling, the yards were normally paying, during the first three decades of the century, between 20s. and 25s. per hundred-weight. Prices dropped abruptly in the 'thirties and remained low, at an average of 16s., until 1740, when they recovered. For three years running, prices had fluctuated around 13s. 6d., their lowest point of the century: precisely at that crucial period for the insular districts, 1735–7 (see Appendix, and graph; Beveridge 1939:568–71).

Scotland thus did not by any means wholly escape the agricultural depression that engulfed much of England in the period 1730–50 (Mingay 1955–6; Chambers and Mingay 1966:40–2). Scotland's corn prices, in contrast to England's, remained steady (Mitchison 1965), but as a mainly pastoral country she would be seriously and generally affected by the depression of cattle markets in the 'thirties; how seriously in the West Highlands will have already become apparent.

The Lord President's Expedition and the New Rental

The expedition started from the home of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell at the end of the first week of August. The party, consisting of the Lord President, Sir Duncan Campbell, Stonefield, a number of Argyll lairds and the Duke's Edinburgh lawyer, Ronald Dunbar, was accommodated in the Duke's capacious barge, along with a crew of twelve or thirteen men, 'twenty bolls [of meal] and some barrells of sea bisket, a little quantity of flour, some gallons of whiskie and some ship's beer', ordered by the Chamberlain before she sailed from the Clyde. Culloden himself, with his usual fore-sight, brought an additional supply of fourteen dozen bottles of wine to cheer the long and arduous weeks ahead (SL 3:207–9, 24 July 1737; and 230–2, 16 Dec. 1737). Gentle-men came to pay their respects to the Lord President and his company wherever they landed and there would be much conviviality. With all its good cheer, however, this was a portentous visit, comparable in its ultimate significance for the West Highlands with the tour of Bishop Andrew Knox in 1609 to impose Lowland ways on the western chiefs. Here, in closest juxtaposition, facing each other across an unseen, unbridged abyss, were the representatives of a highly traditional military society and the redoubt-able leader of the new commercial Scotland.

Stonefield was at pains to inform Culloden about all that related to the rents and con-ditions in these districts (SL 3:216, Stonefield to the Duke, 27 Sept. 1737). No man could have done more than Stonefield to set guide-lines for this crucial reorganisation. The Lord President appears to have respected his views in leasing the bulk of the land to 'men of substance', but in two important respects this *legatus a latere* chose to over-ride

the Chamberlain's advice. In the first place, he encouraged unrestricted competitive bidding for the leases of farms and so realised a considerable augmentation in the rental. In the second place he created a multitude of small joint lease-holders from the body of former sub-tenants and common tenants.

Culloden's report, made to the Duke after the expedition was over, is almost the only source of information about the progress of the tour (CCR 1884:380–94). In this he relates how he summoned the tenants together, first those of Mull and Morvern, then those of Tiree, 'and acquainted them with your Grace's favourable intention of delivering them from the tyranny of taxmen [*sic*], of freeing them from the oppression of services and herezelds, and of incouraging them to improve their farms by giving them a sort of property in their grounds for 19 years by lease, if they showed themselves worthy of the intended favour by offering frankly for their farms such rent as honestly and fairly they could bear.'

Culloden was surprised and offended when the inhabitants appeared to show no interest in the Duke's 'favour', and concluded that it was 'the effect of a combination' carefully prepared by the tacksmen and their kinsmen, the gentlemen. Some sort of tacit agreement not to bid up the rents there probably was, though not necessarily for the sinister reasons that he supposed. With the help of Campbell of Lochnell's brothers, Ardslignish and Ballimore, he managed to coax or threaten the inhabitants to begin to bid. Competition once started became keen and what Stonefield had most dreaded— a considerable addition to the rental—was realised. The rental of Tiree and the two ends of Coll was raised to £533 8s. (at the time of making his report, Culloden believed that £570 would be realised), compared with the old tack-duty of £325 (CCR 1884: 390; ICP/M—Ac). The rental of Mull was raised to £794, compared with £500 from the tacksmen,[29] and that of Morvern remained at £467 as it had been since it ceased being in tack, compared with £222 from the tacksmen prior to 1732 (CCR 1884:390–1). The rental for the insular districts was thus 39 per cent above that of 1735 (*viz.* from £1,292 to £1,794) but the increase was rather over 60 per cent for Mull and Tiree. The actual increase to the tenants was smaller, since they had formerly paid the tacksmen a surplus; in Tiree, for example, it meant an actual increase of 26 per cent to the tenants.

The Lord President felt constrained to excuse his failing to produce a larger increase, quite unnecessarily for the Duke's reply (CP 2968:64) expressed the greatest satisfaction. 'I am sorry my endeavours have not answered your expectations or my wishes, but I am confident your Grace will not suspect the disappointment is owing to any want of care or patience in me. I have assigned, in the course of my narration, the true causes— the miserable poverty of the people, proceeding from the oppression of their late tax-masters, the badness of the seasons for some years and the sensible decay in the demand for cattle' (CCR 1884:391). In due course, as positive improvement got under way, the Duke would reap a richer harvest: 'Another advantage this expedition has brought you is that the view I have had of the grounds, and the knowledge I have gained of the condition and manners of the people may prevent future impositions, and put your

Grace in a method of improving your estate, by bettering the condition of your ten-nents, which in a small time will bring you a secure rent, and put it in the way of yielding considerable augmentation, if or when a new set happens to be made' (CCR 1884:391). His mood was one of optimism and sober satisfaction. 'Tho' your Grace's expectations or mine may not be answered as to the improvement of the rent, yet in this I have satisfaction, and it may be some to you, that the method you have taken has prevented the totall ruin of these islands and the absolute loss of the whole rent in time coming to your Grace. Had the taxmen [sic] been suffered to continue their extortions a few years longer, the islands would have been dispeopled, and you must have been contented with no rent, or with such rent as these harpies should be graciously pleased to allow you . . .' (CCR 1884:391).

This, then, was only the preliminary stage to a great expansion of the revenue and of productivity; this was the convalescence after a near-mortal disease, in which the tenants must be 'tenderly dealt with'.

The Tenurial Reorganisation: Social, Economic and Political Aspects

The immediate consequence of the tenurial reorganisation was that the great tacksmen finally lost their control of patronage in land in the Duke's insular estates, and the powers of bailiary and other rights associated with it. In their place a large body of tenants emerged throughout these districts from the status of sub-tacksmen and sub-tenants.[30] Their leases guaranteed them secure and undisturbed occupation of their land, usually for nineteen years, provided that they kept the conditions of their leases. Their rents were payable in money, except for certain victual rents, and they were released (to quote the wording of the Mull leases) from 'all herezalds, caswaltys, and other prestations and services whatsomever . . . except the services of tennants for repairing harbours, mending highways or makeing or repairing miln leads for the general benefit of the island'.

On the face of it, these were immense advantages which could not but elevate the status and material conditions of the mass of the new tenants. They were now free to pursue their own interests, unimpeded by the demands of a tacksman, and since sub-letting was specifically forbidden in all the leases the whole elaborate pyramid of sub-ordinate relationships, based on land, which linked together the various classes of society and culminated in the tacksman, would presumably disappear. Culloden ex-pected that a benevolent landlord would bring the lessons of advancing agricultural knowledge within the reach of tenants, and as an earnest of this gave a lease of the farm of Ruaig in Tiree on advantageous terms to a Glasgow merchant born in that island, on condition that he introduced improved methods of farming (ICP/M—Ac 1743; V65 various papers). Culloden envisaged that as the experiments proved profitable and suc-cessful they would be adopted by neighbouring tenants, so raising the general standard of agriculture in Tiree and producing higher rents for the landlord.

To the 8th Duke, writing as the apologist of nineteenth-century landlordism in the high noon of the Victorian age, the events of 1737 represented a great leap forward, a manifestation of benevolent landlordism apparently justifying his assertion that in this island 'every single step towards improvement that has taken place during the last 150 years has been taken by the Proprietor and not by the people' (Argyll 1887:271). For any progress to be possible, he argued, the landlord had first to resume the powers over his lands and tenants that had been 'delegated to men whose own possession was not permanent, and whose interests were therefore not identified with the growing wealth and permanent prosperity of the people' (Argyll 1887:257). Having regained control over the land by dismissing the tacksmen, he was free to allocate it in such a way that tenants, enjoying modern conditions of security and freedom, would collaborate eagerly with the landlord in the fullest exploitation of the land and its resources. It is the contention of the 8th Duke that progress proceeded uninterrupted from this point, borne on the willing shoulders of a secure and liberated tenantry.

Whether this claim will prove well-founded or not, the 8th Duke rightly saw 1737 as a watershed in the history of these districts, indeed in the evolution of the Highland region in general. More than half a century of growing commercialism in the management of the Argyll estates lay behind it (and this the 8th Duke overlooked), so that the events of 1737 came less as a revolution than as a formalisation of practices in which the estate had already some experience. What was important was that in the leases granted by Culloden a new orthodoxy was announced, new standards of value were given the official seal, and a new framework of relationships, designed to be more favourable than the traditional system to economic development, was created.

The assumption on which the new system was based was that land should produce a revenue for the landlord like any other capital asset and that it should therefore be allocated, not as a token of kinship, as a reward for allegiance or as a means of maintaining a following, but in response to the operation of competitive bidding. It appeared fair that the value of land should be settled by the impersonal arbitration of the open auction. The implications of this new orthodoxy for the whole Highlands were far-reaching. Ultimately, as it gained ground, it would change the form of society and bring the whole region into the closest dependence on the industrial western world. As a direct consequence of the application of this commercial principle, classes of society would be transformed, whole populations would move and the political and military ebullience of the Highlands would become a thing of the past.

More immediately, it threatened the privileged position of the Campbell colonists and to some extent placed them at the mercy of the clans whom they had ousted and who now enjoyed equal opportunities of acquiring farm leases in open auction. A number of the former tenants recovered land, whilst some of the colonist families, like the Campbells of Auchinard on Iona, lost their holdings. In general the colonists retained their dominant position, but their dominance was due to their competitive strength and not to their name. It was to say the least politically hazardous to weaken

the morale of the clan Campbell in the insular districts at a period when Jacobitism, drawing on the genius of clanship for creating a devoted following, was becoming once again an active force. The Duke appeared to be denying himself the strongest weapon in his armoury and to be setting at risk the delicate political balance of the West Highlands.

Whilst accepting the great significance of 1737 as a watershed in the development of the West Highlands, one must enter a caveat. Attitudes and sentiments change slowly in the Highland region; there is an immense conservativism constantly moderating the forces of change and absorbing innovations into a traditional way of life. The announcement of a reform does not imply complete and immediate change in society; simply an attempt to influence society, which may be more or less effective. In general the 8th Duke appears in his writings to exaggerate the pace of social change and to underrate the forces making for continuity. It is important to correct this imbalance, and to emphasise that social changes, though they were far-reaching, took place within a society whose nature it was to shape the unfamiliar into familiar forms. Despite the shattering events that overtook the Highlands in the eighteenth century, it is possible to see organic links between the aristocratic society of the late seventeenth century and the crofter world of the early nineteenth century.

The destruction of the tacksmen's enormous holdings and the grant of leases did not totally revolutionise the social and economic bases of life. It did not, for example, radically alter the distribution of wealth in the insular districts, and so left unaffected much of the hierarchic social structure. Thus about a quarter of the new leaseholders were of the *daoine uaisle*, gentry of the clan Campbell or some other clan. This minority of tenants in fact occupied three-quarters of the total land in the Duke's insular estates. Competition had produced some changes in the occupying families, but by and large the resident tenants had succeeded in retaining their farms, though at much higher rents. The holdings of the large tenants were no longer the vast districts of the tacksmen, but they corresponded closely with those of the sub-tacksmen and ranged mostly between one and four extensive farms. In the first decades of the eighteenth century the Ross of Mull had been in tack to Archibald Campbell and Donald Campbell, belonging respectively to the closely related branches of Crackaig and Scammadill, who were also closely linked with the Campbells of Clenamacrie. After the tenurial reorganisation, six farms in the Ross district were occupied by small tenants (five of them probably on a lease), three were in the hands of single tenants named MacLean, and the remaining thirteen were in the occupation of large Campbell tenants. The Crackaig branch held three farms; the Scammadill branch four; and the Clenamacrie branch six (ICP/M—R 1742).

Such families, though deprived of the powers of tacksmen, remained leaders of local society, enjoying economic power and social eminence. Their households were large, with numerous men- and maid-servants, and formed the nucleus of busy rural communities of agriculturalists and rural craftsmen (Cregeen 1964: xxiv–xxv). This

patriarchal order had by no means passed away when Johnson travelled in the Hebrides in 1773. Sub-tenancy was formally prohibited under the conditions of Culloden's leases, but because of the chronic shortage of specie it must have survived in some form in such rural communities. In practice it was virtually impossible to distinguish between a sub-tenant paying rent for his land in labour services and a married servant receiving part of his wages in a portion of arable ground and grazing rights for a few beasts.

The hierarchic structure of Highland society thus largely survived the tenurial re-organisation. Former tacksmen and their kinsmen maintained their social pre-eminence and much of their control over the people, and to a considerable extent succeeded in holding on to the lion's share of the land. Members of this class filled the appointments of district factors newly created to carry out duties formerly discharged by the tacks-men. The essential change was less in personnel than in function. The large tenants owed their position not to their name and ancestry but to their competitive strength and economic resources, and they could hope to survive only by enabling the Duke to gain the maximum return from his estates in terms not of fighting men but of money rents.[31]

One of the most significant innovations introduced by Culloden was the grant of leases to small tenants occupying a fractional share of a large farm. 'Common tenants' accounted for about three-quarters of the new leaseholders. The 8th Duke claimed the creation of this new class of petty leaseholders as one of the most significant achieve-ments in the social development of the West Highlands. Once again he overlooks the continuities and presents too rosy a view. Their economic status was basically unchanged by their possession of leases. They were allocated no more than a quarter of the total land available. In certain important respects they were positively handicapped by a system which translated payments in labour or kind, both reasonably available, into cash, which was scarce. Former sub-tenants were deprived moreover of supplies of working capital and animals which their masters had provided under steelbow arrange-ments. The leases forbade the sub-letting of land and insisted on tenants grazing only their own stock. Thus, from an economic position that in some respects was weaker than before, small tenants were undertaking more exacting commitments, especially in the matter of rents.

What the 8th Duke dismissed as 'some little immediate increase of rent' (Argyll 1887:259) amounted, as has been shown above, to a general increase of 40 per cent, and, for Mull and Tiree, an increase of 60 per cent over the 1735 level. Such an augmen-tation would annex not only all the tacksmen's profit but a large increment besides, which could only come out of the tenants' pockets. If the tacksmen had been avaricious tyrants, how then could the Lord President justify a level of rents substantially above that required by the tacksmen, especially in view of the Chamberlain's warnings and in a period of profound economic depression?

Culloden's report gives no satisfactory answer to this question, for the expansion of production which he envisaged was necessarily a long-term project whose success was

in doubt. Instead he brought unsupported charges against the factors' management and made intemperate accusations against the tacksmen which contrast with Stonefield's reasoned statements about economic conditions. Unfortunately, Culloden's report was more acceptable to the Duke, who welcomed this evidence that he had been cheated of his proper rents by the mismanagement of his servants and representatives. The tacksmen were thus made the scapegoats for all the evils of the times and the way was prepared for an intensification of the very measures which had helped to impoverish the Duke's insular tenants. Culloden's report is to be taken, not as a dispassionate survey of conditions but as a brilliant piece of special pleading. It was the kind of report to please the Duke, but it does more credit to Culloden the Lord Advocate than Culloden the Lord President, and it was in the end a great disservice to the Duke.

Stonefield expressed himself on the whole subject with quiet scepticism in a letter to the Duke written shortly after the expedition was over: 'The rents are augmented beyond anyone's expectations. Whether that augmentation will stand I cannot take upon me to determine. I heartily wish they may but shrewdly dread the contrary, especially if the seasons do not turn out better than they have for some years past. I now observe that there is no great difficulty to raise the rents of any countrey, expecially islands, as high as one has a mind. Poor people will keep their land at any rate [*i.e.* at any cost] as long as they can, and will rather beg in the land of their nativity than live tollerably elsewhere.' Offers, however, were no sure guide to what tenants could pay, 'for once a competition of bidding for lands happens, people will sometimes exceed the just value, so that upon the whole there is yet no certain evidence that this settlement with the tenants will prove effectuall, nor can there be till once they come to pay the augmented rents' (SL 3:215-18, 27 Sept. 1737).

Disaster Threatens the New System

It was perhaps not the most favourable period for innovations. Political instability, always present in the west, broke into open war in 1745. The islands were several times visited by disastrous seasons in the 'forties. General economic conditions, on the other hand, were vastly better than in the 'thirties and cattle prices were back to their earlier buoyancy. For the remarkable plight of the insular districts during the 'forties one must look as much or more to the human errors embodied in the new tenurial system as to political or climatic vicissitudes. The full extent of it is revealed in detail in factors' reports submitted to the second Duke's successor in 1747 and 1748. The intervening stages are not so clearly recorded, for the Stonefield letterbooks end in 1738, but estate accounts and occasional letters, memorials and reports indicate the main features.

The Duke's mood of satisfaction changed fairly rapidly into disenchantment. He had replied to Culloden's report in delighted terms (9 Oct. 1737): 'I am very far from not having my expectations answered; for, upon my word, I took it for granted, from the

Sheriff's way of stating the affairs of that country, that things would turn out as you found them; and believe me, I think myself well off on the foot that you have put them, and I am fully persuaded, if you had not given yourself the trouble you have done, some gentlemen had brought about their ends whose duty it was to serve me better. When you have time, my curiosity makes me wish to know your observations on Teree. I have strange notions of that island' (CP 2968:64).

Further details about the condition of Tiree effectively discouraged the Duke's curiosity. He wrote to Culloden in a more sober mood on 25 March 1738: 'I have received your letter with your state of the island of Tyrie, by which I find a young man who could hope for thanks from those who were to succeed him might take advantage of that place. You know I am not in that state; but however I am not the less obliged to you for your constant concern and anxious care for everything that in any degree relates to my interest or welfare' (Duff 1815: CLXXXVI). A commission in the Blues for Culloden's son expressed the Duke's gratitude to a loyal servant but for Culloden's brain-child there was clearly to be no endowment from the Duke. The more positive aspects of Culloden's new programme would be quietly forgotten. They would be revived later under successors more actively committed to improvement.

Intractable difficulties were early in appearing. Numbers of tenants in Mull and Tiree had 'resiled' from their leases (that is, had refused to conclude the agreements by signing them) and, on a technicality, could not be legally coerced (CP 2970:173-7). Arrears were accumulating, especially in Tiree. One of the Duke's advisers wrote to him early in 1738: 'The arrear now due from that country is very great. If exacted vigorously it's probable the country would be laid waste. Every small tenant cannot be at the expense of coming into the continent in order to turn his effects into money' (*loc. cit.*). The same official warned the Duke that punctual rents could never be expected from the island until industry and improved agriculture were introduced.[32]

Petitions coming in from the islands at this time suggest that the failure of the new system to produce either revenue or contented tenants was due not only to high rents but to the lack of flexibility in the method of collecting them. One such petition was presented (evidently in 1738) by a number of substantial tenants in Mull and Iona. It runs:

> The petition of your submissive and obedient tennants in the Isle of Mull to His Grace the the Duke of Argyll.
> Humbly sheweth
> That we having made proposals for the lands that we now possess [*i.e.* occupy] are willing to adhere to the same, but that we dread very much the dangerous consequence of binding ourselves to pay our rents compleatly at Martinmass term by reason that our cowes and horses nowadays gives little or no price att all and that a great many among us may use severall shifts to get penies of money betwixt Martinmass and Whitsunday that they cannot do before Martinmas and therefore we begg that your Grace would consider our circumstances so far as if necessity did oblidge us to come short in making compleat

payment at the Martinmas that the remainder may be taken from us in money at the Whit-sunday thereafter.

May it therefore please your Grace to grant us our petition and your petitioners shall ever pray . . . (CP 2970:182).

A petition presented to Culloden by a group consisting mainly of small tenants in Mornish in Mull (CP 2970:177) complained that the factor was rigorously exacting interest on rents unpaid at Martinmas (as he was entitled to do under the terms of the tacks) and was forcing them to sell their cattle to him below the price offered them by drovers. For these reasons they declared: 'We shall never sign our tacks on stamped paper untill we have reason to believe that we shall not be dealt with after this manner for the future.' These and similar reasons, all reflecting a severely legalistic approach, caused the negotiations for many of the new tacks to break down at the final stage.

Ballimore, factor of Mull and Tiree, appears to have managed his districts in a somewhat ruthless manner. Airds, on the other hand, was restrained by more tender sensibilities in dealing with the Morvern tenants. In April 1738 he offered his resignation. Stonefield explained the reasons to the Duke: 'He said if he continued in his office he must either be the executioner of the people or disoblige his constituents, and that he would chuse rather to demit than do either' (SL 3:246, 12 Apr. 1738). He was, however, evidently persuaded to continue.

By the summer of 1739 the Duke's high hopes of better rents had totally faded. Even Kintyre was disappointing him. Mull and Tiree were in deep arrears and had, in fact, yielded none of the rents due at Martinmas 1738. The Duke wrote to Culloden on 14 July, deeply dejected. 'I have written to the Sheriff by this post and expressed some disgust at the treatment I meet with in the affair of payments. . . . He seems not to be displeased that Ballimore behaves so extravagantly ill as he does. I confess I did not think that man would have given the Sheriff such subject of triumph. I end my dissertation on my private affairs with telling you that what I would faine obtain is to know what I can receive and when I can receive it. I will rather lessen my rent-roll than not be able to know what I have to depend on from your parts of the world' (CP 2968:117). Thus already within two years of the great reorganisation, Stonefield's views were beginning to be vindicated and the Lord President's policies were losing the Duke's confidence. Nevertheless, so long as Culloden remained his principal adviser, there was no change in policy.

A list of annual revenue received by the factor of Mull and Tiree from 1735 to 1743 and presented in a memorial by the Deputy Chamberlain in 1747, provides a useful guide to the earlier years (ICP/M—Ac. 1743 'State of Tyrie and Mull'). The years given represent the crop-years. Thus the first year, 1736, includes the rent received from Martinmas 1736 to Martinmas 1737, and marks the first year after the expiration of the old tacks. 1737 includes the receipts for 1737-8, the first year of the new leases and higher rents. The list is as follows:

1736 [-7]	...	£514	18	8		1740 [-1]	...	£1,199	4	5
1737 [-8]	...	624	6	2		1741 [-2]	...	741	9	2
1738 [-9]	...	931	10	4		1742 [-3]	...	825	2	11
1739 [-40]	...	1,071	0	7		1743 [-4]	...	1,113	10	7

The rental (*i.e.* the rents due) for Mull and Tiree in 1736/7 was £994. It was raised to £1323 in 1737/8 and remained at approximately this figure in the six following years. It will at once be apparent that receipts in 1736/7 and 1737/8 were abysmally low, undoubtedly reflecting the very low cattle prices prevailing. A marked improvement in revenue followed in the years 1738/9 to 1740/1, and this almost certainly resulted directly from the rising cattle prices—the long delayed emergence from the depression of the 'thirties (see graph opp. p. 144 and Appendix p. 135).

Receipts from the insular districts throughout the 'forties do not however reflect the generally much higher level of cattle prices, and this is significant. 1741/2 and 1742/3 were years of poor yields, which contrast with remarkably inflated cattle prices. And, to anticipate the evidence somewhat, 1744/5 was the beginning of a prolonged crisis signalised by low receipts and heavy arrears; this continued until almost the end of the decade.[33] Had cattle prices been the only factor, one might have found the Duke's revenue in a healthy and improving state throughout the 'forties. Other circumstances were evidently exercising a prepotent influence, and these must now be considered.

The West Highlands appear to have escaped the terrible winter of 1739-40, when men, cattle and wild life suffered heavy mortality and extreme privations in the Lowlands of Scotland and throughout much of North-West Europe. At any rate neither the severe winter of 1739-40 nor the wretched harvest of 1740, with its aftermath of hunger riots, are reflected in the insular revenues, as one would expect them to be if cattle had died in great numbers and if large quantities of meal had had to be bought.[34] In mainland areas of the estate rents continued to come in fairly easily in the early 'forties, as the Chamberlain informed the Duke's Commissioner, Lord Milton, in December 1743 (SAL 401 Letter of 29 Dec. 1743). In the islands, however, things were far otherwise. Despite buoyant markets the receipts dropped to a level suggesting widespread tenant difficulties in 1741/2 and 1742/3. There is no specific evidence about climatic conditions, but heavy mortality among cattle, combined with high rents, probably lies behind the crisis. This assumption gains support from evidence from Tiree in 1748 and from the fact that in 1744 the new Duke instructed his factor in Tiree to lower rents in certain cases, as the general level was too high (ICP/V65 'Instructions' 1744).

The Crisis Develops: The 3rd Duke's Counter-Measures

The improvement of 1743-4 shown in the higher receipts, was short-lived. Not only the islands, but the whole mainland also, were by the spring of 1745 in the depth of a renewed crisis from which they were long in emerging. It ran counter to cattle markets,

which were rising again after a fall in 1744 (a fall much less severe in Argyll than in England, to judge by the Knockbuy prices). The predisposing cause was the exorbitant level of rents, but more specific circumstances served to trigger off the crisis. Mortality among cattle was at a disastrous level in early 1745 and was evidently due to severe climatic conditions in the winter of 1744/5. One laird alone lost 510 cattle 'by mere want' in Glenorchy.[35] 'I cannot express the sufferings of this shire', Stonefield wrote to Milton in April 1745. 'Their loss of cattle is very great and universal, and corn is very scarce and dear, but now we have fine weather, I wish it may abate the mortality. We used commonly to receive £4,000 [Sterling] of his Grace's rents before this time of year, and we have not yet received £2,000' (SAL 403, Stonefield to Lord Milton, 18 Apr. 1745).

Thus the months immediately preceding the Rising were a time of hunger and catastrophe in the West Highlands. What effects this had in producing a mood favourable to the Jacobite Rising can only be conjectured, but it may have played a significant part in the situation. One may follow the prolonged crisis through the estate accounts. Arrears of rent in 1743–4 for the whole Argyll estates in Scotland, with a gross rental of about £7,500 Sterling, were approximately £2,000, which was very much more than in the Duke's earlier years.[36] By 1744–5 arrears cannot have been less than £4,000; in 1745–6 they exceeded £5,000 and were still larger in 1746–7; they declined to a little under £4,000 in 1747–8.[37]

The Rising placed an added strain on the West Highland economy. Farms were burnt and cattle driven off by the Government forces in Morvern and neighbouring districts after Culloden.[38] Tenants were called away from their work or were burdened with the payment of a substitute. But these circumstances, and any temporary interruption that the Rising may have caused in the cattle-trade, only aggravated what was already a desperate situation in the spring of 1745. The rent of Morvern was better paid than that of some districts outside the area affected by the Rising, as for example Tiree, where neither government nor Jacobites recruited many men (ICP/M—Ac. 1745, 1746). The severe loss of cattle in early 1745 is probably the most significant factor, for its effects would be felt for several years after, until the losses had been made good, and would not be wholly compensated by the high cattle prices which followed the murrain outbreak in England in 1745–6 (Haldane 1952:121; Reid 1942:177–81). It seems most likely that the severe climatic conditions of winter 1744–5 were prolonged into the two years following and affected other parts of Scotland.[39]

The Lord President's optimistic rental of 1737–8 was revealed as so much wishful thinking in the succeeding ten years. The Duke's revenue gained little or nothing by the increase in rents in the insular districts. In the years from 1738 to 1743 the accounts for Tiree and Mull show that in no single year was the rental achieved, and that in fact annual receipts, on a rental of about £1,320, averaged only £980 (ICP/M—Ac 1743 'State of Tyrie and Mull'). Similarly, after Mull was joined to Airds' factory of Morvern in 1744, receipts for these districts averaged £978 a year, some £300 short of the rental

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(ICP/M—Ac 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748). The situation was even more catastrophic in Tiree after being disjoined from Mull in 1743. In the period 1744 to 1746 inclusive, the island, though scarcely touched by the Rising, yielded no more then £732 in all, *viz.* an average of £244 per annum on a rental of just over £500 (ICP/M—Ac. 1746). The rest simply formed a massive toll of arrears. Even allowing for what might be collected of the arrears, the average yield, on the Chamberlain's reckoning in 1748 had been no more than £300 a year in the ten year period 1738 to 1747, whilst the Deputy Chamberlain estimated that more than £1,400 Sterling of the Tiree rents had been lost in that time.[40]

The succession of Archibald, 3rd Duke of Argyll, in 1743, produced important modifications in the tenurial system. More politically alert than his predecessor to the spread of Jacobitism in the West Highlands, he instructed his various chamberlains in the following terms in the autumn of 1744: 'I would have it made a condition of the tacks that every tenant should take an oath of allegiance and a promissory oath never to rise or encourage any rising in rebellion against the present government.' Loyalty moreover, would be rewarded: 'You are to use your endeavours to introduce tennants well disposed to the government and my family. And as I am informed that my lands are rather too high rented in those countreys, so that there may be a necessity for some abatement of rent, I do approve that these abatements be chiefly given in those farms where you bring in people well disposed to my interest.'[41]

This revival of political considerations in the management of the estate marks a significant retreat from the almost purely commercial principles which had recently controlled the choice of tenants. It must have heartened the Campbell colonists at this critical juncture. They proved the most reliable element in the west in 1745-6, and their presence was perhaps not without importance in limiting the areas of disaffection. The Prince gained many recruits from Morvern, which lay outside the area of Campbell settlement, in contrast with the islands of Mull and Tiree, where the Jacobite sympathies of the natives were counteracted by the activity of the Campbells. Tests of loyalty continued to be required of tenants through most or all of the 3rd Duke's time.

A second important modification in the tenurial system was made in 1747, when the Duke relaxed the total prohibition which his predecessor had placed on sub-letting and permitted the larger tenants to sub-let land, 'provided the tacksmen [*viz.* the large tenants] be restricted from convenanting and receiving from their sub-tenants any further payment or prestation of any kind than six days' service of one man yearly . . . over and above the rent payable by themselves for the lands subsett' (ICP/M 'Instructions' 1747). This relaxation may have been dictated in part by the growing extent of land lying waste through the failure of small tenants, and it restored a component of the traditional economy which could not yet be given up without loss of production. Significantly, too, it marked a reversion towards what Stonefield had recommended when he urged that leases should be confined to substantial men and not conferred on small tenants who would not survive bad seasons.

A third modification which the 3rd Duke was induced to make took the form of rent-reductions. These were not as large as the Chamberlains recommended, but they were significant of a more realistic and flexible approach. The rental of Mull and Morvern was reduced in 1748 by nearly 10 per cent, from £1,227 (as rentalled in 1744) to £1,104. Tiree did not benefit, however, in spite of her needy condition, though there had been some small reductions in that Island in 1745 and 1746 (ICP/M—Ac annually 1744-8 inclusive). The situation had become serious to the point of catastrophe by 1747. For three years consecutively, arrears ran at an unprecedented level, for two years almost equalling the gross rental of the estate. Many tenants had failed and large areas lay uncultivated. Even the loyal Campbells were threatening to leave the islands, as Stonefield explained in a memorial to the Duke in 1747—'The condition of the tennants in every part of Argyllshire having declined much for two or three years backward, those of Mull and Tiry have suffered as much as their neighbours, tho' they could not bear it so well, as they were but weak and their rents dear. Many of them who, or their predecessors, have gone to settle in that country since my Lord Argyll got that estate, and who are most attached to his interest, are disposed to leave it and come back to the body of the shire. This will be a great loss to his Grace, and endeavours ought to be used rather to encourage them and engage others of that friendly disposition to settle there' (SAL 405 'Memorial on the Duke of Argyll's Business' 1747). Having a half-brother, Archibald Campbell, resident at Killichronain in Mull, Stonefield was likely to know the settlers' mind. The wholesale removal of Campbell colonists from the islands would be a disaster of the first magnitude, threatening alike the Duke's future revenue from those districts and their political security.

Other reports from his officials in 1747 and 1748 presented a distressingly similar story in all districts of the estate; cattle dead, tenants ruined, arrears high, land waste. After the death of their cattle, many tenants were removed in Kintyre (SAL 405 'Memorial on the Duke of Argyll's Business' 1747). Something like half the tenants were insolvent in the heart-land farms round Inveraray and Loch Awe and had either failed to take up their tacks or been obliged by their circumstances to give them up.[42] In Mull the factor, Campbell of Airds, recorded twenty-six farms (out of a total of some ninety) 'which are now or likely to be waste in whole or part against Whitsunday 1747', and warned the Duke that these could not be rented at so high a rent after the insolvent tenants removed (SAL 405 'Remarks of several tenements in Mull' 1747). It was for these reasons that the Campbell gentry of Mull, many of them in arrears and recorded in this list, were seriously contemplating quitting the island and returning to the mainland.

Nowhere is the plight of the tenants more plainly revealed than in the factor of Tiree's report on the farms under his charge in Tiree and the neighbouring island of Coll. This report the Duke had himself ordered after receiving disquieting information from the factor about the state of rents and the poverty of the tenants. A combination of high rents and severe climatic conditions appears to have operated on the tenants

to produce a quite exceptional level of failure and poverty. 'Were the arrears presently due out of that estate, with the current rents for cropt 1747 completely levyed, I may with assurance say it, there woud not remain thereafter of effects near what woud stock one fourth part of the island.' So the new factor Campbell of Barnacarry declared in 1747 (ICP V65 'Memorial by Archibald Campbell of Barnacarie' 1747). Misfortune struck large and small tenants, gentry and commoners, loyal Campbell colonists and disaffected natives. Great tracts of once fertile machair lay under blown sand. 'Traik of cattle' left the island understocked. An island which had recently been rentalled at over £530 sterling was now producing barely £300 a year (ICP/V65 'Memoriall by Stone-field concerning Tyree' 1748). Scarcely anything survived of the Lord President's new system of tenure except a handful of leases from which the holders implored release.[43]

Typical of this remnant of leaseholders was Alexander McIlvra, who had the farm of Hough. 'This farm was set in tack to Alexander McIlvra of Penighaill by the Lord President. This man is now in arrears to your Grace the sum of £1097:2:10 Scots. The present factor could ne'er receive payment of him as he had no effects in Tyrie and very little in Mule where he resides, only the mailling of Penighail and Carsaig, holding of your Grace. There is horning and caption against him for the greater part of this sum. He has petitioned your Grace more than once to get terms to clear up these arrears but had no return . . . 'Tis the factor's opinion, as this farm has and does yearly suffer greatly by sand-blowing, it would want an abatement yearly of £36.'[44] This sum represented 25 per cent of the rent of the farm.

Of the thirty-six farms in Tiree (some of which were normally combined), the Lord President had, it seems, successfully set twenty-five in tack in 1737. His negotiations for the letting of the remaining eleven had proved abortive (contrary to the expectations expressed in his report in 1737) and were simply let year by year to small tenants, whose condition is illustrated by Balevouline—'The factor observes that this town was set by the Lord President at so dear a rent that he coud get no tennents to take the same in tack, the paying of which rent so reduced the tennents [i.e. the nine occupying without a lease] as that they became insolvent and a great part, almost the half, thereof became waste, which has been so these severall years past. . . .'

Of the twenty-five Tiree farms actually leased in 1737, only eleven remained in tack in 1748, and in almost every case the holders were pleading to be rid of the burden of the lease or to have the rent very much reduced, as in McIlvra's case. The lease of fourteen of the twenty-five farms (that is, 56 per cent of them) had lapsed by the tenants' falling into arrears. Numbers of the gentry are found in this condition. Hector MacLean of Gott and Vuill had fallen into deep arrears, become insolvent and so lost his tack. Donald McLarin, deputy factor, lost all his effects and gave up his tack of Barrapol and Kenvar, which then served to graze poynded cattle. Campbell of Balli-more, one-time factor, whose timely offer had assisted the Lord President to breach the opposition and get the island rented in 1737, had been so reduced that he gave up his farms there. John Campbell, who claimed that his grandfather had been the first

Campbell settler in Tiree (Cregeen 1968:170), received a lease of three farms in the west of the island in 1737, but 'in a short time thereafter became insolvent by reason of the dear rent he offered and is still considerably in arrears to your Grace'. His lands were occupied by eleven tenants, who 'are all in low circumstances except Archibald McDonald . . .'. The list could be prolonged monotonously.

The new tenurial system was thus virtually foundering by 1748. So far from fulfilling the Lord President's expectations that revenue and productivity would expand and greater security be conferred on tenants, the new leases appear rather to have been associated with widespread misery and insecurity among the tenants and chaos in the ducal revenue. Stonefield's summing up of the situation in Tiree in 1748 was pungent without being self-congratulatory.

> It was with intention to reform the country as much as the nature of the thing would admit of that the late Duke dismissed the tacksmen, imagining that they squeezed the under-tennents by exacting high rents, but very unluckily my Lord President followed the same plan, by augmenting the rents beyond what the tacksmen ever exacted, a rent that the country was less capable to yield during the factory than in the tacksmen's time because they occupied severall of the farms with their own stock and when any of the lands could not be sett, they possessed it themselves' (ICP/V 65 'Memoriall by Stonefield concerning Tyree' 1748).

The restoration of the tacksman system was in fact being actively considered. Stonefield, reporting on Tiree in 1748, recommended that the first essential measure was to reduce rents to under £400 and to let the farms either to the existing tenants or to a tacksman—'I have been making tryalls in that shape likeways, and the highest offer I could bring anybody was to £340' (ICP V65 'Memoriall by Stonefield concerning Tyree' 1748). This was roughly the amount of tack-duty paid by the tacksmen of Tiree before the Lord President's visit. John Campbell, brother to Barnacarry and deputy-chamberlain of Argyll, even offered to become tacksman of the whole of the ducal estate in Mull, Morvern and Tiree, at a tack-duty of £1,333 6s. 8d. Sterling, but no more is heard of this breath-taking project (ICP V65 'Memorial concerning Mull, Morvern and Tyree' 1747).

The Tenurial Reorganisation: General Assessment

A number of general conclusions emerge from this examination of the 2nd Duke's tenurial reforms. It is clear that the accounts which have hitherto been available, and have been very influential, are in need of drastic revision. Culloden's report cannot be taken as a dispassionate account but as the attempt of an astute politician to justify measures which he had carried out against the advice of the Duke's senior officials. He made the tacksmen, and to a lesser extent the Duke's officials, the butt of his main accusations, and in so doing diverted attention from what was most responsible for the

ills of the tenants of the insular districts—the depressed condition of the cattle markets, on which tenants depended to pay their rents, and the Duke's heavy demands upon the tacksmen.

The 8th Duke of Argyll's account of the tenurial reforms emphasises the humane and rational intentions of the 2nd Duke and his agent, and represents the new leases as the opening of a happy and secure era in the insular districts. His historical writings, brilliant though they were in many ways, had as their main object the defence of the landlords' record in the Highlands, and this he carried out with vigour and success but at some expence of accuracy. He disregarded, or was ignorant of, a great many relevant documents in the Inveraray Castle archives which shed a quite different light on the tenurial reform.

These documents have been extensively used in this investigation. Among the main conclusions which they suggest, the first is that the tacksmen in the insular districts were by no means so much to blame for the plight of their sub-tenants during the 'thirties as Culloden represented. It would appear that the Duke's management of these districts was governed in the main by his need for revenue, and that the increasing load of rent which he required of the tacksmen reacted seriously on the condition of the mass of the population, and was especially damaging to their economy in the period of depressed cattle-prices which immediately preceded the tenurial reorganisation.

This tenurial reorganisation had its humane and progressive aspects, as is apparent from Culloden's report. If it had been carried out in the way proposed by the Chamberlain, it could have become the turning-point in the development of the economy of the West Highlands. But the strong financial motivation behind the reform proved overwhelming and in Culloden's hands the tenurial reorganisation turned into a disaster both for the Duke and for the tenants who were supposed to be its main beneficiaries. The following years witnessed, not the radical improvement intended by Culloden, but—in spite of the new buoyancy of cattle prices—chaos in the Duke's revenue, widespread distress and ruin on an unusual scale among the new tenants, and the virtual collapse of the new tenurial system over large areas of the estate.

This failure was as unnecessary as it was lamentable. Had the Duke trusted his Chamberlain he might have seen such progress in the development of agriculture as Campbell of Shawfield achieved in Islay through the agency of his tacksmen (MacDonald 1811:75-7). Stonefield's solution would no doubt have been biased in favour of his clan and would have restricted leases to substantial tenants of the *daoine uaisle*, but it would have had the advantage of developing out of the existing economic and social situation instead of running counter to it. His policy of moderate and flexible rents would have encouraged a real sense of security and trust in the tenants, basically more important that the grant of formal leases,[45] and would have led to a rapid growth of technological progress and an expansion of the Duke's revenues.

The Duke preferred to be advised by Culloden, whose abilities in the field of government were not matched by equal competence in the management of the Duke's West

Highland estates. By rejecting the best available advice, Culloden established the new tenurial system on foundations which were unsound from the beginning. His most serious error was to stimulate competitive bidding for the leases and to produce, as a result, a rental that could only end by ruining the successful candidates and injuring the estate. The Chamberlain's warnings on this head should have been heeded. In these districts where the native clans had contended over land for centuries and where recently they had been deprived by the Campbells, competition for leases was simply a prolongation of clan warfare, and bids were used like sword thrusts to injure rival families and clans.[46] The auction of leases thus did not operate to establish a fair or realistic valuation of land; it reflected the candidates' desires and passions rather than their financial resources.

The greatly advanced rents were, as has been shown, the chief cause of the failure of the reform. Culloden was the director of the tenurial reorganisation but the ultimate responsibility must lie with the 2nd Duke, who set the objectives and chose the instrument. Like most men of his rank in eighteenth-century Britain, the Duke conceived of improvement in terms of magnificent building and the development of parks and domainal farm-lands (Habakkuk 1952). He showed extreme reluctance to divert any financial resources from these to the capital outlay on drains, dykes, fences and buildings that the estate in general required if any real progress were to be made. This would have to be left to 'a young man who could hope for thanks from those who were to succeed him'.

The effects of this unwillingness to carry through agricultural innovation by providing financial support became obvious in the island of Tiree. Here Culloden had shown a genuine interest in encouraging improvement and had granted an improving lease on favourable terms to a Glasgow merchant, Lachlan MacLean. As an experiment it proved completely successful. He succeeded in growing clover and sown grasses and showed the possibility of ending the mortality in cattle that was so frequent an occurrence in the Spring months (ICP/M 'Description of the Island of Teree' 1748). The general adoption of his methods in the island would have transformed the economy, but fences were necessary to protect the crops from trespassing animals, and to build them tenants required a great deal of practical assistance (Campbell 1965:31). Such assistance was not generally available until almost the end of the century, in the 5th Duke's time. As a result, agricultural improvement had little real impact on traditional methods in the years following Culloden's visit.

The mass of small tenants had been economically too dependent on the tacksmen and sub-tacksmen for credit and working capital to stand long unaided, and were quite incapable of developing a more productive agriculture without generous treatment from the landlord when their masters had been removed. In the traditional system, with all its limitations, tacksmen had a real interest in maintaining their man-power and probably discharged their obligations faithfully until heavy demands began to crush them in the eighteenth century. Precisely at a time when the small tenants were

deprived of their normal supports from the traditional system, they were required to pay considerably higher rents. Moreover, rents paid to the tacksmen had not only been lower but could be partly paid in labour and agricultural products. These could not readily be turned into cash to pay the landlord's rents.

The grossly inflated rental which Culloden reported to the Duke as a triumph represented, in fact, no advance in technology, no expansion of production, and no widening of commercial outlets. It simply transferred the claim to non-existent wealth from the tenant to the Duke. When it failed to materialise the tenant lost his lease together with what stock he had. Essentially what was taking place in the 'forties was an intensification of the kind of management that the Duke had applied to these districts since his succession. The results were now more serious both for the tenants and for the landlord's revenue. Previously land left vacant by the failure of sub-tenants was not unproductive, since the tacksmen would make use of it. Now such land was truly waste and unproductive, and the revenue suffered.

The tenurial reorganisation of 1737 was certainly a turning-point in the history of the insular districts of the Argyll estate. It may fairly be asked whether, so far from representing a great leap forward, it did not in fact inflict irreparable injury on the inhabitants, damage social institutions of considerable value, and postpone the development of a healthy economic system for many years. The blame cannot at any rate be laid on those convenient scapegoats, the tacksmen.

A Summary View of the Tenurial Reorganisation and its Aftermath

The tenurial system of most Highland estates until the eighteenth century was well advanced rested on an élite of upper tenants known as tacksmen, who were usually close kinsmen or functionaries of the chief. They occupied extensive holdings of land on a virtually hereditary basis, paid rents to the chief in money and kind at a privileged rate, and gained a profit-margin (amounting in the areas studied here to 30–35 per cent) by sub-letting part of their holding to sub-tenants at higher rents, paid in money, kind and labour. It became fashionable among writers and publicists in the eighteenth century to regard the tacksmen as an oppressive and parasitic class. In fact, however, as Dr Johnson perceived, they performed vital services within Highland communities, were leaders of the clan both in war and peace, patrons and not seldom practitioners of the arts, and middlemen in the processes of production.

In the insular districts of the Argyll estate, only recently forcibly acquired from the MacLeans of Duart, the tacksmen controlled larger areas than ordinary. Under them much of Mull, Morvern, Tiree and certain other islands was settled by Campbells and their friends in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. These colonies were of great political importance to the Whig Dukes of Argyll in maintaining control of the mainly Jacobite West Highlands, but they needed support and favour, threatened as they were by the deprived natives to whom the Jacobite cause offered not only a sentimental appeal but the hope of restoring the *status quo*.

A combination of political, economic and idealistic motives caused the 2nd Duke of Argyll to undertake a wholesale reorganisation of land-tenure in these districts in 1737. There can be little doubt that the Duke was chiefly motivated by hopes of increasing his revenues. Since his succession in 1703 he had applied to the management of his Scottish estates commercial ideas that ran counter to the Highland tradition of managing land to support a following of kinsmen and dependents. Steeply increased rents had begun to produce immense stresses in these districts long before 1737. Tacksmen were forced inevitably to pass heavier rents on to their tenants, and signs of distress and impoverishment were evident already by the end of the 'twenties.

The situation became more acute in the thirties, when the cattle markets on which Highland tenants depended to pay their rents sank to their lowest level for many years. The deepening poverty of the tenants seriously affected the Duke's revenues and made him suspect mismanagement or fraud in his officials and tacksmen. Meantime, in Morvern the Camerons, who controlled the land in defiance of the Duke's ownership, had overplayed their hand and brought into existence among the lesser clans a resistance movement which the Duke's Chamberlain, Campbell of Stonefield, was not slow to exploit. Stonefield's conclusion that the time was ripe for change, chiming in with the Duke's dissatisfaction over revenue, led to the momentous tour of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the Duke's business agent, to the insular districts in 1737.

The removal of the tacksmen was a foregone conclusion. The Chamberlain had already appointed factors in Mull and Morvern to take over the tacksmen's administrative duties. Culloden's reorganisation of tenures was much more radical than the Chamberlain had recommended. Not only were the tacksmen removed from all parts of the insular districts, but leases were granted to large numbers of small tenants of runrig farms as well as to the gentlemen of the clan. Further by throwing leases of farms open to competitive bidding, Culloden was able to increase the rental by roughly 40 per cent.

Culloden described the favourable outcome of the tour to the Duke in a report that has become well known. He presented the most optimistic view of the future both for the new tenants and the Duke and laid most of the blame for the tenants' plight on the tacksmen, whom he roundly abused as 'harpies'. His report showed an awareness of the urgent need for agricultural improvement and help from the landlord in the insular districts, and he regarded the large increases in rent as a reasonable return for security of tenure and the abolition of predial services. Nevertheless the report was less than a fair assessment of the situation, his accusations against the tacksmen and officials were supported by no evidence and were probably largely unfounded, and he disregarded the Chamberlain's strong advice to keep rents at a moderate level and to be cautious in granting leases to small tenants.

Events quickly proved the Chamberlain right and Culloden wrong. The Duke was soon disappointed of his hopes of increased revenue. Tenant insolvencies ran at a remarkable level in the 'forties; not only many small tenants but numbers of substantial

tenants were reduced to poverty. Arrears accumulated and leases were given up. In Tiree, ten years after Culloden's tour, less than a third of the farms were still under leases. The Jacobite Rising of 1745–6 and a series of bad seasons aggravated the situation and were the precipitating cause of much of the insolvency, but in general the economic climate of the 'forties was more favourable than in the 'thirties and cattle prices were notably higher. The ultimate cause of the widespread distress among tenants and of the chaos in ducal revenues was evidently the exorbitant level of tents fixed by the Lord President and the inflexible way in which they were subsequently enforced. It further aggravated the rate of failure that many of the tenants had only recently emerged from the relatively sheltered condition of sub-tenants and were being exposed, without sufficient resources or working capital, to the chill air of the commercial world.

The 3rd Duke, who succeeded in 1743, appointed Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, as his principal agent in place of Culloden. He was more practical and humane than his predecessor and gave more weight to Stonefield's advice. Though he failed to prevent the ruin of a high proportion of the new tenants, he alleviated some of the worst effects of the new system. He was especially sensitive to the political dangers which it had created by unsettling the colonists, and took steps to restore their confidence and security. Tests of loyalty were incorporated in leases, and a brake was put on the unrestricted commercial management of the estate.

It was seriously proposed in 1747–8 that the system of tacksmen should be restored, but in fact the new tenurial system was to remain a permanent institution of the Argyll estates. There was no going back on the principle, finally established in the 2nd Duke's time, though developing since the seventeenth century, that the primary purpose of land was to provide the landlord with revenue, not to maintain his kinsmen and followers. This new attitude towards land would, as time passed, gradually eliminate the old aristocracy of the clan from their positions of privilege, leaving the Highlands rich in tradition but impoverished in leaders.

The gradual disappearance of this élite in general throughout the Highland region probably hastened the lairds away from their estates, as Dr Johnson had predicted. A social vacuum was left which the minister and the factor, whose consequence grew with the departure of the tacksmen, only partially filled. The tenants gained a new independence from the gentry of the clan but lost the protection which they had given them, and were exposed to new hazards. The landlord, released from obligations to his kinsmen, was free to develop his estate as he wished. He was bound, admittedly, by legal contracts but was less amenable than before to the rules of custom and kindliness. The triumph of economic individualism represented a new and disturbing force in the Highlands.

There was, however, on the Argyll lands, a prolonged period during which, after the initial shock and chaos of the tenurial reorganisation, elements of continuity reasserted themselves in the insular districts. The raw economic principles, so influential under the 2nd Duke, were tempered, under his successors, in the selection of tenants.

The 3rd Duke replaced the open auction of leases by a system of private offers which made it possible to assess candidates for farms not only for their economic virtues but their political reliability and their attachment to the family of Argyll. Memorials submitted by candidates exemplify this fusion of traditionalism and modernity: they urge their claims as tenants by reciting improvements carried out or promised, and offering, usually, an increase in rent, and at the same time they reinforce their cause by citing the ancient ties between their forbears and the house of Argyll.

The ascendancy of the Campbell settler families in the insular districts had been severely shaken by the tenurial reorganisation. A privileged position would never again be awarded automatically to those who could claim descent from the founder of the clan Campbell. Nevertheless the dominance of the Campbell gentry in Mull and Tiree remained formidable for longer than might have been expected, for it had a strong basis in their economic resources, their clan-consciousness and tightly drawn unity, and their influence over the administration. Moreover, the revival of Jacobite activity, capable of causing alarm to the Duke and his friends during the 'fifties, and the continuing hostility of the MacLeans and Camerons to the Campbells, still remarkable at the end of the eighteenth century, reinforced the dominant position of the colonists. It was brought to an end only in the closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth century as a result of revolutionary economic and social changes which affected the Highlands in common with the rest of Britain. In the rise of a new crofter class, compounded of diverse social elements, one may see the Highlands coming to terms with the industrial age. Half wage-earner, half agriculturalist, the crofter had a foot in both camps, and carried much of the essence of the traditional Highlands into the modern world.

APPENDIX

Note on the Knockbuy Cattle Prices

The cattle prices on which the lower line of the graph is based are prices which Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy recorded in his rentals as having been credited to tenants in payment of their rents. Stots (bullocks) have been excluded from the data, since their prices varied widely from one beast to another according to their age. To have any significance, it would have been necessary to base calculations on stots of a particular age, e.g. two-year olds, and thus exclude the bulk of the data. The problem was solved by omitting stots altogether, and using only the prices allowed for tenants' cows. This still left a reasonable amount of data, since the laird was taking approximately as many cows as stots from tenants. Prices of cows offer a more reliable basis for comparison. Cows were already fully grown animals (the younger female animals are stated apart as heifers and queys) and thus formed a more homogeneous group, with smaller variations in price from one animal to another. (This is made apparent in a complete list and valuation of Knockbuy's animals contained in the rental in 1750.)

The accompanying list on page 136 shows the details on which the graph is based. Its value clearly varies from year to year with the number of animals entering into the calculation of the average price. For the purposes both of the table and of the graph, prices have been allocated to their true year, which is not necessarily the year of the rental, since arrears of rent might be cleared several years after they were incurred. The average prices appear in the graph in the calendar year following the rental (or crop) year,

since the rental runs from November to November, with most of the cattle purchased by the laird from January onwards.

The upper line of the graph shows prices paid for beef oxen by the Navy Victualling Board at their London yard (Beveridge 1939:568–71). They represent the average of prices for October, November and December each year, and the points on the graph are therefore marked slightly later than those on the lower line.

Comparison between the two lines shows a remarkably close similarity in the Argyll and English price trends. Both reveal high though fluctuating prices in the first three decades of the century, then severe depression in the 'thirties, followed by a return to more buoyant prices in the 'forties. After 1747 the Argyll trend diverges from the English trend rather more. The boom of 1749–51 in the Argyll prices (confirmed from independent sources) has no counterpart in the southern prices, and in the 'fifties the English series shows a buoyancy unmatched by the stabler Argyll price movements.

Crop Year	Calendar Year	Number of Cows	Average Price
			£ Scots
1728	1729	11	14 18 0
1729	1730	2	15 18 0
1730	1731	3	16 15 7
1731	1732	6	13 0 0
1732	1733	13	13 5 4
1733	1734	8	14 10 10
1734	1735	4	12 15 0
1735	1736	8	13 2 2
1736	1737	6	12 6 8
1737	1738	27	12 13 11
1738	1739	9	13 10 4
1739	1740	13	15 14 5
1740	1741	—	
1741	1742	8	16 15 0
1742	1743	6	23 5 5
1743	1744	3	16 16 8
1744	1745	14	19 1 9
1745	1746	3	18 7 8
1746	1747	1	16 3 4
1747	1748	5	17 4 4
1748	1749	—	
1749	1750	83	24 0 0
1750	1751	2	26 13 4
1751	1752	—	
1752	1753	1	17 6 0
1753	1754	—	
1754	1755	3	19 10 0
1755	1756	2	18 3 0
1756	1757	6	19 16 0
1757	1758	3	17 14 0
1758	1759	3	18 6 0
1759	1760	2	17 8 0
1760	1761	12	17 2 0

NOTES

1 See Grant 1924 and McKerral 1947.

2 See Campbell, J. L. 1963: 18–21; MacCormick 1923: 113–15; Mackenzie 1964: 142–5; MacPhail 1914: 245–337; Mitchell 1900: 508–37; Sinclair, A. M. 1899: 178–253; Willcock 1907: 197–9. I have also consulted numerous documents in ICP.

3 ICP/V20—Rental 1706; Exhibits: 132 (where the tack to Cluanes is dated 1701).

4 The role of the tacksmen in providing intelligence and dealing with political and religious suspects is evidenced by many papers in SAL and SP.

5 ICP* no. 213 'A Representation of the Present State of Morverne', 30 Nov. 1719. Further evidence of the turbulence in Morvern between 1715 and 1745 comes from ICP/M—L'Minutes of Business' 1744, and SL, particularly vol. 3: 10–12, a letter from Archibald Campbell of Stonefield to the Duke, n.d. but probably Mar. 1732. The anonymous author of *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750* gives an account of the acts of terrorism used by the Camerons to force a minister out of a farm in the neighbourhood of Fort William which had been previously in the hands of a Cameron. '. . . throughout all Lochaber and the adjacent wild countries, the farms have been always given to the cadets of the lesser families that are the heads of tribes, which they possess for ages without any lease, and look upon them as their right of inheritance, and when they are not able to pay their rent and are turned out, they look upon the person who takes these farms after them as usurping their right. These people have often refused to take a written lease, thinking that by so doing they give up their right of possession' (Lang 1898: 91–3).

6 Tacksmen in the South-West Highlands normally held between one and four large farms, but very much bigger holdings were to be met with in Kintyre in the seventeenth century as a result of the Marquess of Argyll's plantations (McKerral 1947: 13–14; 1948: 135).

7 Braglen's tack was recorded 25 Sept. 1716 (TRANS. XIX, no. 13). His predecessor as tacksman of Torosay was the head of Braglen's branch of the clan, Campbell of Lochnell, whose tack commenced in 1964 (TRANS. XVII, no. 96).

8 The judicial rental of 1715 defined the pennyland in Mull as equivalent to a 16/8 land of Old Extent, the pennyland in Morvern as equivalent to a 6/8 land.

9 McKerral 1947: 13–14. For a lucid summary of the confusing land denominations in use in the Highlands see McKerral 1948: 179–81. Lamont 1957 and 1958 deals more specifically with land denominations in Islay.

10 For details of rents in money and kind payable in the barony of Ardnamurchan at the same period see Murray 1740: Plate VI—'The Anatomie of the Parish and Barony of Ardnamoruchan and Swinard.'

11 Blum 1961: 394 ff., 414–33; Gille 1949: 118–20; Warriner 1953–4: 168 ff.

12 Grant 1930: 518–19; Gray 1957: 20–1; Morrison 1966: 211–12. The Knockbuy rentals provide abundant evidence of arrears of rent running for several years before being cleared.

13 Gray 1957: 17–18; McKerral 1947: 20–1; and 1948: 135–6; Robertson 1808: 249.

14 Habakkuk 1940 shows that large land-owners in the English midland counties in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century were buying up smaller properties in the neighbourhood of their estates and then letting farms to improving tenants at substantial rents.

15 From 1703 to 1712 inclusive £10,050 Sterling was paid to creditors of the 2nd Duke of Argyll. In this period the total revenues of the Argyll estates amounted to £52,493 (ICP/M *Abbreviats of Accompts*).

16 'The sett of the country 1692 expired 1710, and severall proposals were made to the Duke, but still with a view to lessen the rents, but the sub-tacksmen in generall offered if the Duke would accept of them for their severall possessions they would enter into tack 19 years and pay the same rent they payed their masters, which proposals the Duke accepted' (ICP/M—L 'A Particular State of the Lordship of Kintyre.')

17   The main source for events in Morvern at this time is a series of letters from the Chamberlain of
     Argyll, Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, to the 2nd Duke and other persons in SL 2 and 3.

18   This conflict in interests between chiefs and landlords, which was found in many parts of the High-
     lands at all periods is discussed by I. F. Grant 1930: 507 ff. It is forcibly illustrated by the annotated
     map of Morvern and neighbouring districts in Murray 1740 (Plate 2), which shows the considerable
     areas in the actual occupancy ('possession') of the clan Cameron though owned by a different pro-
     prietor.

19   SL 3: 58, a letter dated 11 May 1733; also a letter dated 9 May 1748 from Airds to Lt. General
     Bland in SAL 406; ICP/M—L 'Minutes of Business' 1744.

20   James and Archibald Campbell successively held the post of Chamberlain of Argyll, James from
     1706 to 1729, Archibald from 1729 to 1748. Both also held the appointment of Sheriff-Depute of
     Argyll (which was normally given to the Chamberlain of Argyll) and were commonly referred to
     as 'the Sheriff.' They were half-brothers, their father being Rev Alexander Campbell of Auchincloich,
     who lost his charge of Kilmore in Lorne in 1689 for his refusal to pray for William and Mary.
     James's mother was a Campbell of Dunstaffnage; Archibald's mother was of the Campbell of Bread-
     albane family. They traced their descent to the 2nd laird of Lochnell, who flourished in the late
     sixteenth century. The name of their estate in Lorne, Auchincloich, was rendered into English as
     'Stonefield' and attached to their lands at Kilchamaig when the family removed to Kintyre in the
     seventeenth century. In contrast to their father both the sons were staunch anti-Jacobites (ICP
     various papers; Burke's Landed Gentry 1952).

21   James Campbell wrote to Lochnell in 1729 asking him to direct to him certain of his people who
     could not get a holding in Ardnamurchan (SL 1: 195 n.d. but probably 27 Jan. 1729). About the
     same time he wrote to some inhabitants of Glenorchy, inviting them to settle on his lands: 'It is
     well known you are as responsable and as good payers of rents as any there, and I should be very
     sorry that a people so friendly to the name of Campbell and who, as I am informed, are as true
     Campbells as any of us should meet with such bad encouragement' (SL 1: 195 n.d. but probably
     27 Jan. 1729) See also his letter to David Campbell, 12 Feb. 1729 (SL 1: 222–223).

22   A groatland was equivalent to a 4/2 land of Old Extent, that is, rather less than a third of a merkland
     (McKerral 1948: 181).

23   See SL 2 and 3 *passim*, but particularly letters written by Archibald Campbell on 5 Feb., 6 and 23
     Mar. 1732; 22 June and 25 July 1733; 21 Mar. 1734; 6 and 14 Mar. 1735; 18 Dec. 1736; 19 Feb.,
     10 Apr., 10 May and 3 June 1737.

24   He is referring here to improvements being carried out in the policies at Inveraray.

25   From the Knockbuy rentals it appears that cattle prices continued at rock-bottom until 1739–40.
     Ballimore's report from Tiree in spring 1737 states that prices were low (CP 2970: 183).

26   The Chamberlain of Argyll was normally appointed, by virtue of his office, Collector of Cess for
     the county of Argyll. The profits of this appointment, which were considerable, compensated for
     the low salary he received as Chamberlain and for the fact that as Sheriff-Depute he received no fees
     or sentence-money (SAL 406. 'Memorial . . . concerning the manner of levying the cess in Argyle-
     shire' 1748). Archibald Campbell, after his resignation from his offices in 1748, came under heavy
     attack from a number of the landowners in Argyll and the Commissioners of Supply investigated
     charges that both he and his deceased brother had levied more cess than was legal over a long period
     of years. They were exonerated in 1754 but Archibald Campbell accepted the Duke's advice to
     offer £600 to pay for a new tollbooth and court house at Inveraray, an offer which was cheerfully
     received by the shire (SAL 407, 412, 413, various papers).

27   There were lead-mines at Strontian, operated first by a company formed in 1724 by Sir Alexander
     Murray of Stanhope, proprietor of Ardnamurchan. Murray made grandiose claims for this and
     other mining projects in this district, describing them as 'the Greatest National Improvements this
     Age has produced' (Murray 1740: Plate IX). His company sold out in 1730 to the York Building

Company, but it had no better success and eventually closed down in 1740, though the mines continued to be worked from time to time until the end of the nineteenth century and finally closed in 1904. At this early period they suffered badly from plundering raids by the Camerons. The miners' settlements of New York near Strontian, and that at Liddesdale in Morvern, associated with the Glendow mines, created a demand for farm produce. (Murray 1740; Cameron 1958 and 1962; SL 3: 14 Mar. 1737; ICP/M—L 'Minutes of Business.' 1744.)

28 Further details about this enterprising laird appear in Cregeen 1959: 144–6.

29 What the sub-tenants of Mull paid the tacksmen was almost certainly the same or nearly the same as the rental of £669 settled for 1736–7 after the tacks came to an end, since the factor appears to have based it on rentals given in by the tacksmen (CP 2960: 31–3, Culloden to Sheriff Campbell and the Duke).

30 There were possibly as many as 400 tenants holding land in the insular districts under Culloden's 'sett'. A Morvern rental exists for 1738, but the earliest post-1737 rentals of Mull and Tiree which I have traced date from 1742 (ICP/M). They do not show, however, which tenants have leases. Information about the Tiree leases comes from ICP/V65 'State of the Farms in Tyrie', 1748. In fifty-one extant Mull leases given in 1737–8, there were approximately three small tenants to one substantial tenant (ICP/M—A29).

31 It appears that tacks may have been given in earlier times to the candidate offering the highest tack-duty (see p. 106 above), but if so it was on a much restricted scale and certainly was not such a threat to the colonists as it later became.

32 This memorial (CP 2970: 173–7) is unsigned and undated. Internal evidence indicates a date in early 1738. The author was evidently one of the inner circle of the Duke's officials or advisers, and may have been Culloden himself. If so, he was becoming aware of some of the problems the reorganisation had brought.

33 Fairly complete estate accounts exist for the Argyll lands from 1742, but not for 1720 to 1741, nor do they lend themselves, for the years 1742–8, to being used to give a comparative series of receipts from the insular districts. This is because of the method of keeping accounts (as for example combining several years together), and also because until 1744 Mull and Tiree were under one factor, but in that year Mull was placed under the factor of Morvern and Tiree under a separate factor, so that the system of accounting was basically altered.

34 See particularly Arnot 1818: 161; Clerk 1892: 149–51, 159; Hamilton 1963: 7; Jones 1964: 138–9; Mitchison 1965: 283–8; Sinclair 1790–8, IV: 300; VI: 131–4; IX: 151–2 and 498 f.; *Scots Magazine* 1740, II: 42, 59, 191, 482–4, 577; III: 45–6, 142–3.

35 Sinclair 1790–8, VIII: 339 f. This event is described (fifty years after the event) as occurring in 1744. I take it to mean the Winter of 1744–5.

36 Arrears on the Argyll estates from 1703 to 1712 inclusive averaged £404 per annum (ICP/M *Abbreviats of Accompts*) but this did not include Kintyre. In the next ten year period, years of fairly high arrears were 1716 (£892) and 1720 (£1120).

37 These totals are approximations. Arrears of mainland districts are given year by year in the accounts. Those of the insular districts are aggregated for the years 1744–6 inclusive. I have assumed insular arrears to be about the same for 1744, 1745 and 1746 (known figures from the Mull and Morvern accounts suggest that this is a fair assumption), and have added to the mainland arrears for each year a third of the aggregated total of insular arrears.

38 Fergusson 1951: 207–15; Haldane 1952: 121; SAL 404 'Memorial by Airds to the Earl of Albermarle', 10 Aug. 1746.

39 It is significant that arrears in the Duke of Argyll's lands in the parishes of Dollar and Muckart (known as 'the Campbell estate' in the accounts) were three times as great for the period 1744–7 as for the period 1741–3 (SAL 405 'Abstract of the Duke of Argyll's Accounts 1744–8').

40 ICP/V65 'Memoriall by Stonefield concerning Tyree' 1748; 'Memorial . . . concerning Mull, Morvern and Tyrie', 1747.

41 Quoted from the Tiree instructions in ICP/V65. A similar instruction went out to the other factors.

42 ICP/M—L 'State of Farms in Argyll Collection that are not in tack' n.d. but *circa* 1748.

43 The factor submitted a rental in 1747 'at the rate he thinks the country may be lett reasonably' (ICP/V65). His rental amounts to £370 19s. 4d. in contrast to Culloden's rental of £533 8s. 2d., which, despite certain reductions, was still the one in use.

44 These and following details of the state of Tiree are based on Barnacarry's survey of 1748 (ICP/V65 'State of the Farms in Tyrie . . .').

45 'Except . . . for its use in areas of large-scale and progressive farming like Norfolk, it does not seem that in general we can regard the lease as a very important instrument in agricultural improvement, nor its absence as a great obstacle to efficiency.'

46 The effects of clan and family rivalries in causing offers for farms to soar to unrealistic heights was noted by one of the 5th Duke's chamberlains in 1771, with reference to Mull and Morvern, 'where offers for the same land came from different people, keenly incensed against each other on account of old feuds and animosities still subsisting between their clans which, on principle of pique or revenge, carried offers beyond the real value of the subject' (Cregeen 1964: XVII, where the subject is further discussed).

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KP   Knockbuy Papers. In the possession of Miss Campbell of Kilberry, F.S.A. KP/R refers to two volumes of rentals and accounts kept by Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy from 1728 to 1788.

ICP   Inveraray Castle Papers. Lack of a detailed catalogue makes precise references sometimes impossible, but the following abbreviations will be found useful as aids to identifying sources used here:
          M and V preceding a number indicate a volume of papers in the Muniment Room and the Vault respectively. M is also used in combination with the following letters to indicate a volume or a type of material in the Muniment Room:
          Ac   Accounts (in bound volumes). A date is usually added.
          G   Genealogical material in box-files.
          L   Loose papers awaiting classification.
          R   Rentals (in bound volumes). A date is usually added.
          *   This indicates papers temporarily in the keeping of the Glasgow City Archivist.
          As an illustration, ICP/M—Ac 1743 refers to a bound volume of estate accounts dated 1743 in the Muniment Room of Inveraray Castle.

SAL   Saltoun Collection. National Library of Scotland.
          Boxes of papers are identified by number.

SL   Letter books of James and Archibald Campbell of Stonefield.
          Scottish Record Office. G.D. 14/10. 3 vols.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CATTLE PRICES 1700—1760

LINE A Prices for beef oxen paid by the Navy Victualling Board at the London yard (Beveridge 1939 : 568-71)

LINE B Prices for cows paid by Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy.
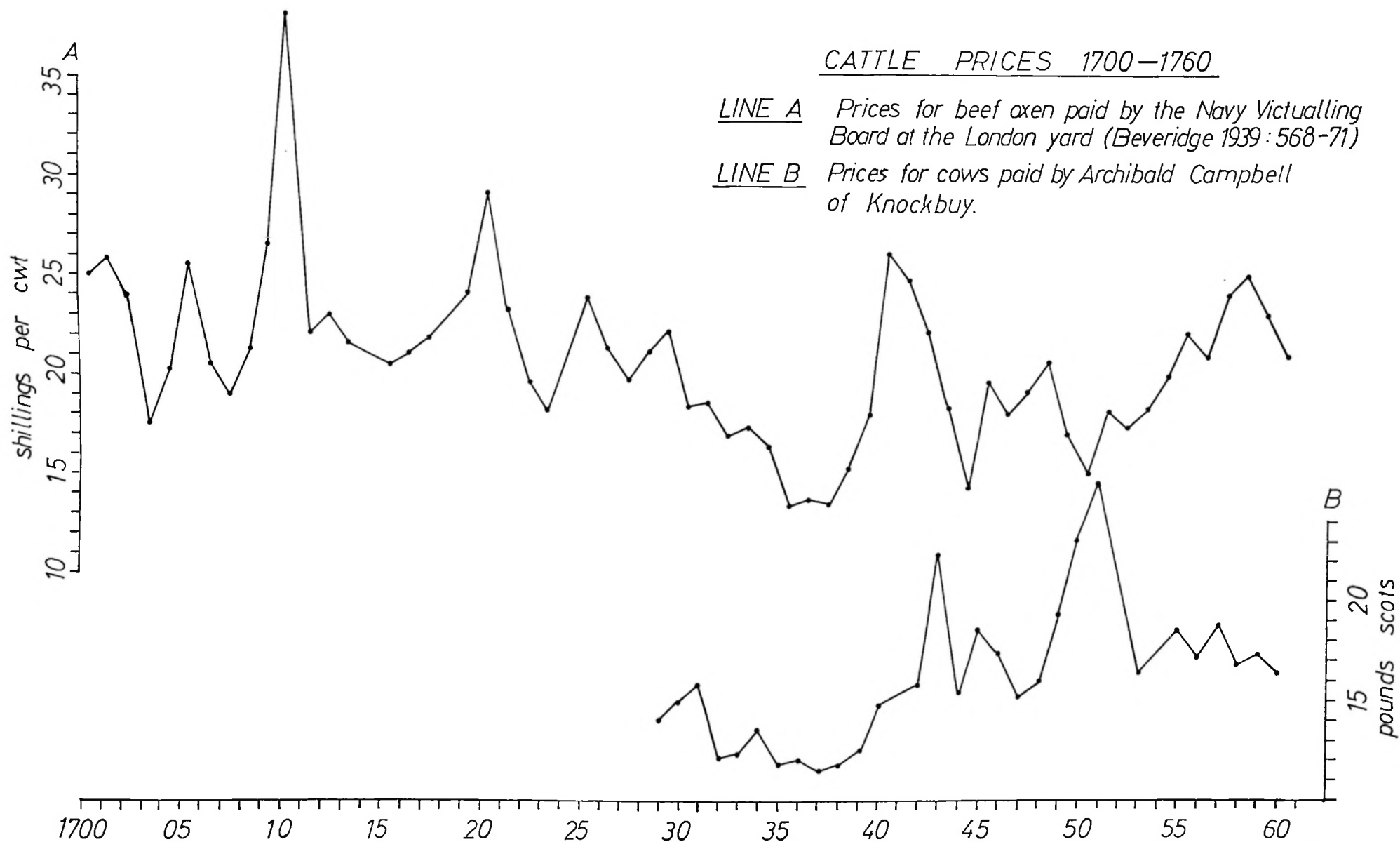
The Name 'St. Kilda'

A. B. TAYLOR

Introductory

This paper is an inquiry into the origin and meaning of the place name *St. Kilda*. It is based upon material which the writer has collected over the past fifteen years—much of it cartographical, and some of it linguistic, bibliographical and topographical.[1]

St. Kilda has always puzzled students of place names, both the amateurs and the professionals. It has all the appearance of a saint's name, and this has been a 'popular', if sometimes hesitant, interpretation for a long time. Martin Martin, who wrote the first book about St. Kilda in 1698, assumed that there was a saint when he wrote (edn. 1934: 414):

> There was a large well near the town, called St. Kilder's Well; from which this land is supposed to derive its name.

The Rev Kenneth Macaulay, author of the second book on the islands, refers (1764: 102–3) to a female saint called *Kilda* in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III, Chapters 24 and 25. He thinks it improbable that her name or the fame of her miracles could have travelled to St. Kilda. But this sensible observation was unfortunately beside the point, for Bede's saint was not *Kilda* but *Hilda*. Indeed, no saint of the name *Kilda* is known.

If hagiography fails us, we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the name, which has been well established since 1698 as the English name for the main island in the group lying 40 miles west of the Sound of Harris. It appears thus, for example, in the title of the map of the islands by J. Mathieson and A. M. Cockburn published by the Ordnance Survey in 1928: *Map of St. Kilda or Hirta with adjacent Islands and Stacs.*[2]

As the evidence for the origin of the name is varied and somewhat complex in character, it may be helpful at this stage to explain how it will be set out and dealt with.

First, starting from Martin, the paper traces the name backwards to its earliest extant forms and their connotation. By 'connotation' is meant the geographical feature to which a name-form is applied. The sources are maps, charts and sailing directions. All the forms that seemed to be crucial are set out along with the titles and dates of their sources; and their significance is discussed. They extend back into the sixteenth century.

Secondly, an attempt is made to establish the archetypal form and its connotation.

For this purpose, use is made of the methods of textual analysis and carto-bibliography —the bibliographical relationship of the maps referred to—as well as of historical data. This study concludes with a digression, but it is thought a useful one, into the relation of the archetypal form to *Hirt*, which is the Gaelic name of the main island.

Thirdly, after an exploration of how the name took its 'saintly' shape, the results of the preceding retrospective study are re-expressed as a forward, chronological development. This starts from the archetypal form in mid-sixteenth century and ends with Martin in 1698. This reconstruction is shown in a diagram as a textual tree or *stemma*.

Fourthly, an etymology is proposed for the archetypal form.

Fifthly, there is a discussion of the possible original location of the name.

I

A quotation from Martin (edn. 1934: 409) is our starting point:

> This isle is by the inhabitants called Hirt, and likewise by all the Western Islanders; Buchanan calls it Hirta; Sir John Narbrough, and all the seamen call it St. Kilda; in the sea maps St. Kilder, particularly in a Dutch sea map from Ireland to Zeland, published at Amsterdam by Peter Goas in the year 1663.

Martin, it will be seen, quotes two forms: *St. Kilda* and *St. Kilder*. These will first be examined separately, and later in conjunction.

Martin's *St. Kilda* can be traced in the form *S. Kilda* or *S.Kilda* (and applied to the main island) through the seventeenth century and back to 1592, but no further. The second form, without a space between the full stop and the *K*, is the older form; its significance will emerge later.

Martin gives Admiral Sir John Narbrough (1640–88) as his first authority, but no trace of the name has been found in his published writings. None of his recorded voyages would seem to have taken him near St. Kilda, but this does not mean that he would not know the name.[3] Martin's reference to him would be consistent with having information that Narbrough had used the name orally.

It has also been impossible to identify the particular chart of Goas or Goos to which Martin refers.

Other sources, however, are ample in number. They consist of charts and of 'rutters', *i.e.* sets of sailing directions for coastal waters. One or two seventeenth-century examples are given below, together with the earliest one dated 1592:

S. Kilda 1671 John Sellar, 'A Chart of the Hebrides', in *The English Pilot*, Part I, London. Derived from Blaeu below.

S. Kilda 1668 Pieter Goos, 'Eylanden van Hebrides', in *The Lightning Colomne or Sea-Mirrour*, 4th edition, Amsterdam. Derived from Blaeu below.
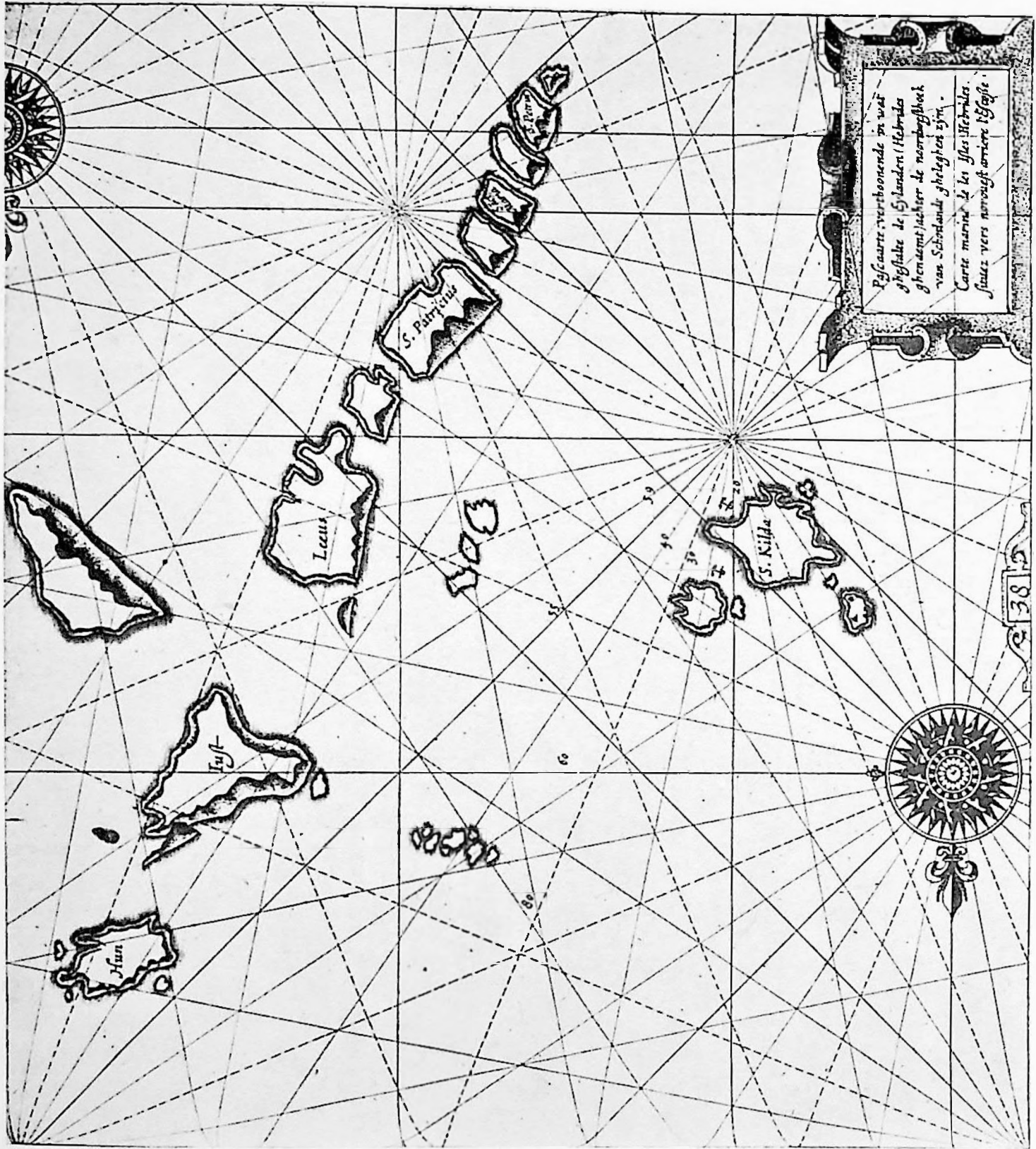
PLATE VII W. J. Blaeu, *Pascaarte . . . de Eylanden Hebrides ghenaemt, 1608*
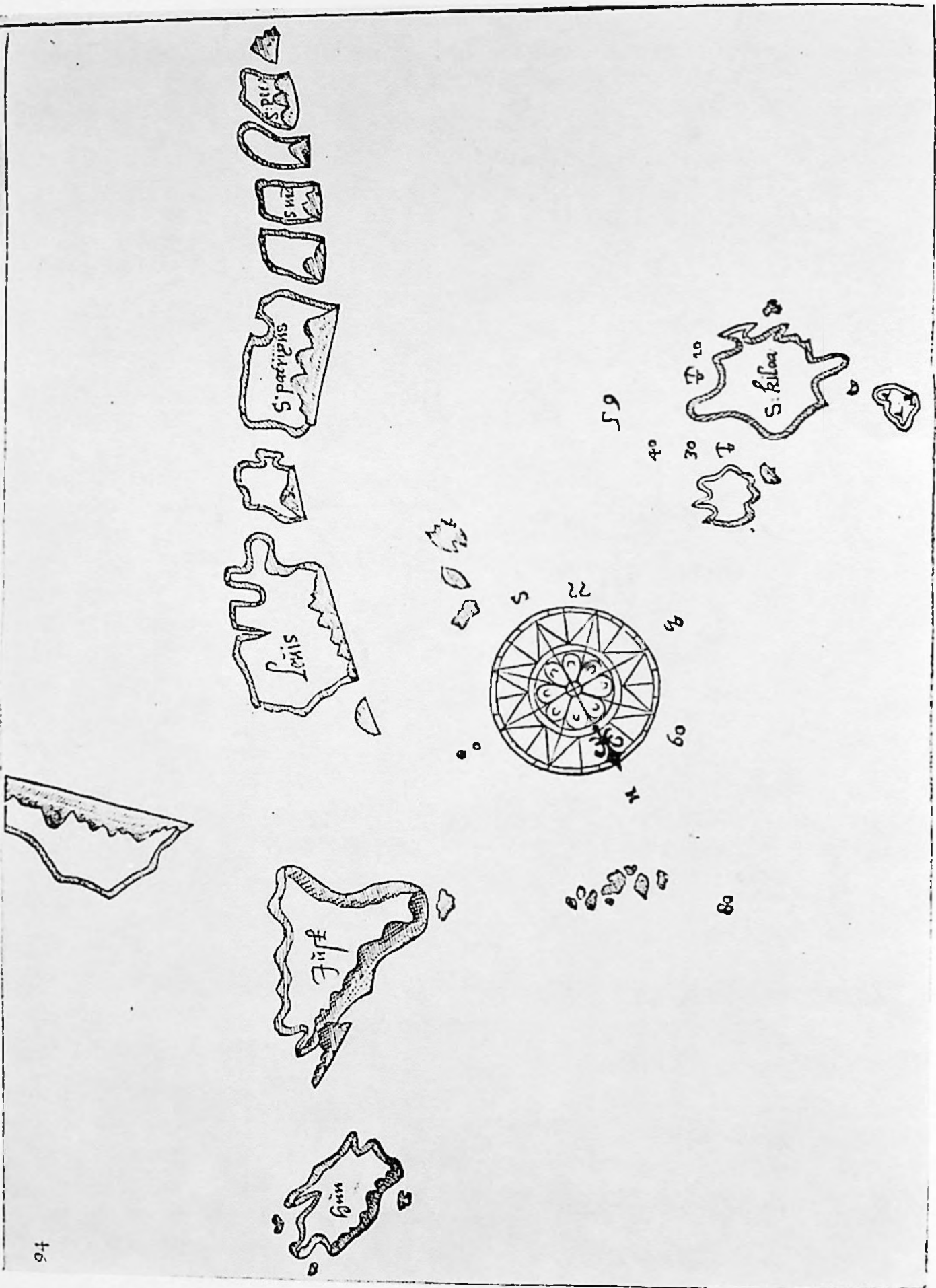
PLATE VIII L. J. Waghenaer, Chart of the Outer Hebrides, 1592

S. *Kilda* 1608 W. J. Blaeu, sailing directions and a chart entitled 'Pascaarte ... de Eylanden Hebrides ghenaent', in *Het Licht der Zeevaert*, Amsterdam, Part II pp. 104, 105. Second edition in English, *The Light of Navigation*, Amsterdam 1612. Facsimile of 1608 edition, Amsterdam 1964. Directions and chart derived from Waghenaer below. The form in the directions is *S.Kilda* rather than *S. Kilda*, which is the form in the chart as shown in Plate VII.

S.*Kilda* 1592 L. J. Waghenaer, sailing directions for the north-west of Scotland in *Thresoor der Zeevaert*, Leyden, pp. 92, 93. Facsimile edition, Amsterdam 1965. The name appears in the text five times as *S.Kilda*. In the chart (Plate VIII), which is a slightly crude woodcut, the name *S.Kilda* has been erroneously copied as *S: Kiloa*—or apparently so, as the error may possibly have arisen from a broken block or faulty printing. The letter *d* appears complete in the French edition published in Calais in 1601.

Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer (*c*. 1535–1606) of Enkhuizen in Holland was a seaman who took to chart-making and publishing in the 1580s. His sea-atlas of 1592, consisting of sailing directions with charts and coastal 'profiles' brought together in handy form, set a fashion which held for many years. W. J. Blaeu followed in his steps, and as his sea-atlas of 1608 had many editions in the seventeenth century he probably did more to give currency in that century to the form *S. Kilda*.

When we turn to Martin's *St. Kilder*, we find that it goes further back than *S. Kilda*.

The form that is found most frequently at first as we trace the name backwards is *S. Kilder*. It appears in numerous maps and charts—but not in any sailing directions so far as has been discovered—and where it occurs it is applied to a small island, usually almond-shaped, placed about 15 miles west of the headland of Aird Bhreidhnis on the west coast of Lewis. Following are some examples of this form, beginning with one in 1703:

S. *Kilder* 1703 John Thornton, *The English Pilot*, London. 1668 Pieter Goos, chart of British Isles, in *The Lightning Colomne or Sea-Mirrour*, Amsterdam, 4th edn. This chart also has *S. Kilda* applied to Hirta. 1635 W. J. Blaeu, *Scotia Regnum*, in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum sive Novus Atlas*, Amsterdam.

S *Kilder* 1610 John Speed, *The Kingdome of Scotland*, in *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, London.

S *Kilder* 1603 Hans Woutneel, *A Description of England, Scotland and Ireland*, London. The map of Scotland is based upon Oetelius' map of Scotland, 1573.

(It may be noted that the Blaeu *Atlas* of 1654 shows neither *S. Kilda* nor *S. Kilder*, probably because the page used was not wide enough for either to appear. The absence of the outer group of islands was not due to ignorance, for the map of Scotland in the 1662 edition has the following inscription north of the islands of *Helskyr*, west of the Sound of Harris: *Ab his insulis Helskyr Insula Hirtha abest ad occasum æstivum ultra 50 milliaria.*)

The earliest occurrences of the form ending in —*er* in the sixteenth century are:

S.*Kilder* 1578 John Leslie, *Scotiae Regni Antiquissimi Nova et Accurata Descriptio*, Rouen 1586. Reproduction in *Imago Mundi* 7, 1950:103.

S.Kylder 1573 A. Ortelius, *Scotiae Tabula*, in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Amsterdam. Reproduction in *Early Maps* 1936:28.

Side by side with these forms in the sixteenth century, however, are three occurrences of a form beginning with *Sk* unseparated from the remainder of the word by either space or full stop. These three forms are of importance, and require some discussion. They occur in three charts, and are:

Skilda(r) 1583 Nicolas de Nicolay, chart of Scotland in his *La Navigation du Roy D'Escosse Jaques cinquiesme . . . autour de son Royaume*, Paris. Reproduction in *Early Maps* 1936:48. Designated 'B' below. Part of chart shown in Plate IX.

Skildar Late 16th cent. [Nicolay], *Charte de la Navigation du Royaume d'Escosse*. Berlin, Staatsbibliotek, MS Hamilton 38. Reproduction in *Imago Mundi* 19, 1965:84. Designated 'C' below.

Skaldir Late 16th cent. Anon., *Carte of Scotlande*. BM. Add. MSS 37024. Reproduction in *Scot. Geog. Mag.* 71, 1961:41, and in *Imago Mundi* 19, 1965:83. Part of chart shown in Plate X. Designated 'A' below.

The *r* in the first of these forms is enclosed in brackets because it is obscured by a rhumbline crossing the chart. Scrutiny indicates that a letter is present, but only through knowledge of the other two charts can one be reasonably sure that the letter is *r*. Without this knowledge the form could easily have been taken as *Skilda* by a copyist. The significance of this will be shown below.

It may be noted incidentally that although the *Sk*-form occurs in three charts, it does not appear anywhere in the rutter that accompanies each. This is a gap in the evidence which it would have been helpful to have had filled.

To sum up at this point, Martin's two forms each go back to recorded forms in the latter half of the sixteenth century. *St. Kilda* goes back to *S.Kilda* in 1592. *St. Kilder* goes back to *Skildar*, once in 1583 and once undated; and to *Skaldir*, undated. In the three charts where the *Sk*-forms occur they relate to a small island off the west coast of Lewis.

II

The next step is to seek to establish and if possible to date the archetypal *Sk*-form, even if it is hypothetical.

The question whether the three *Sk*-forms are related to one another in such a way as to have a common archetype is dependent upon the presence or absence of such a textual relationship among the three charts in which the forms occur. The writer has already made a study of this aspect of the three charts. In a paper in *Imago Mundi* (1965), he has shown that there is in fact such a relationship, and that the charts are derived from a single archetype, now lost. This archetype he designates 'a'. The relation of the three charts (A, B, and C) to 'a' is shown in the paper to take the form of a stemma thus:
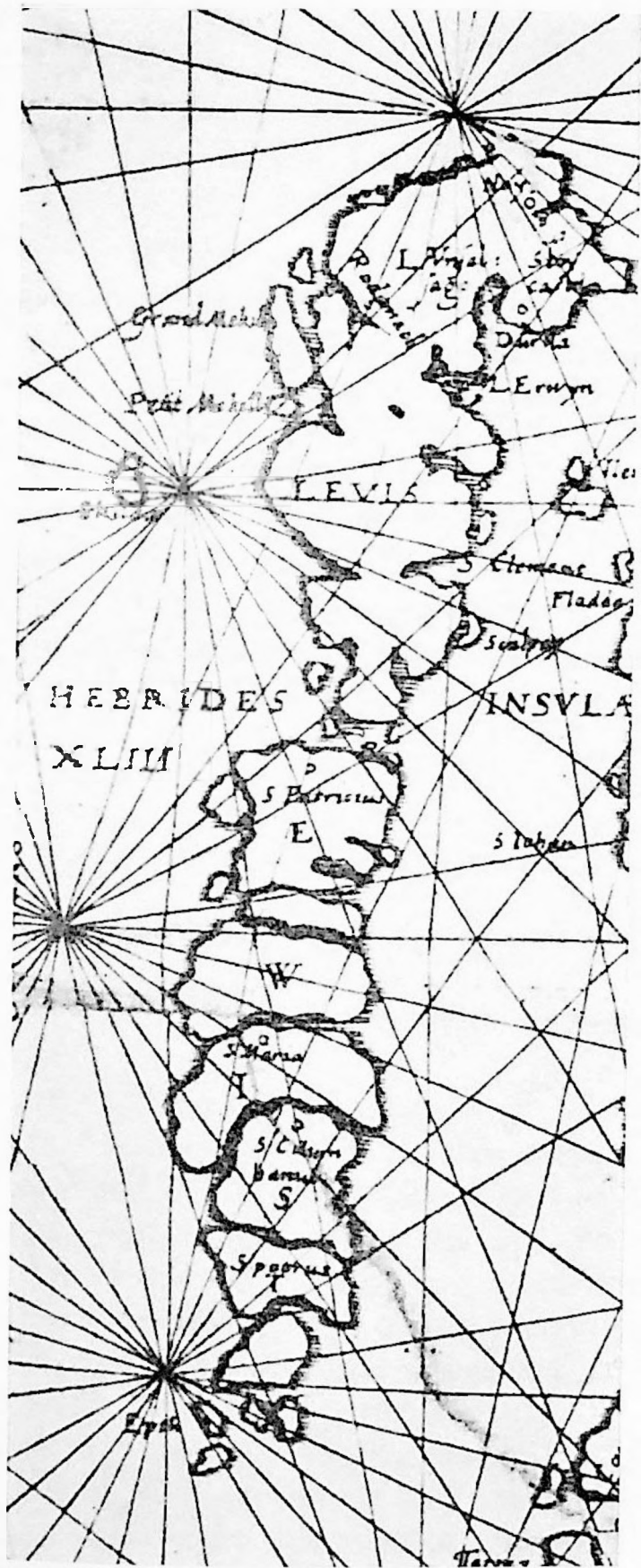
PLATE IX From Nicolas de Nicolay, Chart of Scotland, 1583.

PLATE X From *Carte of Scotlande*, BM. Add. MSS. 37024, late sixteenth century.

FIG. I
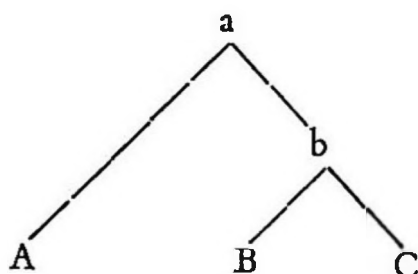
It will be seen that there is a (lost) sub-archetypal chart 'b' between BC and 'a'.

The method by which this stemma was evolved was a textual analysis based upon techniques devised by Vinton A. Dearing of the University of California (1959). His techniques provide for a rigorous comparison and analysis of textual variations, and produce results which in the writer's view are capable of wide application in both literary texts and cartographical material. In the case of the three charts, Dearing's techniques were applied to the corpus of 179 names which they have in common, although in varying forms and spellings.

The stemma thus derived and shown in Figure 1 can be applied specifically to the *Sk*-form, with the result shown in Figure 2:
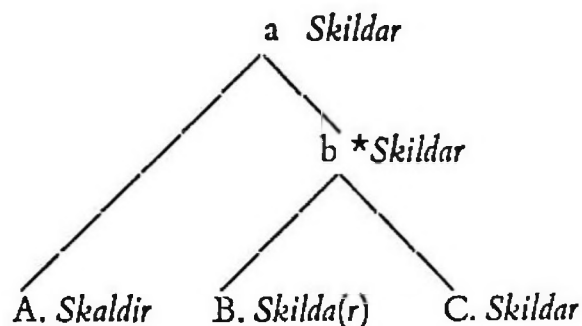
FIG. 2

In Fig. 2, *Skildar* in chart 'b' has been chosen as the necessary archetype of the forms in charts B and C. In chart 'a', *Skildar* has been preferred to *Skaldir* as the hypothetical archetype. *Skaldir* in chart A is the 'odd' variant, occurring only once; the copyist of chart A (or an intermediary) seems to have erroneously transposed *i* and *a* in *Skildar*.

The Dearing techniques of textual analysis do not provide us with the date of the lost archetype 'a', except to the extent that it must be earlier than the only one of the charts that is dated—Nicolay's chart of 1583.

Fortunately there is bibliographical and historical evidence which helps us to date both 'b' and 'a'. This evidence has been skilfully pieced together by E. G. R. Taylor (1931: 59–62), and the present writer's further studies have done no more than expand her conclusions at various points.

The key authority is Nicolas de Nicolay, Sieur d'Arfeville (1517–83), painter, cartographer, traveller, commissioner-ordinary of artillery, and chief cosmographer to

the King of France. He was also the author of several books. These include an account
of his journey to Constantinople, and the book published in Paris in 1583 containing
what has been called chart B above. This chart—as well as chart C—is accompanied by
a rutter in French of the coasts of Scotland, from the Humber round to the Solway.
It is followed by a treatise on navigation, and is preceded by a long dedicatory epistle
in sycophantic terms to Anne, Duc de Joyeuse, Admiral of France.

Nicolay's dedicatory epistle explains how the rutter and chart came into his hands
and provides evidence as to when this happened. He attributes the rutter and the chart
to a Scottish pilot called Alexander Lyndsay, of whom nothing else is known. He says
that his first French version was translated from 'a little book' written in Scots which he
received while in England from Admiral Lord Dudley; and from what he says it can
be deduced with reasonable certainty that he received it with its related chart in 1546.
The rutter and chart of 1546 are now both lost; but the chart, being a direct ancestor
of chart B of 1583, cannot be other than sub-archetype 'b'. The episode throws some
light on the interest in maps at this period as military documents, and the relevant
sentences from the epistle, translated from the edition of 1583, are worth quoting:

> In the year 1546 when Lord Dudley Admiral of England and subsequently Duke of North-
> umberland came on behalf of Henry 8, his King, to conclude peace with the great King
> Francis, having been informed . . . of a chart and geographical description of the Island
> and Kingdom of England in which I had observed several noteworthy and uncommon
> matters . . . he persisted until he obtained it from me . . . Seeing peace was so well established
> I readily agreed to go home with him, where I stayed about a year, very well treated and
> favoured . . . In order to draw me more fully into his designs, he communicated to me
> a little book written by hand in the Scottish language, containing the navigation of the
> King of Scotland James Fifth of that name, made round his Kingdom and the Island Hebrides
> and Orkney, under the direction of Alexander Lyndsay, a Scotsman, an excellent Pilot and
> Hydrographer with all the outstanding particulars worthy of note in such a navigation;
> together with the sea chart rather roughly made.
>
> And considering with how much labour this small amount of paper had been written,
> I was unwilling to part with it without retaining a copy of it; and returning to France,
> on the accession of the good King Henry the Second to that Crown [1547], I had the said
> little book translated into French . . . and having made a fair copy along with its chart,
> I presented it to his Majesty.

This passage implies that the sub-archetypal chart 'b' and also the island *Skildar
must be as old as 1546.[4]

It also implies that the archetypal chart and the name may be as old as Lyndsay's
original rutter. The voyage which James V made to the Western Isles took place,
according to Scottish sources, in 1540.[5] Lyndsay would seem to have prepared the rutter
and the chart for this voyage, and this chart would be archetype 'a'.

The above would appear to confirm *Skildar as the archetypal form. But here one
must pause. There may have been intermediate versions of the chart between Lyndsay's

original of 1540 and the copy lent to Nicolay in 1546, and variations may have crept in. Furthermore, we must not neglect the forms *S. Kylder* 1573 and *S.Kilder* 1578. These early forms represent a tradition in which the ending was not *-ar* but *-er* in their sub-archetype—and possibly also in their archetype.

All requirements would seem to be met by postulating an archetypal form **Skildar* or **Skilder* dated 1540–6. It is not possible to say which was the original Scots spelling; either might have preceded the other.

We now turn from the archetypal form to its archetypal connotation.

Since the three charts apply the *Sk*-form to a small island off the west coast of Lewis—and not to the present St. Kilda—it can be deduced that the archetypal form was also so applied. There is specific confirmation of this in chart A. To demonstrate this, however, requires digression about *Hirt*, the Gaelic name for St. Kilda.

The writer has dealt with *Hirt* in detail in a paper on 'The Norsemen in St. Kilda' in the *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* (1968), and the main findings are summarised in the following paragraph.

The name is now pronounced with minor regional variations; in Lewis it is pronounced [hirʃtj]. A review of the evidence shows that it is not and cannot be of Celtic origin, and previous theories based upon this assumption must be discarded. The name can be traced back to 1202. In that year an Icelandic ship under Guðmundr Arason touched at an island on the west of the Outer Hebrides called *Hirtir*. *Hirtir* is the plural of ON *hjörtr*, 'a stag'; and 'Stags', it is suggested, is a very suitable name for a seaman approaching the islands to give to their rugged outlines rising out of the sea. A lengthy list of later forms of the name is given in an appendix to the paper. It first appears in Scottish sources in the fourteenth century as *Heryte*, *Hyrte*, *Hert* and *Hirth*. It is found Latinised in the sixteenth century as *Hirtha* and *Hirta*.[6]

The relevance of all this is that chart A shows both *Hyrth* and the *Sk*-island and does so in quite different cartographic representations. *Hyrth* is shown as a single island about 30 miles west of the Sound of Harris. *Skaldir* is shown as the off-shore island, pear-shaped rather than almond-shaped, about 12 miles from the west coast of Lewis. Their position can be seen in Plate X. There is thus proof that to one cartographer (at least) there were two separate islands with two separate names.

III

Having worked our way backwards to an archetypal form of 1540–6, we can now start the journey forwards, with a view to showing how all the later forms developed from that archetype. This will be shown at the end of this section in the form of another and larger stemma.

Before such a stemma can be constructed, however, a gap in the chain of evidence has to be filled. An explanation has to be found for the transition from a form beginning *Sk*-to a form beginning *S.K*-. The archetypal *Sk*-form did not have the shape of a

saint's name. It must at some point of time have been re-interpreted and re-shaped as a saint's name—or rather at two points of time, once into *S.Kilder* and at another time into *S.Kilda*. How and when did these changes take place?

It is common in the maps of Western European countries in the sixteenth century to find churches, or settlements containing churches, which are identified by a saint's name in the form *S.Peter* or *S:Peter*. This applies to maps and charts of Scotland, and is particularly noticeable for Orkney and the Western Isles, for reasons that are not clear. For example, Ortelius' *Scotia Tabula* 1573 has twelve such dedications in Orkney and eight (including *S.Kylder*) in the Western Isles. Indeed, any copyist or engraver of this map could not avoid noticing that several small islands in the north and west had no name associated with them at all except the name of a saint to which a church or chapel was presumably dedicated.

The writer has been unable to trace the ultimate source of *S.Kilder* in Leslie 1578 and of *S.Kylder* in Ortelius 1573. In a valuable paper on Leslie, R. A. Skelton (1950:105) has shown that his large scale map of Scotland was based primarily, although not wholly, upon that of Ortelius 1573. But the sources of this particular map of Ortelius appear to be lost and it would be unwise in the present state of knowledge to offer any conjectures.

There are good reasons for believing, however, that *S.Kilda* in Waghenaer 1592 has its origin in Nicolay's *Skilda(r)* in his chart of 1583. Waghenaer's sailing directions for the west of Scotland contain a list of the names of 35 western islands derived from Nicolay's chart. The evidence for this statement is consigned to a note.[7] The copying of the names has sometimes been inaccurate, and two of the errors are of special interest to us here. *Two* of Nicolay's island names have been turned into the names of saints. One of these is Nicolay's *Skarbo*, now Scarba on the coast of Argyll, one mile and a half north of Jura; this appears in Waghenaer as *S.Karbo*. The other is Nicolay's *Skilda(r)*, which appears in Waghenaer as *S.Kilda*.

Waghenaer was probably influenced by seeing four other islands in Nicolay's representation of Uist apparently identified by the names of saints—*S Patricius, S Maria, S Columbanus*, and *S Petrus*, all without a full stop after the *S*.

It must be assumed that the final *-r* in *Skilda(r)* was accidentally omitted. This is quite probable since, as has been explained above, it is not clearly legible in Nicolay's chart.

The name *S.Kilda* in Waghenaer's sailing directions of 1592 thus seems to have been the result of scribal re-interpretation of a name in Nicolay's chart of 1583, accompanied by the transfer of the chart name from an island 12–15 miles west of Lewis to about 25 miles further west. It is not clear whether we must blame Waghenaer himself—as has been implied above—or some one employed by him, or some preceding copyist working between 1583 and 1592.

It must be noted here by way of parenthesis that *S.Kilda* 1592 is not the only variant derived (apparently) from Nicolay's *Skilda(r)* 1583. Two other such derivatives have

been found, but both without the 'saintly' shape. The first occurrences of these variants are:

Schilda c. 1592 Petrus Plancius, *Nova Francia* (a chart of the North Atlantic), Amsterdam. Applied to three small islands lying north and south about 20 miles west of Lewis. *Sch-* appears to be a Dutch orthographic adaptation of *Sk-*. Reappears in several subsequent charts of the N. Atlantic, *e.g.* W. Barents 1598 and G. Tatton 1610.

Skilda 1610 Hermann Janszoon, MS chart of Western Europe, Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cartes Rouleau 548. Photograph, Royal Geog. Society, London. Applied to Waghenaer's island of *S.Kilda*.

In theory, *Skilda* and its connotation constitute a textual variant intermediate between *Skilda(r)* 1583 and *S.Kilda* 1592. The date 1610 conflicts with this, unless, as is conceivable, Janszoon was using a source dated between 1583 and 1592. But the writer has found no independent proof of such a source, and it has been considered imprudent to treat *Skilda* as such an intermediary. *Schilda* and *Skilda* will therefore be shown as terminal variants in the stemma; that is, at the end of individual branches of the textual tree.

It is now possible to attempt an expansion of the stemma in Fig. 2 into a larger stemma extending from 1540 to Martin's forms in 1698. This stemma is shown in Fig. 3, which is based upon the evidence and discussion in this paper up to this point.
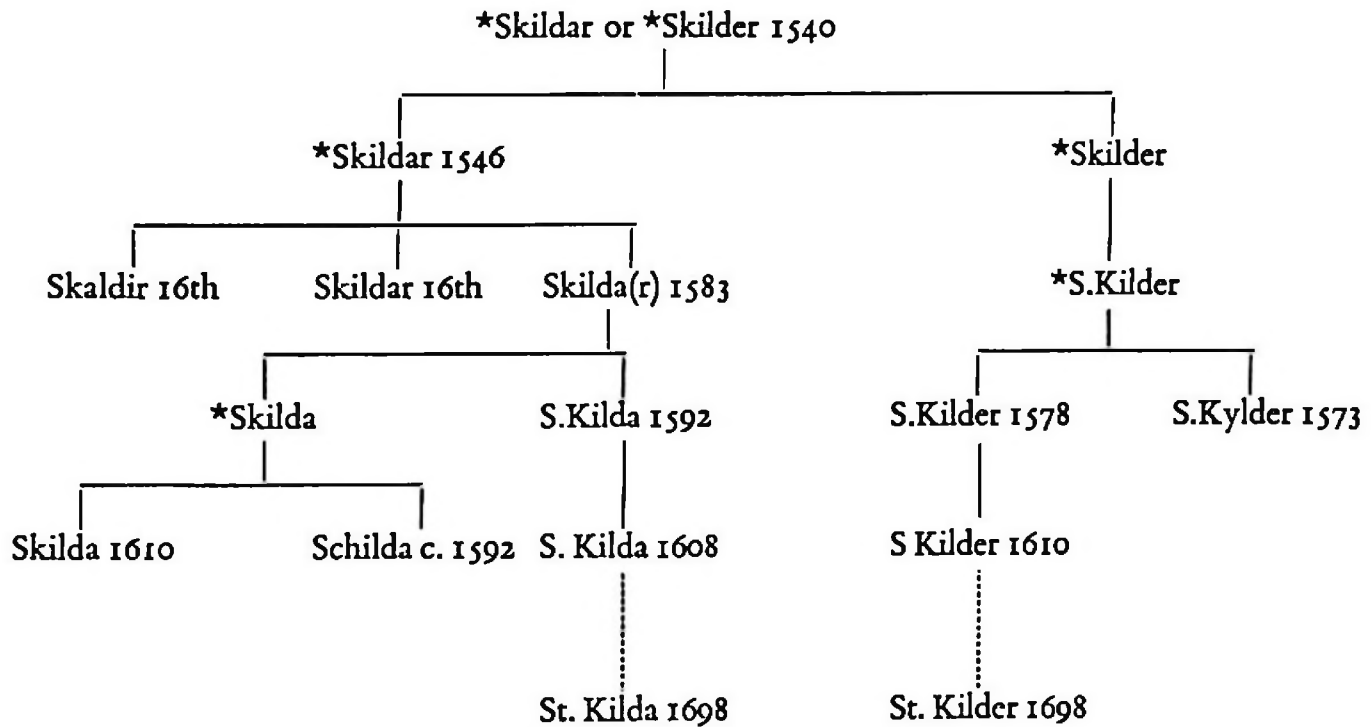
FIG. 3 Stemma of *St. Kilda* from 1540

The dates of the forms are the dates of the sources that have been quoted.

The stemma is the best that the writer can construct on the basis of the present evidence. It is subject to reconsideration if fresh evidence comes to light.

IV

We can now turn from charts and rutters to etymology.

The *Sk*-forms confirm that the saint is an illusion, and *Saint Kilda* as an etymon disappears.

The *Sk*-forms also dispose of a persistent theory that *Kilda* was a common noun derived from ON *kelda*, 'a well'. The main well for the village on Hirta was in fact called *Tobar Childa*, the first element being the Gaelic word for 'well' and the second word being a Gaelic form of ON *kelda*.

Martin (edn. 1934:414) was the first to suggest a connection between the name of the island and the name of the well; to quote again:

> There is a large well near the town, called St. Kilder's Well; from which this land is supposed to derive its name.

Macaulay (1764:108) commented, with a little caution:

> From the name of the fountain, which gave me some encouragement to offer it, the island is in all probability termed *St. Kilda*, though of late only.

Macaulay deduced correctly that the name was 'late'. Henderson (1910:183) wrote:

> Those map-makers who could not speak Gaelic named the island on their maps *St. Kilda*, thinking that was the name of the saint by which the well was called, whereas it was simply the Norse name for 'well'.

Watson (1926:98) wrote:

> The name evidently arose from confusion with the name of the well at the landing place which is still called *Tobar-Childa* . . . Probably the Dutch fishermen, who were active in the seventeenth century, were in the way of taking water from the well.

All of these suggestions, however, were made without knowledge of the sixteenth-century forms *Skildar* and *Skaldir*, and must be regarded as invalid.[8]

There are really two questions to answer: If the archetypal **Skildar* or **Skilder* was an island (or group of islands) close to the west coast of Lewis, what was the origin of the name? And what was the island or island-group?

The name has not survived locally so far as can be ascertained. It is not Gaelic, English or Dutch.[9] But it sounds very like ON *skildir*, plural of *skjöldr*, 'a shield'. *Skjöldr* was also used of shield-like objects, including small islands on the west coast of Norway in the form *Skjöldþ*.[10]

This usage is singular, and no island-groups with the plural form have been traced in Norway or elsewhere. But there seems no reason why the plural should not have been applied to a group of islands that look like shields lying flat on the surface of the sea when viewed from the western shore of Lewis or Harris or North Uist.

Are there in fact 'shield-islands' with which ON *Skildir* could be identified?

While on a visit to the Outer Hebrides in 1963, the writer took the opportunity to examine all the main islands lying off their western shores. The St. Kilda group and Haskeir Islands are too craggy and irregular to be described as 'shields'. The Monach Islands are too flat. Shillay looks like a single shield and so, to a less degree, does Pabbay. But Gaskeir looks like two small shields when seen from West Loch Tarbert in Harris; and Haskeir Eagach looks like a row of five shields when viewed from the north-west shore of North Uist. Profiles of the two last groups as the writer saw them are given in Fig. 4.

Gaskeir seen from West Loch Tarbert, Harris

Haskeir Eagach seen from north-west shore of North Uist.
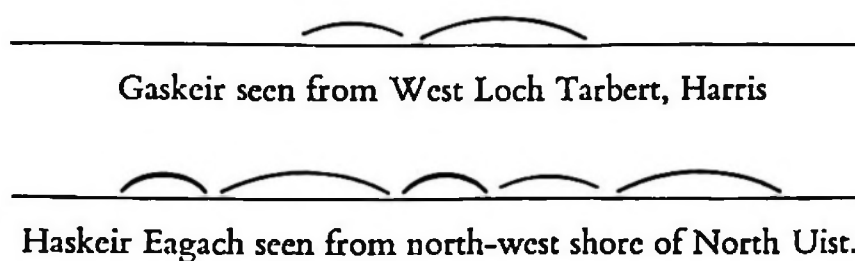
FIG. 4   Profiles of island-groups

Skildir, 'Shields', fits the appearance of the Haskeir Eagach group best. It might be argued that these islands already have a name of their own, but the antiquity of its present name may be questioned seriously. The first element is ON *há-sker*, 'high skerry', and is the same name as that of the craggy Haskeir Island lying a mile to the north. The second element is a Gaelic word meaning 'indented'. It would seem that the island group has in Gaelic-speaking times been given a duplex name to link it with, but distinguish it from, its craggy neighbour. There is thus room for *Skildir* to have been the original Norse name for the group.

But it is not necessary to press one particular identification. The visit showed that there are in fact off-shore islands that could suitably be described as *Skildir* or 'Shields', and the name and location are reasonably consistent with representations on sixteenth-century maps.

Summary

There is cartographic and other evidence that the place name *St. Kilda*, earlier *S.Kilda*, was originally applied in a Scots archetypal form *Skildar* or *Skilder* to an island or island group much nearer to the west coast of the Outer Hebrides.

This archetypal form beginning *Sk-* makes it clear beyond doubt that the name was not originally a saint's name. It also invalidates a long-standing theory that the name is derived from ON *kelda*, 'a well'.

The archetypal form is probably derived from ON *skildir*, 'shields'. There are in fact at least two groups of islands off the west coasts of Harris and North Uist which have the appearance of shields lying flat on the surface of the sea.

The name was first transferred further westwards to Hirta, in the form *S.Kilda*, in a set of sailing directions and a chart in L. J. Wagenaer's *Thresoor der Zeevaert*, Leyden 1592. This is the first recorded occurrence of the name in the shape of a saint's name. Its form and its application appear to be the result of faulty copying of *Skilda(r)* in Nicolas de Nicolay's chart of Scotland, Paris 1583.

Thus, although now securely established as a place name, *St. Kilda* received its present form and connotation as the result of orthographic and cartographic error in the late sixteenth century.

NOTES

1 The writer recorded the first results of his investigations in a short article in *The News Letter* of the National Trust for Scotland in 1957. Some of the evidence in that article has been modified by subsequent discoveries, and the article should be regarded as being superseded.

2 For a valuable general survey of the character and occupance of the islands, see Macgregor (1960).

3 Narbrough's voyages are described in some detail in Florence E. Dyer, *Life of Admiral Sir John Narbrough* (London 1931).

4 Another French version of the rutter and chart was presented by Nicolay to the Cardinal of Lorraine in 1559. The rutter is preserved, without the chart, in B.M. MS Harl. 3996. An examination of the text shows that it has the same source as the rutters associated with charts B and C. It has no relevance to the present study, however, except by providing supporting evidence for the existence of 'b'.

5 The expenses of James V's expedition, which had the object of receiving, or forcing, the allegiance of the leading men in the north and west, are recorded for the year 1540 in *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland 1538–41*, p. 7; see *Isles* and *Salamander* (the flagship) in the index. There is unfortunately no mention in the account of any chart or rutter or indeed any aid to navigation for the purpose of this voyage, which began at Leith and ended at Dumbarton. The date is confirmed in a letter of James V to Henry VIII of 29 July 1540, in *The Letters of James V*, ed. Denys Hay (London 1954), p. 404.

6 There was some confusion in the first half of the sixteenth century about the position of *Hirtha*. Hector Boece, *Historiae* (1526: xiii) gives his *Hirtha*, for reasons not explained, a latitude of 63 degrees north. Influenced by Boece (or by Boece's source), George Lily's map *Britanniae Insula* (Rome 1546) shows *Hirtha* as a large island north of Lewis. (The island has, for reasons awaiting enquiry, the rough outline of Lewis and Harris turned round east to west.) Lily's representation was followed in numerous subsequent maps, including Bishop Leslie's small and large scale maps of 1578. The maps of Scotland of Mercator 1564, Ortelius 1573 and Nicolay 1583 do not repeat this error; instead they have a much smaller island, a little further south and they call it (properly) *Rona*. Skelton (1950: 103) has useful comments on this transitory cartographic aberration which, after careful examination, has been found to have no relevance to the history of the name *St. Kilda*.

7 The dependence of Waghenaer's list of 35 western islands upon Nicolay's chart of 1583 rests upon three sets of evidence:
    (i) All the island names in Wag. are also in Nic., although sometimes in variant form.
    (ii) Some of the variants in Wag. are 'directional errors' from forms that are themselves errors on Nic. That is to say, they are errors which could only have been made if they had succeeded those in Nic. in point of time and not vice versa. *E.g.*:
        Hun Wag. from *Ilen Hunda* Nic. (error for *Ilen Handa*); *grand Melul* Wag. from *Grand Mekill* Nic. (probably an error for *Grand Barray*, now Great Bernera)

(iii) Several of the errors in Wag. are identical with errors in Nic. which are not found in any other map prior to 1592. *E.g.*:

Lismont Nic., Wag. (error for *Lismore*). *Cotte* Nic., *Cutte* Wag. (error for *Colle*, now Coll). *Epth* Nic., Wag. (error for *Erth*, now The Aird, headland east of Barra Head, Outer Hebrides.)

8 Watson's derivation from Old Norse *kelda*, 'a well' has been frequently adopted by subsequent writers on *St. Kilda*, and in view of the evidence now available it is hoped that it will now be silently dropped.

9 Watson (1926:98) suggested that *S. Kilder* might perhaps denote an islet with the Gaelic name of *Ceallasaidh*. The writer has not seen this island, nor indeed has he been able to identify it. It would not seem to be an island of sufficient importance to a sixteenth-century pilot to find its way on to the charts of the period. The phonological connection between the two names also seems dubious.

10 O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne* XII:11, XVI:313, which indicate that *Skjölden* is found as a name of a farm or a skerry, and *Skjöldø* occurs as an island name.

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Notes on Collection and Research

Scottish Place-Names 32: Gaelic tulach and barr

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

When one looks at the long list of books and articles on Scottish place-names published during the last hundred years, one is struck by the dearth of publications on Scottish mountain-names. Names of hills and mountains either figure as parts of regional studies or as elements in linguistic investigations but very little has been written about them for their own sake. This particular series of Notes is no exception in this respect, for only twice so far have the names of hills been examined in their own right, once in connection with the search for early Gaelic material in Scotland especially in those areas in which we know Dalriadic settlement to have taken place (Nicolaisen 1965*a*:91–106), and on another occasion in course of a study of the peculiar 'A of B' construction in its bilingual Gaelic-English origins (Nicolaisen 1965*b*:75–82). The reason for this apparent lack of interest in mountain-nomenclature, compared with the amount of attention paid to the names of water-courses, for example, must surely lie in the comparative lateness and derivativeness of that nomenclature, which in turn is to be explained by the fairly recent interest taken in mountains as such by climbers, scientists, cartographers, *etc.* In a recent paper (Nicolaisen 1969*b*:109–15) I have tried to show that this accounts for the fact that most of our Scottish mountains have been named from below, although there are of course well-known instances of names being given by mountaineers, albeit more recently.

Even if many mountain-names, including those of some of the highest eminences in the country, are relatively late compared with the high antiquity of some of our river-names, this does not invalidate them altogether as onomastic evidence; in a paper first read in 1961 but not published until a few months ago (Nicolaisen 1969*a*:113–28) I therefore attempted a tentative review of the geographical distribution of some of the best known elements used in Gaelic hill-names, and in spite of the rather random choice of the words involved—*beinn, cnoc, druim, meall, maol, sliabh, torr*—certain patterns appeared to which some topographical, dialectological, or chronological significance might be attributed. Nevertheless, a degree of inconclusiveness was also quite apparent, mainly probably because of the more or less aimless selection of elements to be plotted. The intention of this present note is therefore a more aimed examination of a further two Gaelic words which have already been claimed to have significant and opposing geographical distributions.

In his great book on *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, now unfortun-ately out of print, W. J. Watson, in a discussion of the Gaelic place-names of Galloway, states that 'in so far as one can distinguish between the names of Ireland and Scotland, the Galloway names seem to go with the latter. To take some instances: from Cape Wrath to Loch Leven, the boundary between Argyll and Inverness-shire, the regular term for an eminence of no great height is *tulach*. South of Loch Leven *tulach* becomes rare; the term in use is *barr*, "a top". In the Galloway region *tulach* is very rare, though it does occur, *e.g.* Fintloch for *Fionn-tulach*, "white height"; the regular term is *barr*. Here Galloway goes with Argyll' (Watson 1926:184). The question we are asking now is whether we can make the distribution of these two terms visible and how far the visual pattern supports Watson's statement. In particular, is there any variation or deviation from this general conclusion worth noting?

Scottish Gaelic *tulach* 'hillock, knoll, mount, small green hill, low smooth hill or ridge' is a derivative of Old Irish *tul* 'protuberance, projecting part, swelling' which also has the variant forms *taul*, *tel*, and *til*. Correspondingly, *taulach*, *telach*, *tilach* occur in Old Irish besides *tulach*, but in addition there are the variant forms *talach*, *tailach*, and *tolach*. In fact, the vowel of the first syllable is so unstable that the whole range of Old Irish vocalic monophthongs and two *a*- diphthongs are possible. Pokorny (1959: 1081) explains the Old and Middle Irish *telach*—*t(a)ulach* oppositions by supposing vocalisation of the bilabial fricative $u̯$ with subsequent development of a falling diph-thong so that *telach* would start from an Indo-European base *$t̯u̯el$- and *t(a)ulach* from *$t̯u̯el$-. This, however, does not account for the other variants. Nevertheless, the situation seems to have been a confused one even in Indo-European times, for the root meaning 'to swell' is given as *tēu̯-*, *təu-*, *teu̯ə-*, *tu̯ō-*, *tū̆* and *tū̆*, with a considerable number of con-sonantal extensions of which *$tū̆lo$- 'bulge' is one. Whereas Old Irish, as we have seen, still reflects the Indo-European situation, later stages of the language seem to have adopted a more economical simplification with *tulach* apparently running out the winner but in his discussion of the name Kirkintilloch Watson (1926:348), without further explanation, assumes a parallel form *tilach* in addition to *tulach*. (Early forms of this name, by the way, still show a tremendous variety of vowels in the stressed syllable, as in *Caerpentaloch* tenth century, *Kirkentulach c.* 1200, *Kirkintolauche* 1288, *Kerkintallach* 1306–29, *Kirkintullach* 1399).

At a first glance it looks as if the pair *tulach*—*tilach* sufficiently explains the toponymic usage of our term in Scotland and that the Anglicised reflexes *Tully-* and *Tilly-* (with their minor variants) have developed significant geographical distributions from what was once a purely phonological dichotymy. If we look at Map 1 we find that the *i*-spellings form a very definite distribution area within the distribution of the *u*- spellings, and that in fact *u*- spellings are rather rare where *i*- spellings are plentiful, as in the region between Dee and Don and in Buchan. The distribution of *Tilly-* is quite clearly much more limited than that of *Tully-* and is practically confined to what one might call the Scottish north-east proper, *i.e.* the area between Tay and Spey. Outliers do occur

but only in very small numbers. However, the map, of course, only shows names shown on the modern one-inch map, and the emerging patterns are therefore primarily the result of the spellings adopted by the Ordnance surveyors about a hundred years ago. In practically all cases these spellings are clearly based on local usage but we nevertheless do well to remember that the position made visible by our map is to all intents and purposes a mid-nineteenth century one, for historically the situation is a little more complex.

If we look at a number of Aberdeenshire place-names beginning with *Tilly-*, for instance, because these are particularly well documented (see Alexander 1952:125-7, and 389-93), we find that the majority of these have earlier *u-* spellings, such as *Twlery* 1544 and *Tullyrie* 1610 for Tillery, *Tulyhafe* 1390 and *Tulyaif* 1511 for Tillieve, *Tulygonyis* 1461 and *Tulygownes* 1505 for Tilligonie, *tuligreg* 1157 and *Tuligirg* 1436 for Tilligreig, *Tulielte* 1234 and *Tulenahilt* 1474 for Tillyhilt, *Tholaukery c.* 1250 and *Tullecherie* 1574 for Tillykerrie, *Tullochourie* 1628 and *Tulliequhorrie* 1638 for Tilly-gourie, and many others. On the other hand, twenty-five names (including Tilliepestle, Tilligreig, Tillybo, Tillybrex) do not show any *i-* spellings until the last decade of the seventeenth or well into the eighteenth century, the sources being in almost all cases either the Parish Registers or the Poll Book of Aberdeenshire, sources which are presumably close to the local pronunciation. For one name, Tillybirloch, the Poll Book lists both *Tillibrickloch* and *Tullibrockloch* in 1696. That *i-* spellings expressing an *i-* pronunciation (or its allophonic realisation) were possible earlier is shown by such forms as *Tillicarne* and *Tillicartin* 1592 for Tillycairn in the Arbroath Chartulary, *Tillikero* 1597 for Tillykerrie, *Tillioch* 1557 for Tillioch, *Tilliquhroskie* 1597 for Tilly-fruskie, and *Tillentermend* 1534 for Tillytarmont, all in the Register of the Great Seal. The earliest example is *Telanchsyne* 1357 for Tillyching, quoted in the second volume of the *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*. The impression one derives from this documentation is that the *Tilly-*forms represent a late dialectal change in pronunciation, perhaps to be dated from the sixteenth century onwards, or a little earlier, but first clearly expressed in the Parish Registers and the Poll Book, compilations less close to, or completely independent of, scribal traditions. This is supported by the fact that only two names of the *Tully-*variety—admittedly much rarer in Aberdeenshire than *Tilly-*names—have isolated *i-* spellings: Tullynessle in 1549 (*Tillenessil*) and Tullikera in 1455 (*Tillykerak*). *Tulloch-* names which mainly occur in the west of the county never show *i-* forms. It is therefore clear that, at least as far as Aberdeenshire is concerned the *Tully* -*Tilly* opposition is not based on a Gaelic *tulach-tilach* dichotomy but on a phonological phenomenon within the post-Gaelic Scots dialect of the region. The resulting patterns on our Map 1 should therefore be treated as the visual representation of this dialectal development.[1]

This means that for the primary purpose for which this map was drawn we can regard all names marked as belonging to the same category and deriving from *tulach* (the earlier Indo-European and Early Irish situations being what they may). In
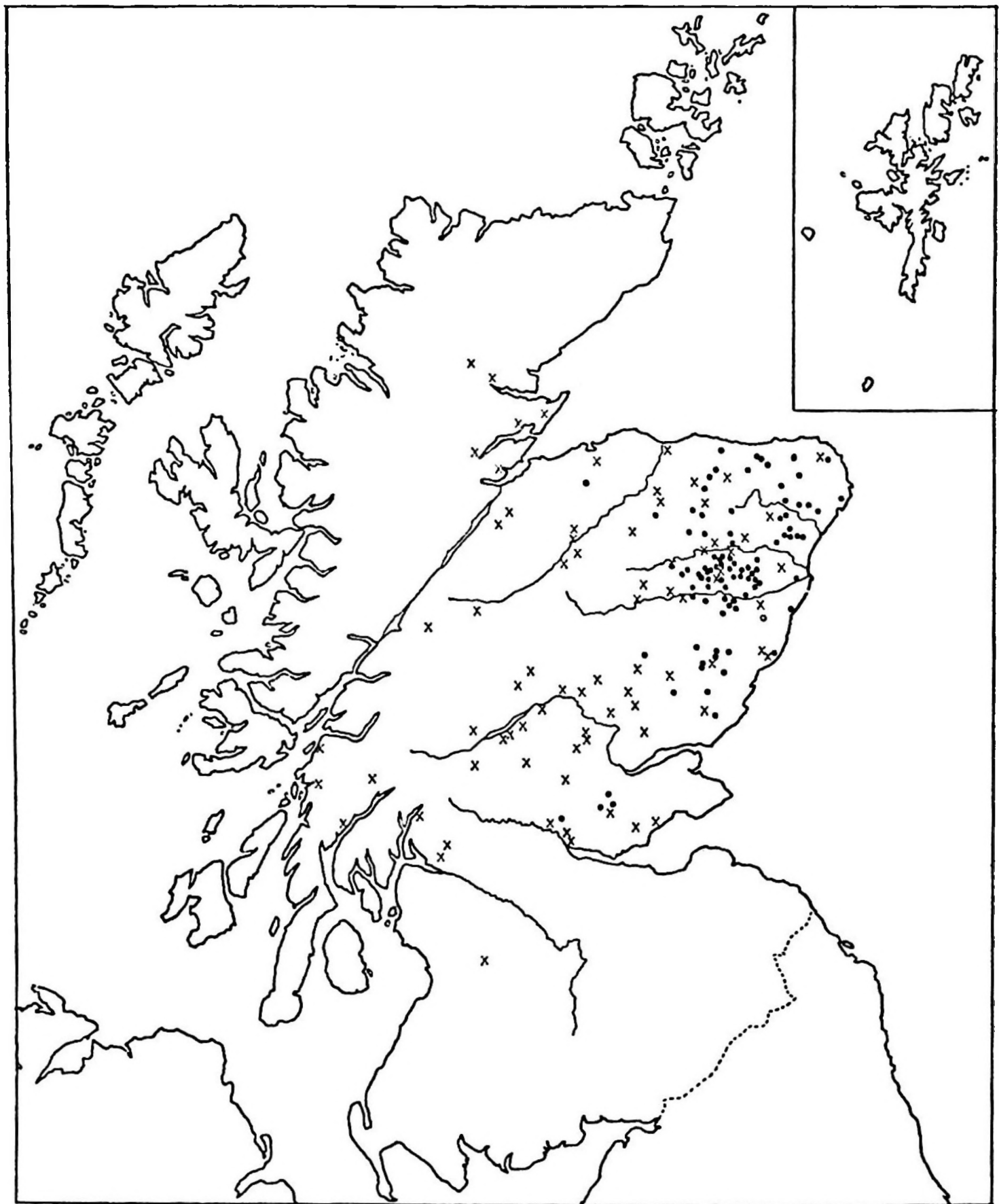
MAP 1. Distribution of Scottish place-names containing Gaelic *tulach* 'hillock' as a first element. The symbol X represents names beginning with *Tulloch-*, *Tully-*, *Tullo-*, etc., whereas • stands for names beginning with *Tilly-*, etc.
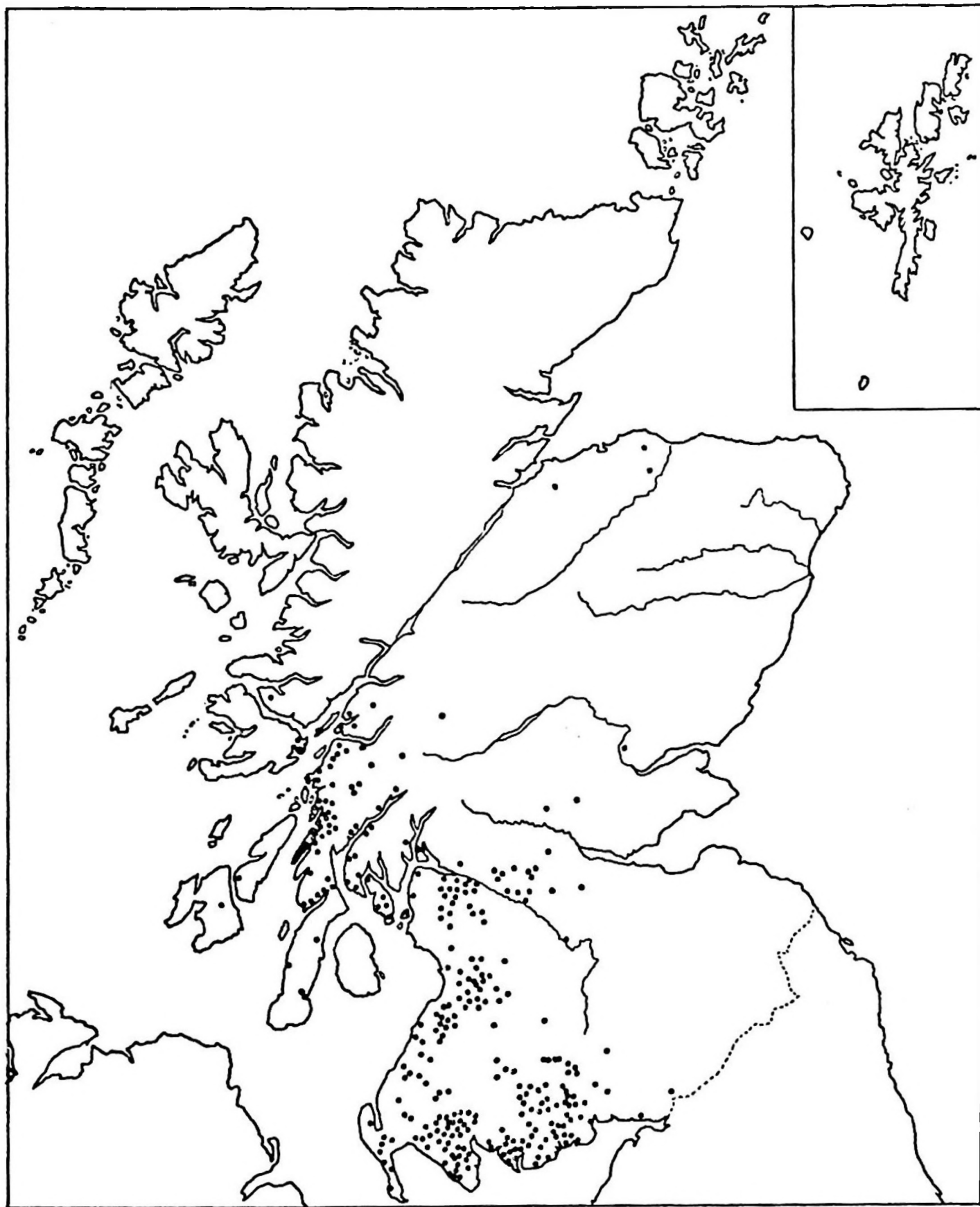
MAP 2. Distribution of Scottish place-names beginning with Gaelic *barr* 'top, height'.

interpreting the distribution, we are forced to modify somewhat Watson's statement that *tulach* is 'the regular term for an eminence of no great height' 'from Cape Wrath to Loch Leven' (1926:184), for it is quite apparent that many of the more northerly and westerly regions of Scotland north of Loch Leven do not participate in this usage of *tulach*. This does not mean that the term is not known in those parts, and it must also be borne in mind that the names shown on the map all contain *tulach* as a first element whereas it does occur as a second element elsewhere (we have already mentioned Kirkintilloch and Fintloch). True onomastic usage is, however, always expressed through employment as a basic element which in Gaelic most often means as the first word in a compound. There is therefore no doubt about it that *tulach*, in this sense, only occurs in those parts of Scotland in which it is plotted on our map, *i.e.* central and north-east Scotland, with a few outliers in Argyll and the lonely Tulloch Hill in Ayrshire.

Map 2 examines the complementary part of Watson's statement and shows the distribution of Gaelic *barr*, either as a simplex or as the first (basic) element of a compound name. Etymologically *barr* is much more straightforward than *tulach* as it has quite clearly developed from an *s-* extension **bhars-* of the Indo-European root **bhar-* 'protuberance' (Pokorny 1959:109). In Old Irish, *barr* meant 'top, uppermost part, foliage', and Welsh and Cornish *bar* and Breton *barr* have similar meanings. Primarily, *barr* therefore refers to the top of something and not, like *tulach*, to the whole protuberance or eminence.

As *barr* has no phonological side-forms we can at once proceed with the interpretation of its geographical distribution which is again remarkable in its limitation, this time to areas completely outside or only on the fringe of those parts of Scotland in which *tulach* was found. Whereas the latter may be said to have a north-easterly distribution, *barr* clearly displays a south-westerly scatter, with Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, and Argyllshire participating particularly strongly. The density of *barr-* names is often such that they could not all be plotted on a map of this scale. Typical examples of the several hundred names involved are Baranlongart ARG, Barblues LAN, Barfad WIG, Barmurrie KCB, Barnaigh RNF, Barremman DNB, and Barwharrie AYR, but especially instructive are names in which *barr* occurs either alone (*Am Barr* ARG, Barr ARG, AYR, DMF, KCB, STL, The Barr ARG, DMF, KCB) or in a pleonastic compound with English *hill* as in Barrhill or Barr Hill ARG, AYR, BTE, DMF, KCB, WIG. Names such as these are always good proof of real onomastic usage.

The fact that the distribution patterns of *tulach* and *barr* are practically mutually exclusive is at once apparent and striking, and in this respect Watson's observation is obviously correct, as long as one bears in mind the qualifications and modifications set out above (p. 161) and also remembers that *barr* does, of course, occur as a second element elsewhere (Dunbar ELO, for example, which may be a Gaelic adaptation of an earlier Cumbric *din-bar*). What, however, are the further implications? Are, in the

first place, the distributions of *tulach* and *barr* truly complementary in addition to being mutually exclusive? It seems to be more than doubtful that *tulach* and *barr* ever referred to the same kind of geographical feature in two different dialects, and one can hardly say that *tulach* means in one area what *barr* means in the other. Nevertheless one might accept—with some reservations—the notion that our two maps show certain dialect differences in the naming of hills. From a chronological point of view this is defensible, as the two words must have been used simultaneously for a considerable time, although *tulach* cannot have been introduced into the north-east until the ninth century at the earliest whereas *barr* may after all have been applied to hills, or at least hill-tops, ever since the Gaels first arrived in Scotland. Whether the earliest names containing *barr* are as early as names containing *sliabh* (see Nicolaisen 1965*a*:91–106) is another question and one which cannot be answered very easily, and much will perhaps depend here on the chronological ascription of a name like Barnultoch, from Gaelic *Barr nan Ultach* 'height of the Ulstermen', in the Rinns of Galloway. When did the Ulstermen referred to settle there or at least when did they give their name to the eminence?

How far, however, can one use names beginning with *barr* in support of the theory that Galloway names seem to go with Scotland rather than with Ireland (see p. 160 above)? *Barr* does occur in Irish townland names although not as frequently as *tulach* (Goblet 1932:105–6) whereas in Scotland it is limited to the south-west and Argyll. Does this prove that it is a Scottish rather than an Irish term? Hardly. And where does *tulach* come in? Surely its absence from the south-western counties does not bear out Watson's statement, just as its presence in the Scottish north-east and in Ireland does not make it an Irish term. Rather than argue one way or the other, we would prefer to see both *tulach* and *barr* as common Gaelic words used in the naming of hills in both Ireland and Scotland, with very different and mutually exclusive and perhaps complementary distributions in Scotland, indicating mainly dialect differences. If any closer relationship with Irish toponymy had to be proved for one of these words one might indeed go for *barr* because of the close geographical proximity, but there is really no need for this. We shall refrain from speculating on the extent, or existence, of a lexical dialect unit between the Gaelic of the Scottish south-west and Argyll, or on the possibility that *tulach* may have flourished particularly well on Pictish soil.

We therefore feel that, whereas our maps undoubtedly make visible, in a modified way, Watson's contention that *tulach* has a more northerly (we would say north-easterly) and *barr* a more southerly (or rather south-westerly) distribution, they do not allow us to come to any conclusions with regard to the Scottishness or otherwise, of the place-names of Galloway, nor can we as yet clearly establish the chronological implications of the presence of so many *Barr*-names in the Scottish south-west. Their absence from much of Strathclyde proper may here be a clue but no more. From the point of view of the study of Scottish mountain-names two more distinctive distribution patterns will still have to be examined in a wider context, and only then shall we know whether they are at all meaningful within this special aspect of toponymic research.

NOTE

1 Corroboration for this conclusion comes from Ireland where the seventeenth-century townland index only contains five names which could possibly be interpreted as beginning with *i-* forms of *tulach* (Goblet 1932:363) whereas there are literally hundreds of names beginning with *Tulla-*, *Tullagh-*, *Tulle-*, *Tulli-*, *Tullo-*, *Tullogh-*, *Tully-*, and the like (*op. cit.*:370–4), plus a few beginning with *Tollagh-*, *Tolle-*, and *Tolli-* (*op. cit.*: 365–6).

For the development [u]>[ʌ]>[i,ɪ] in the dialect of Buchan see Eugen Dieth, *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect* vol. 1. Cambridge 1932, p. 45. Our *Tully-/Tilly*-names may help to date this phonological process more precisely.

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Population and Places in North East Scotland 1951-1961

DAVID TURNOCK

Detailed study of population changes in small areas is often frustrated by the lack of information on the sizes of individual settlements as distinct from parish and district units. While these larger areas can form a suitable framework for general studies important local contrasts within each area are inevitably obscured. Late nineteenth-century statistics for individual settlements can be abstracted from census enumeration books from 1841 to 1891 and these are an important source for research in historical geography (Storrie 1962). But until recently there has been no corresponding source for the post-war period apart from private investigation or the use of Registers of Electors (Turnock 1967).

The publication of a list of the population of places in Scotland (Scotland 1967) is a valuable step forward since the number of inhabitants in every nucleation containing more than five houses is included for 1961. All villages and hamlets are included as well as many of the larger farms, thus enabling a more sophisticated distribution map to be drawn with geographical aspects of population such as the varying balance between nucleated and dispersed settlement clarified. Future versions of the list will no doubt allow trends to be examined but already some useful comparisons can be made by reference to an index of place names compiled by the General Register Office on the basis of the 1951 census. This latter volume gives the population of most nucleations but only as an estimate and only if they contained more than 25 people. Nevertheless, while its basis is not sufficiently similar to allow reliable comparison with 1961 figures in many cases, the performance of the larger nucleations (those with 100 inhabitants and above) can be more realistically studied since any inaccuracies or anomalies in areal delimitation of settlements should not be too serious.

The settlement pattern of North East Scotland is an interesting case to consider in the light of these new sources. Data for settlements of more than 100 people in 1961 can be abstacted and mapped against a background of the density of the remaining (dispersed) settlement (Map 1). The density of dispersed settlement is greatest round Aberdeen and Ellon with substantial figures recorded in Banff and Buchan as well as the Howe of the Mearns, Garioch and Moray. The mountain core is predictably sparsely settled with surrounding districts in an intermediate category. In these latter areas especially, stability appears to be threatened by the sparsity of nucleated settlement for there are few large village centres with growth potential.

Recent trends in the nucleated settlements (arbitrarily defined as places with a population of a hundred or more) can be studied by reference to the 1951 list alongside
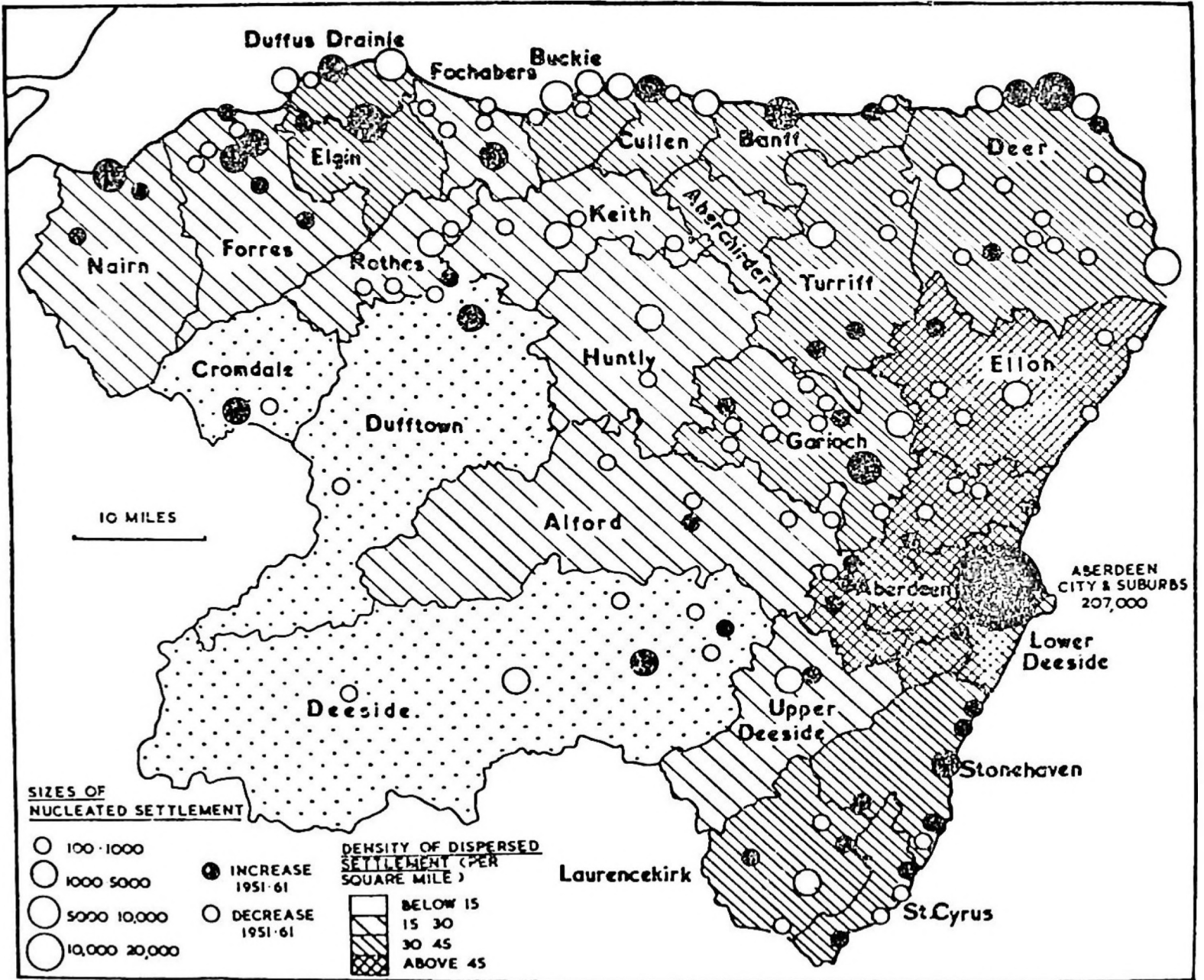
MAP I. North East Scotland. Nucleated and dispersed population.

the 1961 figures. Settlements which have grown during this period are shown in black on Map I and fall into two major groupings; one is centred on Aberdeen and extends outwards for some 25 miles to Fyvie, Insch, Alford, Aboyne, Fettercairn and St. Cyrus and the other surrounds Elgin where Forres, Nairn, Grantown, Dufftown and Focha-bers are among the settlements which have grown. Apart from Banff/Macduff, Fraser-burgh and Peterhead the intervening area, covering Upper Deeside, Upper Donside, Strathbogie, Banff and Buchan, shows a general decline which, given the likelihood of further losses from the land, will continue to pose problems in the future.

Polarisation around the two main centres of population is accompanied by a secondary process of resettlement which places emphasis everywhere on the larger market towns

10 MILES

DISPERSED SETTLEMENT
A DISTRIBUTION OF SMALL GROUPINGS
• 20·50 PERSONS
O 50·100

B REMAINING DISPERSED POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL
BELOW 60
60·75
ABOVE 75
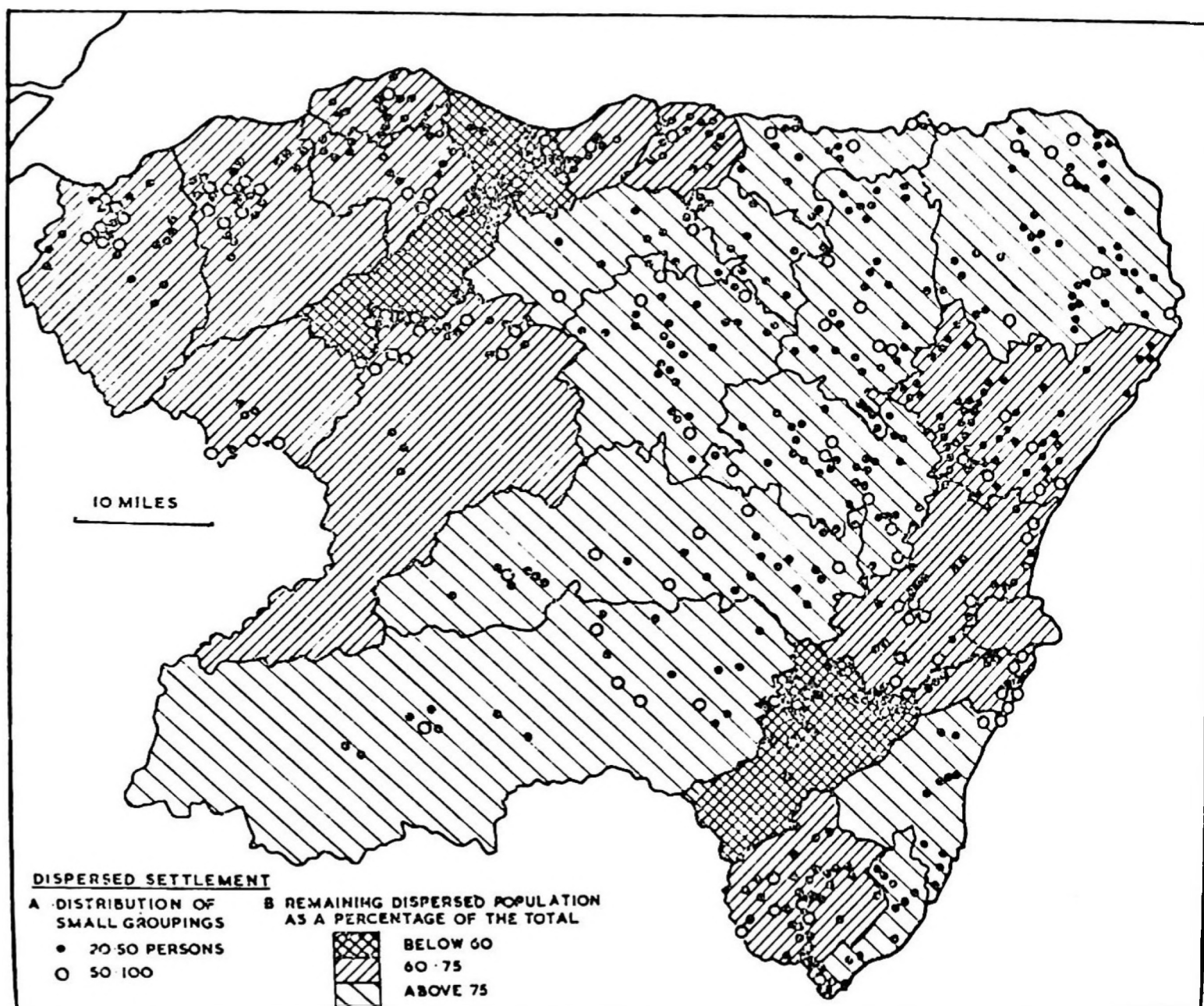
MAP 2. North East Scotland. Analysis of the dispersed population.

of the region as distinct from the smaller units. Table I divides the North East into four units covering the Aberdeen and Elgin areas and the less dynamic watershed areas of Banff and Buchan. It indicates the intercensal trend in the dispersed population and in four different size categories of nucleated settlements, the size brackets being selected so that each category will cover a reasonably large population in each area. While the dispersed population has declined everywhere by rates in excess of 14 per cent and settlement groups of over 5000 have grown in every area, it is in Aberdeen and Elgin where growth is most pronounced and where the redistribution has taken place without heavy losses overall. While the population of the North East declined by 2.6 per cent as a whole between 1951 and 1961 the rate was much higher in Banff

TABLE I

North East Scotland

Analysis of Population Changes 1951–1961

Sub Region	Settlement size grouping: Below 100			100–1,000			1,000–5,000			Above 5,000			Total		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
Aberdeen[1]	47·98	40·90	—14·7	15·25	14·82	—2·8	14·35	13·99	—2·5	208·00	212·74	2·3	285·58	282·45	—1·1
Banff[2]	21·77	18·34	—15·8	4·74	4·28	—9·7	18·19	17·22	—5·3	15·64	15·76	0·8	60·34	55·60	—7·9
Buchan[3]	18·02	15·13	—16·0	6·23	5·72	—9·1	9·26	8·48	—8·4	26·18	26·40	0·8	59·69	55·74	—6·6
Elgin[4]	14·40	10·92	—24·1	3·92	4·32	—2·0	16·79	17·46	4·0	22·83	24·84	8·2	57·94	57·54	—0·6
NORTH EAST	102·17	85·29	—16·5	30·14	29·14	—3·1	58·59	57·15	—2·5	272·65	279·74	2·6	463·55	451·32	—2·6

a Population 1951 ('000s).
b Population 1961 ('000s).
c Percentage change 1951–61.

1 Aberdeen City, Aberdeen County (excluding the districts of Deer, Huntly and Turriff) and Kincardine County
2 Banff County and the Huntly District of Aberdeenshire
3 Deer and Turriff Districts of Aberdeenshire
4 Counties of Moray and Nairn

(7.9 per cent) and Buchan (6.6 per cent) than in Aberdeen (1.1 per cent) and Elgin (0.6 per cent). Settlements in the intermediate categories have declined overall but while such settlements have grown in the Elgin area losses in Banff and Buchan have been almost three times above the average figure, a situation which underlines the importance of the search for stability in these marginal areas.

This imbalance is endorsed by further analysis of the dispersed population in Map 2 in which small groupings of between 20 and 50 and 50 and 100 inhabitants in 1961 are plotted and the rest of the dispersed population shown for each district as a percentage of the total. A broad belt running across the region from south-west to north-east emerges in which the dispersed population is relatively poorly grouped and where individual small farms and crofts are still a very prominent element. By contrast in the Aberdeen and Elgin areas—the latter especially—minor groupings are often well developed and account for relatively high proportions of the total dispersed population; dormitory housing, small industrial nucleii (such as distilleries) and larger farms help to produce this more satisfactory pattern which is especially prominent in Speyside and parts of Deeside.

With the aid of this new material therefore some further light can be thrown on problems of regional balance and work undertaken on a scale which was hitherto inappropriate. While further detailed investigation would be required in the case of individual localities to determine a planning and development strategy such illustrations form a useful intermediary between the general and the specific.

In future, as documents accumulate, further investigation should prove feasible, but historical studies will easily be frustrated if inconsistencies arise over the areal delimitation of settlements at different times, especially where they are small and no obvious nucleation exists.

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PLATE XI. Alasdair Cameron at the School of Scottish Studies after the graduation ceremony. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of Scotsman Publications Limited)

PLATE XII. Alasdair Cameron receiving the honorary degree of M.A. from the Vice-Chancellor of Edinburgh University, 3 July 1969. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the *Scottish Daily Express*)

Alasdair Cameron, M.A., 'North Argyll'

The laureation address of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts on the occasion of Alasdair Cameron's graduation as Honorary M.A., 3 July 1969

'The "lad o' pairts" who despite initially adverse circumstances makes his way into the liberal professions is a well-known figure in Scottish life. Yet more worthy of remark, however, and again a not unfamiliar figure among us, is the "man of the people" whom circumstances have never greatly favoured and who nevertheless, though lacking opportunities and advantages commonly taken for granted nowadays, and earning his bread by the work of his hands, achieves esteem and authority through his native talent, his scholarly industry, and the intellectual ardour that has so often been fostered in the humble country schools of our land.

'Such a man, Sir, is Alasdair Cameron. He was born in 1896 near Strontian in Sunart, of crofting stock. His formal education was confined to the seven years of his attendance at Salen school in Ardnamurchan—and I am happy to say that his school-teacher in those distant days, Miss Susan MacNaughton, is present here to-day to witness the laureation of her pupil. Greatly though Mr Cameron benefited from these few years at school, it was perhaps there too that he first realised that he belonged to a minority culture, for the use of the Gaelic was forbidden and the children had to speak it surreptitiously. Certainly his loyalties and his affections have remained deeply rooted in his native earth. Apart from a short spell in the army towards the end of the First World War, he has spent all his life in North Argyll, labouring on the farms and on the roads until physical disability compelled him to take shelter in Oban.

'Mr Cameron is noteworthy first as a great tradition-bearer. As a boy he acquired from older members of his family, and in particular his grand-uncle Donald MacPhee, a vast store of knowledge about the traditions and history of Moidart, Ardnamurchan and Sunart. He has spent many hours recording for our School of Scottish Studies all kinds of lore that otherwise would have been lost for ever—Gaelic poetry, folk-tales, stories of places, names and people, and of the old way of life in the Highlands.

'Besides this invaluable contribution as a transmitter of oral tradition, however, there is further reason why we should seek to honour him here to-day. Mr Cameron is himself a scholar and a skilful historian, at home among books and documents. At Salen he read with avidity the 300 volumes in the school library, a donation of the Coates family; through the later years he made constant call on the resources of the Carnegie Library in Dunfermline. Under the pen-name of "North Argyll" he is himself known to countless readers throughout the world, wherever the *Oban Times*

M

circulates among Highlanders far from home. His first letter appeared in that journal in 1912, and since then he has contributed many hundreds of notes and articles on questions of local and family history. Never content with guesswork and never pretending to knowledge he does not possess, he has when necessary enlisted the help of friends in Edinburgh to carry out investigations for him in the Register House. With little guidance other than his own intelligence, good sense, and scrupulous regard for truth, he has developed in exemplary fashion his gift for original research, and in addition to his work in the *Oban Times* has published a number of excellent articles which form a valuable contribution to the history of the West Highlands. Several of them were first given as papers to that distinguished body, the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and printed in their *Transactions*; others have been published as brochures in Oban.

'The brotherhood of scholarship, Sir, as all those know well who have engaged in research or had any contact with the intellectual life of local communities, is fortunately very much broader than the frontiers of the University. In a man like Alasdair Cameron we greet one whom only chance has kept from our midst, and I would now invite you, Sir, to make him in the formal sense what he already is in reality—one of ourselves.'

Alasdair Cameron and the School of Scottish Studies

The School of Scottish Studies was specially pleased that in honouring Alasdair Cameron the University was recognising the value of oral tradition in historical research. One of their reasons for proposing him as a candidate was that in his own life and work he was also the representative of the many tradition-bearers they had recorded.

Rarely has a graduation received such acclamation. A combination of circumstances seemed to have caught the imagination and sympathy of the public and press: a 'man of the people' had been awarded a degree not often conferred, and in spite of severe physical handicap he had made the effort to receive it in person.

The School had the honour of giving him an informal reception, where he was warmly welcomed in English and Gaelic, and in verse and song. Many old friends were there, including John MacLean (brother of Calum MacLean), Susan MacNaughton, his school teacher, Wendy Wood, his crofting neighbour, Dr and Mrs R. M. Gorrie and Father Anthony Ross.

D.J.H.

Book Reviews

For the German tourist, perhaps the best known structure in Scotland to-day is the railway bridge across the Tay. Certainly he will have heard of it a long time before he ever reached Scotland, and even if he never does get to this country, an impressive and lasting mental picture will nevertheless be his, because of a ballad he will almost inevitably have learned in his schooldays. This ballad was written by Theodor Fontane on 6 January 1880, under the impact of the Tay Bridge Disaster of 28 December 1879, the tragic event also chronicled by the inimitable verse of a not unknown Dundee poet and tragedian. Fontane's treatment differs from that of the Dundonian not only in rhythmical qualities, it also heightens the natural drama of the catastrophe by two devices, at once intensifying and narrowing the human element and extending the causes to the cosmic and supernatural. In 'Die Brück' am Tay' the engine driver of the fateful train is the son of the bridge-keepers who are eagerly awaiting him home for a late Christmas in their house at the far north end of the bridge. His plunge into the waters of the Tay when the bridge crumbles and collapses is representative for the death of the other two hundred[1] who perished in the disaster. At the other end of the scale, Fontane's ingenuity links the three witches of *Macbeth* with the event, prefaces the ballad by their consultation about their evil plans ('When shall we three meet again?'), and concludes it with their smug satisfaction and retrospective gloating over the destruction and unhappiness they have just caused. A poem which still never fails to chill in the simplicity of its language and the supernatural backcloth of individual and collective human drama.

This Tay Bridge ballad, although obviously an immediate reaction to the disaster, is also a late echo of a tour of Scotland which Fontane and his friend Bernhard von Lepel undertook from 9–24 August 1858. Something of a realist and almost of a naturalist in his prose writings, he nevertheless came to this country as a romantic. He had already written the Mary Stuart cycle (1846–7), 'Edward, Edward' (1852) and 'Child Harry' (1855) after Percy's *Reliques*, and at least 'Archibald Douglas' (1854) after Scott's *Minstrelsy*, and the Scotland he visited was that emerging from the latter work, as well as Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, or *The Lord of the Isles*, or the *Tales of a Grandfather*, and, need we say it, *Macbeth*. It was a pilgrimage which he and his companion were not the first to make and which has been made by millions since then. It would therefore be less than fair to expect from the account of these travels, published in 1860

as *Jenseits des Tweed: Bilder und Briefe aus Schottland* (and containing for the first time the printed versions of his renderings of 'Thomas the Rhymer', 'The Soutars o' Selkirk', and 'What can a young lassie'), anything like the kind of information which we should like to obtain about Scotland in the middle of the nineteenth century, especially as seen through the eyes of an intelligent foreigner who had come to enjoy and appreciate and not simply to criticise and compare.

Nevertheless his observations are well worth reading, and it is good to know that the Scots themselves, even if they do not read German, can now check on what Fontane had to say about them, in a recent English translation of his travelogue published under the title *Across the Tweed*. If it sounds surprising that it should have taken more than a hundred years for a translation into English to be made, one must register even greater surprise at the fact that the first English rendering of one of his novels since the author's death was published not much earlier. Certainly German readers would find this difficult to understand as far as the writer of 'Effie Briest' is concerned. To them it is only right and natural that an author who has been admired so much for the strength of his prose style and the drawing of his characters should at present undergo a literary renaissance and that one publisher should have decided to make available an edition of his collected works in 22 volumes in time for his 150th birthday on 30 December 1969. Perhaps Scots will share this sentiment when they hear that Fontane composed a very acceptable German version of 'Scots Wha Hae' ('Schotten, schwört und tretet her').

The deliberate and forceful simplicity of Fontane's prose is not only noticeable in his novels, it is also apparent in his biographical sketches and in his several travel accounts of which *Across the Tweed* is one, and although the translation does by no means always match the peculiar qualities of the original (or present an absolutely reliable and complete text), it undoubtedly mirrors its main characteristics. Read his description of an open-air preacher in Edinburgh's High Street ('He dealt out his sentences like a dealer dealing out cards, then he shuffled the pack and began afresh'), or his account of his visit to Culloden Moor ('I have passed over many battlefields but none has left so definite an impression on me'), his observations on a Sunday in Perth ('A Sunday in Scotland is for the traveller like a thunderstorm at a picnic. You get wet, you can't go on and all your good humour vanishes'), or his word picture of Staffa and Fingal's Cave ('When the God Vulcan had done his work and sent up ten or a hundred thousand basalt pillars into the light, Staffa stood there like a tightly bound bundle of stone pine trees'), and you will understand why Fontane is still read to-day. It is his descriptive rather than his analytic powers which are the most convincing, and the reader gladly notices the absence of any Prussian bias and the willingness to be impressed, and he believes the modern literary historian who claims that Fontane never mistook 'Berlin and Prussia for the world'. *Across the Tweed* is a book worth reading and worth having, even if it confirms, rather than adds to, our knowledge of mid-Victorian Scotland.

1 Thus the commentary on p. 742 of Theodor Fontane, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 20: Balladen und Gedichte (Munich 1962). According to *The Times*, the number of people on the train was initially estimated at 150–200, shortly afterwards even at 300. Not until the end of the first week in January 1880 was the more realistic figure of 74 or 75 fully known. Something like 200 must have been the figure in Fontane's mind when he wrote the poem. McGonagall says 'that ninety lives have been taken away'.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

1 *Scottish Fishing Craft* by Gloria Wilson. Fishing News (Books) Ltd, London 1965. Pp. 140, 33 photographs. 25s.

2 *More Scottish Fishing Craft* by Gloria Wilson. Fishing News (Books) Ltd, London 1968. Pp. 170, 16 photographs, 3 plans. 45s.

For those of us whose seafaring has for some years taken place in the sheltered waters of George Square, Edinburgh, these books have the authentic call of the main sea. It is, no doubt, extremely pleasant to swan around in sublimated Scaffies, Baldies and Fifies in the quiet academic pursuit of the provenance and distribution of these historic Scottish fishing craft, but no one will accuse Miss Wilson of living in a precious little world of her own. To gather her information she has trudged through the boatyards and gone to sea with the fishing fleet. She has, on the other hand, nothing new to tell us about the historic sail-boats; all she gives us in that direction is a derivative and conventional introductory chapter on the early boats in the first book, and one equally conventional on the Fifies and Zulus in the same volume. Discussion is not pursued: 'Baldies . . . came into being as a result of the enlargement and strengthening of clinker-built open boats, and may have preceded the larger Fifies' (1, p. 26). So much the casual browser among the display cases in Chambers Street or South Kensingon might also have got to know.

What Miss Wilson does display, for our good, is two complementary and original studies of present-day Scottish fishing craft (the emphasis is very much on the east coast) and all their modern fittings—their scantlings, diesel power, Echo sounders, and electric logs; right down to the w.cs. which figure prominently on their plans (2, pp. 32 and 156) and their galleys with (1, p. 64) 'sink-unit etc.'

In spite of these familiar domestic touches, however, the books are seamen's books and no invincible landsmen will be much at home with them. He either makes something of . . . 'she is similar to mechanised fifie *Galilee* . . . having little sheer, a similar

entry, full round bilges, and her hollow floors being only very slightly flatter and fore-
foot more rounded' (1, p. 61), or he does not. It may be, of course, that the remarkable
interest in boats and boat-building of our time will have bred considerable numbers
of non-professional people who understand the jargon. At any rate, the books go on
and on like this. There is no let-up, and no glossary. Furthermore, Miss Wilson also gives
us masses of modern mechanical and electronic jargon which my small head, at least,
just cannot carry.

One thing must be said about the modern conveniences and that is that the old enemy
has not become any the less blind or cruel because of them, or the situation envisaged in
Rev. XXI. 1. any nearer fulfilment. It is clear, indeed, that the idea of the seaman as
hero has not quite faded from human consciousness, and Miss Wilson gives us an
occasional stark paragraph to keep us mindful of this. There was the *Daisy* of Peterhead,
for instance, (1, p. 89 and photograph p. 58) which foundered in a gale of wind 40
miles east of Orkney and whose crew were spotted by aircraft after having been adrift
for 20 hours in a blessedly modern life raft.

Nevertheless, these books are not specially concerned with such high endeavour at
sea. On the contrary, they are very cool and factual affairs indeed and the endeavour
is cool endeavour in the builder's yard, with a calculating eye (which sometimes misses
—1, p. 85) on the Grants and Loans of the White Fish Authority and how Scottish
builders and fishermen have applied their traditional skill and seamanship towards
meeting a world shortage of protein. Even Miss Wilson herself sometimes wonders if
her packed and often tabular statements are vivid enough. Take the *Loch Kildonan*,
for instance, which was Herd and Mackenzie's first essay in a steel vessel and a remark-
ably fine job they made of her. Her crew called her a 'perfect lady' (2, p. 130, photo-
graph p. 88) and the lady survived, apparently with elegant disdain, some pretty coarse
weather down north. Obviously, she was a fit subject for an epic poem, but Miss
Wilson finds herself compelled to give her four pages of concentrated facts: 'I give
her details in full as I have found a hunger for details among my fishermen friends
and many writers gloss over or omit these vital details' (2, p. 131).

This, it seems to me, is very significant. No one, who has ever listened to the con-
versation of an east coast fisherman, with his amazingly detailed memory for dates,
boats, crews, family relations, registration numbers and such like can be in any doubt
about it. Moreover, it is specially significant for dialectologists and lexicographers
because the notion that the terminology of special trades is gradually being levelled
is here demonstrated—but with an important rider. It is being levelled, certainly,
but apparently the neologisms are coming to be accepted, and even enthusiastically
accepted. What else can we make of: *Main Engine*: Ruston and Hornsby 6 VEBM,
335 b.h.p. at 500 r.p.m. with 2:1 reverse/reduction gear, 7.5 KW 220 volt generator,
and GGG pump driven off a forward extension shaft? (2, p. 135). If they hunger after
this sort of detail in Buckie, then it occurs to me that not only do I work in an old
Edinburgh square but I actually *am* an old Edinburgh square whose researches have

not yet advanced much beyond old-time favourites like 'stellum', 'pedlas', and 'foresheet brodds'. Some day some enterprising and nautically minded linguist must do some up to date field-work in Scotland and he can begin with Miss Wilson's books. He can look into some collocations with 'unit' for a start. The galley 'sink-unit' we have already noticed. Then, apparently, the hydraulic system of a line-hauler must have a 'deck unit' and (below the deck) a 'pump unit' (2, p. 29). Decca navigators have 'receiver units' (2, p. 41). There is also a 'display unit' on a 'Decca D202 transistorized marine radar' (2, p. 59). Echo sounders must have a 'magneto strictive unit' (1, p. 81). Furthermore, Miss Wilson tells us that 'The Echograph is combined with the Fischlupe in such a way that the same transducer element serves both units . . .' (2, p. 72). But will any of this, one wonders, ever enter into the common conversation of fishermen sheltering under the lee of a gable? The trade names certainly might. Miss Wilson's books are full of them and they seem to have proliferated wildly since the old sail-boat days when everyone had a 'Beccles' capstan but very little else. 'Decca', of course, is certainly here to stay, but when Miss Wilson tells me that it has 'a 4ft. slotted wave guide unit having a beam width of only 2 degrees, and side lobe characteristics better than those demanded by the M.O.T. type specification' (2, p. 59) I suspect that she is trying to blind me with science; just as when she tells me that some bulkhead or other is 'treated with galvafroid to combat rust' (2, p. 69) or that wet fungus in seine-netters can be prevented 'by extensive Celcurizing' (2, p. 89), I suspect she is trying to sell me something.

However, these books are packed so full that in and out of the electronics wizardry even simple students of custom and belief can find something. There was that madcap *Victory Rose* which did a couple of strange unmanned trips on her own (1, p. 49). Do we add this to the *genre* of Slocum's *Spray* and the 'pilot of the *Pinta*'? There are still unlucky boats too, dogged eternally, it seems, by some mishap in the building or launching (1, p. 97). One builder, at least, puts carved wooden fish in his boats, perhaps to ensure that 'they always have fish aboard' (1, p. 111). And if anyone wants to study the colours of Scottish fishing boats he will find that Miss Wilson's passion for detail will serve him. (The only other source I can think of is R. Stuart Bruce's 'Colours of Scottish Herring Boats' in *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 26, p. 199).

I hope, indeed, that the detail in these books will serve all sorts of specialists. Obviously, Miss Wilson has learnt her business thoroughly. She talks the language too. So perhaps she will allow a some time sea-lawyer—defined by Smyth as 'an idle litigious longshorer'—after he has disposed of the misprints (which are on 1, pp. 30, 31, 64 and 2, pp. 23, 88, 133, 156 (Plan)), one small point in linguistic sailorising: throughout her books she spells 'wale' and 'gunwale' as 'whale' and 'gunwhale' (although we do get 'gunnel' in vol. 2, p. 42). I am sure that both Elder Brethren and Regius Professors would unite in asserting that the word is *wale*, O. E. *walu*. My guess is that Miss Wilson's zeal for the fishing industry has taken her a bit too far this time.

J. Y. MATHER

Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America, by Ernest W. Baughman. Indiana University Folklore Series No. 20. Mouton & Co., The Hague 1966. Pp. LXXVII+606.

The scarcity of the longer folktales—international *märchen,* novellas or hero-tales—among the English-speaking races has long been an evident and a puzzling fact. Moreover such tales are apparently most likely to be found in areas where English overlaps with another language, such as the Gaelic of Ireland or Highland Scotland. This does not seem to be a recent development: at least, one of Dr Baughman's conclusions from this immense catalogue is that 'the preference for short rather than long tales' can be found in America as well as in Britain, though 'it is difficult to generalise about the presumed scarcity of Märchen'.

There is one very good reason for this. English vernacular prose writing was almost extinguished by the Norman Conquest, and could not compete with the older tradition of verse composition until the age of printing came. Almost all long narratives in Middle English or Middle Scots were written in verse. The conservatism of oral tradition has kept it so up to the present century: a long story is properly presented as a ballad, and where recent collectors in both Britain and America have been hard put to it to find prose hero-tales, it has been much easier to find heroic ballads. Many of these, of course, are native to the British Isles, or have Continental affinities whose codification awaits some future Aarne or Thompson; but some of them may represent the only form in English of a well-known international folktale. For instance AT 506, the story of the man who rescues a princess from slavery and is later rescued himself by the spirit of a man whose burial he has paid for, does not appear in Baughman's list at all: but it was known in English in the form of *The Turkey Factor,* a ballad presumably of broadsheet origin which I am told was sung in the early years of this century both in North and South Ronaldsay. The form of AT 326 usually found in Gaelic also appears in Scots as the ballad of *Thrummy Cap* (Robert Ford, *Auld Scots Ballants,* 1889:1), which likewise circulated as a broadsheet. Most songs in Scots and English tell a story, and it was thought right for imaginary or elaborate stories to be told as songs. Even such *märchen* as we have in English prose from chapbooks or other older sources often tend to break into verse at key points in the story.

But this cannot be the whole answer. Nineteenth-century writers such as Robert Chambers often refer to their own or their informant's nurse in terms which imply clearly that at the end of the eighteenth century there were still old wives who could tell plenty of old wives' tales. *Thrummy Cap* was written by a Kincardineshire cousin of Robert Burns about 1796, presumably on the basis of a story which he had heard in prose, and *The Turkey Factor* no doubt had a similar origin, though perhaps farther south. Moreover only the most doctrinaire nativists would deny that some of the rich stock of international folktale in Gaelic must at some time have passed from a medieval

origin on the Continent of Europe through the English-speaking East of Scotland or Ireland, again presumably in prose since no ballad traces have been left to us: Christiansen's *Studies in Irish and Scandinavian Folktales* show how negligible the Norse connections are, and though some tales may have come direct to Ireland from Spain or France, more must surely have followed the busier trade routes from England. It would seem, then, that in Britain the social upheavals of the Industrial Revolution, and the spread of evangelical sects which condemned such vanities as storytelling, put an end to a tradition which may already have been fatally weakened by the insistence of eighteenth-century rationalism that such tales were only fit for children, and by the growth of literacy and a respect for literacy which ensured that the chapbook giant-killers and printed translations from Perrault and Grimm had driven out purely oral stories before the disciples of Grimm set out to look for them.

Again, however, this is an exaggeration. The longer folktales are rare in English, if you compare English with Irish or Hungarian: head for head of population they are extremely rare. But they can be found all the same. Baughman notes as surprising that '480 variants of 147 types of ordinary folktales' (as against short anecdotes) 'are included in the study. Of these, 258 variants of 79 types are Märchen'. Over half of these are found only in America: but as we shall see presently, Baughman's figures are scarcely fair to the British tradition. Moreover these figures exclude stories collected from English-speakers in Ireland, Wales and Scotland, unless specifically from Lowland Scotland in the narrowest sense, and from Negroes in America. But not all Anglo-Irish tales need have come from Irish; the few in print often have heroes called Jack or English opening-rhymes which must have an origin in English, so possibly the whole tale was always handed down in English. Similarly with the excellent *märchen* which Hamish Henderson has found among the tinkers in East Perthshire and other Scots-speaking areas: certainly many tinkers are bilingual in Scots and Gaelic, but it is surely their camp-fire gatherings, continued long after the ceilidh as a social institution died out in most of mainland Scotland, which make them exceptionally good as traditors of Scots songs—so why not of Scots stories? (*Cf. Scottish Studies* 2:82). Probably something the same applies to American Negroes, though *some* of their tales are specifically African: and did all the European tales which reached the American Indians necessarily come from French or Spanish settlers?

Baughman's study, however, is concerned more with recent folktales in English than with their history, though he does include examples going back even to the twelfth century (AT 1890). It is a national type-index like other national 'Aarne-Thompsons', with each variant and its provenance fully documented, and in some cases an indication of individual variations in plot. The original doctoral dissertation of 1935 has been enlarged by the addition of newly published tales and altered according to the latest revisions of the Aarne-Thompson type-index and the Stith Thompson motif-index. Stories for which no place could be found in the first have been fitted into the second: they are largely jokes and supernatural anecdotes, and account for nearly nine-tenths of the list.

Not surprisingly, the American half of the study is much more complete: only pub-
lished collections are included, and it is easier to find a publisher for a collection of folk-
lore in the United States than it is in Britain. What there is is largely in periodicals, and
apart from *Folk-Lore* and its predecessors these are not well represented: Baughman has
not thought to look for Anglo-Irish stories in a periodical with so unpromising a name
as *Béaloideas*—or for Anglo-Scots in *Scottish Studies*. Even if he had, he would not con-
sider them statistically significant, as we have seen: the fine version of AT 393 in *Scottish
Studies* 2:47 would be dismissed as Highland because it was collected in Aberdeenshire,
and worse solecisms than that could be found, such as 'ORKNEY ISLANDS (Gaelic)' under
AT 501 ('Peeriefool', really AT 500)—for genuine versions from the Gaelic are noticed
if they happen to come into periodicals such as *Folk-Lore*. In all, statistically and other-
wise, the Scots tradition has a raw deal: Peter Buchan's *Ancient Scottish Tales* is not
included, and only the first and less full version of Chambers' *Popular Rhymes*, which
may be why, for instance, Chambers' three versions of 'The Wee Bunnock' (AT 2025)
from Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire and Selkirkshire, are cited only in secondary versions:
'SCOTLAND: Jacobs More English 73–77, n.d. BORDER: Petrie Borders 140, 1950', and
therefore appear in the statistical lists as 'Scotland unspecified' rather than Lowland.
Perhaps a future revision will redress the balance in favour of England and Scotland
somewhat by including their volumes in the 'Folktales of the World' series and the
tales summarised in Dr Katharine Briggs' forthcoming *Dictionary of Folktales
in English*.

Baughman's index, though not as complete as its title and size might suggest, is
nevertheless a very valuable guide to the folktales of England and (English-speaking)
North America, the areas it sets out to cover. Many more examples could be listed of
jokes such as 'If I wanted to go to—I wouldn't start from here' (J 1648) or the story of an
ignorant woman serving tea-leaves boiled with butter (J 1732.3), each cited with a single
reference and known to thousands of people in Britain and Ireland: but at least the type
has been numbered. The statistics are certainly distorted by the fact that far more of
these migratory jokes have been published in America than on this side of the Atlantic:
perhaps we take our humour less seriously here. For instance five printed American
versions are listed of J 1738.6: 'Backwoods preacher upon questioning householders
about religious matters finds them hopelessly ignorant. He remarks that they are living
in darkness. The woman responds that she has been trying for years to get her husband
to cut a window in the house.' Within the past month I have met this story in Caithness
(as a dialect poem) and Orkney (oral tradition): it is also well-known in Gaelic. And
the conclusion that 'the tall tale, X 900–1899, is an overwhelmingly American form
(3,710 American variants, 29 English variants)' will need to be modified on farther in-
vestigation: I could double the number of English variants straight away by adding
those I have heard in Orkney recently. But it is useful to have a guide now where to
classify them.

The fact is that it is impossible to demand completeness in such an index. We may

take one example from the American jokes, the best covered section: the 'sell' catalogued as Z 13.4*(m). 'Young man stays overnight with hill couple. He cannot eat enough greens at supper. That night when husband goes to see about disturbance among the horses, the woman says: 'Young man, now's your chance.' He gets up, goes to kitchen, eats the rest of the greens.' A single version from Arkansas is listed. This is (by now) well known in Britain: but apart from that, a version in Vance Randolph's *Who Blowed Up the Church House* is catalogued under AT 1775 ('*The Hungry Parson*. In the night, the parson hunts the porridge to satisfy his hunger'), evidently on the strength of Professor Herbert Halpert's note to this version that 'This story seems to have some relation to Type 1775'. Randolph's own note seems to mention three other printed versions, besides the Arkansas one, but Baughman does not include any of them in either place: nor has he a cross-reference between the motif and the type. It is hardly fair to criticise him for this: these short joke-stories are so easily remembered that they can travel anywhere in a very short time, and the attempt to list all their versions should be classified under H 1030, 'impossible tasks'.

A few statistics from the index may perhaps be put together to give significant results. In the motif section the total of American variants greatly outnumbers that for 'England and Low Scotland' by 7465 to 3966. However, if one deducts section X, 'Humor', and the related sections J, 'The Wise and the Foolish', K, 'Deceptions', and W, 'Traits of Character', which mostly consist of comic anecdotes, the proportions are almost reversed: 2871 to 3731. The remaining sections deal principally with the supernatural in one form or the other: historical legends are not very much in evidence—in America, as in Scotland, many of them may still be found in school textbooks—and section T, 'Sex', would no doubt be fuller if the index were not confined to printed sources. The main supernatural sections are E, 'The Dead' (*i.e.* mainly ghosts), where the proportions are fairly even (1068 to 1085), and D, 'Magic', F, 'Marvels' (largely fairies) and G, 'Ogres' (largely witches), where British tradition leads by 568 to 303, 641 to 105, and 1025 to 600 respectively. This proves more about belief than story-telling, for these sections of the motif-index are full of mere instances of belief which can hardly be called stories ('Fairies dance under oak tree', or 'Frog as witch's familiar'), but it is evident that witches survived the Atlantic crossing much better than fairies, while the belief in ghosts remains almost universal. Baughman's suggestion: 'It may be that people in the British Isles have thought of the fairies as beings who have been definitely located in certain spots since time immemorial' seems plausible, though *for the purpose of a story* Gaelic tradition is quite ready to let them be encountered in America or carry someone across the Atlantic for an overnight visit.

Baughman finds that only 25 per cent of the tale-types and 26 per cent of the motifs are common to Britain and America, but the percentage in the types can be raised to 50 by including tales collected in America 'from regions of predominantly English' (including 'Scotch-Irish') 'settlement'. It may be added that only six of the eighty-two exclusively American types of *märchen* (AT 300–1199) cannot be found in some form in

The Types of the Irish Folktale; and in nineteen of these eighty-two the only Anglo-American source is a single recent publication which is not even listed in the Bibliography. There is little reason to doubt that the longer folktales mostly reached America from the British Isles. In the case of the shorter tales, whether listed as types or motifs, the over-production of the American tall tale industry and the British export deficit in fairies must make a difference: by excluding these sections Baughman manages to raise the percentage of motifs in common to thirty-five. I suspect that this could be doubled if British collectors and publishers set to work on jokes and anecdotes with the assiduity of their American counterparts: but even so it would give little indication on which side of the Atlantic a joke originated. In the sections concerned with ghosts and witches over 50 per cent of the motifs are common to both sides of the Atlantic, and in those dealing with magic and (strange) animals over 40 per cent, and it is probable that these have mostly travelled from East to West.

Like all tale-indexes dealing with living languages, Baughman's index is necessarily in the nature of a preliminary study: in many ways it could have been more complete, but at least it will provide a useful guide to lines for future research, which is more than the student of folktales in English has ever had before. It is invaluable for the scholar on this side of the water to know that certain tale-types can be found among English speakers in America, and to be able to assign accepted motif-numbers at least—if he can locate them—to some of that infuriating unclassified heap of comic anecdotes. And anyone in a hurry to find a joke for an after-dinner speech could find it very useful to dip into the summaries on pages 28–63, 299–363 or 394–600—perhaps the biggest repository of funny stories ever printed!

ALAN BRUFORD

St Englmar—Eine volkskundliche Ortsmonographie by Günther Kapfhammer. Institut für Volkskunde, München 1968. Pp. 172+illus.

In an age when even limited subjects tend to split up, when literary studies and linguistic pursuits separate, when the investigation of written and oral traditions is, more likely than not, carried out in two different com- and de-partments, when the analysis of material culture and non-material concepts is no longer the legitimate prerogative of one man, when even in the non-material world of stories, songs, proverbs, riddles, names, dances each category demands its own specialist scholar, it is encouraging to find at least a few publications which still, or rather again, reflect a more comprehensive and also more complex approach. In 1965, Rudolf Schenda and his wife published their study of a Sicilian street (*Eine sizilianische Strasse* by Rudolf and Susanne Schenda. Tübingen 1965), and now Günther Kapfhammer presents us his monograph of a single rural community. In both books the term 'volkskundlich' appears in the subtitle, and the introductions to both volumes make it clear that what is meant and

intended here is the observation and description in systematic form of the various facets of the traditional life and culture of a single group of people, one accidentally, presently and historically bounded by the houses of a single street, the other by the boundaries of a village (and parish). The scope of the two accounts does not tally completely, and in neither study is the full potential of 'volkskunde' realised in all its dimensions. It is therefore tempting, and it might also be useful, to compare the books step by step, section by section but for the purposes of this review we must confine ourselves to Kapfhammer's volume.

St Englmar is a parish in Lower Bavaria (Niederbayern) with a total population of 1280 (in 1964) spread over 28 smaller units of settlement. It lies between 2,000 and almost 3,500 feet above sea-level and because of its cold climate and long hard winters, as well as its geographical situation, has tended to be by-passed by important traffic routes although today good roads connect it with neighbouring villages and the major road-system. Consequently, it can be expected to have been a relic area for many centuries and to have preserved much which in more accessible communities is bound to have disappeared in, or at least been overlaid by, less traditional and less localised elements. St Englmar is therefore at the same time ideal and dangerous for the kind of investigation described above (much more so, for example, than the Schendas' Sicilian street)—ideal because of the concentrated richness of traditional material and notions, dangerous because these riches might be those of a museum (even of the 'open air' type) rather than of a freely developing community of people in the second half of the twentieth century.

Kapfhammer is obviously aware of the risks involved for he has guarded himself against them by, on the one hand, an extensive chapter setting out geographical and particularly historical matters (especially those concerning the religious background, the worship of saints, pilgrimages, ecclesiastical organisation, etc.) and, on the other, careful quantitative annotation in the major descriptive sections as to whether a custom, a game, a legend is still well known, slightly known, or perhaps only dimly remembered by a single informant. Central to his descriptive chapters is the history of customs in their relationship to place and time, particularly the latter because he feels with the Swiss folklorist Weiss that the customs of the working day as well as the holiday and festival time are the creative nucleus of traditional life uniting the material with the non-material culture both in essence and in analysis; or put slightly differently: It does matter which song is sung to which tune by whom on what day in which surroundings while which clothes are worn, which banners carried, which meals eaten before and after, which precautions taken to ward off evil or incite good, etc. It would indeed be foolish to put the criss-cross of divisions through this organic whole if it were to obscure the essential unity of the traditional event.

The author attempts to realise his objectives and provide the results of his field-work (conducted in a surprisingly short period made possible by intensive preparatory work on written records and the help of the tape-recorder) in three main chapters, a large

one on 'House and farm as the basis of life and work', a less extensive one on 'Life in the village', and a rather short one on 'Oral tradition'. This imbalance is mainly due to the fact that, for the purposes of publication, the section on stories had to be drastically curtailed. In the first of these chapters, the main subheadings are: vernacular (and not so vernacular) architecture both with regard to the farming community and the non-farming population, including not only the important buildings but also the 'little houses'; kinship, family and neighbourhood; clothes and national costume; food and meals; folk medicine; the daily life; the course of a year, especially calendar customs with special highlights on the so-called 'Englmari Festival' on Whitmonday; customs connected with birth, childhood, youth, marriage, death, funeral. The second chapter concentrates on school and education, work and trade, leisure and entertainment, and ranges from a history of the school, via conditions of work, type of workers, music, song and dance to the role of reading matter, wireless, television and the cinema. In the chapter devoted to oral tradition, we find a short account of the dialect, and samples of proverbs, humorous stories, historical legends, local anecdotes, etc., all transcribed from tape-recordings.

This may not be everything one may want to investigate but it is certainly more than is normally found in parish monographs or in strictly categorised, compartmentalised, analytic studies. Naturally, the architect may also claim the section on vernacular architecture as his domain, the musicologist (particularly of the ethnovariety) may regard song and music as his own field of research, the sociologist may hold that kinship and ergological considerations fall within his bailiwick, the linguist may think of the pages on local pronunciation and vocabulary as his speciality, and so on; but these overlaps—and they are no more than that—do not in any way invalidate the folklore-cum-ethnology approach of the Schendas and of Kapfhammer from a new centre of gravity, so to speak, and one can only hope that their example will not go unnoticed elsewhere. Is it too much to hope that, in addition to specialised genre studies, one day we may have a 'volkskundliche Ortsmonographie' of, let us say, Kingussie, or Barr, or of a Glasgow street, accompanied by a full photographic and sound record?

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

Folktales of the Irish Countryside by Kevin Danaher. The Mercier Press, Cork 1967. Pp. 139. 7s. 6d.

Irish Sagas, edited by Myles Dillon. The Mercier Press, Cork 1968. Pp. 175. 10s.

Among all the wealth of folktales collected and published in Ireland in the present century there is relatively little from the English-speaking areas. True, as in most of the English-speaking world the longer *märchen* and hero-tales are hard to get, but the richness of the language in published examples, especially from districts where Irish was spoken a

century ago, makes one wish for more: it is the idiom which inspired Synge unaltered. Kevin Danaher's collection of forty tales from Co. Limerick is therefore very welcome. Admittedly they are the author's re-tellings of tales he heard in his youth, but the sources are all scrupulously named, and the words could well be the words he heard them use: if not, they are plain rather than fancy. There are neither damsels nor colleens, but simply girls. More than a quarter of the stories are fairly long *märchen* (though several may be traceable to a printed source), and the rest are largely concerned with fools and tricksters, ghosts (rather than fairies), or moral *exempla* of the sort so popular in Ireland. It is interesting to compare Nos. 1 and 18 in this book with the versions from the Irish which are Nos. 31 and 52 in Seán O Súilleabháin's *Folktales of Ireland:* in these cases the versions in English are the better ones. Another comparison, between the last four stories as re-told from memory and as taken down on the Ediphone from the same teller by the author in *Béaloideas* XVII, suggests that the treatment has in fact been very free. But how much worse a free treatment could it have been!

Irish Sagas is perhaps a more scholarly book, but less of a bargain: for one thing it is an unacknowledged re-issue of a volume printed by the Irish Stationery Office in 1959 for a quarter of the price under a better-looking cover. For the extra 7s. 6d. one is offered a fulsome blurb, and an introduction by Professor Dillon, which does its best to provide a background in 2000 words to the twelve lectures on different stories that follow, but inevitably repeats part of his own introductory lecture. Worse, the lecturers have written lectures, when with stories from so obscure a language what was needed was as much as possible of the original story in translation or summary left to speak for itself as in Dillon's own *Early Irish Literature*. Gordon Quin mentions every version of the Deirdre story from the Book of Leinster to James Stephens, and James Carney uses *Cath Maige Muccrime* as text or pretext for a sermon on later Irish hopes for a Messiah to drive out the English. Perhaps the lectures which give most of the story are the first and last: Dillon himself on *Tochmarc Étaíne* and David Greene on *Fingal Rónáin*. Perhaps they just had the sense to choose the best stories.

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ALAN BRUFORD

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Record Review

Rí na bPíobairí, The King of the Pipers. Leo Rowsome, uileann pipes. Claddagh Records Ltd, Dublin, CC1, 12in. 33⅓ r.p.m.
Piper's Choice. Leo Rowsome, uileann pipes. Claddagh Records Ltd, Dublin, CCE1. 7in. 45 r.p.m.
Dolly. Dolly MacMahon with Denis Murphy, fiddle, Paddy Moloney, pipes and tin whistle, Michael Tubridy, flute and concertina. Claddagh Records Ltd, Dublin, CC3. 12in. 33⅓ r.p.m.

These records stand on the popular fringe of folk music: traditional performers trying to attract a large audience. Leo Rowsome's skill as a piper is undisputed: but on the longer record he chooses to show it off in exhibition pieces such as *Carolan's Concerto* and *The Fox Chase* which are more impressive than interesting. Moreover the sweet tone of the Irish pipes is not enhanced by the constant yelping accompaniment of the regulators, the curious devices which supplement the drones with chords like a short-winded concertina, and are not used by many country players. Anyone interested in the mere technique of the uileann pipes should have the longer disc; but for good traditional music well played the E.P. gives a far more representative selection.

Dolly MacMahon, too, is a traditional singer who has grown too used to city audiences. Her voice sounds rather saccharine, though the diminuendos criticised by Douglas Sealy in an excellent review in *Ceol* (Vol. III, p. 61) may be due less to conscious underlining of the words than to plain bad breathing. The accompaniments of some of her songs by traditional players are on the whole the best accompaniments I have heard to music which should have no accompaniment. To hear music bad enough for the record's extraordinary title listen to the first half of the second side, with *The Skillet Pot* and *Dan O'Hara;* but the second half, with the bilingual 'dandling song' in slip jig rhythm and an eccentric but beautiful version of *Lord Gregory* (Child 76), is almost as good as the remarkable cover photograph, and these and other bands make this disc an attractive if not wholly authentic addition to the stock of Irish records.

<div style="text-align: right">ALAN BRUFORD</div>

Books Received

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

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A View of the Irish Language edited by Brian Ó Cuív. Stationery Office, Dublin 1969. Pp. 156+pp. 8 illustrations. 15s. (Paperback 8s. 6d.)

Folk Tales and Society: Story-Telling in a Hungarian Peasant Community by Linda Dégh, translated by Emily M. Schossberger. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and London. Pp. 293. 119s.

Gaelic Folktales and Mediaeval Romances by Alan Bruford. *Béaloideas* XXXIV. Educational Company of Ireland, Dublin 1966 (1969). Pp. 286. 20s.

Highland Settler. A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia by Charles W. Dunn. Toronto University Press, Oxford University Press, London 1969. Pp. 180. 24s.

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Scottish Studies in 1968

An Annual Bibliography

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

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Index

Volume 13, 1969

Titles of contributions appear in bold type, and names of contributors in small capitals