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PART 2

NOTES ON COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

REVIEWS AND REPORTS

The Mind of Patrick Sellar (1780-1851)

ERIC RICHARDS

Patrick Sellar was an Elgin capitalist who turned his energies to sheep-farming in the Highlands in the early nineteenth century. He was fortunate to start his career in pastoral farming at a time of high prices. Wool was in growing demand as a raw material of the industrialising economy of the south. Sellar's pursuit of profit was crowned with success—by the early 1840s he found himself in a position to invest almost £30,000 in the purchase of an estate in Argyll (Gaskell 1968: 40). He thus became a laird in his own right. An able and astute businessman, Sellar was undoubtedly one of the most effective and influential sheep-farmers in the north; he was one of the select group of large-scale pastoral entrepreneurs who helped to increase the commercial productivity of the Highlands during the era of the industrial revolution. 'He was one of the most active of men', recalled one obituarist, 'and amidst his numerous and important transactions and the various calls on his time, he contrived to keep pace with most of the discoveries of science, and was well informed on the literature and public questions of his day. His intelligence, shrewdness, and energy gave him great influence among his brother sheep farmers, and made him distinguished in every cause in which he embarked' (*John O'Groat Journal*: November 1851). Sellar raised a family which attained a place of very considerable respectability in Victorian society. He reared nine children—a veritable dynasty of talented and aspiring Sellars who made their mark in the later nineteenth century. An Australian scion celebrated their collective achievement in a volume published in Melbourne in 1910 (Selkirk 1910: *passim*). On his own terms Patrick Sellar was a resounding success.

The other side of the story is darker and better known. Sellar's commercial success was purchased at high cost to his public reputation: his name is perhaps unrivalled in the ranks of Highland villainy. For, apart from his own relatives, most observers have depicted him as the personification of evil. He has frequently been pictured not only as the sadistic agent of a resolutely wicked landlord policy which he used for his own mercenary ends, but also as an instrument of genocide in the Highlands. When Dr Ian Grimble describes Sellar as 'the Heydrich of the Highland Clearances' (Grimble 1964: 385) he is only extending into twentieth-century terms the allegations made against him during his own lifetime.

It is well known that Sellar's reputation derives especially from a series of episodes during the clearances in Sutherland in the years 1812 to 1814. The task was that of removing the common people from certain interior straths to new settlement zones

A

along the coasts of the aristocratic estate of Sutherland. The mountainous interior was then to be given over to the new sheep farmers. Sellar was both factor to the Countess of Sutherland (also known as Lady Stafford) and tenant of some of the land to be cleared. He was directly concerned with the actual process of clearance. In the midst of the great upheaval, accounts began to be circulated (notably in the London-based, anti-clearance newspaper *The Military Register*) that Sellar had personally supervised various acts of grotesque inhumanity while removing the people from their inland homes.

The most often repeated story concerned an old woman—the mother-in-law of William Chisholm, a tinker—at Badinloskin in Strathnaver. It was in June 1814. Sellar, with an eviction party of twenty men, is said to have come across the woman in a hut from which she was due to be expelled. The eye-witness, Donald Macleod, a stonemason of Rossal, told Sellar that she was too ill to be moved. According to Macleod's recollection of the incident, Sellar retorted 'Damn her, the old witch; she has lived too long. Let her burn!' The house was fired and the old woman was carried out by her neighbours, her blankets ablaze. She died in five days. Such was Macleod's account written almost three decades after the alleged incident (Macleod 1841: 12).[1]

This and other allegations of atrocity against Sellar were eventually brought before a jury at a court over which Lord Pitmilly presided at Inverness in April 1816. The numerous charges included that of culpable homicide. The outcome of the famous trial was the triumphant acquittal of the Sutherland sheep-farmer. His name was vindicated and his accusers were set to flight.

But in many ways it was a pyrrhic victory. Sellar's warm satisfaction with the verdict of the Inverness Court was quickly cooled by the continuing repetition of the original charges against him. *The Military Register* was rampant still, and many people were persuaded that the trial had been a travesty of justice: mainly on the grounds that the jury had been composed of 'gentlemen', while the key witnesses were Gaelic-speakers who were not given a fair hearing. It was taken to be the case that landlord influence had triumphed over the truth. This view was strongly sustained by the pen of that widely respected champion of Highland causes, Major General David Stewart of Garth, writing in the early 1820s (Stewart 1822: 1, 163 ff.)—though even he veiled his denunciation of Sellar in rather carefully guarded phrasing. And, despite his loud protests, Sellar was persecuted and taunted throughout his life by writers who continued to regard him as guilty of the charges from which the trial had absolved him. Sellar died in 1851 but the stories against him have been repeated in every decade to the present time. Historians, novelists and poets have waxed long and eloquently in their abhorrence of this man who has been seen to embody the forces that created the Highland tragedy.

Few men were more easily provoked into indignation than Patrick Sellar and he made many vigorous efforts to counter the published attacks on his character. Later in the century, long after his father's death, Thomas Sellar also attempted to defend his

name from further assaults, particularly from the pen of Professor Blackie (Blackie 1882: Dialogue V; T. Sellar 1883: Appendix XCIX; N.L.S. MS 2644, fol. iii). These efforts were almost totally ineffectual.

From time to time, notwithstanding the overwhelming volume of writing against Sellar, a note of caution has been sounded. Dr Horace Fairhurst, for instance, has raised doubts about the veracity of some of the literary sources upon which the conventional view of Sellar is based. Few would disagree with Fairhurst when he remarks that Sellar is a 'man about whom so little is known and so much has been said' (Fairhurst 1964: 15).

Further stringent comment has been made by Dr Phillip Gaskell in his recent book *Morvern Transformed*. 'Reading the report of Sellar's trial today with an open mind', writes Gaskell, 'it seems incredible that a jury could have come to any other conclusion.' He defines two aspects of Sellar's character. He was 'in many ways a good man. He was truthful, and honourable in his business affairs. He was a kind and agreeable friend, and he was accorded the complete devotion of his wife and nine children . . .. He had a well-ordered mind, avoided humbug, and could express himself in clear attractive prose.' At the same time, Gaskell concedes, Sellar's 'ambition and his liking for efficiency led him to pursue success ruthlessly', and he possessed 'an egotistical certainty that whatever he did was right'.

Gaskell is emphatically critical of what he terms 'the absurdity of the Sellar folk-lore which persists in Scotland' (Gaskell 1968: 38–40). Nor can it be denied that there has been a real deficiency of hard evidence about Sellar; the literary record is shot through with polemicism, and little new material has been employed for almost a century. Yet Sellar was a most industrious correspondent and many of his thoughts have survived— particularly in letters to the administrators of the Sutherland estate (many of which are located in the Sutherland Papers). They allow one to suggest several points about Sellar's character and his actions more certainly than before—although they do not alter the fact that it is unlikely that his innocence or guilt in the events of 1814 will ever be conclusively established. And in any case the importance of Sellar does not begin and end with his notoriety: in some respects he exemplified the new thinking in the Highlands in the age of improvement. His letters tell us about his conception of the world, and how he saw his place in that world. In effect the genuine voice of Patrick Sellar can be heard, perhaps for the first time.

II

Only a little is known of Sellar's parentage. His mother was the daughter of a Dalkeith minister. She was a fervent Wesleyan and when the great preacher visited Elgin he is reported to have put his hand on the infant Patrick's head and blessed him. His mother died while he was quite young. His father Thomas Sellar (1754–1817), was trained as a solicitor in Edinburgh. Taking full advantage of the Morayshire proprietors' 'want of a good lawyer in Elgin', Sellar rapidly became the leading solicitor in the town (Selkirk 1910: 60–1).

Apparently known as 'Trusty Tom', the elder Sellar gathered to himself an extremely wealthy clientèle—including the Duke of Gordon, Sir James MacPherson Grant, Gordon of Clunies, and Russell of Westfield. The last of these owned a run-down estate in the county and the task of its renovation was placed in the hands of Thomas Sellar who was evidently well versed in the latest improvement thinking. He devised a remarkably swift method of resettling the estate population on previously unused land, of rationalising the land system, and of raising rents without incurring heavy capital outlays. Despite these improvements Russell's circumstances compelled him to sell off his Westfield estate in 1808. The buyer was his aspiring factor/solicitor, Thomas Sellar. The new owner then set about a concerted plan to convert the estate into a model of efficiency—and to become a landed proprietor in his own right (Selkirk 1910: 60–1; Young 1871: 77; SP D593P/22/1/21 Sellar to Gower 13 August 1810).

Meanwhile his only son, Patrick, had also been educated in Edinburgh University for a legal career. In 1803 he joined his father's practice in Elgin and he quickly rose to the position of Procurator-Fiscal (Young 1879: 581; Mackenzie 1883: 40–2). Concurrently Thomas Sellar had widened his interests into a number of commercial ventures in road construction and harbour development in Moray. In 1809 he joined a consortium of businessmen whose collective aim was to grasp opportunities for speculative trading in the north-east. They were led by another energetic agricultural improver, William Young (T. Sellar 1883: 21; Young 1879: 305).

In 1809 the consortium reached outwards to create trading links with Sutherland— a territory only then beginning to feel the influence of the general 'improvement' movement in Scottish agriculture. It was at this time that the younger Sellar joined forces with William Young. To these men from Moray Sutherland presented almost unlimited scope for their improving zeal—it was like a colony ripe for development, an entirely new field for enterprise. An account of the development of their ideas and influence in Sutherland has been given elsewhere (Richards 1970). Briefly, the two Moraymen began to exert a dominant sway over the Sutherland family who were already committed to radical change on their vast estate. They became tenants of an arable farm at Culmaily in 1809, and soon after Young was installed as commissioner of the Sutherland estate, with Sellar acting as his right-hand man. Between them they gained a considerable degree of control over the design and implementation of the economic plan for the estate. Most important of all, the Moray speculators helped to persuade the noble proprietors that a vigorous coastal economy could be established on a foundation of fishing and diversified industrial activity. Thus evolved the Sutherland experiment in social and economic engineering: in effect the clearance of the inhabitants of the straths to the coasts where they were intended to engage in new and improved modes of subsistence. The interior tracts would be turned over to sheep: rents would rise with productivity, the people would no longer be susceptible to periodic famine, nor would the landlord be liable for expensive relief measures. Such were the assumptions in the minds of the planners.

Sellar himself had initial doubts about the wisdom of clearances. He had once regarded commercial sheep-farming in the Highlands as 'one of the most detestable and abominable things possible to be imagined' (Sellar 1883: 24). He wrote in 1815 that 'I was long a passionate declaimer against the only reasonable improvement of which the Highlands are susceptible. I mean the removal of the people to fishing ground—to allotments where a man in ten minutes in many seasons may catch as many fish as his family can eat in four and twenty hours—and stocking the interior with sheep. The effects of such arrangements in advancing the estate, the country to which it belongs— the very people who oppose it—in wealth, civilisation, comfort, industry, virtue and happiness, are palpable—ask Sir William Grant what his Grandfather was—a removed tenant! But for the *just* views of the proprietor this great man would have been now in a place like Scottany and at a rent of £5—following two or three Highland poneys with a cocked bonnet on his head and a Red top to it, and a ragged philiby reaching half way down his leg, afflicted I doubt not by a hereditary itch which all the brimstone in Scotland would be tardy to cure' (SP Sellar to Loch 28 June 1815). In fact Sellar managed to shake off his prejudice against sheep almost as soon as he stepped ashore in Sutherland. His conversion was, as he said, complete, and he proceeded to bid for the leases of large tracts of territory which were scheduled for clearance— thereby joining the ranks of the great sheep-farmers whom he had once detested (T. Sellar 1883: 23-6).

Between them, Sellar, Young and the Sutherland family, were set to revolutionise the economy of that northern estate. The radical changes, from the beginning, provoked the resistance of the interior people who were ordered to resettle. Sporadic violence erupted—notably in 1812. The response of Young's management was to calm the people and then to press on with its schedule for clearance. It was in this phase that Sellar, while implementing the removal procedures, ran foul of the people of Strathnaver in the episodes which eventually led to his trial in 1816.

III

It was always Sellar's contention that from 1812 onwards there had been a conspiracy in Sutherland to halt the clearances and to check the legal exercise of landlord policy. 'In the Highlands the lower ranks are entirely led by those above them,' he remarked in one letter. The people he believed were crafty, cunning and thoughtful, and they had full leisure to mature their obstructive plans. The leaders, he thought, would be found in the group of half-pay captains, tacksmen, and others whose interest it was to hold back the tide of improvement in the county. Sellar's profound belief was that, as the conspiracy developed, the focus of the assault came to be directed against himself: he saw himself as the victim of the wholly vicious machinations of 'bad men' in the straths of Sutherland (SP Sellar to Loch 23 May 1816, 7 May 1816).

On his own part it is clear that Sellar made very little effort to cultivate a harmonious relationship with the common people of Sutherland—the people whose rents he

collected, whose removal he arranged and, often, whose land he was to acquire for himself. Friction was inescapable, but Sellar did nothing to lessen the tension. He was a rigorous, pressing collector of rents: in September 1813 he congratulated himself on collecting the rents of ten parishes on the Sutherland estate. 'I don't say in figures, but in numbers and extent of business I certainly have the honour to collect the first rental in Scotland'—it was the culmination of a major drive to regularise the estate accounts and press for the payment of all arrears, large and small (SP Sellar to Loch, 9 September 1813). Moreover, Sellar's campaign ran parallel to an outburst of rioting, violence and attendant military intervention in Kildonan and Assynt. Sellar's superior, William Young, wrote of the desirability of bringing 'rogues of every description to punishment . . . if sheep-stealers are convicted we shall be able to rid the country of some very bad characters' (SP Young to Loch, September 1813).

In March 1814 Sellar again toured the Sutherland estate in search of rent evaders. He was obviously pressing hard to remove the blanks in the estate rental. Since Christmas Eve he had devoted his energies to that end; he had resolved that 'my rental [for 1813] should be fully filled up, summed and signed'. Nor would he be cheated by petty trickery: 'I knew that the people would not meet me,' he reported, 'but I also knew that if I was not found at my post, it would stand them as a good apology for not paying at all and, in the numerous removals now going on, and so necessary in the proper arrangement of the estate, it needs *much* vigilance to prevent them from carrying with them their last rent; piously "borrowing from the Egyptians" all that is possible. After several weeks perambulation in this manner, in the course of which one of my guides was nearly lost and has actually lost several of his toes by the frost and returned home, I have been receiving the rents, in *Retail* daily . . . I am now in the middle of my notices for removal' (SP Sellar to Loch, 3 March 1814). There can be little doubt that Sellar regarded the business of estate administration as a contest between the factors and the people.

Sellar did not lack support. William Young, engaged in the general supervision of the forthcoming clearances, paid tribute to Sellar's authoritarian efficiency in matters of rent collection and removal. At Whitsunday 1814 they were to proceed with the greatest clearance that Sutherland had experienced; several hundred families were to be removed and resettled. Young contrasted the methods of removal employed on Lord Stafford's English estates with those in the Highlands: he wrote to James Loch (commissioner of the southern estates), 'As to the merinos (the mania of the day) and your Newcastle [Staffordshire] removals I leave you to Sellar; if there were *no political motives* to the contrary he would have sent George by the Grace of God greetings to these gentry in place of your polite letters—every country has its own laws and customs, here such notice would not have been worth a farthing, and Mr Mackid would have been quite affronted' (SP Young to Loch, 3 March 1814).

Robert Mackid in his capacity as Sheriff-Substitute of Sutherland was periodically involved in the legal aspects of the removals. He had already crossed swords with Sellar

in 1813—they were well-established enemies some time before the incidents which subsequently led to Sellar's trial. Sellar had actually caught the Sheriff-Substitute poaching on the Sutherland estate on at least one occasion; and Mackid believed that Sellar had designs on his own position in the legal hierarchy of the county. In March 1813 Mackid apparently voiced several complaints about Sellar's methods of rent collection. The latter commented that 'Mr. Mackid . . . would very gladly fish out anything improper in my conduct', and William Young sprang to his defence and told Loch that 'With respect to Sellar I know him too well and cannot allow myself to think for a moment that he could be capable to extract a single shilling improperly from the people, far less put it in his own pocket; I have formerly had occasion to ask him about similar charges and always got a satisfactory reply'. Young also alluded to concerted attempts to avoid rent payment and to cheat Sellar (SP Sellar to Young 25 March 1813; Young to Loch 27 March 1813; P. Sellar 1825: 3).

The scene was set for the sequence of events that led to the famous trial of Sellar. It was at Whitsunday 1814 that he personally supervised clearances in Strathnaver and Kildonan for a sheep farm which he was due to take over. Six weeks elapsed before complaints were made against his action—charges which largely concerned muir burning and the alleged insufficiency of notice that Sellar had given the people. It was a further ten months before Mackid took a precognition and incarcerated Sellar in Dornoch Jail—at which time he informed Lord Stafford that 'a more numerous catalogue of crimes, perpetrated by an individual, has seldom disgraced any country, or sullied the pages of a precognition in Scotland!!!' (Mackenzie 1883: 21). It was another eleven months before Sellar was brought to trial at Inverness on charges including that of culpable homicide.

From the moment of his arrest until his acquittal Sellar sustained a level of intense indignation. It was a complex case, and the details are not the concern of this paper. After his imprisonment at Dornoch the accused sheep-farmer poured out his shock and exasperation to the Stafford family and their principal agent James Loch. Hotly and repeatedly he contended that there was a campaign against him and that it was the work of Mackid and his fellow intriguers who had plotted to ruin him and to break the clearance policy. Mackid, wrote Sellar soon after his arrest, had 'acted from first to last in the affair in the most diabolical manner'. Sellar demanded an impartial examination of the case, though he could 'ill-spare £300 to £400 from the improvement of my farm in a question which must *turn out to be a piece of intrigue founded on falsehood*. However, whatever sacrifice is necessary for my honour I cheerfully submit to' (SP Sellar to Loch 15 June 1815).

Mackid had already boasted that Sellar would indubitably be either hanged or sent to Botany Bay, and Sellar believed that he was in league with the correspondents of *The Military Register* and of other newspapers bent on maligning the Sutherland regime. Mackid 'wished to kill me by defamations, not by law', exclaimed Sellar. 'The crimes alleged against me being all *imaginary* . . .. I cannot figure that the Lord Advocate will

at all put me to trial. If he do I am satisfied he must fail. It is a matter of course. But in the meantime I have got the weather guage of Mackid and the two Sutherlands [whom he believed to be authors of letters to the *Military Register*] and I shall give them battle.' Sellar asserted that he was innocent, that he could prove the malice of his opponents and, moreover, that he was on the side of progress (SP Sellar to Loch 28 June 1815).

Sellar thus considered himself the victim of a confederation of parties conspiring to spread libels against him and to take his life. Mackid and his associates were, he said, libellous, designing scoundrels whose actions were 'the base machinations of bad men, without the slightest ground or foundation': like Napoleon they had been allowed to go too far. He was convinced that Mackid's recognition of the summer of 1815 had employed the tools of threat and promise to extract perjured evidence from a deceitful and credulous people. And Sellar pointed out that the original complaint (contained in the petition that preceded the precognition)—'that I burned the heath and pulled down the houses and would not allow the tenants possess them twelve months after the term of removing'—was a relatively trivial complaint. It had required a further twelve months to yield the charge of culpable homicide. 'Now is it at all credible,' he reasoned, 'that these tenants who were pushed forward by my enemies with this complaint on purpose to ruin me with my employer would have omitted these more heinous circumstances now brought against me if such circumstances had really existed?' With similar rhetorical indignation he asked Loch, in October 1815, 'Can you believe, my good sir, that I, a person not yet cognosed or escaped from a madhouse, should deliberately, in open day, by means of an officer who has a wife and family, with three witnesses *called to attest his process*, burn a house with a woman in it! or that the officer should do so, *instead* of ejecting the tenant—the said tenant and woman being persons of whom we have no felonious intent—no malice or ill will!' Such were some of Sellar's feelings at the time of the pre-trial investigations (SP Sellar to Lady Stafford 17 July 1815; Sellar to Loch 14 September 1815 and 16 October 1815).

He had few illusions about his obvious unpopularity in Sutherland. His closest colleague, William Young, observed in June 1815, that 'Sellar has many enemies . . . and it might have been more prudent to have steered a middle course' in his dealings with the Kildonan people (SP Young to Loch 15 June 1815). For himself Sellar saw his position in the county with great clarity. Writing in October 1815 he produced a vivid and revealing description of his conception of the world about him. 'An estate in the highlands of Scotland is in the possession of middlemen, subtenants, turfcutters, and whisky smugglers, who poach the game, destroy the woods, destroy the surface of the ground, and pay their rents with or without interest as they please, while the factor gets fat and full, sitting at his own fireside.' Such was the position before his appointment as factor to the Sutherland family. 'The proprietor turns off this factor, engages a keen thin man [*i.e.* Sellar] who trounces the poachers high and low from the Sheriff on his seat of Justice [*i.e.* Mackid] who kills five partridges in the snow at one strath, to John Gunn of Knockfin selling game on the streets of Thurso. He places officers and

PLATE 1   Patrick Sellar of Ardtornish.
From an oil-painting by Sir Daniel Macnee, 1851 (reproduced by
kind permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland)

spies in every parish, scours the country himself, checks the wood stealing, and makes every man pay interest and is the *immediate instrument* in turning out the people of *every parish* from the rent free possessions to fishing allotments, the then object of their detestation.' His dramatisation of his role as factor concluded with the question 'Can such a man fail to have conspiracies against him?'—for, as he pointed out, it was 'the same sheriff' who inflated the complaints and concocted the evidence in order now to 'defame and injure the agent' (SP Sellar to Loch 13 October 1815).

Sellar's sense of persecution was heightened in September 1815 when the Sheriff Depute, Cranstoun, verified Mackid's precognition. Cranstoun examined only Mackid's previous witnesses and refused to see Sellar's own defence evidence. Thus Sellar's frustration and anxiety accumulated until his trial in the following April. Nor did his employers consider the verdict a foregone conclusion: the House of Sutherland remained conspicuously aloof from the proceedings, and their unofficial observer at Inverness expressed real uncertainty about the issue of the legal processes and remarked that 'I fear his conduct may have been culpably harsh' (SP Mackenzie to Loch 21 April 1816).

IV

Sellar, of course, was acquitted at the Inverness trial. His reaction to the verdict was characteristic. His post-trial euphoria rapidly gave way to thoughts of action against his defeated assailants. Alluding to the crisis of authority in the Highlands, and to the long-standing conspiracy against himself, he told the Stafford family that they should not forget that the day had been appointed, by the conspirators, 'for driving every South countryman out of the county'. 'It occurs to me to be very essential,' he wrote, 'to find out and punish the leaders of the people.' Sellar's determination was strengthened by renewed libels against him appearing in *The Military Register*. The people 'have *insinuated* and *sneaked* and *whispered* calumnies through every indirect channel', he complained, and it was time that the lies were finally broken. The troublemakers must be rooted out: 'now is the happy hour to give them battle.' It was the *sine qua non* of progress on the Sutherland estate. 'I confess I am not without forebodings concerning the *future*, that is, if our Noble constituents do not fully avail themselves of the present *sense which the public entertain* of the late most dangerous conspiracy, and place their Country on a footing of *permanent peace and security*. If they, in their wisdom do so, the new colony planted here (through whom I trust it is not vanity to say that the permanent improvement of the estate is to be expected) will flourish and go forward beyond *anything I can figure in the north of Scotland*. If not the *repetition* of *these* dangerous and atrocious attacks *will ruin* us, and we shall be forced, at length, to quit our concerns to the Highland Captains and Sergeants at what they please to give us. *This I assure you is no dream*,' he emphasised. Sellar's nightmare had lessened, but the troublemakers, apart from Mackid, were not to be easily trapped, and the press attacks continued (SP Sellar to Loch 7 May 1816 and 25 May 1816; Sellar to Lady Stafford 2 June 1816; *The Military Register* 5 June 1816).

Patrick Sellar directed his efforts at Robert Mackid, 'I am very much of Buonaparte's creed in one thing', he wrote in June 1816, 'that a first point is to make the enemy *pay the expenses of the war*; and I think if we don't do this we do the thing by halves'. He had started a legal case against Mackid and had 'secured his property by proper arrestment so that if I carry my point I may not be cheated by any of his shifting tricks and embezzlements, and I think I may count on £1500 or so, of a fund thus secured. If the defendant don't become bankrupt within 60 days of the arrestment I secure a preference on these funds' (SP Sellar to Loch 2 June 1816; Lady Stafford to Loch 18 June 1816).

Mackid was certainly on the retreat, and Sellar made ready to hound him out of the county. It was not until September 1817 that the victorious sheep-farmer, on the advice of James Loch, decided to settle with Mackid without extracting his pound of flesh. 'I found the miserable man involved in such difficulties on all hands, and his family of I believe 9 or 10 young children so certainly about to be beggars by my bringing him to Trial, that I was well pleased to wash my hands of them.' Instead Sellar obtained a letter of confession from Mackid to the effect that the precognition of 1815 had been full of falsehoods and that he was 'fully ashamed' of what he had done (SP Sellar to Grant 23 September 1817; Sellar to Loch 24 September 1817; Lady Stafford to Loch 9 October 1817). In answer to all later critics, Sellar was always able to present this letter as complete proof of his own innocence (The letter is printed in P. Sellar 1825: Appendix).

As for the appointment of a new Sheriff in Sutherland, Sellar again gave no room for doubt about his own feelings: it was of 'great consequence that our new Sheriff . . . be no "Gael" nor "Mac"—But a plain, honest, industrious *South* country man'. It was a principle which, he was convinced, ought also to apply to all 'Parsons and Schoolmasters' (SP Sellar to Loch 31 May 1816).

V

Patrick Sellar may also be seen through the eyes of a number of his associates who knew him well and who committed their opinions to paper during and after the period of his trial. One was James Loch. Writing in June 1815 (at the time of Sellar's arrest by Mackid) he remarked that the sheep-farmer had a 'quick, sneering, biting way of saying good things in the execution of his duty which I do not think has made him popular with anybody whether in the management of the affairs or otherwise' (SP Loch to Adam 10 June 1815; Loch to Young 9 June 1815). Only a few months later Loch described Sellar as 'a faithful and zealous person' (SP Loch to Lord Stafford 14 August 1815). Nevertheless Loch felt himself obliged to advise him to carefully 'avoid a certain ironical mode of expression, which does you more mischief than you are aware of . . . believe me the number of enemies a man makes by doing his duty steadily and honestly are few, the mode of doing it however makes the case very differently' (SP Loch to Sellar, 26 October 1815). Soon after the trial, in May 1816,

Loch again recommended Sellar to avoid taunting the people, and to use moderate language in order to establish a new relationship with the common inhabitants of the estate. Loch was clearly dissatisfied with Sellar's attitudes and methods in the management of the Sutherland estate and he attributed much of the unpopularity to Sellar's 'satirical turn which does him so much harm' (SP Loch to Sellar 15 May 1816; Loch to Grant 8 June 1816).

It was less than a year after the trial that major changes occurred in the managerial organisation of the Sutherland estate. The existing management of Young and Sellar was dislodged and a new agency was established which was more directly answerable to James Loch. The change-over was preceded by confidential reports on the character of the old management. Of Sellar, William Mackenzie (a close adviser to the Stafford family) remarked: 'He is well-versed and active in the usual routine of ordinary business and attentive to the execution even to a nicety, though often he is more the formalist than need be and to a degree to cause him to forget the very essence.' Moreover, he continued, 'whereas taste, temper, or feeling is required, or even ordinary discretion, he is deficient beyond what I ever met in any man, so that I don't know one in the whole circle of my acquaintances so ill-calculated as him to fill the office of a Factor and in such a country as Sutherland' (SP Mackenzie to Loch 19 October 1816).

Loch's opinion was no less candid and he recommended to Lady Stafford that Sellar should leave the management as soon as possible. He possessed 'less discrimination than it is easy to believe [and] was really guilty of many very oppressive and cruel acts'. It was a scathing indictment. Loch emphasised that 'in everything connected with accounts and the business of the office no man can exceed Sellar in accuracy or despatch. In whatever relates on the other hand to the intercourse or management of men, to the knowledge or conduct of the world, or above all to a gentlemanly feeling or understanding, he is deficient beyond measure, and which nothing has counteracted but the attachment which is felt from the highest to the lowest for your Ladyship and your Family.' Loch assured Lady Stafford that his verdict on Sellar was founded 'on most sufficient ground', and that therefore 'He is the most unfit and dangerous person from these defects to be intrusted with the management and therefore with the character of any ancient and distinguished family'. In his view Sellar's factorship was a disaster and had been responsible for much of the antagonism and social dislocation that attended the early clearances in Sutherland (SP Loch to Lady Stafford 3 October 1816, 11 October 1816; cf. Sellar 1883: 41).[2]

Sellar was subsequently removed from the estate administration, but he remained as the largest sheep-farmer in Sutherland. Thereafter his dealings with the estate were frequently cool, often hostile. In 1817 preparations were in train for more clearances, some of which were to provide further sheep-lands for Sellar. Lady Stafford remarked that 'as Sellar is so strict a lawyer . . . he will adhere to the letter of any promise from us [therefore] we must not give him any promise of entry . . . unless sure of being able to keep to it'—her implication being that he would insist upon entry to the lands even

if it entailed cruelty to the people involved in the removals. Lady Stafford also noted that Sellar 'exaggerates in everything relating to them [*i.e.* the common people], and by beginning in that line he has probably drawn upon himself more attacks from them than he would otherwise have had', (SP Lady Stafford to Loch 31 October 1817). She also commented (in November 1818) that 'Sellar is too sly and refining upon his plans by concealing half' (SP Lady Stafford to Loch 11 November 1818).

Sellar firmly believed that the landlord owed him gratitude for his work, both as factor and as the most successful sheep-farmer on the estate—and the management continued to consult him on technical and agricultural matters of policy. But the relationship was never after 1816 a warm one. In 1822 Sellar complained bitterly of the fallen wool prices and suggested that he deserved a temporary rent reduction—after all, he pointed out, he was the tenant 'who is most extensively embarked on his own capital and on that for which I pay his Lordship $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest per annum' (Sellar had borrowed £1,500 from Lord Stafford). He asked plaintively that the estate 'do not insist on the ruin of my wife and children'—and he received some accommodation (SP Sellar to Loch 29 May 1822; T. Sellar 1883: 23). Other problems were less easily settled. In 1836, for instance, Sellar's hostility to the estate agents reached the surface over questions of policy on muir-burning and deer forests. He suggested that many of the estate officers were distinctly less than trustworthy. They were prejudiced against him, he said; in some cases they were 'men who have been, themselves, dispossessed to make room for sheep, or the descendents and relatives of men so situated' (SP Sellar to Loch 21 June 1836). Recurrent irritations continued. The estate administrators, especially Loch, were never happy with the size of Sellar's possession. In the late 1840s thought was given to the idea of breaking up the larger sheep farms on the estate—partly to create a 'middle-class' of occupiers, partly to mollify public opinion. Sellar had a ready answer in his own case—he paid £2,200 a year to the 2nd Duke of Sutherland, and he paid it regularly—if his lands were split this would prove much more difficult. The 2nd Duke conceded the point, but replied there were 'other considerations . . . involved in this concern' beyond the 'pecuniary point of view' (SP Sellar to the Duke of Sutherland 28 September 1847). As a sheep-farmer he was regarded as an unqualified commercial success. But the social consequences of Patrick Sellar were no less evident to the 2nd Duke and his aides whose minds were exercised in ways of erasing the shadow of past misadventures in estate planning.

A persistent ambivalence marked the relationship between Sellar and the Sutherland estate during these decades. His commercial success and his excellent record of rent payment had to be set against his undiminished unpopularity, his crude ambition and his negative attitude to community-building on the estate. His opinion on agricultural matters was genuinely valued for its technical expertise and experience. But even here he was a prickly and acrimonious correspondent and small disagreements with Loch over matters of estate policy left him disproportionately hurt and indignant. It was rare for him to agree calmly to any proposition.

VI

No examination of Sellar's attitudes would be representative without some reference to his trenchant opinions on the Highland problem as he saw it in Sutherland. Having apparently once detested the whole idea of the clearance system, Sellar soon departed for the other extreme and advocated that the people cleared from the interior should depend exclusively on fishing for their future livelihood.[3] Any compromise on this issue, he believed, would render the resettlement programme self-defeating. If the people were unable to make a living at fishing then there could be little hope for them. He insisted that sheep-farming in the Highlands was logical, inevitable and, on individual and national criteria, truly beneficial. He wrote in 1829 that 'if the country goes on at the rate it has done during the last century, every part of the Highlands will assuredly be put under stock, although General Stewart . . . may not live to see it'— the population and wealth of Britain had increased at such a rate that the demand for wool could not fail to increase (SP Sellar to Loch 30 March 1820).

Sellar could see no sense in subsidising (by periodic relief and by low rentals) the common people in the hills when better rents could be obtained from sheep farmers. In any case they would be better off along the coasts where fish were abundant. In March 1817, in the midst of famine, Sellar told Lady Stafford that he was 'convinced that the time will come when Sutherland, instead of robbing the industrious mechanic of his meal to support a useless population among ye hills, shall send food as well as clothing to other countries, and if the people on the coast take to fishing as they seem inclined to do, they will already diminish the scarcity among themselves very considerably' (SP Sellar to Lady Stafford 22 March 1817). To him the Sutherland experiment was correct on all counts. When the schemes were the subject of public criticism in 1816, Sellar consoled Lady Stafford with the thought that 'Every reformer of mankind has been abused by the established *errors, frauds* and *quackery*—from Martin Luther to Mr Coke, and from that prince of improvers to such a miserable cobler[?] as myself, but where the reformers have been right at bottom, they have by patience . . . and their unabating zeal and enthusiasm got forward in spite of every opposition, and so I trust shall your Ladyship in your generous exertions to better the people in this country' (SP Sellar to Lady Stafford 26 January 1816). There was always something Messianic in Sellar's unalloyed faith in 'improvement'.

The Elgin sheep-farmer was not always patient with the recalcitrant attitudes of the common people of Sutherland. In August 1814 he bitterly condemned their backward and obstructive ways: the common people of Sutherland, he asserted, were 'a parcel of beggars with no stock, but cunning and lazy. Sutherland is a fine farm badly stocked. The people have often succeeded against industry—they have wearied out the agents in subversion by their craft and their intrigue and combination; and although they are driven at present pretty much from their original habits, the mass requires a great

deal more yeast yet before it shall become leaven. They require to be thoroughly brought to the coast where industry will pay, and to be *convinced* that they *must* worship industry or starve.' He continued 'The interior of this country is clearly intended by providence to grow wool and mutton for the employment and maintenance and enrichment of industrious people *living in countries suited to manufacture*. It is part of the territories of the "beasts of the field" where it was not meant that "*man* should dwell in cities"—and the present population of this interior, are, of all others best calculated, when driven to it, for making real, and moving from this latent state, our other branch of wealth. I mean the myriads of valuable fish with which every creek is periodically filled, and which are not sent there to die a natural death or for the feeding of whales and sharks' (SP Sellar to Loch 1 August 1814). It was as if there was a divine sanction for the clearance system.

In similar vein was Sellar's denunciation of what he termed 'the aborigines' when plans for further removals were being prepared in 1817. With a full flow of sarcasm he declared that the sheep-farmers would not be able to get forward until the people and their cattle were completely cleared from the districts. 'The aborigines drain from *us* a full rent, and they *beg or steal too from the proprietor's pocket* what *we pay him*, but the pleasure of feeding these animals, the enjoyment of seeing them destroy and damage everything in their reach, and the satisfaction of being abused and misrepresented in return for our forbearance'. The people were 'in a state of worse than entire inutility. I thank God the thing is so near a termination (SP Sellar to Loch 16 October 1817). In the following year Sellar rejoiced that 'the aborigines—the common people, are effectively cowed' by the properly unbending vigour of the management in its plans for the forthcoming removals. 'We shall march steadily forward at Whitsunday [1819], and shall make our clearance of the Hills . . . once and for all', he told James Loch (SP Sellar to Loch 13 April 1818).

It came to be Sellar's view that there were too many people altogether in Sutherland.[4] He quoted the Reverend Thomas Malthus several times with approbation. In 1815 for instance, he directed Loch's attention 'to a very fine passage' in Malthus' work which 'shews irresistably how the increase of population is independent of every other circumstance except the increase of food . . . and in the experience of all countries and ages nothing is more certain than that the country commanding most food, will contain most people, command most labour and contract most strength' (SP Sellar to Loch October 1815). In 1816–17 the supply of food fell short in Sutherland and it created acute suffering. Sellar analysed the problem. He pointed out that until recently the local population had been sustained partly by 'the circulation of Lord Stafford's money (*i.e.* capital expenditures mainly on the new coastal economy), partly by the expenditures on Highland road construction, partly by 'annual drainage to the armies', and partly by the unusually high prices of black cattle. These special circumstances, he reasoned, had eased the pressure of numbers on the local means of subsistence; but the position had since been reversed. 'Population, in spite of everything, increases by returns

from the army and from the south, and many families and individuals to whom I have denied any footing on the estate but who speedily set up a turf cabin under the shelter of a brother or father, or go into family with friends.' Moreover employment opportunities had been reduced and the land of the interior people produced insufficient corn. And the people were able to 'create nothing to export to other countries in exchange for the supply of these wants'. The price of their cattle had fallen so catastrophically that they could not afford to buy food for themselves, let alone pay their rents. They would either have to emigrate or be freed from the obligation of paying rent (SP Sellar to Lady Stafford, 17 April 1817).

Sellar considered emigration the logical and only practicable remedy to the population problem of the Highlands, and in this opinion he was, at least in the early days, far more radical than his landlord. He saw no other solution to the famine problem of 1816–17. There were, he figured, between 12,000 and 15,000 people on the Sutherland estate, who would be 'destitute of three or four months food'. Most of them possessed 'little or no property to exchange for food—nothing but labour such as it is'. He continued that 'the people have "no skill or capital", they do not convert the produce of the ground into any quantity of value proportional even to the low rents. They conserve of what little they produce, an excessive proportion, in maintaining a multitude of idle families. They are of consequence without property to exchange for meal—money they have none' (SP Sellar to Loch 2 December 1816, 11 December 1816, 29 December 1816). Lord Stafford organised some relief measures in the form of meal and potatoes. Sellar commented that 'This supply of meal and potatoes, with economy, should keep us until the mildew comes again, perhaps about 1821. It is a most charitable donation from a Great Family to a distressed tenantry, but the true benevolence to them is to render them independent of such supplies by setting as many as the country and its fisheries can keep on low ground, and enabling the rest to emigrate to a country more suitable for them' (SP Sellar to Loch 22 March 1817).

When it came to Sellar's attention, in 1816, that a number of small tenants in Strathnaver were contemplating emigration, he remarked 'I confess I think it would be a most happy thing if they did, both for themselves and for this estate. They are just in that state of society for a savage country, very different from the London and Manchester tradesmen, when landed in the woods of America.' The landlord should consider seriously the possibility of subsidising their departures: 'Here you feed them to continue in beggary. By the other [i.e. paying their passages to America] you feed them to remove from beggary to independence.' Even better, they might be inclined 'to carry a swarm of their dependents with them' (SP Sellar to Loch 16 October 1816, 20 October 1816, 27 October 1816). Sellar assured Lady Stafford that 'you really will not find this estate pleasant or profitable until by emigration or by draining to your coastside you have got your mildewed districts cleared' (SP Sellar to Loch 11 December 1816).

Governmental efforts to humanize the emigrant traffic were, to Sellar, meddling

and misguided. He regarded the introduction of minimum food requirements on migrant vessels as an absurd obstruction to the exodus from the Highlands—Highlanders did not need so much meat as regulated, they could live on oatmeal (SP Sellar to Lady Stafford 10 April 1817). A similarly characteristic response of Sellar came in 1819 when he heard that, instead of settling on the coastal reception zones on the Sutherland estate, many of the recently cleared people of the interior were departing for Skibo and Caithness. 'Upon the whole', he commented, 'Skibo and Caithness are two receptacles and they have unloaded you a great deal of trash, of which you are well rid' (SP Sellar to Loch 22 June 1819).

A quarter of a century later the tone of Sellar's thoughts on emigration had not noticeably changed. The potato famine created great difficulties in the west and north of Sutherland, and the 2nd Duke and his agents mobilised relief on an unprecedented scale. As always Sellar was ready with gratuitous advice. It was more sensible, he wrote in March 1847, to use ships for exporting destitute people rather than for importing food. Available ships should be employed 'in summer, to carry the redundant population to locations of various sorts in Canada, and kindly and paternally, settling them there, *where provisions are comparatively cheap*. . . . The sons and grandsons of the men you send and *settle there*, in a *spirit of kindness*, would "stand a fall of fire" betwixt you and the Yankees' (SP Sellar to Loch 6 March 1847). A few weeks later Sellar returned to his theme: 'If facilities were given for emigration, there would be a general wish to get abroad. The *difference in cost* of eating Indian corn in America, besides eating it at home would pay the expense of their transport. Ten millions spent in applying the remedy would be a profitable remedy, but ten millions applied, merely to pass through the bowels of the misgoverned people is worse than thrown away. It destroys their self-reliance—makes them a mistletoe on the British oak' (SP Sellar to Loch 17 March 1847). Once more the clarity of his thinking was matched by the vigour of his prose.

VII

Sellar's responses to his critics were also resolute and illuminating. Repeatedly provoked by allegations concerning his conduct in the clearances of 1814, the embattled Sellar took every occasion to abuse his assailants, and to clear his own name with the public. Armed with Mackid's signed apology and with the successive census returns (showing a continuous though marginal increase in the Sutherland population to 1831), he penned letters of retort to a long line of authors and newspapers. In 1825, for instance, he pursued Major-General David Stewart of Garth regarding a section of his first edition of *Sketches . . . of the Highlanders of Scotland* which implied that, notwithstanding the Inverness trial verdict, Sellar had been guilty of heinous crimes. Sellar considered Stewart an ignorant, intermeddling, impertinent man— 'a selfish, petty Highland laird who sees no further than the limits of the little sovereignty where Donald approaches him with fear and trembling—hunger in his face—a tattered philibeg of Stewart on his

other end' (SP Sellar to Loch 2 January 1826, 23 January 1826, 4 April 1826, 15 April 1826; Sellar to Stewart 18 May 1826). Not only did he regard Stewart as an incompetent and impecunious estate-manager, typical of his class; he was also hypocritical—he was prepared to drink the health of Lady Stafford at the Celtic Society—a Society which, Sellar sarcastically noted, was established 'on purpose to oppose the demoralising effects of *civilisation* upon Highlanders' (SP Sellar to Loch 18 February 1826). And, though Stewart was basically unrepentant, he substantially toned-down the offending sections of his influential book in its later editions.

The resurgence of criticism—led by Donald Macleod—in several Edinburgh papers in 1841—was the occasion for further indignation from Sellar. 'Radical newspapers,' he exclaimed, were devoting their energies to exciting 'the mob against the powers that be' (SP Sellar to Loch 8 January 1841). 'The libels against the Sutherland family,' he wrote, 'are decidedly part of a system adopted by this paper [*The Chronicle*] to stir up the unwashed part of mankind against those who wash and wear a clean shirt' (SP Sellar to Loch 16 January 1841). When a body of Sutherlanders rioted at Durness in the same year he turned his rhetoric in their direction—they were, he told Loch, 'the most lying, psalm-singing, unprincipled peasantry in the Queen's dominions' (SP Sellar to Loch 1 December 1841). Yet it should be said that, in this instance, the Sutherland estate administration regarded the Durness people at least partly justified in their grievances against a particular rapacious middleman by the name of Davidson.

Sellar's critics were not staunched. In 1848 he again addressed the press in response to renewed attacks on his character. He declared with feeling that 'as the *light* of truth is beginning to dawn upon them, these ghosts of thirty years old fabrications will now be pleased to return to their coffins' (SP Sellar to Loch 4 October 1847). It was a false hope. Even his obituaries, in 1851, were marked by further outbursts—though there were some eulogies. A correspondent of *The Northern Ensign* opined that Sellar had devoted his life and his great talents 'in gratifying an inordinate selfishness' which yielded 'eternal obloquy on the great proprietrix of the day' and destroyed the 'highly moral and respectable population' of the straths (*Northern Ensign* 6 November 1815). Another outraged correspondent, 'A Sutherland Highlander in Glasgow', told again how 'the notorious Patrick Sellar . . . drove away the poor Highlanders in Sutherland-shire to the wilds of America, and to the already too-much-crowded towns of the south of Scotland—burning their houses to ashes, and converted a happy county into a wilderness' (*Northern Ensign* 13 November 1851).[5]

VIII

Patrick Sellar has always been a rather dark shadow in modern Highland history. The somewhat arbitrary selection of his thoughts and attitudes in the preceding sections may allow one to distinguish certain lines of his character. He expressed himself with clarity and astonishing bluntness. He was not a man to withhold his opinion on any

subject, nor one to let sleeping dogs lie. He had little tact and virtually no desire to gain popularity among the common people with whom he dealt. Towards his social superiors, notably the Sutherland family, he was conventionally deferential. In a brief but interesting recollection, his daughter-in-law wrote that he was 'a man of iron will, and was determined not only that his sons should have the best education, but that they should excel, and be at the head of their classes' (E. M. Sellar 1895: 38). This steely determination was devoted to familial advance and commercial gain. His guiding light was 'improvement', in the shape of the calculated rationalisation of economic activity. Among his models of right-thinking he seems to have honoured Coke of Holkham, Luther, Benjamin Franklin and Malthus. His education in the University of Edinburgh during the ascendancy of Dugald Stewart may also have cast an influence on his development. Whatever the sources of his thinking, he became an extreme example of the 'laissez-faire' intellect of the early nineteenth century: he believed that what he did was right because it was founded upon the precepts of political economy.[6] He was also a religious man—his correspondence is sprinkled with biblical references—and there is more than a suspicion that he believed that the tenets of political economy were revelations of some divine purpose.

The opinions given of Sellar by his colleagues in Sutherland strongly suggest that he was the poorest manager of men. He appears to have been quite incapable of foreseeing the response that his actions were likely to provoke. His indignation against the common people derived partly from his legal entanglements, and partly from his inability to view any situation from any standpoint other than his own. Social protest against the clearances in Sutherland existed before Sellar entered the county, and it continued after his death, but it was he, more than anyone else, who inflamed the feelings of the people against the landlord. His methods were provocative and, on his own admittance, he confronted the people in a deliberately combative frame of mind. It seems likely that the Sutherland family was misguided in delegating so much of the implementation of their elaborate plans for the radical reorganisation of their estate to Sellar. They chose a man who antagonised even his own associates. His ambition and his insensitivity to the temper of the people cannot be discounted in the accumulation of hatred against the landlord and his representatives. Regardless of his innocence or guilt in the events of 1814, Sellar certainly rendered the early clearances even more unpalatable than they might otherwise have been.

In some ways, of course, Patrick Sellar personified the new thinking of the 'colonists' from the south in the Highland economy. He reflected some of the preoccupations and anxieties of the agricultural capitalists of the time. But it would be a misjudgment to say that he was typical of the improving mentality. In stretching the precepts of improvement to their logical extremes Sellar passed beyond the sympathy of his fellows—so that he became a rather lonely caricature of the new entrepreneur in the Highlands.

NOTES

1 Compare with the accounts in Mackenzie 1883: 23 and the *Military Register* 14 June 1815.

2 The evidence of the Sutherland Papers helps to confirm the allegations made in the *Military Register* 23 October 1816 and 30 October 1816 that both Young and Sellar had been dismissed. The *Register* interpreted the changes in management as a 'signal act of local justice' and reported that 'the joy of the people was unbounded'.

3 The development of his ideas on the problems can be seen at great length in the *Report on the Reay Country* 1832, SP D593N/4/1/1.

4 Sellar had expressly denied this proposition in the early planning stages of the Sutherland experiment. See Richards 1970.

5 I am very grateful to Dr F. W. Robertson for transcripts of these obituaries.

6 Sellar, however, was not entirely consistent in his liberal economic thinking. In the 1820s he campaigned vigorously for the protection of sheepfarmers against foreign wool imports which were reducing prices. If free trade in wool were permitted, he claimed, 'the value of Highland estates must go down to nearly the value of the continental mountains, in so far as wool is concerned'. There was no necessity for foreign imports because, he said, there was plenty of competition between sheepfarmers within Britain (SP Sellar to Loch 14 January 1820, and 12 March 1826).

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Family Origins in Cowal and Knapdale

W. D. H. SELLAR

> Tryst of a fleet against Castle Sween,
> Welcome is the adventure in Inis Fáil.

No one who has read the poem in the Book of the Dean of Lismore of which these are the opening lines, or who has stood by the ruins of Castle Sween in Knapdale, arguably the oldest surviving stone castle in Scotland, can have failed to wish to know more about the men who built the castle and who wished to recapture it—the MacSweens of Knapdale (Watson 1937:7).[1] When the MacSweens first appear firmly on historical record in the thirteenth century, they already occupy a position of great importance in West Highland affairs. Murchadh MacSween of Knapdale, indeed, is mentioned not only in Scottish but also in Norwegian and Irish sources: in Norwegian accounts of the campaign leading up to the battle of Largs in 1263 he is one of the few West Highland chieftains not of the race of Somerled to be named, while Irish sources record that he was subsequently captured in Ireland in 1267 by Donald O'Connor and languished and died in the Earl of Ulster's prison.[2] A few decades later, in the Wars of Independence, John MacSween played a prominent part in the English interest comparable to that of John MacDougal of Lorne and Alexander Óg MacDonald.[3] The MacSweens suffered for their allegiance to the English King even more than did the MacDougalls, for after the early fourteenth century their name disappears almost entirely from the Scottish record and it is to Ireland and to the numerous tribes of MacSweeney Galloglass that one must look to discover the further fortunes of the family.[4]

It is in Ireland too that the fullest and most reliable accounts of the origins of the MacSweens and of the various families of Cowal and Knapdale which claim descent from the same common stem have been preserved. Some of these families, such as the Lamonts and the MacLachlans, are noticed independently in thirteenth century sources although none figure so prominently as the MacSweens. Others, like the MacNeills (including the Barra branch), although well known in Scottish history, are scantily noticed, if at all, before the fifteenth century, while others yet, like the MacEwens of Otter, the MacSorleys of Monydrain and the Argyllshire MacLeays (otherwise MacDunsleve or Livingstone) made little mark at the national level. All these families, however, claim descent from the fifth century Irish King Niall of the Nine Hostages through the Cinél Éoghain (later 'O'Neill') Kings of Ailech in the North of Ireland.[5] Although the traditional origin of these families has been known for many years, the crucial part of the pedigree—that is, the part which purports to link the Scottish families

with the Kings of Ailech—and the claimed inter-relationship between the Scottish families themselves has been the subject of surprisingly little investigation. Two recently published books, *Castle in the Sea* by R. L. MacNeil, and *The Highland Clans* by Sir Iain Moncreiffe, have made the pedigree once more familiar, but while both MacNeil and Sir Iain relate and appear to accept the pedigree, neither examines it critically to establish its authenticity or to rebut the arguments put forward against it in the past—arguments which have generally been accepted by historians (MacNeil 1964; Moncreiffe 1967).[6]

It is proposed in this article to look first at the traditional pedigree, then to examine the main argument put forward against accepting it, and finally to consider various factors which tend to support the pedigree's authenticity. In the interests of clarity the families referred to in the body of the text are restricted to the MacSweens, the Lamonts, the MacLachlans and the shadowy MacGilchrists, but short notes on the MacNeills, the MacEwens, the MacSorleys of Monydrain and the Argyllshire MacLeays are added by way of Appendix. A map and a genealogical chart are also included (figs. 1 and 2, pp. 30 and 33).
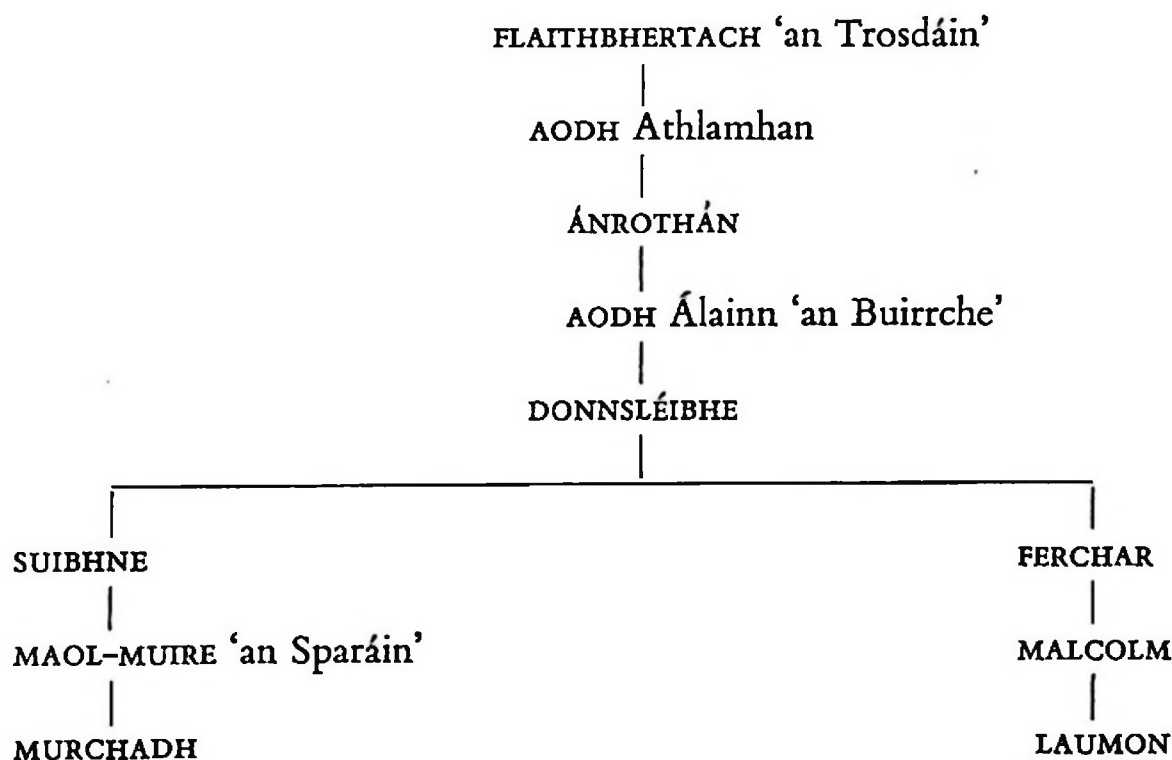
The traditional pedigrees of the Highland clans are perhaps best known from the invaluable Appendix attached to the third volume of Skene's *Celtic Scotland* (Skene 1886–90, III: 458–90). They have, on the whole, been viewed by historians and genealogists with considerable suspicion, if not downright disbelief. Most of the clans are traced back through many generations to some figure well known in Irish or Dalriadic history or legend: thus the MacDonalds and allied clans are derived from Colla Uais, an Irish King who must have lived about the fourth century A.D., if indeed he is a historical figure; other clans, such as the MacKenzies, the MacLeans and the MacNabs, are derived from Ferchar Fada, a historical seventh century King of Dalriada of the tribe of Loarn, via the mysterious Cormac son of Airbhertach; while the Cowal and Knapdale families are derived through Flaithbhertach 'an Trosdáin' (Flaherty of the Pilgrim's Staff), King of Ailech (d. 1036), from Niall of the Nine Hostages, a leading Irish King of the early fifth century, who stands on the borderline between legend and history.[7] The reliability of the pedigrees has often been questioned on the grounds that in no case is the number of generations given adequate to fill the centuries covered. Skene's own views are still generally accepted: 'The later portion of these pedigrees, as far back as the eponymus or common ancestor from which the clan takes its name, are in general tolerably well vouched, and may be held to be authentic. The older part of the pedigree will be found to be partly historical and partly mythic. So far as these links in the genealogic chain connect the clans with each other within what may be termed the historic period, the pedigree may be genuine; but the links which connect them with the mythic genealogies of the elaborate system of early Irish history, when analysed, prove to be entirely artificial and untrustworthy' (Skene 1886–90, III: 339). H. M. Chadwick commented on the same lines, 'All (the genealogies) seem to involve a chronological gap of at least two centuries—generally very much more—before a date, in the tenth, eleventh or twelfth centuries, at which an apparently trustworthy

series of names begins (Chadwick 1949:95).[8] However, to dismiss the pedigrees en bloc as medieval fabrications is far too simple. Fabrications there certainly were, but that does not prove that all the pedigrees are false. Gaps in the pedigrees there may be, but that does not prove that the pedigree concerned may not yet preserve a genuine tradition: certainly it can be argued of the traditional MacDonald pedigree, though it is deficient by many generations, that it is accurate in detail as far back as the beginning of the ninth century A.D. and that beyond that it incorporates an ancient and by no means improbable tradition of origin (Sellar 1966). Each pedigree must be examined on its own merits. In the case of the Cowal and Knapdale pedigrees, as will be seen, examination suggests that there are, in fact, no generation gaps at all.

The main sources for the Cowal and Knapdale pedigrees which have been consulted are the medieval Irish Books of Ballymote and of Lecan, the fifteenth-century Scottish genealogical manuscript known as 'MS 1467', the sixteenth-century *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* (The Book of the MacSweeneys), and the seventeenth-century genealogical collections of Cú-choigríche O'Clery (d. 1664) and of Duald MacFirbis (d. 1670).[9] These sources are all, with the possible exception of *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*, well known and there is no need to enter into their respective merits here. *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*, as Father Walsh informs us in his Preface, is a traditional account of the history of the family of MacSween or MacSweeney, written in Ireland, commencing about 1513, for Mary MacSweeney of Fanad.

As the authorities are in substantial agreement as to the main pedigree it may be expressed thus, in tabular form, taking as terminal points Murchadh MacSween of Knapdale and his contemporary and (if the genealogies are correct) second cousin, Laumon, the eponym of the Lamonts[10]:

FLAITHBHERTACH 'an Trosdáin'
|
AODH Athlamhan
|
ÁNROTHÁN
|
AODH Álainn 'an Buirrche'
|
DONNSLÉIBHE
|
SUIBHNE   FERCHAR
| |
MAOL-MUIRE 'an Sparáin'   MALCOLM
| |
MURCHADH   LAUMON

Murchadh (d. 1267) appears as son of Maol-Muire 'an Sparáin' (Malmore of the Sporran), grandson of Suibhne (Sween) and great-grandson of Donnsléibhe (Dunsleve); Laumon, who flourished *c.* 1240–post 1290, appears as son of Malcolm and grandson of Ferchar, another son of Donnsléibhe.[11] According to the pedigree Donnsléibhe was the son of Aodh Aláinn sometimes called 'Buirrche'.[12] Aodh Aláinn was the son of Ánrothán, and Ánrothán was the son of Aodh Athlamhan.[13] With Aodh Athlamhan we reach firm ground again as his existence is sufficiently vouched for in independent and contemporary Irish sources. Aodh was King of Ailech, in succession to his father Flaithbhertach and was killed in 1033 A.D. (AU 1887–1901).

Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne alone among the genealogical sources relates the circumstances in which these scions of the house of Ailech came to Scotland. It tells how Ánrothán, son of Aodh Athlamhan, quarrelled with his elder brother Domhnall 'an t-Ógdhamh' (Donald the Young Ox), the ancestor of the later family of O'Neill, and came to Scotland where he settled and married the daughter of an unnamed King of Scots: 'Then Anradhán himself in anger and haughtiness proceeded with a troop in his company to the place where his ships and galleys were. We shall not here speak of the extent of their wanderings on the seas, for it is more appropriate to aim at brevity of narration. In a word, they rested not till they reached the beautiful bright country of Scotland, more than half of which they brought by violence under their sway, and there they increased in strength, and power, and great expansiveness. And when they had spent some time in Scotland they enjoyed great prosperity, and wealth, and wide conquest in all the country. They made peace and marriage alliance with the King of Scotland then in this way, namely, the daughter of the King was given in marriage to Anradhán, and she bore him children, and descended from these two are the whole of Clann Suibhne from that time to now. That is the first conquest Clann Suibhne ever made in Scotland' (Walsh 1920: §1, 2).[14] Ánrothán, then, is by tradition the founder of the families in Scotland.

The genealogy of the Kings of Ailech is well known and well authenticated. Aodh's father, Flaithbhertach 'an Trosdáin', gave up his throne in 1030 to make a pilgrimage to Rome and thus acquired his nickname 'of the Pilgrim's staff'. He died in 1036, surviving his son Aodh by three years (AU 1887–1901). Flaithbhertach's grandfather was Domhnall (Donald) 'of Armagh', termed by the Annals of Ulster 'High King of Ireland'. Domhnall, who died in 980, is sometimes regarded as the first 'O'Neill', the 'Niall' in question being his grandfather Niall 'Glúndubh' (Black Knee), also termed 'High King of Ireland', who was killed in 919 fighting the Vikings of Dublin (AU 1887–1901). Niall's descent in turn can be traced through many generations of Irish Kings and princes such as Niall 'Frossach' (of the Showers), who died in Iona in 778, and Muirchertach mac Erca, who died about 533, to Éoghan (Ewen), one of the many sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages.[15]

Niall of the Nine Hostages is a figure of the greatest interest to the genealogist in that he stands as the semi-historical founder of one of the only two families or groups

of families in Europe that can be traced back indisputably in the male line from the present day through Medieval times beyond the Dark Ages to the fifth or fourth century A.D.[16] No generation has passed since Niall's day in which his descendants have not played a prominent part in Irish or European affairs. One of his many sons, Conall Gulban, from whom comes the place-name 'Tyrconnel', was the ancestor of St Columba, St Columbanus, St Adomnan and the later family of O'Donnell, while from another of his sons, Éoghan, who gave his name to 'Tyrone' ('Tír Éoghain'), descends, as has been seen, the family of O'Neill. Confusion can arise between this surname 'O'Neill' (otherwise 'Ua Néill') and the names 'Uí Néill' and 'MacNeill'. As a body, the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages are often referred to by Annalists and historians as the 'Uí Néill', taking their name from him: included among the northern Uí Néill are the O'Donnell chieftains and the O'Neill and MacLochlainn Kings of Ailech, while the southern Uí Néill includes the O'Melaghlin Kings of Meath. The 'O'Neills' are a branch of the northern Uí Néill and take their name from the Niall 'Glúndubh' who was killed in 919. The 'MacNeills' on the other hand, although claiming descent from both Niall 'Glúndubh' and Niall of the Nine Hostages, take their name from a later and Scottish Niall.[17]

The main argument which has been advanced against the authenticity of the Cowal and Knapdale pedigree is that it is too short by several generations and that consequently it is likely to be a medieval fabrication. This argument, first put forward by Skene, rests on the identification of Aodh Álainn of the pedigree, father of Donnsléibhe and great grandson of Flaithbhertach, with an Irish king, Hugh the Splendid, said to have died in 1047 (Skene 1886–90, III: 340–1). As some of Aodh Álainn's great grandsons can be shown to have been living in the mid-thirteenth century this identification, if correct, clearly tends to discredit the pedigree. Most later writers have followed Skene, and some add the additional information that Hugh came from 'Boirrche' in the Mourne Mountains, thus trying to explain the curious epithet 'Buirrche' in the pedigree.[18] The identification and the argument based on it have never been directly refuted although it is, of course, possible to accept the identification and yet tacitly to reject the argument that the pedigree is absolutely untrustworthy.[19]

However, the identification is palpably false and cannot withstand scrutiny. In the first place, neither Skene nor any subsequent writer gives authority for the statement that a Hugh the Splendid of Boirrche in the Mourne Mountains died in 1047. Secondly, it is not at all obvious why a prince of the northern Uí Néill should be associated with Mourne Mountains as this area was never Uí Néill territory and in the eleventh century formed part of the ancient Kingdom of Ulidia. Third, it would appear that the genealogies style Aodh Álainn 'the Buirrche' rather than 'of Boirrche'—a nickname, and not a territorial designation. That this is so, is confirmed by a poem in praise of Maol-Muire 'an Sparáin', father of Murchadh MacSween, quoted in *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* (Walsh 1920: §5). Here Maol-Muire is referred to as 'a hi barrbuidhe Buirrchi', that is, 'yellow-haired descendant of Buirrche', 'Buirrche' being used as a name or a

nickname, but clearly not as a place name. What 'Buirrche' means is not so clear, but it may represent the Gaelic word 'Boirche' meaning 'Buffalo' (MacBain 1911:43). If this is so, then Aodh was presumably a man of unusual size or strength, and it is tempting (and not entirely facetious) to compare his nickname with that of his uncle Domhnall 'an t-Ógdhamh'—'the Young Ox' (*supra* p. 24). The fourth and quite conclusive argument against the identification of Aodh Álainn with a Hugh the Splendid who died in 1047 lies in a consideration of the chronology involved. It is asserted that Aodh died in 1047. Yet it is known that Aodh's grandfather, Aodh Athlamhan, died in 1033, and his great grandfather Flaithbhertach in 1036 (*supra* p. 24). That a man should die, leaving children, only eleven years after his great grandfather is, of course, not impossible, although it is certainly unlikely. But the matter need not rest there. As it happens, Flaithbhertach was a posthumous child and so his birth was recorded as an event of some interest and importance. According to the Annals of Ulster, he was born in 977 A.D. some months after his father Muirchertach had been killed in battle (AU 1887–1901). It follows that Flaithbhertach was about 59 years old when he died in 1036, and, had he survived until 1047, the year in which his great grandson is said to have died leaving issue, he would have been about seventy. Clearly then, the identification of the Aodh Álainn of the pedigree with a 'Hugh the Splendid' who died in 1047 is quite untenable.

The next question to be considered is whether a re-examination of the pedigree discloses any generation gap at all. In fact, it does not. Although surviving information is far from complete it is possible to arrive at a working approximation in terms of generations per century and years per generation. Flaithbhertach was born in 977 and his son Aodh died in 1033. From this it seems reasonable to assume that Aodh's son Ánrothán, must have been born about 1030. Murchadh MacSween and Laumon are placed five generations below Ánrothán in the pedigree. Their births may be tentatively placed in the decade 1220 to 1230: Laumon, with his uncle Duncan, granted a Charter recorded in the *Register of the Monastery of Paisley* circa 1235, while Murchadh, as has been seen, was clearly an influential West Highland magnate by the 1260s (*Paisley Registrum* 1832:132).[20] It is unlikely that Murchadh and Laumon were born much after 1230, although quite possible that they were born before 1220. Taking the second date gives five generations in the space of 200 years, an average of 40 years per generation, while the first date provides an average of 38 years per generation. Both these averages, although longer than the traditional 30 years, are quite acceptable and in no way extraordinary in a Gaelic genealogy: in fact averages of 35 to 40 years per generation occur so frequently in Irish and Highland genealogies that one is almost tempted to regard them as the norm.[21] The pedigree of the Cowal and Knapdale clans, then, cannot be faulted for omitting any generations and the main argument which has been deployed against its authenticity is quite without foundation.

Another argument which could be urged against the pedigree is the fact that Irish Annals completely fail to mention Ánrothán, Aodh Álainn and Donnsléibhe although

they refer several times to Flaithbhertach and Aodh Athlamhan. There is, however, an explanation for this silence. After the death of Aodh Athlamhan the main power in Ailech slipped from the hands of the O'Neill descendants of Flaithbhertach to other, although related families, especially the MacLochlainns, and it was not for over one hundred years that the O'Neills re-established their hegemony (Walsh 1920: xv, xvi). The result of this decline in O'Neill power is that although the later O'Neills trace their descent from Domhnall 'an t-Ógdhamh' (brother of Anrothan) through his son Flaithbhertach and his grandson Conchobhar, contemporary Irish sources fail to mention Domhnall, Flaithbhertach and Conchobhar just as they fail to mention Ánrothán, Aodh Álainn and Donnsléibhe. 'It is impossible,' concludes Father Walsh, 'to determine from reliable sources the names of Aodh's sons' (Aodh Athlamhan) (Walsh 1920: xii).[22] The course of O'Neill fortunes in Ireland, then, not only provides an explanation for the silence of the Annals, but also suggests why a grandson of Flaithbhertach, frustrated in his ambitions at home, might have looked abroad to the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland to seek his fortune.

Before looking in general, however, at the credibility of the genealogical tradition preserved by the pedigree, it is worth considering what can be inferred more particularly from sources other than the pedigree proper about the existence and historicity of the generations between Aodh Athlamhan in the eleventh century and Murchadh MacSween and Laumon in the thirteenth. Although no contemporary references to Suibhne and Ferchar, the grandfathers of Murchadh and Laumon respectively, survive, the patronymic designations applied to their sons and grandsons in such sources as the *Register of the Monastery of Paisley* and the Record Edition of the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* can leave no doubt as to their existence. Laumon, for instance, appears in 1292 as 'Lochman mac Malcolm Mac Erewer'—that is 'Laumon, son of Malcolm, son of Ferchar'. Dugald, son of Suibhne, grants or witnesses charters as 'filius Syfyn', 'filius Sewen', and 'filius Syvin', while his nephew Murchadh witnesses the second of these as 'filius Malcmur' (APS 1814–75:447; *Paisley Registrum* 1832:120–2, 132, 134, 137–8.).

Of Ferchar no more is known, but some memory of Suibhne (who is, of course, the eponym of 'Mac Sween') was preserved by later generations. *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* attributes the building of Castle Sween in Knapdale to him—and there is no reason to doubt this—while an old account of the Campbells says that Iver, ancestor of the MacIver Campbells, was 'begotten on the daughter of a great man called Swineruo he was owner of Castle Swine in Knapdaill and was Thane of Knapdaill and Glassrie' (Macphail 1916a:82). 'Swineruo' is 'Suibhne Ruadh' or 'Sween the Red'. According to the genealogies Suibhne and Ferchar were brothers, and it is interesting to note, as tending to confirm this relationship, that Dugall, son of Suibhne, witnesses a charter of Laumon, grandson of Ferchar. Another witness to this charter is Gilpatrick son of Gilchrist, the ancestor of the MacLachlans (*Paisley Registrum* 1832:132–3). If one follows O'Clery, Gilchrist was another brother of Suibhne and Ferchar, while the less reliable MS 1467 makes him their uncle (O'Clery 1951:306, 307; MS 1467 fo. 1 va).[23]

If Suibhne and Ferchar were in fact brothers and if this is the point at which the MacLachlan line branches off from the MacSweens and the Lamonts, it seems unlikely that the name of the father of Suibhne and Ferchar, and probably of Gilchrist as well, that is 'Donnsléibhe', should not have been accurately preserved. A further argument for Donnsléibhe's existence is the recurrence of the name later in the family: 'Dunslene fratri Murchardi' (brother of Murchadh MacSween) witnesses a charter in 1262, while James MacDunsleve had a grant of 7½ merklands in Kintyre from King Robert Bruce in 1309 (*Paisley Registrum* 1832:122; RMS 1882–1914:I, App. 1, 105). An argument can also be made out for the historicity of Donnsléibhe's father, Aodh Álainn 'an Buirrche', partly on the strength of the bare existence of the nickname but more on account of the poem already referred to. As this poem was composed in favour of Maol-Muire 'an Sparáin', father of Murchadh MacSween, it presumably dates from the mid-thirteenth century. Therefore, when the author refers to Maol-Muire as the 'yellow-haired descendant of Buirrche' he is speaking of what must have been to himself and to his hearers a matter of common knowledge, the 'Buirrche' in question being the great grandfather of his hero. Further, a stray pedigree in the O'Clery book, stray in the sense of being out of position, is termed 'Genelach Meg Buirrce', that is 'Genealogy of the descendants of Buirrche'. The genealogy given is, in fact, that of the Lamonts, rendered elsewhere in O'Clery, but in this case when the pedigree reaches the name 'Buirrche' it continues 'a quo meg Buirrce' that is 'from whom the descendants of Buirrche' (O'Clery 1951:588).[24] Now, if the term 'descendants of Buirrche' was used for a time as this genealogy in O'Clery suggests, then that is an additional reason for accepting the historicity of 'Buirrche', alias Aodh Álainn. It is possible, therefore, on evidence independent of the pedigree proper to argue for the authenticity of the pedigree as far back as Aodh Álainn, who, it will be remembered, stands only two steps below the well authenticated Irish king Aodh Athlamhan.

From the strictly genealogical point of view then the traditional account of the origins of the families of Knapdale and Cowal is quite feasible. The next question which one must ask is whether the general tradition of the descent of these families, so prominent in thirteenth century Scotland, from an eleventh-century Irish prince, a prince who, moreover, if *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* is to be believed, married a Scottish princess, is in tune with other historical evidence. In answering this, it seems relevant to review the evidence for contact between Gaelic Scotland and Gaelic Ireland in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, and to consider the status enjoyed by the Cowal and Knapdale families in the Gaelic society of their day.

Taking first the question of contact between Scotland and Ireland, it is in general true that from the time of the earliest records until the wars of Montrose in the seventeenth-century Gaelic Scotland and Gaelic Ireland, sharing common traditions and a common language, were in constant cultural and political contact. A few disjointed references taken chronologically from the scanty annals of the time show that the eleventh and twelfth centuries were in no way exceptional. Men from Scotland and

the Hebrides took part on both sides in the famous battle of Clontarf fought in Ireland in 1014 between Brian Bóramha on the one hand and King Sihtric of Dublin and Earl Sigurd of Orkney on the other: on Sihtric's side those slain included Olaf son of Lagman, almost certainly a member of the ruling family of Man and the Isles, while among those who fell with Brian was Donald, son of Eimhin, son of Cainnech, Mormaer of Mar. The King of Scots at this time was Malcolm son of Kenneth (d. 1034) whose Irish connections are clear from St Berchan's Prophecy in which he is termed the 'son of a woman of Leinster', and 'son of the cow that grazes upon the countryside of the Liffey'. In 1072 the death is recorded of Diarmait mac Mael-na-mBó 'King of Leinster, Dublin and the Hebrides'. Early in the twelfth century, Donald son of Tadg of the royal house of Munster controlled the Hebrides from about 1111 to 1115. Later, about 1142, 'Ottar, son of the son of Ottar, of the people of the Hebrides' was chosen by the Norse of Dublin as their King.[25] In 1154 'The Cinel Éoghan and Muirceartach son of Niall their ruler sent persons over sea to hire [and who did hire] the fleets of the Gall-Gaeidhil of Arran, of Kintyre, of Man and the borders of Alba in general, over which MacScelling was in command'. The sequel is soon told: 'the foreign host was defeated and slaughtered—they left their ships behind and the teeth of MacScelling were knocked out' (AFM 1851).[26] Ten years later, in 1164, Somerled, King of the Isles and Regulus of Argyll, tried unsuccessfully to persuade a leading Irish churchman of the day, Flaithbhertach O Brolchán, to become Abbot of Iona.[25] If more adequate records survived, these instances of contact between Scotland and Ireland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries could doubtless be multiplied ten-fold, but enough remains to show that there is nothing improbable about a tradition which records the settlement in Scotland of an eleventh-century Irish prince.

An examination of the status of the Cowal and Knapdale families in the thirteenth century likewise discloses nothing improbable in the traditional account—rather, it adds credence to it. The importance of the families is evident from the extent of their lands alone. The Lamont descendants of Ferchar, son of Donnsléibhe, controlled much of Cowal and also held land on the opposite shore of Loch Fyne—according to clan tradition they controlled more territory before the Wars of Independence than they ever did afterwards, when their possessions can be more definitely charted (McKechnie 1938:50–1). The descendants of Gilchrist, son (or perhaps brother) of Donnsléibhe, also controlled much territory: one of them, Lachlan Mor, gave his name to Castle Lachlan and Strathlachlan and founded the family of MacLachlan; Gillespie son of Gilchrist was granted a charter by Alexander II in 1240, and he and his brother Éoghan (Ewen) had large estates in Glassary, including the lands of Fincharn; a 'Dovenaldus Macgilchriste', perhaps a brother of Gillespie and Éoghan, appears about 1250 as Lord of Tarbert in Kintyre.[27] The descendants of Suibhne, son of Donnsléibhe, were established in Knapdale, where, as has been seen, Suibhne probably built and gave his name to the oldest surviving stone castle in Scotland. Suibhne's son Dugald seems to have lived at Skipness Castle in Kintyre.[28] The disposition of these lands among the

various families is such that one would be inclined to postulate a common ancestor for them even if one did not know that one was claimed. It may also be not without significance that these lands are situated at the heart of ancient Dalriada from which Kenneth mac Alpin had emerged only two centuries before Ánrothán must have lived,
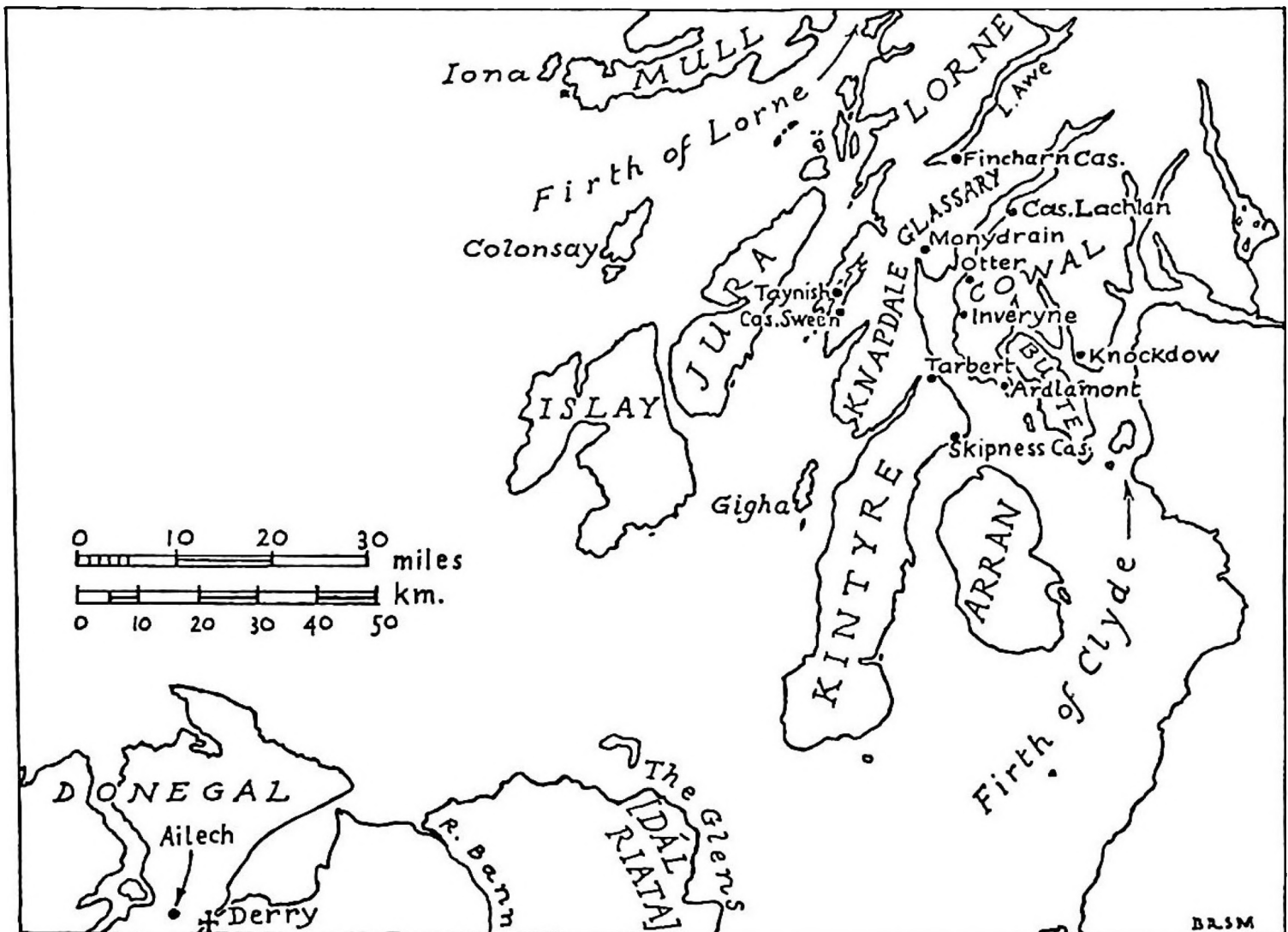

FIG I Cowal and Knapdale with adjoining areas. (Note: Inveryne, Ardlamont and Knockdow, not mentioned in the text, were all Lamont strongholds.)

a fact which gives some credence to the tradition of a royal marriage alliance (*supra* p. 24).

Indeed, the meagre details that have survived of the marriages of the members of the Cowal and Knapdale families fully bear out the impression of status which can be inferred from the extent of their lands. The MacSweens in the thirteenth century are known to have been allied to two of the most ancient native Irish royal families. Maol-Muire 'an Sparáin' was married to Beanmhidhe O'Connor, daughter of Tur-lough, King of Connaught, and granddaughter of Ruairi O'Connor (d. 1198), High King of Ireland, while Aodh O'Donnell, King of Tyrconell intermittently from 1281 to 1333, was the son of a MacSween mother (AFM 1851:s.a. 1269; Walsh 1920: §3, 4,

7, 16, xvii). Few details of early Lamont marriages have survived, but it is known that Maol-Muire, a younger son of Laumon, married Christian MacDougal, daughter of Alexander de Ergadia, and granddaughter of Ewen, King of the Hebrides (CPL 1893, I: 518). Maol-Muire was thus the brother-in-law of Bruce's opponent, John of Lorne, as too were Alexander Óg MacDonald, chief of that name, and Lachlan MacRuairi, both of whom similarly married daughters of Alexander de Ergadia. Maol-Muire and Christian indeed were already related as they required Papal dispensation to sanction their marriage which was within the fourth degree of consanguinity. Early MacLachlan marriages, very fully recorded in MS 1467, show intermarriage with the Lamonts, a further MacDonald connection, and an apparent alliance with the ruling family of Carrick, related to Fergus, Lord of Galloway: the wife of Lachlan Óg, descendant in the fourth generation of Gilchrist is said to have been Áine, daughter of MacDonald—presumably a daughter of Angus Óg MacDonald and Áine O Cathán—while the mother of Lachlan's father Gilpatrick is said to have been a daughter or granddaughter of Henry son of Kennedy, 'Lord of Carrick' (MS 1467, fo. 1 rd.).[29]

The thirteenth-century families of Cowal and Knapdale then, while claiming descent from O'Neill stock, were certainly allied by marriage to two of the most powerful families in Gaelic Ireland, the O'Connors and the O'Donnells. They were also related to the most powerful family group in the West Highlands and Islands, the MacDougal, MacDonald and MacRuairi descendants of Somerled and probably related to the Lords of Galloway as well. It is quite apparent that in status they were second to none in Gaeldom.

To sum up, the genealogical tradition regarding the origins of the families of Cowal and Knapdale is clear and reasonably consistent. Contrary to what has been asserted the generations given in the pedigree are adequate to bridge the gap between known historical persons. The main argument levied against the authenticity of the pedigree rests on a false identification and appears to be entirely without foundation. There are reasons, independent of the pedigree proper, for accepting the historicity of nearly all the persons mentioned in it. The general tradition of descent from an Irish prince who married a Scottish princess is not unlikely, and the lands held and marriage alliances contracted by the families concerned in the thirteenth century show clearly that they belonged to the first rank of the Gaelic aristocracy. If the paucity of surviving material is such that the authenticity of the pedigree cannot be put entirely beyond doubt surely there is much to be said for accepting the genealogical tradition as it stands as providing a reasonable explanation of the origins of the powerful and inter-related families of Cowal and Knapdale.

APPENDIX

MacNeills, MacEwens, MacSorleys of Monydrain and Argyllshire MacLeays

1 *MacNeill* Although the traditional MacNeill descent is now perhaps the best known of all the families considered, it is by far the least well supported by documentary evidence. Indeed the crucial links in the MacNeill pedigree appear to rest, incredible though it may seem, on the authority of two crofters living in Barra at the turn of the century. This pedigree as recorded by R. L. MacNeil traces the descent of the Barra MacNeils from 'Niall Son of Muirceartach, son of Donal, son of Aodh, son of Niall, son of Aodh Alaind, son of Aodh Aonrachan, son of Aodh Athlamh, son of Flathartach'. Although the names are clearly garbled and although MacNeil's account of the early history of his clan is, to say the least, highly questionable, there can be little doubt that the Barra MacNeils claimed the same descent as the Cowal and Knapdale families. No traditional pedigree of the MacNeills of Taynish and Gigha has survived but it seems more than likely that they descend from the same parent stem as the Barra MacNeils.[30]

Against this view it is sometimes argued, following A. MacLean Sinclair, that the two families of MacNeill are not related and have separate origins (Sinclair 1906–7; 1909–10). MacLean Sinclair, however, cannot be relied on in this matter: he gives hardly any authority for his views, which involve taking a pedigree in MS 1467 thought by Skene to be that of the MacLennans for that of the MacNeils of Barra and tacking the MacNeills of Taynish and Gigha on to the MacLeans. In view of the Cowal and Knapdale associations the claim of MacNeil of Barra to be chief of all Clan Neill does not appear to be beyond question and the date given in *Castle in the Sea* for the arrival of the first MacNeil ancestor in Barra (*c*. 1030 A.D.) cannot be accepted. The Clan Neill, in any case, would appear to have been a junior branch of the descendants of Aodh Álainn, distinctly overshadowed in the thirteenth century by the MacSweens, the Lamonts and the descendants of Gilchrist.

2 *MacEwens of Otter* This clan, whose chief used to live at Otter on Loch Fyne, claims descent from Donnsléibhe. The only pedigree of the clan to have survived is that contained in MS 1467 and this, unfortunately, is virtually illegible in places (MS 1467: fo. 1 rd. 9). Niall, D. of Argyll, suggested that the family were a branch of the MacSweens and descended from Dugald, son of Suibhne (Campbell 1911–2).[31] The pedigree, however, derives the MacEwens from Éoghan (Ewen), son of Gillespie, Gillespie being apparently a great grandson (the intervening names being illegible) of one 'Saibaran', yet another son of Donnsléibhe.

3 *MacSorleys of Monydrain* The origin of this family, centred on Monydrain, near Lochgilphead, is fully discussed by McKechnie (McKechnie 1938:378–94). Once again MS 1467 provides the only known pedigree, deriving the family from Somhairle (Sorley, Somerled), son of Ferchar, son of Donnsléibhe (MS 1467: fo. 1 vb 11). McKechnie takes the view that the pedigree is too short and inserts Duncan, son of

FLAITHBHERTACH 'an Trosdáin' d. 1036 King of Ailech
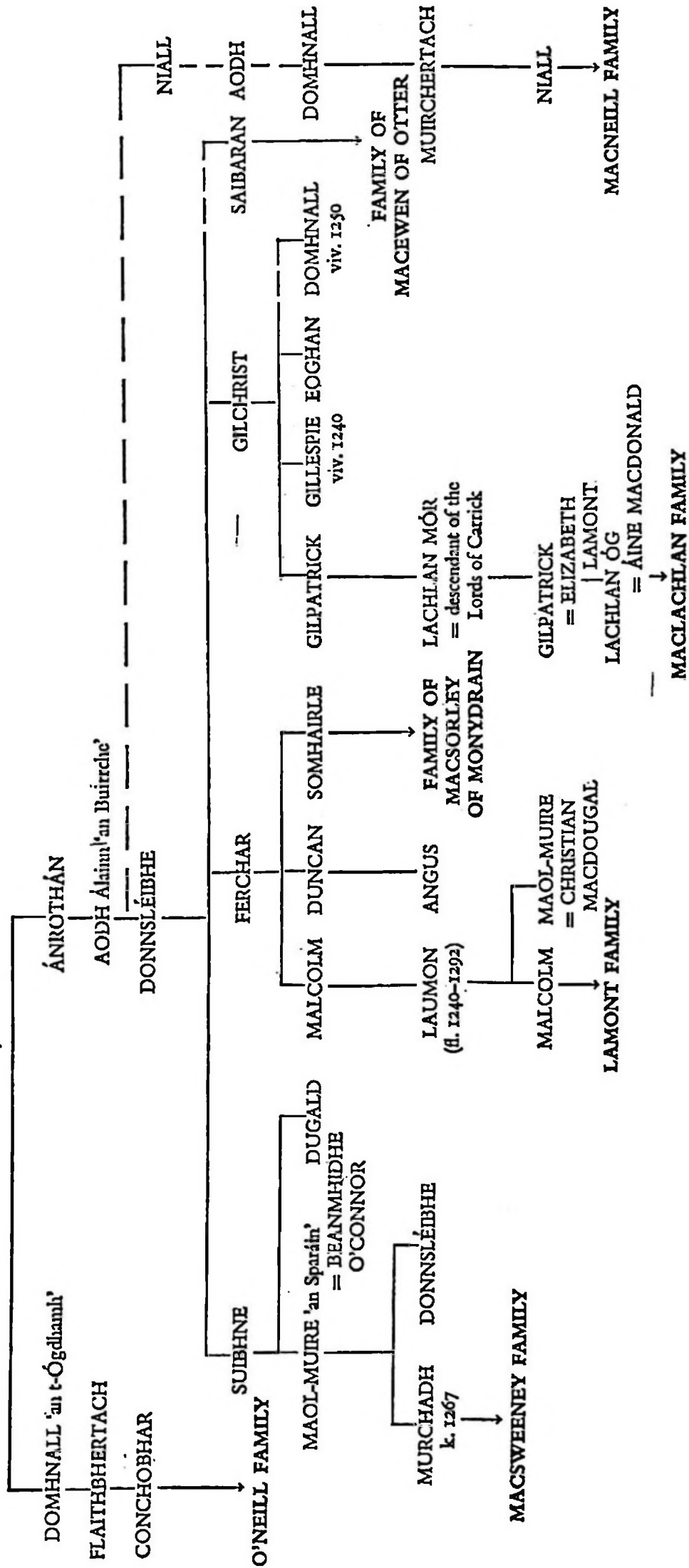
AODH Athlamhan k. 1033 King of Ailech

ÁNROTHÁN

AODH Álainn 'an Buirrche'

DONNSLÉIBHE

DOMHNALL 'an t-Ógdhamh'

FLAITHBHERTACH

CONCHOBHAR

O'NEILL FAMILY

NIALL

AODH

FERCHAR

GILCHRIST

SAIBARAN   AODH

DOMHNALL

MUIRCHERTACH

NIALL → MACNEILL FAMILY

SUIBHNE

MAOL-MUIRE 'an Sparáin' = BEANMHIDHE O'CONNOR

DUGALD

MURCHADH k. 1267

DONNSLÉIBHE → MACSWEENEY FAMILY

MALCOLM   DUNCAN   SOMHAIRLE → FAMILY OF MACSORLEY OF MONYDRAIN

ANGUS

LAUMON (fl. 1240-1292)

MAOL-MUIRE = CHRISTIAN MACDOUGAL

MALCOLM → LAMONT FAMILY

GILPATRICK   GILLESPIE   EOGHAN   DOMHNALL viv. 1240

DOMHNALL viv. 1250 → FAMILY OF MACEWEN OF OTTER

LACHLAN MÓR = descendant of the Lords of Carrick

GILPATRICK = ELIZABETH LAMONT

LACHLAN ÓG = ÁINE MACDONALD → MACLACHLAN FAMILY

FIG. 2.

1. — — — denotes less certainty.
2. The MacLeays in Argyll almost certainly descend from Suibhne.
3. Aodh O'Donnell, King of Tyrconnel, d. 1333 was the grandson of a John MacSween who must have been a close relative of Maol-Muire 'an Sparáin.'
4. The purpose of this chart is to supplement the text: it is not a complete catalogue of the descendants of Flaithbhertach.

c

Ferchar and Angus his son, both known from the *Register of the Monastery of Paisley*, between Ferchar and Somhairle (*Paisley Registrum* 1832: 132, 137–8). There seems to be no warrant for this.

4 *Argyllshire MacLeays*   No detailed pedigree exists for this family, originally known as MacDunsleve, later as MacOnlea or MacLeay, and later still as Livingstone—David Livingstone's forebears were MacLeays from Mull. However, there can be little doubt that they are an offshoot of the MacSweens. *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* mentions that an early MacSween was known as 'MacDuinnshléibhe', while Moncreiffe derives the family from the 'Dunsleve', who appears in the *Register of the Monastery of Paisley* (*supra* p. 28); as already mentioned, a James mac Dunsleve is recorded in Kintyre in 1309. These Argyllshire MacLeays should be distinguished from the MacLeays of the north, in Inverness-shire, Ross and Sutherland, whose surname may derive—although the matter is not beyond dispute—from an early member of the famous Beaton family who was called 'the Doctor' or 'Leech' ('an Lighiche')—whence 'MacLeay'—and not from an ancestor called 'Donnsléibhe'.[32]

NOTES

1   See also Watson 1937: 257–59; for the dating of Castle Sween see Cruden 1960: 22 *et passim*.

2   See Anderson 1922: II, 617, 618, 635; AU 1887–1901; AFM 1851; and Duncan and Brown 1956–7. Duncan and Brown (1956–7: 203 and chart) are mistaken in taking Murchadh for a brother of Angus Mór MacDonald of Islay.

3   For their careers see Barrow 1965.

4   For the family of MacSweeney Galloglass see, *inter alia*, Hayes-McCoy 1937 and McKerral 1951.

5   The genealogical source material is listed below, p. 23.

6   It is only fair to add that both these books are avowedly popular rather than academic.

7   Skene does not give a MacNeill or a MacSween pedigree.

8   Later, however, Chadwick expressly excepts the Ailech pedigrees from some of his strictures (Chadwick 1949: 96, n. 2).

9   The full references for these sources are as follows: *The Book of Ballymote*, facsimile edition, ed. R. Atkinson (Dublin, 1887), 77c: *The Book of Lecan*, facsimile edition, ed. K. Mulchrone (Dublin, 1937), 56a,b; National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 72.1.1. ('MS 1467') fo. 1 rd. 9, re 20, va 28 and vb 11 (the transcription of this manuscript in *Coll. de Rebus Alban.* 1847, is quite unreliable); *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*, ed. P. Walsh (Dublin 1920); 'The O'Clery Book of Genealogies', ed. S. Pender, *Analecta Hibernica*, xviii (1951), Nos. 306, 307, 336, 493 and 588; and the 'Book of the Genealogies of Duald MacFirbis' 122–125 as in Walsh 1920: 90.

10   The most significant variants in the pedigrees are that the *Book of Ballymote* and the *Book of Lecan* both omit 'Donnsléibhe' while MS 1467 omits 'Aodh Athlamhan'. For a more complete pedigree chart see Figure 1.

11   For Laumon's career see McKechnie 1938: 41–55.

12   'Aodh' is sometimes anglicised as 'Hugh'. The name 'Buirrche' which occurs in some form in all the sources is discussed below, p. 25.

13   MacNeil (1964) unaccountably renders the name 'Ánrothán' as 'Aodh Aonrachan' or 'Hugh the Solitary', and Moncreiffe (1967) conjecturally—and on what authority it is not clear—inserts a 'Niall' between 'Aodh Álainn' and 'Ánrothán'.

14 Walsh himself (1920:xii, xiii) is sceptical about the traditional origin; Moncreiffe (1967: 87) postulates a marriage with a daughter of a 'local King of Argyll' or a 'Sub-King of Cowall'.

15 The whole pedigree is attractively set out in the end paper of Moncreiffe 1967.

16 See Wagner 1960: 16–29; the other group of families descend from the fifth century British prince Coel Hen.

17 This distinction between 'Uí Néill', 'O'Neill' and 'MacNeill' is frequently not made clear—as for example in MacNeil 1964.

18 For example see McKechnie 1938: 44–9 and 497–8 and Campbell 1911–12.

19 As I suppose MacNeil (1964) must do, Moncreiffe (1967) carefully omits all reference to the 1047 identification.

20 Murchadh's great-great-great-grandsons Turlough Caoch and Éoghan Connachtach were active c. 1360 (Walsh 1920: xxiv, xxxiv).

21 For examples of well authenticated Gaelic pedigrees showing long averages, see Sellar 1966:137 n. 1. A combination of economic circumstances, permissive marriage customs, rules of succession which did not necessarily involve primogeniture and considerable medical skill doubtless explain these long averages.

22 These Irish 'MacLochlainns' should be distinguished from the Scottish 'MacLachlans': both families claimed ultimate descent from the same stock but the eponymous 'Lachlan' in each case is different.

23 O'Clery is the better authority. According to *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* §3 (Walsh 1920) Donnsléibhe had twelve sons but only Suibhne is named there.

24 What this genealogy suggests is that the chiefs of the Lamonts, before adopting that surname, were known as 'MacBuirrche'. Dr and Mrs W. D. Lamont have pointed out to me that MacKechnie (1938: 47) mentions a seventeenth-century French patent of nobility which traces the descent of one Robert de Lamont back to 'Oneille bark roy d'Irlande'.

25 Anderson (1922: I, 574, II, 42–3, 143, 204 and 253–4) lists the various sources.

26 'MacScelling' is a curious name. I would suggest that he is the same as 'Gall MacSgillin' of the Book of Clanranald (Cameron 1892–4: 157) and therefore a son of Somerled.

27 See Macphail 1916b and *Paisley Registrum* 1832: 157—'Carta Donaldi Makgilcriste domini de Tarbard.' Macphail 1916b: 121, n. 2, was not aware of the original Gilchrist's connection with the other families of Cowal and Knapdale. The Scrymgeours appear to descend from Gilchrist in the female line.

28 *Paisley Registrum* 1832: 120—'Castrum meum de Schepehinche'; and see above p. 27.

29 Skene misread this section both in *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* and in *Celtic Scotland*. In *Celtic Scotland* III, 473 (Skene 1886–90) the mother of Gilpatrick is made a daughter of Donald son of Eric son of Kennedy: 'Eric' is a misreading for 'Henry', while it is not clear what place should be assigned to Donald, whose name is added in the margin. At least two men named Henry son of Kennedy are known in this period: one appears as a member of an assize in 1260 and the other is known only from the pages of Fordun as a supporter of Gilbert of Galloway against his brother Uhtred. On these early 'Kennedys' see Fergusson 1958.

30 For the MacNeil of Barra pedigree see MacNeil 1923: 23–38 and 1964: 32–61; the Barra Song and the extract from the *Scots Magazine* of 1763 quoted by MacNeil show that although the details of the traditional pedigree have not survived in a pre-twentieth century form the tradition was one of long standing.

31 Moncreiffe (1967) follows this conjecture. The late Duke of Argyll, incidentally, was of the opinion, incorrectly, it is believed, that the Barra MacNeils did not belong to the same stock as the Gigha MacNeills and that 'Buirrche' was a place-name.

32 On this family, apart from Moncreiffe 1967, see also Campbell 1909–10, Carmichael 1908–9, and Macphail 1934.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ADDENDA

Tarbert and Skipness may have been considered as part of Knapdale rather than Kintyre in the thirteenth century (Dunbar and Duncan 1971, 'Tarbert Castle', *Scottish Historical Review* L: 1–17). This adds cogency to the argument for a family grouping in Cowal and Knapdale.

'Regulating the Settlers, and Establishing Industry'

Planning Intentions for a Nineteenth-Century Scottish Estate Village

J. D. WOOD

There was rural distress in southern Scotland toward the end of the eighteenth century, yet little attention was given to living conditions in the urban places to which rural people were being forced to migrate for employment. Among the enlightened well-to-do, a general responsibility was felt for the standard of living achievable by the common man. This responsibility was expressed in speculations about the amenities of life to which a labourer might properly aspire, and about the best means by which he might be dissuaded from the degradation of the lower classes. Another expression was in various ventures, usually associated with estate improvement, to provide better living places for labourers and artisans along roads and in villages.

The Rev. Robert Rennie in an engaging essay in 1803 sets out to explain

> . . . the most eligible and expedient conditions of feus and leases, directions for building the houses in a substantial manner, for regulating the settlers, and establishing industry among them.

He concludes (in a summary provided by the editor) by noting that

> . . . manufactures, amidst the many advantages which they afford, are liable to one great inconvenience, in a moral view, the production of dissipation and vice among the inhabitants. To remedy, or rather to prevent this evil, he recommends more attention than is commonly paid, to the education of the children, to the encouragement of industry and temperance in the youth, and to the checking and preventing licentiousness and immorality in the more advanced among the manufacturers.   (Rennie 1803:250, 265)

There were some practical attempts to apply planning to Scottish towns and villages. Houston has found 150 distinct settlements which were established in the century following 1745 (Houston 1948:129–32). A relatively early example of broadly-based village planning in southern Scotland is to be found in Bridekirk.[1] It was a creation of the local 'improving landlord', Alexander Dirom, who designed the village to enhance the value of his estate (Mt. Annan) in lower Annandale (for locations, see Fig. 3).

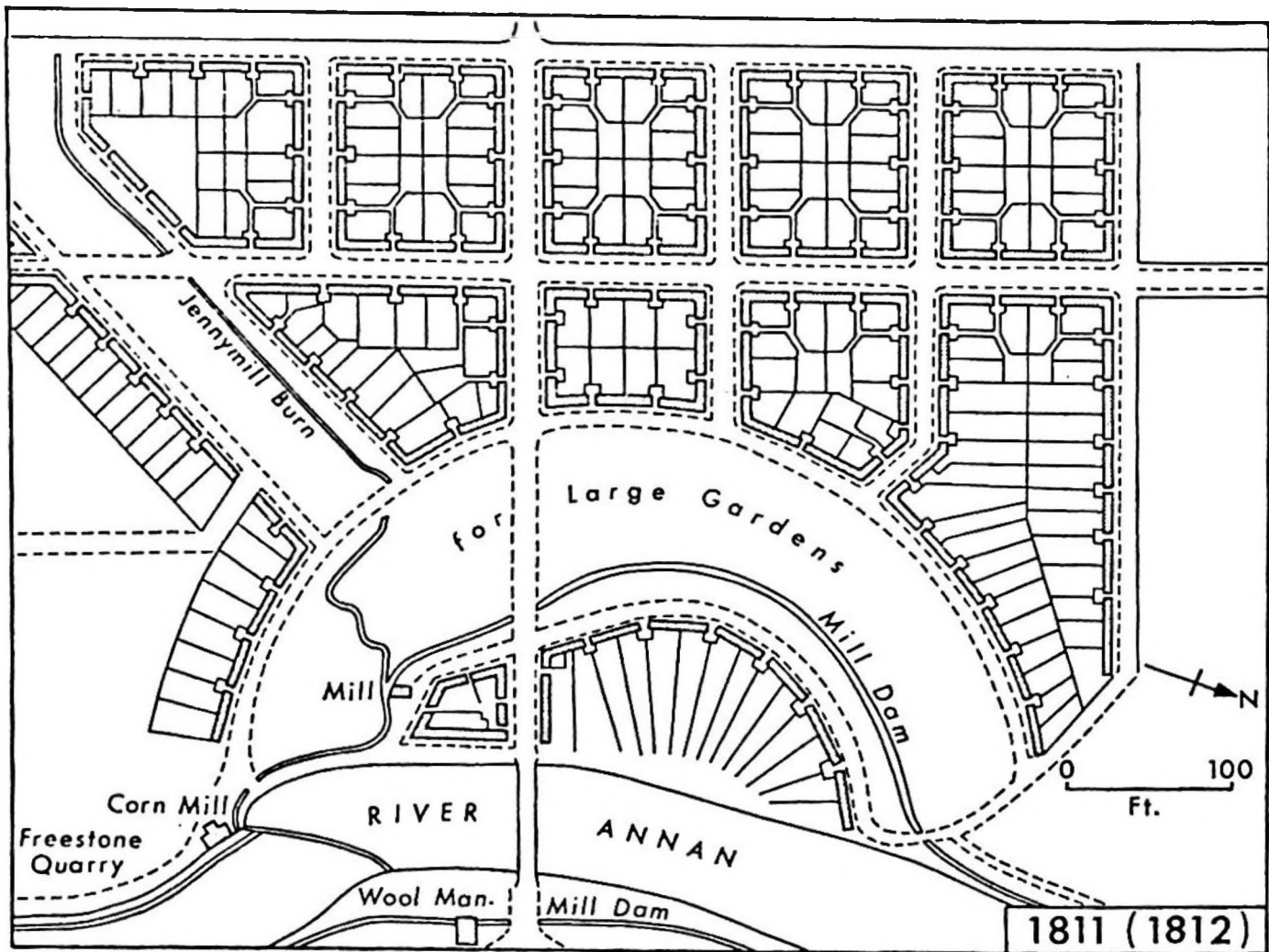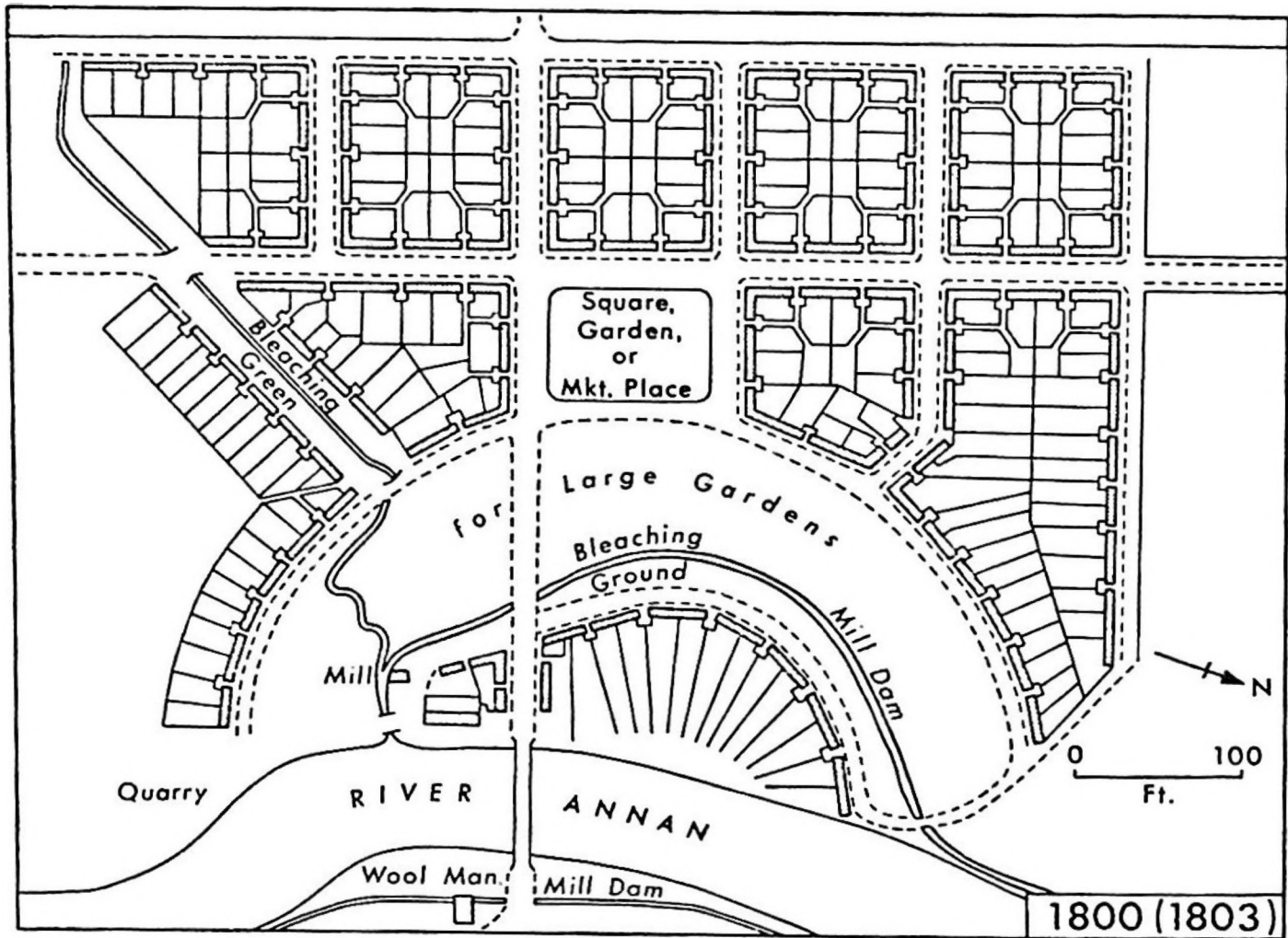This article argues, however, that there were non-economic judgments, the origins

Square, Garden, or Mkt. Place

Bleaching Green

for Large Gardens

Bleaching Ground

Mill Dam

Mill

Quarry

RIVER ANNAN

Wool Man.

Mill Dam

N

0   100
Ft.

1800 (1803)

Jennymill Burn

for Large Gardens

Mill Dam

Mill

Corn Mill

Freestone Quarry

RIVER ANNAN

Wool Man.

Mill Dam

N

0   100
Ft.

1811 (1812)

FIG. 1 The landlord's plans for Bridekirk in 1800 and 1811.
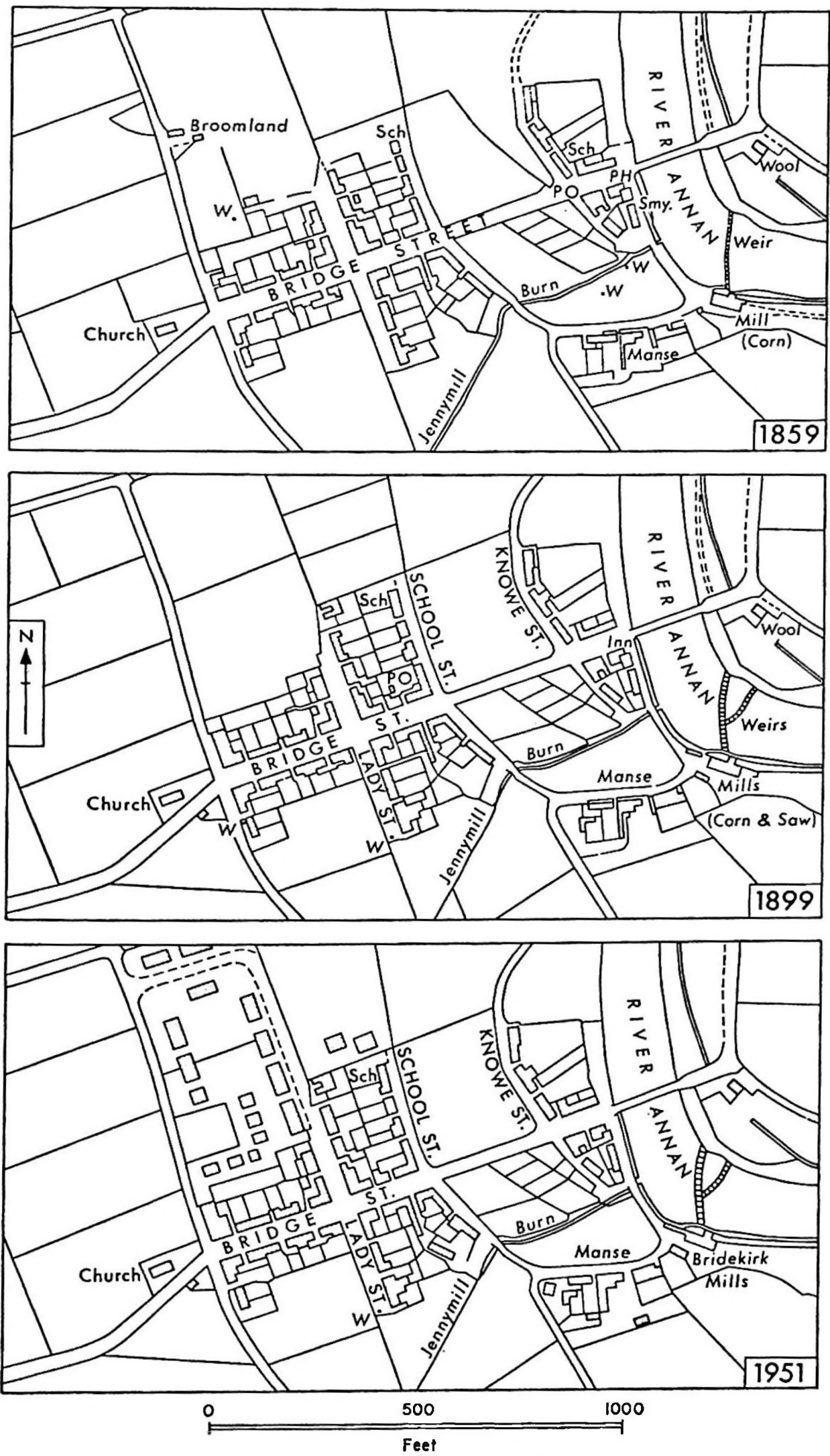
FIG. 2 The actual development of Bridekirk, as indicated in Ordnance Survey maps (*cf.* Fig. 1, in which North is at right side).

of which the landlord may not have been aware of, involved in the setting up of Bridekirk. Such judgments were probably representative of most of the paternalistic village developments of that era in Scotland.

The Career of Bridekirk, Dumfriesshire

(A) The bases for the establishment

The village was begun in 1800, according to the published plan. It is unlikely, however, that many dwellings were constructed until the next year when the factory for woollens was built on the east side of the river. The plan is re-drawn in Figure 1, in both the 1803 and 1812 versions, and also in versions from the Ordnance Survey map editions of 1859, 1899, and 1951 (Fig. 2). In the last, local authority houses appear at the northwest corner of the village.

On what bases did the initiator expect his village to survive? Why was it to be planned rather than to be the more casual kind of outgrowth common in rural areas? Dirom's avowed reasons for creating the village were presented in his report to the agricultural survey of 1812:

> The new [Langholm-Dumfries] road, besides enabling me to open the lime-works . . . has afforded an opportunity for my establishing a village near Bridekirk, on the west side of the river, at the end of the new bridge over the Annan. The river, being large and rapid, affords falls and power capable of turning any weight of machinery; and I have it in view to give encouragement to manufacturers, to whom such a situation is an important object. A woollen manufactory . . . has been established . . . . On the opposite side of the river a situation is feued for corn-mills. . . . the great advantage to be derived from such an establishment is the increased value that lands acquire from having a number of industrious people settled in the heart of an estate.   (Dirom 1812:595)

Dirom saw the village as a good business proposition in the improvement of his estate. He expected that under his direction it would survive and prosper chiefly on the strength of water-powered industries, some of which would process rural products. Concomitantly, rents would rise, a labour pool would form, and an agricultural market would grow. It gave the estate economy a broader base in encouraging the settling of varied types of artisan and in abetting the exploitation of limestone in nearby Brownmoor through housing some of the labourers. (See the map of place names, Fig. 3.)

There were other stipulations, however, reminiscent of earlier burghs' regulations, which Dirom the patron placed on his village:

> Each person who feus a house-stead is obliged to build with stone and lime, according to a regular plan . . ., and the whole of the buildings are covered with slate. The feuers are also bound to make a common sewer . . .. No person is allowed to sell liquor of any kind without my permission; nor can any shop or chandlery, tannery, or other work, that might be considered as a nuisance, be set up or built, unless in places allotted for these purposes; and,
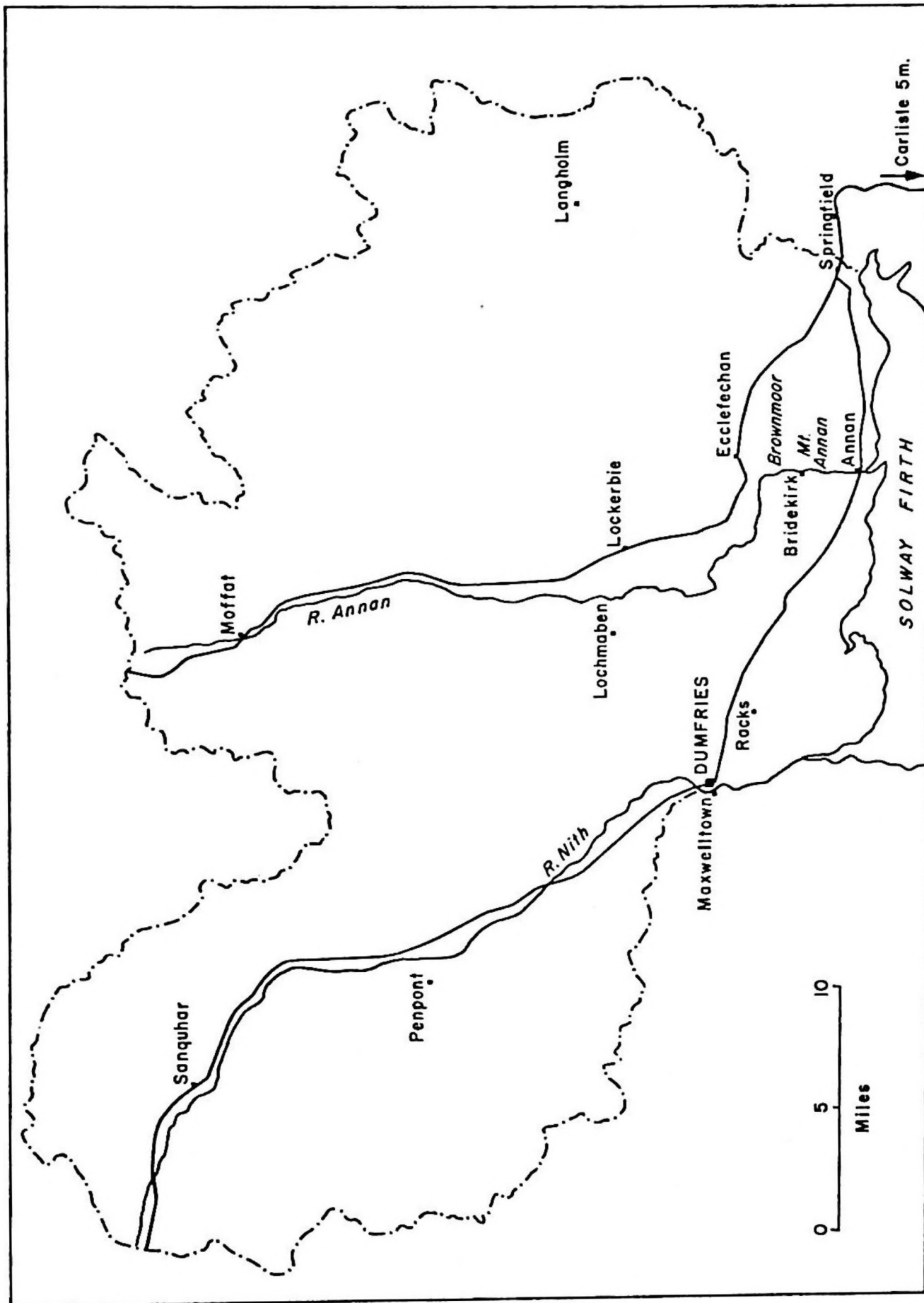
FIG. 3 Dumfriesshire: map of places named in the text.

to prevent all interference on the part of the feuers, I reserve to myself full liberty to make such alterations as may appear to me or my successors to be proper in the plan of the village.

These regulations are the best security against having vagabonds in such a place . . ..

(Dirom 1912:595, 596; 1803:269)

In an attempt to discover the founder's major motives, let us examine how precisely he had prepared the plan of his village. A count of houses on the 1803 plan (valid for 1800) reveals that he anticipated an eventual population of approximately 1,200 (at an average of 6 per household).[2] This coincides with his expectations for manufacturing: the woollen manufacturing and corn mills used less than half the available water power, so that Dirom foresaw at least a doubling of the power-using enterprises, augmented by others like the quarrying of building stone at Bridekirk and of limestone at Brown-moor.

If we accept that his notions of size would have been based on places with which he was familiar, then we might expect to discover some near-prototypes in Dumfriesshire or among places like Hawick and Galashiels to which he made reference in 1803. About the year 1800 there were only three villages in Dumfriesshire that came close to 1200. They were Sanquhar (*c.* 1050 with Crawick), Moffat (*c.* 1200) and Annan (*c.* 1700); but let us add the county town, Dumfries (*c.* 5000), as a major part of the context within which Bridekirk was conceived. It is relevant to determine whether or not there was a characteristic selection of functions performed by the places on which Bridekirk is likely to have been modelled. It is obvious in retrospect that all these models were prospering central places; they all fulfilled certain needs for their hinterlands in such a way that they were the most promising locations for new functions, and thus they virtually precluded the development of nearby rival centres. The accompanying table reveals the functions, roughly in order of centralising importance, embraced by these four places about the year 1800.

An additional reflection can be gained from a consideration of Galashiels (*c.* 1000) and Hawick (*c.* 2800 with Wilton). Both these centres had markets and fairs, both were foci for local and extra-regional routes, although Galashiels did not have a postal service in the 1790s. These two centres were well-known for their vigorous and successful development of woollen manufacturing, and they provided the range of services noted in the table under the three categories.

The weekly markets noted below occurred on regular days and were the occasions for the transport of not only the farm produce but also the farm folk to the centres. The fairs were a highlight in the agricultural calendar and brought great crowds of rural people together, and with the weekly markets they probably served as the most effective centralising mechanism. There was a cluster of functions under the heading 'route meeting and entrepot point', which included hostelry, stagecoach depots, and postal assembly and distribution. Each of the places listed was the focus for at least five public roads (somewhat diffuse at Sanquhar) all of which served as local arteries but also as links with other districts.

The functional dissection below can suggest a set of characteristics essential to the success of urban nuclei (apart from mining and resort centres) in southern Scotland at the opening of the nineteenth century. The functions common to all six centres

TABLE I

Central Functions of the Large Urban Places in Dumfriesshire, 1800

Function	Sanquhar	Moffat	Annan	Dumfries
Weekly market	yes	yes	yes	yes
Major fairs per year	four	four	two	various
Route meeting and entrepot (including post)	yes	yes	yes	yes
Primary Industry	mining	—	fishing	fishing (minor)
Manufacturing	woollen cotton flour & meal	woollen cotton(?) flour & meal	cotton woollen(?) flour & meal	various
Services: Professional (medical, legal, educational, religious)	yes	yes	yes	yes
Trades (joinery, masonry, blacksmithing, etc.)	yes	yes	yes	yes
Outfitting (Clothing, tailoring, house furn.)	yes	yes	yes	yes
Other	—	health resort	port	port

(Galashiels partially excepted), *i.e.* the minimum set displayed by the kind of nucleus in Dirom's mind when he conceived of Bridekirk, were as follows:

1 Weekly farm market and two or more annual fairs (Annan from *c.* 1808) (Little, 1853:32).
2 An important confluence of routes, with related stage and postal activities.
3 Manufacturing, especially woollen or cotton and grain milling.
4 A cluster of services, including professional, trades, and outfitting.

It is apparent that Dirom was partially familiar with the available prototypes. The functions he expected of Bridekirk are indicated on the plan (Fig. 1). In the version of 1803 they were an agricultural market, woollen manufacturing and grist milling (both based on water power), a limited amount of quarrying, and the services of artisans whom he intended to attract to the village. Bridekirk had one 'extra' in the quarrying (comparable to Sanquhar's coal mining and perhaps Annan's fishing). The deficiencies, however, are more remarkable: there was no important route confluence, although Dirom had high hopes for the new east-west road that crossed the River Annan at the village; there were few assured services, and notably there was a lack of a church, of medical and legal practitioners, of a school, and of outfitters of any kind. On the other hand, Annan could satisfy these deficiencies; it was only three miles away, close enough for Dirom not to have included a church in his plan. Annan was an effective route focus in the middle maritime parishes: it was the central place that would preclude the development of nearby rival centres. The established church and a parish school were located in Bridekirk in the next generation, but the other kinds of services were not introduced. In fact, by the 1812 plan (valid for 1811), the market place had been removed in favour of more housing. (See the account of the progress of the village, below.) The water power which was to foster the growth of manufacturing was being superseded in Britain, especially for ambitious developments, even before the conception of Bridekirk. (*Cf.* Cruickshank 1965: 247).

Our conclusion at this point must be that in effect Dirom had laid the foundations for only a minor village, and not for the size of place suggested by his published plans. He had not done an intensive investigation into the planning of his village as either a manufacturing or service centre, except in terms of the regulation of residents. He had a glimmering, as an owner of land and capital, of what were the crucial characteristics of a successful town in an agricultural hinterland, and of course such a successful establishment would be an adornment to his career. It seems likely, however, that in common with most of his contemporaries who cared to make statements (*e.g.* Rennie 1803), he was more concerned with what he thought *should be*, rather than what actually were, the characteristics. A pervading motive, not identified by Dirom but probably the most fundamental one, was a profound desire for orderliness. Above all, orderliness was what should be. In town and village planning during the first half of the nineteenth century in Scotland, the heritors were still the predominant initiators,

and it is not surprising that the planning aims they espoused were antidotes to the ambiguous but threatening instability they could sense in the social changes of the period.

(B) *The Village site and plan*

Bridekirk was designed for cleanliness and openness, in keeping with the moral and economic expectations for it.

> The plan of my village . . . is varied to suit the shape of the ground; and the offices are meant to be built immediately behind the houses, to which there is access by a common entry between them, of nine feet wide. These offices will be in all respects so convenient, that there can be no pretense for throwing ashes into the street, or for leaving empty carts there even for an hour, it being equally easy to take them into the courtyard . . . . The feuers should be bound to build a common sewer through their property, and to pave ten feet wide, from the side of their houses, with a gutter between the pavement and the public street or road . . ..
> In order to form a fund for making small improvements in the village, every property should pay from one to five shillings a year according to its size, to be laid out for such purposes as may appear to the proprietor, his baron bailie, or factor, to be most essential for the advantage of the village.   (Dirom 1803:268–9)

The shape of the ground to which the plan was suited was that of a steady rise, from the river bank, toward the west. The rise folded around the south end of the site, coming down to the river fairly steeply a few feet downstream from the quarry and weir. Each of the radial streets of the plan extended up a gradual slope, while the concentric streets were nearly level. The site was approximately bounded on its upper side
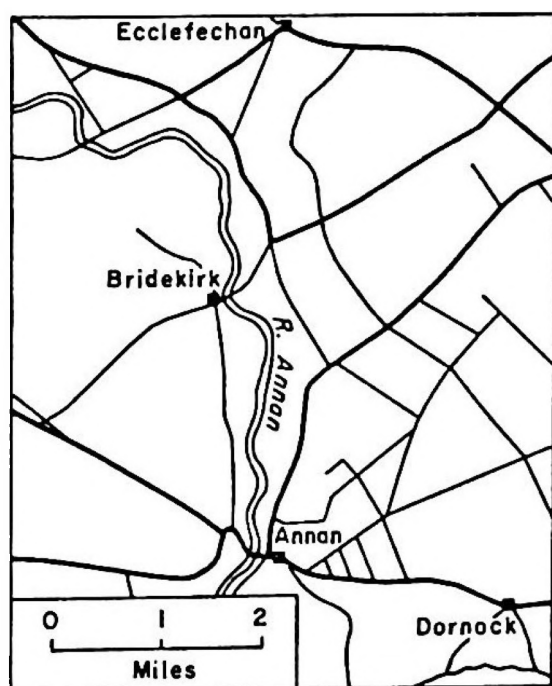

FIG. 4 The roads open to the public in the vicinity of Bridekirk, c. 1802 (after Crawford 1804).

by the 100-ft. contour and on its lower side by the river bank, which was a little less than 50 ft. above sea level.

The vital accessibility of the village was to be provided by the east-west turnpike road, the financing of which Dirom organised in the 1790s. He claimed that it was the shorter and more level route between Langholm and Dumfries. The road bisected the village and crossed the river over the substantial, government-financed bridge. The more relevant point, however, is that there was only this one direct road link with the outside world, and the village was three miles from both the major Glasgow-Carlisle and Dumfries-Carlisle roads. As the village took shape, the role of the road became manifest. The spread of the village to north and south, as depicted in the 1800 and 1811 plans, was unfulfilled, and a spread east and west on both sides of the Langholm-Dumfries road provided the predominant shape of the village (cf. Figs. 1, 2, and 4).

The plan itself was characteristic of the tradition that had grown up not so much in urban development but in estate planning. Unlike many estates, however, the focus was not to be on the estate house. In the fitting of concentric streets to the site, this proposal was more imaginative than the common attempts to fit a gridiron to a somewhat unamenable site. In this way it was superior to plans like the 'four-square' one proposed by Rennie in the 1803 Transactions of the Highland Society, and to others actually employed in 'planned towns', like Springfield and Racks in Dumfries-shire, Ballater in Aberdeenshire, and Fochabers in Morayshire (cf. Houston 1948:130; Walton 1963:95-7). Rennie was unequivocal:

> When I say the figure should be *regular*, I mean that the streets should not only be straight lines, but in length and breadth bear a stated proportion to one another; that the buildings should be as uniform . . . as possible . . . . The figure that naturally presents itself . . . is that of the cross. The common sense of mankind has almost universally fixed upon this. And common sense, if not biassed, will ever point to the common interest.
>
> (Rennie 1803:254, 255)

Rennie was echoing some common attitudes. Dirom's most significant divergence was at this point: he had a feeling for the site which may well have been nurtured by an interest in the laying out of grand gardens. His knowledge of Edinburgh's New Town and his travels south through England and on the Continent could have provided stimulating ingredients to be adapted to his Annandale improvement (cf. Abercrombie 1943:64-7; Hughes and Lamborn 1923: esp. Ch. II; Lanchester 1925: esp. Chs. V and VI). Through the geometrical form of the Bridekirk plan, however, Dirom was in the same tradition as Rennie: it was another expression of the desire for orderliness. The village was an ambitious example of estate planning which would have been fully as appropriate to the eighteenth century.

(C) *Bridekirk through Five Generations*

One test of the perspicacity of the village plan would be found in the growth of the village. Rapidly growing urban centres in the early nineteenth century were

doubling their populations in two to three decades. Glasgow and Aberdeen approximately doubled in twenty-five years (from 1800). Industrial towns, like Paisley and Greenock, doubled—and Dundee tripled—between the early 1820s and the 1860s. In Dumfriesshire, the county town (with Maxwelltown) doubled between 1810 and 1860, and what is most significant for Bridekirk, Annan doubled its population during the twenty-five years following the founding of Bridekirk. Meanwhile, ten miles to the north, Lockerbie on the Carlisle-Glasgow road doubled in size between the 1790s and the 1830s.

Bridekirk, by comparison, displayed restrained growth. It grew to 250 by 1811, about 400 by the mid-1830s and then began to diminish, to 360 by 1861, 309 by 1881, and 340 by 1901 when it was listed separately for the last time. It apparently never doubled its population after the influx of its first ten years. Bridekirk underwent population changes that were comparable to those centres primarily serving depopulating agricultural hinterlands. This was especially true of the last half of the nineteenth century when, between 1861 and 1901, Lochmaben decreased from 1544 to 1051, Ecclefechan from 884 to 785, and Penpont from 494 to 383. This was the opposite trend to that of Dumfries (8,626 to 14,441) and Annan (4,620 to 5,812). Bridekirk's status among the burghs and villages of Dumfriesshire, however, remained the same during the half-century (seventeenth).

The commercial composition of Bridekirk is reflected in *Pigot and Company's National Commercial Directory* (1837:345–7) published at the time of the village's peak population. Bridekirk is linked, significantly, with Annan, and the village has entries under fifteen of the fifty-two standard headings employed by the directory.

> Bridekirk is a modern village, 3 miles north of Annan, situated on the west bank of the Annan River. The extent of the parish is about five miles long by three miles broad, the whole of which is cultivated. It is a new formed parish . . .   (*op. cit.*:346)

The intent of the quotation is that Bridekirk's role was to serve a small, prosperous, agricultural area. The headings under which Bridekirk is noted, and the number of entries under each, were: Clergy 1, Blacksmiths 2, Boot and Shoe Maker 4, Clog Makers 2, Coopers 1, Grocers and Spirit Dealers 3, Joiners and Carpenters 3, Masons and Builders 4, Millers 1, Tailors 1, Vintners 1, Miscellaneous 1 (flax dresser), Places of Worship (see Clergy) 1.

Annan was represented under most of Pigot's fifty-two headings, and Lockerbie was represented under half of them. The latter town was less than ten miles north of Bridekirk and by way of comparison, it had (for a population less than four times as great) four times as many bakers, blacksmiths, and millers, three times as many joiners and masons, twice as many shoemakers, one more clogger, but six times as many grocers, and thirteen times as many tailors. Lockerbie had, in addition, other services unknown to Bridekirk, like physicians (5), Writers to the Signet (5), watchmakers (3). Even early in the nineteenth century, it would have been wise to ask what were the

dimensions of the market areas of places like Lockerbie and Annan. Another relevant question would have been, what needs did Bridekirk have to satisfy in order for it to become a going concern; or, in modern terminology, what were the threshold requirements of the functions essential to the prosperity of a sizeable central place in a predominantly agricultural setting?[3]

The foregoing questions apparently were not asked by Dirom. Bridekirk never delineated a hinterland for itself. The 'urban network' metamorphosed to a different scale before Bridekirk became well-established, and as a result the village never had a place in the network. Bridekirk's functions were too often usurped by Annan and, somewhat less, by Lockerbie. The expectations for Bridekirk as even a medium-sized manufacturing and/or service centre were ill-founded. It was in the wrong location for the latter, and its power source was too outmoded for the former. Bridekirk as a village faded from the census after 1901 and as a registration district after 1931.

The remaining thread in the story had to do with the people who Dirom predicted would find in Bridekirk an alternative to emigration. It is impossible to identify these people, but it seems likely that they were almost as aware of the winds of change as were the landlords. The numerous individuals becoming redundant to agriculture in the early decades of the nineteenth century were looking not for a short-term solution to their dilemma, but for a solution that promised a long-term improvement in well-being for themselves and their families. Bridekirk did not promise such an improvement but rather a number of restrictions on flexibility.

Reflections on Bridekirk and its Planning

Bridekirk offered a pleasant form of urban living in a small nucleus. It was aesthetically satisfying and for its residents it was certainly a more convenient environment than the majority of the haphazard agricultural hamlets which were its contemporaries at the beginning of the century. In the latter respect it was comparable to a number of other idealistic creations of its era which were designed for visual and social symmetry. Bridekirk does not represent planning, however, such as has been forced on us by the social turmoil of the nineteenth century. It was not planning for the masses, and therefore it was not part of the tradition that has led to the present commitment to planning as a necessity for the survival of our civilisation.[4] Bridekirk is seen more properly as a part of the old order, a relic that had little relevance to the industrial and concomitant social change of the nineteenth century.

The functions designed for Bridekirk were an incomplete copy of those generally found in urban places that were going concerns, whether they were mainly manufacturing or mainly service centres. Indeed, Dirom's awareness of urban functioning was incomplete. The priorities for Dirom, however, were not the same priorities that we might wish to impose from our vantage point. He wanted orderliness and prosperity without soot and noise, and in this respect he was probably representative of estate

owners. His scheme was pre-Christaller and Lösch (central place hierarchy), and even pre-Von Thünen and the intellectual climate of which these analytical proposals are symptoms. Efficient regional or even central place planning were not especially relevant to Dirom's scheme; as a result, Bridekirk rather quickly became 'irrelevant' as water-power was superseded and as the network of urban organisation became more extensive. The village was left as a reminder of a landlord's hobby.

NOTES

1 The modern spelling of 'Brydekirk' dates from the 1830s when a parish of that name was established. *Cf.* alternating uses in *New Statistical Account* (1837). Pigot (1837) retains the older spelling.

2 This calculation is based on the fine report from the Minister of Ruthwell to the *New Statistical Account*: in 1824 the average family size was between five and six. Ruthwell was an agricultural parish five miles west of Bridekirk.

3 A standard 'central place' reference is Berry, B. J. L., *Geography of Market Centers & Retail Distribution*, Englewood Cliffs, 1967. A very lucid statement is found in Marshall, J. U., *The Location of Service Towns*, Toronto, 1969.

4 *N.B.* the *Transactions, Town Planning Conference, London, 10–15 October 1910*. The Royal Institute of British Architects, London, 1911; esp. sections IV & VII. Also Choay, F., *Modern Cities: Planning in the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1969, a stimulating assessment which, from a different tangent, highlights the argument made here.

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The Burns Text of *Tam Lin*

E. B. LYLE

It has already been shown (Kinsley 1968: 3, 1498–9) that the bulk of Robert Burns's text of *Tam Lin* had its source in a Selkirkshire variant that occurs in the manuscripts of Robert Riddell of Glenriddell (R),[1] but it also seems possible to identify Burns's use of a variant from south-west Scotland (X). There is no contemporary record in this case, but information about Burns's second source can be pieced together from a number of traditional variants, some of which have remained in manuscript and have not been drawn on in previous discussions. It is probable, for example, that the single major addition which Burns made to R in the first part of his text, the stanza:

> The steed that my true-love rides on,
> Is lighter than the wind;
> Wi' siller he is shod before,
> Wi' burning gowd behind. 65–8[2]

was derived from a variant like the Ayrshire one which includes the following sequence:

> O haud your tung, ye auld facit knicht,
> It matters na to thee;
> Altho that I gae big wi bairn,
> Ye'se neir be wytit be me.
>
> The sark that my trew luve has on
> Is o the holland fine,
> An a brawer lad in aw London
> Than him ye wad get nane.
>
> The horse that my trew luve rydes on
> Is fleiter than the win;
> His feet ar siller shod afore
> An the shynand gowd ahin. 49–60

This variant, which is the only known traditional text of *Tam Lin* to incorporate a 'splendid horse' stanza, is one of two in Andrew Crawfurd's manuscript collection (Crawfurd: 2, 13–17 and 1, 234–6) which help to throw light on the Burns text. Both were recorded by Thomas Macqueen in 1827, the variant already quoted (C. *1*) from Betty, a 'gangrel body', in Mauchline, and the other (C. *2*) from Rachel Rodgers in Ayr.[3] Where the Burns text varies from R, it frequently resembles C. *1*, C. *2*, or

Child *F*, which was recorded by William Motherwell in 1825 from a Mrs McCormick who lived in Paisley but had learnt this ballad in Dumbarton, and it seems that these nineteenth-century variants from south-west Scotland reflect the form of the ballad known to Burns which has been called *X*.

From line 99 in his text, Burns appears to have been actively engaged in combining to the best advantage the two parallel narratives available to him, the process of fusion beginning with a passage of eight lines on the 'teind to hell'. In the traditional variants, this section of the narrative is generally treated in no more than six lines, and comparison of *R* with *e.g.* Child *K* makes it appear likely that Burns formed his two four-line stanzas from two overlapping six-line stanzas in his sources.

R		*CHILD K*	
The Queen of Fairies she came by			
Took me wi' her to dwell,			
Ev'n where she has a pleasant land		Elphan it's a boney place,	
For those that in it dwell,		In it fain wid I dwall;	
But at the end o' seven years		But ey at every seven years end	
They pay their teind to Hell.	95–100	We pay the teene to hell:	
		I'm so full of flesh and blood	
		I'm sear feart for mysel.	59–64

BURNS TEXT

The queen o' Fairies she caught me,	
In yon green hill to dwell,	
And pleasant is the fairy-land;	
But, an eerie tale to tell!	99–102
Ay at the end of seven years	
We pay a teind to hell;	
I am sae fair and fu' o flesh	
I'm fear'd it be mysel.	103–6

The second of Burns's two stanzas was probably drawn from *X*, a text at this point similar to Child *K*. The 'But' that in tradition normally opens the four lines on the teind to hell occurs in the previous line in the Burns text, and it seems probable that Burns was responsible for bringing it forward and adding the parenthesis 'an eerie tale to tell' which has no equivalent in other variants. The 'green hill' (line 100) is another element which does not occur in the traditional ballad and may be an addition by Burns. In this case, Burns may have supplemented the ballad from his knowledge of fairy lore. In the notes to his poem *Hallowe'en*, he speaks of Cassilis Downans, situated about five miles from Alloway, as 'little, romantic, rocky, *green hills* . . . famed, in country story, for being a favourite haunt of Fairies' (my italics). (Kinsley No. 73, Burns's notes to lines 2 and 7.)

In these 'teind to hell' stanzas, Burns probably combined separate six-line stanzas to form two stanzas of four lines each. His next two stanzas appear to have been arrived at by including both of the equivalent four-line stanzas available in his two sources. (The wording of the Burns text which is identical with that of *R* is italicised here and in following quotations):

C.1	BURNS TEXT
The nicht is Hollowein, he said,	But the night is Halloween, lady,
The morn is Hallowday,	The morn is Hallowday;
And she that wad her trew luver win,	Then win me, win me, an ye will,
She aw nicht here maun stay. 61–4	For weel I wat ye may.

R	
The night it is gude Hallow-e'en,	Just at the mirk and midnight hour
The fairie folk do ride,	*The fairy folk* will *ride;*
And they that wad their true love win,	*And they that wad their truelove win,*
At Mile's cross they maun bide. 101–4	*At Milescross they maun bide.* 107–14

The first 'Halloween' stanza appears to have been based on *X*, and the second of the stanzas was clearly derived from *R*. However, the opening line of the *R* stanza 'The night it is gude Hallow-e'en', was similar to the opening of Burns's previous stanza, 'But the night is Halloween, lady', and it was probably partly with a view to avoiding repetition that Burns replaced it with the line 'Just at the mirk and midnight hour'. There is no indication that there was authority in a traditional variant for this replacement, and it seems likely that it was composed by Burns, *cf.* 'O mirk, mirk is this midnight hour', in his *Lord Gregory* and 'At midnight hour, in mirkest glen', in *The lea-rig* (Kinsley No. 399 line 1 and No. 392 line 9).

The next stanza in *R* has an equivalent in *C.1* but, in this case, Burns has only one stanza, which is based on *R*:

C.1	BURNS TEXT
But how will I you ken? she said,	
Or how will I you ken,	
Amang sae monie gay, gude lords,	
Buskit aw lyke gentilmen? 65–8	

R	
But how shall I the ken, Thomas,	*But how shall I thee ken,* Tom-lin,
Or how shall I thee knaw,	*Or how* my truelove *know,*
Amang a pack o' uncouth Knights	*Amang* sae mony unco *knights*
The like I never saw? 105–8	*The like I never saw.* 115–18

The change from 'Thomas' to 'Tom-lin' in the first line normalises the name, the insertion of 'my truelove' in the second line avoids the repetition found in *R*, 'how

shall I the ken . . . how shall I thee knaw', and the alteration in the third line provides smoother wording in place of the crudely vigorous 'a pack o' uncouth Knights'. There is no particular reason for thinking that Burns was indebted to *X* for any of these verbal changes.

It will be useful at this point to consider as a block the two stanzas of *C.1* that continue the narrative, and the equivalent three and a half stanzas in *R* at lines 109–18 and 131–8. The marked sections are represented in the Burns text in the order indicated by the lettering.

	R		*C.1*	
	Some ride upon a black, Lady,			
	And some ride on a brown,			
	But I ride on a Milk-white steed,			
	And ay nearest the town:			
b	Because I was an earthly Knight			
	They gae me that renown. 109–14			

c	My right hand will be glov'd, Lady,		My richt hand will be gluvit, he said,	
	My left hand will be bare:		My left haun will be bare,	
e	And thae's the tokens I gie thee,	*d*	My bonnet will be cockit up	
	Nae doubt I will be there. 115–18		An kames into my hair. 69–72	

	The first company that passes by		Ye'll first pass by the bonnie black	
	Say na and do right sae;		And syne the bonnie broun,	
	The next company that passes by,	*a*	But haud fast by the milk-whyte steid	
	Say na and let them gae,		And pou the ryder doun. 73–6	
	The third company that passes by,			
	Then I'll be ane o' thae. 131–6			

Then hie thee to the Milk-white Steed
      And pu' me quickly down, . . .   137–8

The first of the next three stanzas in the Burns text has apparently been drawn from a stanza of *X* similar to *C.1* lines 73–6 (a), the second from *R* lines 111–14 (b), and the third from *R* lines 115–18 (c) and (e) and from two lines in *X* similar to *C.1* lines 71–2 (d):

O first let pass the black, Lady,
      And syne let pass the brown;
But quickly run to the milk-white steed,
      Pu ye his rider down: 119–22

For I'll *ride on* the *milk-white steed,*
      And ay nearest the town;
Because I was an earthly knight
      They gie me that renown.   123–6

My right hand will be glov'd, lady,
My left hand will be bare;
Cockt up shall my bonnet be,
    And kaim'd down shall my hair;
And thae's the tokens I gie thee,
    Nae doubt I will be there.   127–32

The first of these stanzas is not found in this position in any traditional variant. It is customary for this stanza of instruction about pulling Tam Lin from his horse to be linked to Tam Lin's warning to Janet about the shapes he will turn into after she has seized him, but here it comes in the middle of the sequence about tokens of recognition. It is possible to see something of the process that led to this structural change. Burns apparently preferred the stanza in *X* that dealt with the instruction to pull Tam Lin from his horse to the rather wearisome longer treatment in *R* at lines 131–8, but it seems that the *X* stanza included lines on the black and brown horses similar to those that occur at the opening of a stanza in the 'tokens' sequence of *R* (109–10), and that Burns brought forward the *X* stanza to replace these two lines. Evidence for the next stage, the adapting of the following lines of the *R* stanza to provide continuity, is extant in Burns's holograph. The relevant lines are quoted below from *R* and the version that Burns first set down:

R	*BURNS TEXT (first state)*
	O first let pass the black, Lady,
	And syne let pass the brown;
	But quickly run to the milk-white steed,
	Pu ye his rider down:
Some ride upon a black, Lady,	
And some ride on a brown,	
But I ride on a Milk-white steed,	For I ride on a milk-white steed,
And ay nearest the town: . . . 109–12	And ay nearest the town; . . . 119–24

There are two alterations in the holograph at line 123. Burns apparently copied 'I ride on a milk-white steed' directly from *R*, and then, realising that the milk-white steed had already been introduced, he stroked out 'a' and wrote in 'the' above. He also changed 'I ride' to 'I'll ride' since his text is referring to the specific occasion when Tam Lin is to be pulled from his horse, and not, like *R*, to a custom.

Lines 129–30 of the Burns text:

Cockt up shall my bonnet be,
    And kaim'd down shall my hair;

have not previously been known to have a parallel in the traditional ballad, but, as in the case of the stanza on the magnificent horse, there is an equivalent in *C.1*:

My bonnet will be cockit up
    An kames into my hair.

That Burns troubled to insert the lines when he already had a complete stanza seems to

indicate that he was eager to include as much of *X* as could reasonably be combined with *R*.

In the next sequence of the ballad, in which Tam Lin warns Janet about the shapes he will be turned into and instructs her about what to do, no available variant appears to come very close to *X*, but it is possible to make certain deductions from a consideration of *R* and the Burns text together with Child *F*. The transformations vary from text to text of the ballad but the three most constant forms, snake, animal, and hot metal or fire, are represented in Burns's version. The transformation stanzas are given below as they appear in *R* and Child *F*, except that the *R* stanzas, which are scattered in the original, follow the same order as the equivalent stanzas in the Burns text and are numbered for purposes of comparison. The first transformation stanza in Child *F* is tentatively considered to be a 'snake' stanza with the commonly found 'ether' (adder) converted to 'eagle' and 'ask' (newt) or 'asp' to 'ass'.

	R	*CHILD F*
(1)	They'll turn me in your arms, Lady, An adder and a snake, But hold me fast, let me na gae, To be your warldly mate.	They'll turn me to an eagle, he says, And then into an ass; Come, hold me fast, and fear me not, The man that you love best.
(2)	They'll turn me in your arms, Lady, A grey greyhound to girn, But ha'ld me fast, let me na gae, The father o' your bairn. 119–26	
(3)	They'll turn me in your arms, Lady, A red het gad o' Iron Then haud me fast and be na fear'd I'll do to you nae harm.	
(4)	First dip me in a stand o' milk And then a stand o' water, Haud me fast, let me na gae, I'll be your bairnie's father. 141–8	
(5)	They'll turn me in your arms, Lady, A mother-naked man, Cast your green kirtle owr me To keep me frae the rain. 127–30	They'll turn me to a flash of fire, And then to a naked man; Come, wrap your mantle me about, And then you'll have me won. 41–8

The transformation stanzas in *Tam Lin* are marked by a high degree of repetition, and there is a strong tendency for a variant to keep to one formula. In *R*, for example, the kind of transformation is confined to the second line:

> They'll turn me in your arms, Lady,
> An adder and a snake, . . .

> They'll turn me in your arms, Lady,
> A grey greyhound to girn, . . .

> They'll turn me in your arms, Lady,
> A red het gad o' Iron . . .

In Child *F*, on the other hand, there is a transformation in each of the first two lines:

> They'll turn me to an eagle, he says,
> And then into an ass; . . .

The same structure occurs in the Mansfield MS variant (Miller 1933–35: 82):

> O first Ill turn into an ask
> & then into an Ether . . .   35–6

Burns's 'animal' stanza (2) has the formula of a transformation in each of two opening lines as in Child *F*, and it is likely that this was the structure in *X*. In his 'snake' stanza (1) he may have taken over the formula of the opening line from *R*:

BURNS TEXT

(1) *They'll turn me in your arms, lady,*
    Into an ask and adder,
But hald me fast and fear me not,
    I am your bairn's father.   133–6

(2) *They'll turn me* to a bear sae grim,
    And then a lion bold;
But hold me fast and fear me not,
    As ye shall love your child.   137–40

Since Burns chose not to follow *R*, although it contains effective 'snake' and 'animal' stanzas, it seems likely that these stanzas were supplied by his other source. The bear and lion in the animal transformation stanza occur in tradition in only one variant each, the bear in *C.2* and the lion in a fragment collected by Hamish Henderson from Willie Whyte (Henderson and Collinson 1965: 26). The traditional stanzas containing these transformations are:

> The neist thing that they'll turn me to
>   Will be to a Bear sae wild,
> But haud me fast an fear me not,
>   I'm the father o your child.   33–6

> For the very first thing that you may turn me into,
>   May it be a lion so fierce;
> But hold me fast and fear me not;
>   I'm one of God's own make, my dear,
>   I'm one of God's own make.   11–15

It is interesting that the third line has exactly the same form in these stanzas and in the Burns text transformation stanzas: 'But hold me fast and fear me not'. When Burns went to *R*, as he apparently did, for its 'hot metal' stanza, he inserted this wording, probably derived from *X*, in place of the third line:

	R	*BURNS TEXT*
(3)	They'll turn me in your arms, Lady,	Again *they'll turn me in your arms*
	A red het gad o' Iron	To *a red het gaud of airn;*
	Then haud me fast and be na fear'd	But *hold me fast* and fear me not,
	I'll do to you nae harm. 141–4	*I'll do to you nae harm.* 141–4

A suggestion of how the hot metal or fire transformation may have been treated in *X* can be derived from Child *F*. The equivalent stanza in the Burns text is given opposite:

	CHILD F	*BURNS TEXT*
(5)	They'll turn me to a flash of fire,	And then I'll be your ain truelove,
	And then to a naked man;	I'll turn a naked knight:
	Come, wrap your mantle me about,	Then cover me wi' your green mantle,
	And then you'll have me won. 45–8	And cover me out o sight. 149–52

The first line of this stanza of the Burns text, 'And then I'll be your ain truelove', has no equivalent in tradition, and it seems possible that the *X* stanza Burns was drawing upon treated these transformations in the same way as Child *F* and that it began in some such way as:

> *They'll turn me to a flash of fire
> And then to a naked knight.

The opening line of this stanza may have included 'the burning lead' which appears in the previous stanza in the Burns text, quoted here together with the equivalent stanza in *R*:

	R	*BURNS TEXT*
(4)	First dip me in a stand o' milk	And last they'll turn me, in your arms,
	And then a stand o' water,	Into the burning lead;
	Haud me fast, let me na gae,	Then throw me into well-water,
	I'll be your bairnie's father. 145–8	O throw me in wi' speed! 145–8

The Burns text is not verbally similar to *R*, but it does include the motif of immersion which is not represented in any traditional variant except *R*. It seems likely that Burns took over the idea from *R* and rewrote the stanza, including 'the burning lead' as an additional hot metal transformation. This metal might have been derived from the final transformation stanza in *X*, or it could be a fresh introduction into *Tam Lin*, perhaps suggested by the use of 'the burning lead' in *The Gay Goshawk* (Child No. 96, *e.g. B.*12.4).

After Tam Lin has completed his instructions, the ballad jumps forward to the events that night. The stanza that speaks of Janet going to the appointed place is given below from R and C.2:

R	C.2
Janet has kilted her green kirtle	Ladie Margaret kiltit up her coat
A little aboon her knee,	An sae did she her gown,
And she has snooded her yellow hair	An till she cam to the Aucht-Mile-Brig
A little aboon her bree	She never lute them doun. 45-8
And she is on to Mile's Cross	
As fast as she can hie. 149-54	

It has been generally thought (Hodgart 1962: 109-10; Kinsley 1968: 3, 1499) that Burns composed the equivalent stanza:

> Gloomy, gloomy was the night,
>   And eerie was the way,
> As fair Jenny in her green mantle
>   To Milescross she did gae.   153-6

There is nothing to indicate that he took anything except the idea and the name 'Milescross' from traditional sources. Burns was strongly drawn to the theme of the solitary night journey, when the supernatural was felt to press in on the traveller. Besides *Tam o' Shanter*, there is, for example, a vivid description of the time 'Ae dreary, windy, winter night' when he encountered the Deil (Kinsley No. 76, lines 37-48). On the whole, it appears likely that he composed this atmospheric stanza which seems typical of him. It is not a free addition to the narrative, but a restatement of a traditional stanza which can be illustrated by the examples given above.

The case of the following stanza, which has also been generally assigned to Burns, is rather different, for there is no equivalent stanza among the traditional variants of *Tam Lin*. So far as the evidence goes, it is quite possible that Burns added it, but if he did, it is the only occurrence in his text of *Tam Lin* of a stanza which is not basically justified by a parallel in the traditional ballad. The stanza runs:

> About the middle o' the night
>   She heard the bridles ring;
> This lady was as glad at that
>   As any earthly thing.   157-60

Whether or not Burns was responsible for adding the stanza, it may have its roots in *Young Benjie* (Child 1882-98: 4, 478-9, No. 86) which describes the stirring at midnight of the corpse of the murdered lady:

> About the middle o the night
>   The cock began to craw;
> About the middle o the night
>   The corpse began to thraw.

This stanza not only includes and repeats the line that forms the opening of the *Tam Lin* stanza, but also has a supernatural setting and a sound heard at midnight. The sound of bridles ringing is mentioned in the first stanza of this variant of *Young Benjie*:

> Fair Marjorie sat i her bower-door,
>   Sewin her silken seam,
> When by then cam her false true-love,
>   Gard a' his bridles ring.

The ringing of a bridle is a relatively common ballad motif, and is sometimes employed to announce an arrival, as in *Lady Maisry* (Child No. 65, *A.27*):

> O whan he lighted at the gate,
>   She heard his bridle ring.

The lady in *Young Hunting* (Child No. 68, *K.1*), like Janet in *Tam Lin*, feels glad at the sound:

> She thought she heard a bridle ring,
>   The sound did her heart guid.

If Burns did compose the *Tam Lin* stanza, he was working very close to ballad tradition (*cf.* Muir 1965: 133). Bearing in mind the possibility that Burns might have adapted the wording, it does not seem to be out of the question that he was drawing on a stanza known to him but not to us in a traditional variant.

The next stanza in the Burns text has a close counterpart in Child *F*:

CHILD F	BURNS TEXT
And first she did let pass the black,	First she let the black pass by,
And then let pass the brown,	And syne she let the brown;
But when she met the milk-white steed,	But quickly she ran to the milk-white steed,
She pulled the rider down. 53–6	And pu'd the rider down. 161–4

As in the similar instance earlier in the ballad (Burns text, lines 119–22), the brief treatment in *X* has been preferred to the longer and clumsier statement available in *R* at lines 155–62 (Child No. 39, *B.36.1–6, 37.1–2*).

In the following stanza, Burns is apparently again giving preference to the briefer of his two sources, in this case *R*:

R	BURNS TEXT
She cast her green kirtle owr him	Sae weel she minded what he did say
To keep him frae the rain,	And young Tom-lin did win;
Then she did all was order'd her	Syne cover'd him wi' her green mantle
And sae recover'd him. 163–6	As blythe's a bird in spring. 165–8

There is no verbal resemblance between the two stanzas but Burns seems to have adopted the idea of handling the account of the transformations by summary from *R*,

which is the only one of the traditional variants to use this device. The normal practice is to repeat the entire group of transformation stanzas with the slight adaptations required by the change from an instruction to a past-tense narrative. The third line of Burns's stanza, 'Syne cover'd him wi' her green mantle' shows just this kind of transposition from the instruction 'Then cover me wi' your green mantle', at line 151, and was probably suggested by the treatment of the transformations in *X*. In the holograph, 'Syne' in this line is altered from 'And' and 'did say' in the first line of the stanza is altered from 'had said'. These alterations seem to show Burns composing as he wrote.

Two of the three Burns text stanzas in the final sequence of the ballad have close parallels in *R*:

R	*BURNS TEXT*
Then out then spak the Queen o' Fairies,	*Out then spak the queen o' Fairies,*
Out o' a bush o' broom	*Out of a bush o' broom;*
They that hae gotten young Tom Line	Them *that* has *gotten young Tom-lin,*
Hae got a stately groom. 167–70	Has gotten *a stately groom.* 169–72
Out then spak the Queen o' Fairies	*Out then spak the queen o' Fairies,*
Out o' a bush of rye	And an angry queen was she;
Them that has gotten young Tom Line	Shame betide her ill-fard face,
Has the best knight in my company. 171–4	And an ill death may she die,
	For she's ta'en awa the boniest knight
	In a' my companie. 173–8
Had I kend, Thomas, she says,	But *had I kend,* Tom-lin, *she says,*
A Lady wad hae borrow'd thee,	What now this night I see,
I wad hae taen out thy twa grey e'en,	*I wad hae taen out thy twa grey een,*
Put in twa e'en o' tree. 175–8	And *put in twa een o' tree.* 179–82
Had I but kend Thomas she says	
Before I came frae hame,	
I had taen out that heart o' flesh,	
Put in a heart o' stane. 179–82	

In his first stanza, Burns has removed the first 'Then' of the two in the first line in the *R* stanza, has preferred 'Them that has gotten' in the second of the two parallel *R* stanzas to 'They that hae gotten' in the first, and has followed up this change by altering 'Hae got' to 'Has gotten' in the last line.

The last stanza of the Burns text was mainly drawn from *R*, but it seems that Burns was also making use of *X*. The closest parallel to his second line occurs in a stanza of an unprinted variant (*Ballads and Songs:* fol. 32ᵛ):

> Had I Seein the thinge [yestreeen]
>   The Night that I do Sie,
> I wad teein out your twa black Eye
>   Put in twa Eyes of tree.   49–52

The 'But' and 'And' present in Burns's final stanza and not in *R* coincide with the same words in *C.2*, which also includes six lines (61–4 and 69–70) equivalent to those of the penultimate stanza of the Burns text:

> Out then spak the seily queen,
>   An angrie queen was she,
> Ladie Margaret ye've tane the bravest love
>   That eir rade in my brave menyie.   61–4

> But had I kent what I ken now
>   But twa short hours ere day,
> I'd hae tane out his braw wee hart
>   An put in a hart o clay.   65–8

> My curse upon ye seily queen,
>   An an ill death may ye dee,
> For ye hae kept my ain trew love
>   This monie a yeir frae me.   69–72

The curse has apparently been displaced in this variant; in Child *F*, as in the Burns text, it is a curse by the queen of fairies:

> O wae be to you lady Margaret
>   And an ill death may you die
> For you've robbed me of the bravest Knight
>   That e'er rode in our Company.   65–8

Quite probably *X*, like the Burns text, had a six-line stanza which included material equivalent to *C.2* lines 61–2 and these four lines.

It is worth noting that Burns did not use the final stanza of *R*, which parallels the last stanza that he did draw upon. This is in line with his practice throughout the ballad, for he frequently goes out of his way to avoid repetition, and reduces the incantatory effect of the balancing of like phrases and stanzas. His text has a stronger narrative movement than his sources, and it is interesting to view his treatment of the traditional variants as a reversal of the trend towards lyric which has been observed to occur in ballads during the process of oral transmission (Leach and Coffin 1961: 254–6).

NOTES

1   There are two versions of the variant in Riddell's MSS. The earlier form, dated 1789 (Riddell 1789: 106–9), was apparently recorded from tradition, and the other form, dated 1791 (Riddell 1791: 84–8), is a free copy in more standardised language. It is the 1791 version that served as the basis for the text written in Burns's hand in the Hastie MS (Burns: fols. 117^r–120^r) and printed in the fifth volume of *The Scots Musical Museum* (Johnson 1796: 423–5, No. 411), but Burns's text (at lines 25, 27, 56, 60

and 170) does share readings with the 1789 version which are not found in the 1791 version, and this raises the possibility that the earlier version had been seen by Burns or perhaps by someone who provided a text for him. It is assumed here that Burns was using the text extant in Riddell's manuscript book dated 1791, but it is possible that he had a practically identical copy. The provenance of this variant is indicated by its reference to Carterhaugh in Selkirkshire and by a note on locality which accompanies the text.

2   Quotations are from James Kinsley's text of the ballad (Kinsley 1968: 2, 836–41, No. 558), except that at line 116 'Or' is read, as in Burns and in Johnson 1796, in place of 'O'.

3   These variants are in the hand of Andrew Crawfurd, who employed an old Scots orthography and was liable to alter individual words in the ballads he copied. I have added light punctuation.

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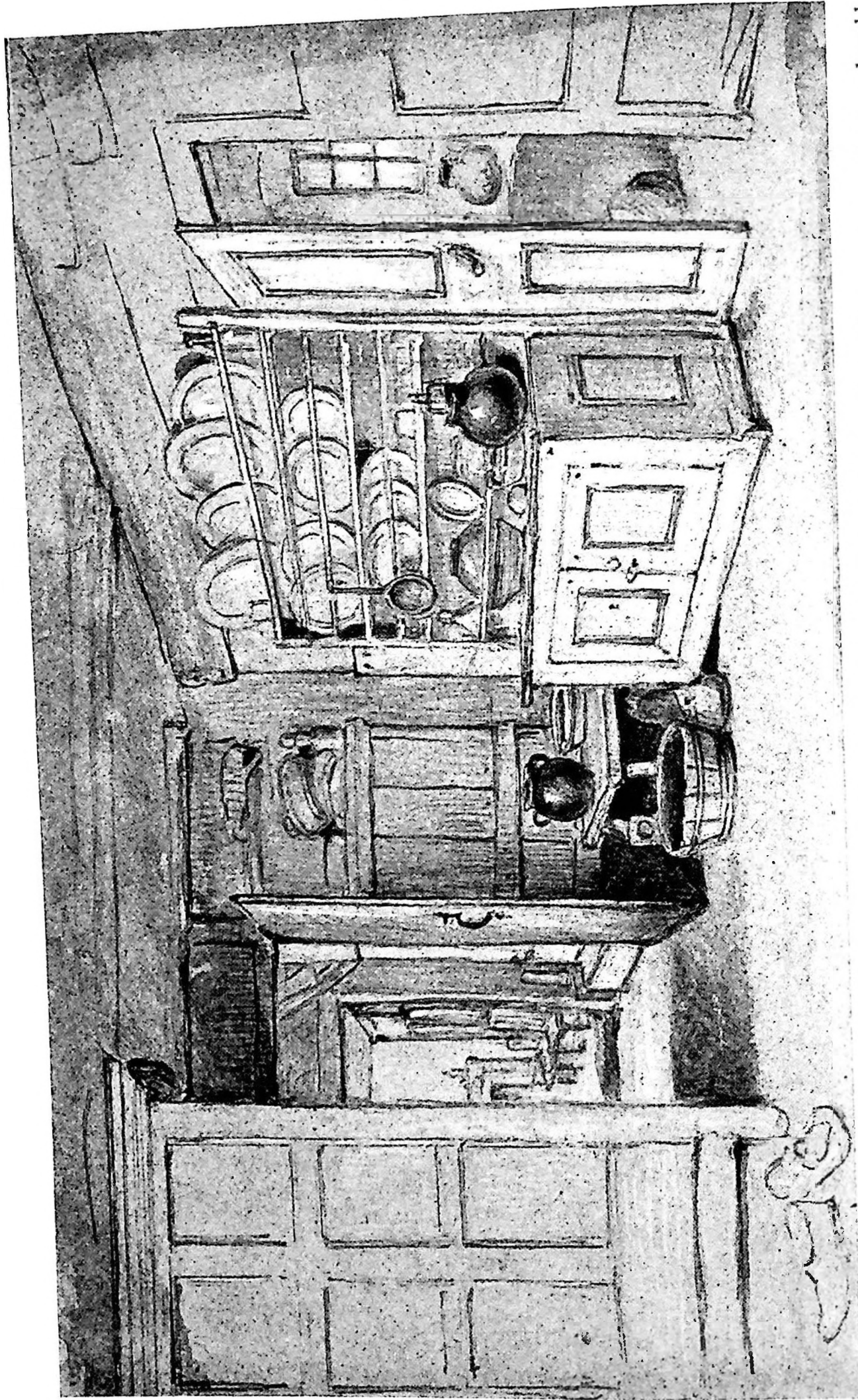
Notes on Collection and Research

An Ayrshire gentleman's farmhouse : a drawing of Mossgiel

BASIL MEGAW

Convincing representations of Scottish dwellings of the humbler sort, particularly interior views, are rare before the early years of last century. Even then many are partly imaginative, or at least romanticized, and few indeed are adequately documented as to status and locality. Best known are the attractive pictures of David Allan (1744–1796), and his follower Alexander Carse, whose *Evening in a Scots Cottage* (*c.* 1805) was reproduced in a previous issue of *Scottish Studies* (Megaw 1965: plate VI). Many views of this nature were commissioned as illustrations for pastoral works then in fashion, such as Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* (1788 edition) and the poetry of Burns—the subjects usually drawn from Lothian and the Border country, occasionally from Ayrshire. These appear to reflect actual rural scenes in those regions around the turn of the century, though for greater realism the drawings of Walter Geikie (1795–1837), if a little later, are often to be preferred: his numerous sketches provide an invaluable and sympathetic record of Lothian domestic life and its setting, in both town and country.

The unusual interest of Sir William Allan's study of *The Interior of the Kitchen of Mossgiel Farmhouse* (plate II) is that here we have a direct record of a small eighteenth-century farmhouse whose status and history is exceptionally well known. While the poet Burns's family had in fact left Mossgiel about a generation before this drawing was made, we are told that the building itself remained entirely unaltered until 1858. Following their father's death at Lochlea, Robert Burns and his younger brother Gilbert had removed in March 1784 to Mossgiel farm, about a mile north-west of Mauchline, a house 'connected with so many of the most memorable facts in the poet's history' (Chambers-Wallace 1896: I, 111). The farm of Near Mossgiel (O.S. 'East Mossgiel'), at an altitude of about 530 ft. O.D., comprised 118 acres, for which the annual rent was £90. 'The *steading* furnished a more comfortable residence for the family than they had ever before known, for it had been built to serve as a sort of country house for the family of Mr Gavin Hamilton, writer in Mauchline, who as first tenant from the proprietor, the Earl of Loudoun, had sublet the farm to the Burnses' (Chambers-Wallace 1896: I, 111–13, 197–98, 256, *n.*).

Although clearly built as a farmhouse, Mossgiel thus seems to belong to a special

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class of dwelling which has received little attention from the social historian: a farm-house that was the occasional residence of the gentleman-owner. Those familiar with Bishop Robert Forbes's diary of his travels in the north and north-west of Scotland in 1762 and 1770 (Forbes 1886), or such unpublished letters as the Delvine Papers in the National Library of Scotland (Delvine Papers, *passim*, *e.g.* MS 1349, fo. 163) may recall that many of the Scots gentry had their summer retreats, pleasantly informal places, often referred to as their 'shiels', sometimes within only a mile or two of their principal residence. Thus in the mid-eighteenth century the baronet Mackenzie of Coul, in Easter Ross, was usually in July and August at his farmhouse of Comry in the glen of Strathconan, about four miles from his manor-place; the laird of Grant had his summer-place about six miles upstream, at Culnakyle on the Spey, at least in the seventeenth century (Fraser 1883: I, 312); and even great nobles might find it both desirable and necessary to remove higher up the glen for the support of their 'family' and stock during the summer, as instanced by an undated letter of the 1690's in which the Marquis of Atholl, writing from his chief residence at Dunkeld, refers even to Blair Castle as his 'shiel' in this sense (Atholl 1908: I, 340). The builder of Mossgiel (born in 1751), on the other hand, who lived at the small medieval towerhouse of Mauchline Castle, was perhaps influenced less by an immortal peripatetic tradition, with its deeper roots both in the true shieling-practice of the stock-farmer and the manorial 'circuit' of the med-ieval hierarchy, than by the current craze for farming amongst the gentry. Nevertheless Mossgiel farmhouse was the kind of rustic retreat to which generations of Scottish gentry had evidently been accustomed to remove during part of each year for a variety of reasons, social, economic and recreational. The old custom of 'going to the hills to drink goat's whey' for health reasons certainly played a part in encouraging the con-tinuance of such seasonal migration; but, as travellers grew numerous on the improved highways, for many gentry with strained finances a more pressing attraction perhaps lay in avoiding the calls of incessant hospitality at a time when inns were few and bad.

Mossgiel, like many another gentleman's farmhouse in the eighteenth century, was simple enough in lay-out and appearance, indeed hardly to be distinguished from the homes of the better-off tenant farmers. Though now changed beyond recognition, the earliest edition of the relevant Ordnance map was fortunately surveyed in 1857, just before the first alteration of the house: it was then a simple rectangle, overall about 50 ft. long and a little under half that in breadth. In the year following the alterations the Burns's former herd-boy and outdoor servant, Willie Patrick, recalled the house as 'only a "but and ben", or a kitchen and parlour, with a garret above, to which a movable "trap" or wooden steps led up, in the lobby behind the [centrally-placed] door. This garret consisted of three small apartments, the two nearest to Mauchline being used as bedrooms, and the third as a lumber chest, reached from the kitchen. The end room [in the garret] had a single small window of four panes, in the gable. The small middle apartment was lighted by a larger four-paned window or skylight ["to the back of the cottage", p. 21 *n*.] placed in the sloping roof, and formed the bedroom

and private chamber of the two brothers, Robert and Gilbert; containing their joint bed, and a small table under the window used for writing on, with a drawer in which the poet kept his papers. The best room, or "ben house", was at the end next to Mauchline. The roof [ceiling?] was so low that it could easily be touched when standing. The door was opened by a string on the outside, hanging through a hole in the wood, which lifted the "sneck" or latch. . . . This room contained fixed beds along the back wall for some of the women of the house, the rest sleeping in the kitchen.

'Patrick gave a pleasing picture of the hard-working family. The Burnses lived chiefly in the busy kitchen, at the other end. Mrs Burns, the good old [recently-widowed] mother, then between fifty and sixty, a "wee boo'd body", he said generally occupied a chair close by the fire; . . . The house was kept by the youngest daughter, Isobel, called "Bell" by Patrick, in the usual plain Scotch style, afterwards the well-known Mrs Begg, . . . only thirteen years old on their taking the farm. The other members of the family were the eldest and head, the poet himself; his brother Gilbert, who, though younger, took principal charge; another sister, a female friend who assisted in the kitchen, the "bonny sweet wee lady", his sonsy smirking dear-bought Bess, '. . . an infant child of the poet, and latterly, his eldest son, Robert by Jean Armour.

'During their whole residence at Mossgiel [1784–94, though the poet removed to Ellisland in 1788], there were no female servants—as Burns says, he had "nane in female servin' station",—the whole household and dairy work being carried on by the women of the family, as was customary in Scotland in those hard-working days. Besides these, there were men-servants required for the rougher work of the farm,—Robert Allan, a relation of the family, John Blane, the "gaudsman" who was driving the horses when the house was unearthed, . . . Davie Hutchison, generally known as "girnin' Davie", and Willie Patrick, having all served in this capacity, three being required at one time ["the poet then used to plough with four horses"]. . . . All the household slept in the house except the three male servants, who had their beds in the stable loft. . . . Patrick [a boy of 8 years in 1784] used chiefly to be employed about the kitchen and farm-yard, doing little jobs, feeding and herding the cattle, mucking the byre, acting on occasion as "gaudsman", running to town [Mauchline] with letters and on other errands, and making himself generally useful. He remembered, when the family were employed during the long winter nights in the kitchen, to have sat on the other side of the great fireplace, opposite Mrs Burns, peeling potatoes for supper and next day's dinner, or being otherwise engaged; while the "women folk" were working and chatting at their various occupations. The boys were accustomed to retire to the stable loft early in the evening, so that, he said, they were never present at "the reading", or family worship, which was held nightly in the house, conducted by the poet, or by his douce brother in his absence. The whole of this numerous family were accustomed to take their food in the kitchen, and Patrick mentioned that he never saw the poet at any meal except when he was reading, spoon in the one hand, book in the other . . .' (Jolly 1881: 5–27).

The outer walls of the house were of 'substantial masonry', but even after the first alterations of 1858 the roof of the dwelling was still thatched with straw (Gibb 1896: 71): the original state of the exterior is represented in pleasant watercolour in the National Gallery of Scotland. Adjoining the house on the north side lay an open farm-court flanked east and west by parallel, single-storey outbuildings, the barn and a stable-and-byre respectively. In 1870 'the walls of the dwelling were further raised and the roof slated', its state before and after this being recorded in contemporary photographs (Gibb 1896: 71 and 72).

In the light of the recollections of Burns's herd-boy, confirmed by Robert Chambers (see below), the interior lay-out and furnishing of Mossgiel as sketched in Allan's drawing of the house may readily be interpreted. The artist, seated in the farmhouse kitchen with his back to 'the great fireplace', looked through two wooden partition-walls that screened the central entrance-lobby and the great garret stair. Beyond, he had a glimpse of the parlour, with its smaller fireplace at the far end of the house, and two chairs apparently backing on to a pair of box-beds (for the women-folk) against the rear wall of the parlour. What at first looks like an oblique member of the roof-frame, between parlour and stair-door, must be the casing of the upper section of the stair.

Nearer the artist, and in the left corner of the kitchen, what looks like a stoutly-framed cupboard must be another box-bed, which (as the herd-boy recalled) stood in the kitchen. Parallel to that, and clearly seen in the light from a window in the front wall of the house, is the kitchen dresser, with its complement of dishes, plates and basins, and capacious cupboards below. Here a wooden ladle hangs by its crook handle; the largest of the dishes may be of pewter. Through a half-open door in the wooden partition-wall to the right of the dresser is seen the shelved pantry, with window in the rear wall of the house. As the first edition of the Ordinance Survey map indicates that all the rooms were enclosed within the simple rectangular plan of the house, it is clear that the pantry was not formed in a projecting wing, but was merely a small space partitioned off from the kitchen area: to allow for this, and for the garret stair, Mossgiel was evidently some feet broader than the normal tenant farmhouse of the period.

Sir William Allan's drawing of the interior of Mossgiel, though undated, is accompanied by a note in the hand of Robert Chambers, addressed to W. F. Watson, the Edinburgh bookseller from whose collection it passed to the National Gallery of Scotland. This records Chambers' memory (evidently some years after the drawing was made) that it represents the 'Interior of the Kitchen of Mossgiel farmhouse . . . looking through the passage to the "spence" [parlour] alluded to in *The Vision* . . . [and showing] the foot of the stair which leads up to the poet's little bedroom and study. R.C.' We know that Robert Chambers 'furnished Mr Lockhart with a variety of valuable notes for his Life of Robert Burns,' published in 1828 (Chambers 1884: 213), and perhaps Chambers also had a hand in commissioning the Mossgiel drawing, as he certainly did in Nasmyth's full-length oil-painting of Robert Burns (engraved the following year for Lockhart's *Life* of the poet) according to a contemporary letter of Chambers to

Constable, November 1827 (Skinner 1963: 13). Elsewhere Chambers recorded that Sir William Allan 'also painted a picture of the peasant bard . . . representing him seated in his working attire with a pen in his hand, but in a much roomier apartment than any contained in the farmhouse of Mossgiel' (Brydall 1889: 275). Allan's more realistic Mossgiel interior may possibly have been intended as an illustration for Lockhart's *Life of Burns*. From 1819, at least, Lockhart had been interested in encouraging 'Mr Allan, the Scotch painter', and with or without his friend Chambers's assistance, Lockhart may have urged Allan to provide Burns illustrations for his biography, begun in 1825. Allan's trouble with his eyes between 1826 and 1830 might explain why such a plan (if formed) apparently did not mature, and for the present Allan's drawing of the Mossgiel kitchen may perhaps be assigned a provisional date about 1827.

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Book Reviews

A History of Scotland by Rosalind Mitchison. Methuen and Co., London, 1970. Pp. 468. £3. Paperback £1·40

This is a new and notable history of Scotland. It is written with vigour and clarity, which makes the reading pleasant, and with a breadth of view and sanity of judgment which make it profitable. If there are inequalities and omissions, these are faults which a book of such excellence can get away with. There is a useful appendix on 'Materials for the further study of Scottish history', which includes, besides an extensive, annotated reading list, encouragement to gain the feeling of past history from Scotland's natural features, castles and domestic architecture, folk music and the works of craftsmen. The author might have added the people themselves, whose speech and life, in the quieter places, still recall the ways of their forbears.

The book's focus is on Scotland's national development from the early centuries of the era to the present, but in effect from the early eleventh century. It is concerned in the main with the central institutions of government, with politics and the church and the law, but Mrs Mitchison presents her narrative of events in a continuum of social, cultural and economic life.

Roughly half of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the years *c.* 1550 to 1707. This generous allocation of pages to about a sixth of the period covered by the book necessarily cramps the earlier and later periods and is partly responsible for certain deficiencies in the later chapters. But the years from the late sixteenth century to 1707 were stirring and important times which saw the end of much of the old Scotland— the supremacy of the Catholic Church, the Auld Alliance, the Stuart dynasty, the independent kingdom and parliament of Scotland—and the beginning of much that was new. Mrs Mitchison tells the story of these events superbly well, illumines a number of problems and incorporates the results of recent research. Few general histories succeed in bringing out so clearly as this book the significance of those forgotten religious controversies that split the kingdom apart and sent the Stuarts packing. She explodes a number of cherished myths, and in particular cuts down to size the exaggerated accounts of the sufferings of the Covenanters in the later Stuart period.

After the passions of the seventeenth century died, religion ceased to control the course of Scottish politics, but its influence was never far from the surface. Mrs Mitchison draws attention to the divisive tendencies constantly present in Scottish presbyterianism, the readiness obstinately to proclaim one's own truths as against the errors and heresies of the rest, even when it involved considerable personal sacrifice, as it did in the Disruption of 1843. But, curiously, the creed that was born in revolution

in the sixteenth century sank into political passivity in the eighteenth, and was rarely found in alliance with radical social or political movement in the nineteenth century. Instead, the activists are found in the Liberal party and later in the Socialist movement.

In Mrs Mitchison's history there is a down-to-earth realism, untainted by any hint of predestinarianism. History is understood to be the result of the actions and decisions of people acting individually or corporately, not of some unseen force pressing men willy-nilly towards their destiny in a Tolstoyan fashion. The men and women who produced the course of events we know as Scottish history are here as living and clearly apprehended people. Mrs Mitchison presents us with well-drawn character sketches of many of them, as well as brief biographical notes at the end of each chapter. Here one might put in a plea for the inclusion in this excellent 'Who's Who', of the poets and entrepreneurs as well as the preachers and politicians, and for its continuation after the early nineteenth century.

Among the rulers of Scotland, James VI emerges in this account with enhanced stature and relatively amiable qualities. Longer life and an English kingdom gave him advantages his predecessors lacked, but it was his personal ability and his intimate knowledge of his Scottish subjects that made him a better monarch than any of his Stuart descendants. Mrs Mitchison points out that it was in his reign that the problem of law and order in the Highlands and the Borders began effectively to be solved, though in the Highlands on the precarious basis of the loyalty of the Campbells of Argyll. The immense territorial rewards granted by the Stuarts to that house did not prevent the 8th Earl from leading the opposition to Charles I in 1638 and setting in train a civil war that destroyed both King and Monarchy. The statement made on page 171 that the Kintyre lands were a reward for the 7th Earl's services in hounding the MacGregors after Glenfruin may mislead. The Crown rents were fixed at a low rate because of this service, but the grant of the tenancy of these extensive lands was an acknowledgement of the many like services which the Argylls had performed as agents of the Crown in its war upon the overmighty Macdonalds, who had formerly possessed Kintyre. Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, one of the best authorities for these events, might well be added to the Further Reading List.

Of the Union of parliaments in 1707 Mrs Mitchison has no doubts that it was necessary at the time (The Scots 'were poor and rapidly getting poorer') and would become gradually more advantageous to Scotland. One must admit that the union of the Crowns had made closer political and economic co-ordination between the two countries inevitable. It had, for one thing, weakened Scotland's economic independence by making her break off relations with her former European trading partners. It was difficult to find a position of equilibrium between complete independence and complete union. But Scotland surely surrendered her parliament too hastily. Half a century later the Manx lost their independent sovereignty but retained their own legislature. Without it, and the control that this has given them over their internal affairs, the island

might well be as neglected and depopulated as any of the Hebridean islands with which Mann shared a common tradition of language, culture and government. The Union of 1707 speeded up change of every kind in the succeeding century. These are described in chapters which are admirably concise and lucid.

The last chapters of the book discuss Scotland in the age of the Industrial Revolution and of world-wide markets. Rural society, shaken by these events and by such catastrophes as the great potato failures of 1846–7, shed its redundant population and slid into a decline which is still going on. Urban society suffered the moral and physical maladies that over-rapid growth always brings. The author discusses the problems of health and housing, local government, education, the national movement, economic production and much else with a wealth of information and admirable clarity. But somehow, in these last chapters, one is conscious rather of problems and topics being discussed than of a structured society in the midst of change. One misses too the sense of a wide and airy land where communities have their diversities of occupation and character and speech. Cultural elements receive little attention, and in the economic field one would expect to read of fishing, distilling, afforestation and tourism. If one makes these complaints of the book's treatment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is perhaps because Mrs Mitchison has taught us, in the main body of the work, to expect the highest standards. Few books on Scottish history have appeared in recent years that will better repay the reader's careful study.

ERIC CREGEEN

The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe, edited by Alan Gailey and Alexander Fenton. Ulster Folk Museum and Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, Belfast. 1970. Pp. xiii+257, 248 illustrations+33 plates. £1·65.

In English the spade is a cypher for something clearly understood. No one, reading this collection of papers, will be able to think of the spade as being simple and unambiguous. Perhaps it is typical that it was John Knox himself who chose to translate the Latin proverb and to call 'a spade a spade' in a country where that instrument is so varied in its form and uses.

This score of essays on tillage by the spade, paring and burning and peat cutting, is presented in the hope that it 'will be the first of many topical, regional European ethnological handbooks in the English language'. The conference at which the papers were presented was partly to counter-balance the emphasis on the plough in the international study of cultivating implements, and time and again we are conscious in the contributions of an evolutionary sequence: digging stick—spade—plough, accepted by some, rejected or ignored by others. For although the title and central object of these studies is the spade, the contributors are variously concerned with it. Some are

concerned with the history of agricultural implements, others with the techniques of rural economy, others with the social organisation of the implements' users. It is hardly surprising that in the rigid framework of British education, ethnology has found little space, but one of the compensations is that a book such as this has interest for a wide audience of students of many disciplines.

The introduction by Professor Estyn Evans is itself a most interesting collection of stimulating thoughts, particularly about the general theme of the relationship between tools and environment. It shares with my other favourite among the contributions—Jewel and Dodgshon on south west England—the quality of being unsatisfying without being unsatisfactory, of suggesting more problems and connexions than it resolves. In a way, this contribution on the South-West of England is the most surprising for, if Scandinavia and 'Celtic' Europe are locations central to the theme, then this is peripheral, and it might have been thought that its interest would be marginal. It makes very clear that the distinction must be drawn between an agricultural practice and the tools used for it.

The spade is one of several tools frequently used to remove the fibrous swards found in north-west Europe which develop into peat when they become waterlogged. But is it merely adapted to this function, or was its initial invention made necessary by the problem? Is it an implement resorted to only in areas too poor or backward to afford a method less demanding on human physique? Such problems demand several approaches: speculation, historical analysis, taxonomic description of surviving examples, and there are examples of all of these. The two largest contributions are by Dr. A. T. Lucas and Alexander Fenton, and relate to paring and burning in Ireland and Scotland respectively. Fenton's contribution particularly is exemplary as an appraisal of surviving evidence on spades, their use and makers, while Lucas, under the modest heading 'preliminary survey' collects the surviving literary evidence regarding paring and burning, leaving the peat spades to John O'Sullivan by whom they are admirably described.

The surface mat of vegetation was disturbed by the spade either to facilitate the cultivation of the land, or to obtain this fibrous mat to use for fuel or building. To the extent that the turf was sought for its own sake, the tool used for its removal would be more specialised. We thus have some extraordinary implements used to cut roof material or wall sods. At times in this proliferation of types, one sympathises with the nineteenth-century writer, quoted by Fenton, who found 'a profusion of spades ... of many different shapes and sizes; but the only excellence I could discover in them was that they were agreeable to the fancy of the owner'.

Such accumulation of information is vital, however, and we are grateful to have it done. Perhaps from it we shall be able to have some agreed definitions and derivations. How do we distinguish spades from shovels? Professor Evans (p. 2) does so on the basis of the broader blade necessitated by the latter's lifting and throwing function, while Fenton (p. 157) bases the distinction on the 'thrust with the arms alone'. If this is the case, what is the position of that intriguing implement, the breast-plough?

One of the many things that emerge from this collection is that the quaint is not necessarily the antique. It is tempting to see some of the more extreme spade forms, especially those used in cultivation, as an early stage in the evolution of agricultural implements—the breast-plough and cas-chrom as low branches from the family tree of the plough, preserved in those areas too poor to support draught animals. Fenton has already established the likelihood that the cas-chrom was a comparatively late introduction to the Western Isles, and now Dr. Gailey argues persuasively that the 'Big Loy' of Ireland needs power-forging and is therefore probably post 1788. To this we must add that in Sweden, Ireland and Scotland they are agreed that the breast-plough, far from being a pre-historic survival, was imported from England as one of the tools of the agricultural improvement. Stripping the surface with a spade is older than the use of the breast-spade (even in Devonshire which claims to be the home of the practice as well as of the name sometimes given to it), but it was initially done, as might be expected, using a spade whose shaft has a rounded end which is pushed against the knee—as in shovelling or the present-day use of the 'playing-card'—shaped spade used for lifting lawn turfs in the South downs. Although the breast-spade was developing earlier, the first examples are not found in the West of England till the eighteenth century. The name, Jewel and Dodgshon tell us, is derived not from the method of pushing but from the purpose: 'Breast-spade' or 'spining-plough'—both these anatomical-sounding names are dialect words for a 'slice' or 'turf-cut'. One wonders how precisely this dialect usage may be located, for it may confirm the area of origin. Few other names are so popular. A doubt still nags, however: why should the name 'breast-spade', meaning 'slicing spade', not be used of paring spades in general, but only of those with a long cross-handle used against the thighs—or are there examples in the West of England of plain-shafted spades being known as breast-spades? The same two authors destroy another group of fanciful explanations—this time of 'beat-burning'. This apparently descriptive expression, either of controlled burning or the action of the mattocks involved in raising the sod, is revealed as another dialect word: 'beat-burning' is simply 'turf-burning'. These two common expressions, deriving from the West of England, point to the late introduction to Ireland, Scotland and Scandinavia of what might otherwise have been taken to be practices indigenous since prehistory.

Burning is one of man's oldest techniques for regulating vegetation. It is also widespread—some would ascribe the wide extent of the prairies to more or less controlled burning of the vegetation by Indians. But how big a step is it from firing the undergrowth in a 'slash and burn economy' to stripping it, roots and all in order to burn it? Is this technique limited to North West Europe, and if so when and why did it start? The digging stick was useful in the cultivation of ashes: did it grow through the spade to the plough as those ashes became less tractible? Estyn Evans calls for 'appropriate caution', and introduces the sort of accumulation of knowledge which is the only satisfactory basis for discussion.

This book is valuable not only for its careful collection and documentation of rare

and elusive knowledge, but also for the stimulus it will provide to future work and thought. Estyn Evans and Grith Lerche both discuss the amount of turf involved in burial mounds and houses, and the land required to produce it which 'presupposes large areas of open grass land in the Bronze Age, and also perhaps a more stable agriculture than archaeologists are normally inclined to argue'. Trefor Owen's contribution on Wales points out that 'peat cutting forms only a small part of the broad field of human activity which included the cultivation of the soil in all its multifarious aspects, the husbandry of animals, and the running of the household'. Fenton also reminds us of some wider implications sometimes forgotten. In a climate such as Scotland's, fuel and the work of transporting it may be as demanding of human effort as is water in India. Fenton cites examples of farm workers building their 'huts on the moor so as to be near peats and turf. The importance of a fuel supply in relation to questions of settlement patterns and depopulation before about 1850 can scarcely be overestimated'. But it has frequently been ignored.

The book is paper-bound—one hopes that it will be robust enough to withstand the repeated usage that most scholars' copies will receive.

M. J. STANLEY

Gamle Teglværker (Old Tileworks) by J. Rasmussen and O. Meyer. Copenhagen 1968. Pp. 96 28·15 Danish Kroner.

This is a picture book, with photographs by O. Meyer, and text, in Danish and English, by J. Rasmussen. It is published by the Tile Industry's Technical Service, as a record of a completely functional form of architecture that is on the point of disappearance due to the introduction of new techniques.

The buildings illustrated are all less than 80 years old, and all share in a certain makeshift, though none the less functional, quality because of the changes that have taken place in their short life. Brick and tile making techniques were introduced to Denmark by brickmakers brought in from Lombardy in the twelfth century. The clay was dug in autumn, and in spring was mixed with sand and water, and puddled by the feet of oxen and horses before being moulded in wooden frames. Sun-drying for about three weeks was followed by baking.

The oldest method left no structural remains. It involved piling the bricks in a conical clamp in the open field, with charcoal in the interstices. The whole was coated with clay, and baked by fires of peat and wood for four or five days. The clamps were then covered with earth and allowed to cool off gradually. The next step, involving the same technique, was technologically more advanced only in its use of a four-sided built furnace, open above, with stoke holes at the sides. One example of such a furnace has been preserved at the Historical-Archaeological Research Centre at Lejre, in Zealand.

It was not until after the German Hoffmann invented the ring kiln in 1864, however, that tileworks of the type under discussion, with their associated drying-sheds, began to appear. This kiln may be circular or long, and is so arranged that baking goes on all the time, though the firing zone is shifted in a regular sequence. Continuous production was possible, therefore. The oldest Danish ring-kiln, built in 1870 at Nivågård, is still in use. The latest development, since 1960, has been the introduction of the tunnel kiln, in which the bricks are baked whilst being transported on waggons through a baking zone. This type has spread rapidly, and as a result, the days of old-style tile-works are over.

The most prominent architectural feature of the tile-works was the arrangement of drying-sheds with roof ventilators and sets of adjustable louvres on the side walls. Sheds placed close to the kiln could use surplus kiln-heat to aid natural drying, and so three- or four-storeyed sheds developed to make maximum use of this aid. Now drying is in oil-heated chambers. The influence of material on design is illustrated by the fact that the drying sheds were mostly built over a five foot module, because of the load-bearing limits of shelves full of wet bricks.

The flow was very simple, from the clay pits, through the moulds, into the drying sheds, into the kiln. Architectural variation was largely due to changes in the type of kiln, and to efforts to speed up production by taking advantage of kiln heat for drying as well as firing.

The purpose of this note is partly to review an interesting and attractive book, but also to draw attention to a class of buildings which in Scotland, at least, has not been much observed or studied. Many brick and tile works in Scotland have vanished, leaving no trace beyond the bricks, roofing tiles, and drain-pipes they produced. There is not an old tradition of building in brick in Scotland, but the use of red roofing pantiles spread through the countryside, especially around the Firth of Forth, from the late eighteenth century, as part of the new farm-building phase that accompanied the Agricultural Revolution. Possibly the towns around the Forth had tiles earlier, imported from the Low Countries, but the new phase was based on the products of native tile works, whose history has been largely unwritten.

Though late in the day, it is still possible to find places like Blackpotts Tile-works, Whitehills, Banff, which has been working since the mid-nineteenth century. It is the kind of small-scale industrial building that Rasmussen and Meyer's book describes, so close in many respects that it might have been lifted from one country to the other. It is a fine example of functional architecture that nevertheless retains an attractive appearance. Such buildings deserve to be put high on the list of priorities for surveying and recording, and an effort would be well worth making to preserve one good example.

ALEXANDER FENTON

The Development of Farm Buildings in Western Lowland Staffordshire up to 1880 by J. E. C. Peters. Manchester University Press 1969. Pp. 284. £3·60.

The Manchester University School of Architecture has been active in surveying and publishing material on vernacular buildings since a programme of regional surveys started in 1946. The present volume is a valuable addition to the series inspired by the Manchester School, and is a pioneering work in the study of farm buildings, a subject rarely treated by architectural historians and hitherto never examined in such detail. The farmhouse itself, as well as accommodation for the manpower, has been largely excluded, however.

Dr Peters sets the scene by a historical examination of changes in building materials in relation to the main re-building phases from the late sixteenth century onwards, set alongside developments in agriculture, with particular reference to the Enclosures, and forms of landownership. These are the kinds of factors, reflected in stock accommodation and feeding facilities, and in food processing equipment, that give the character of an evolving, functional, working tool to the farm-buildings, not only in Staffordshire, but wherever they are found.

A chapter on the siting of the farmstead, as part of a group or as an isolated unit, gives further historical perspectives. In this area, the bulk of the farm-sites occupied between 1720–1880 (a period that covers almost all the farms surveyed) were grouped in villages or hamlets, though by 1880 three-fifths of the working farmsteads were isolated. Perhaps because of this the building of field barns standing alone and often in conjunction with foldyards, was fairly frequent from about the mid-seventeenth until well through the nineteenth century.

Farmstead layouts range from the old and in British terms very widespread straight line, to the late eighteenth century L-shaped, and the nineteenth century three- and four-sided arrangements that are the hall-mark of estate building, when conscious thought was being given, as part of the general pattern of agricultural improvement, to the provision of shelter for cattle within the building layout, and to facilitating the collection of manure, usually in a single heap. These two factors probably played a greater part than any other in bringing about the three- and four-sided layouts. At the same time, evidence of increasing status is seen in the relationship of the dwelling-house to the farm-buildings, and in the nature of the access to it.

A further considerable part was played by the barn, which as Dr Peters points out, was the most important building on the farm, around which the whole of the farmstead was theoretically planned. The form of the barn reflects changes in techniques of grain and straw storage, in threshing methods, in access for farm wagons, in food preparation, and in temporary needs such as its use for folding sheep during shearing. Several examples have cornholes or corn-bins of brick, stone or timber for the storage

of flail-threshed grain. It is of interest to note that the adoption of the stationary and portable threshing machines apparently led to an increase in the practice of storing sheaves in ricks, to be brought in and threshed as required. Mill-barns can, therefore, be smaller than those of earlier times, when it seems to have been normal to keep most of the crop inside. Generally speaking the barn became in course of time less of a store and more of a processing centre, when its success in functional and architectural terms could be judged by the ease and economy of movement by which its products could be got to the consumption or transport points.

Stable sizes were related to farm sizes, and to needs in ploughing and transport. Where the farm was part of a group, more horses might also be required because of the greater distance to the fields.

The longest chapter in the book is devoted to accommodation for cattle. As with the stable, a considerable amount of space is given to typology, and the positions in which the animals were tied. Shelter sheds as well as foldyards and cowhouses are dealt with. It is perhaps the construction of cowhouses, with their feeding and cleaning organisations, their forms of ventilation, the separation of milk-cows and feeding cattle, their relation-ship to feed-preparation and storage rooms, the forms of the partitions, racks and mangers, the presence or absence of a loft, that was given most attention by estate-owners, farmers, architects, and theorists in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The book ends with a discussion of the cart and implement sheds, the granary that was often built above the cart shed (though at an earlier date in the house itself), the pigsty, the poultry house which was often an ill-lit loft in the farmstead, the dovecot, and occasionally the smithy.

The raw material on which the book is based is of two main kinds. First, architectural surveys of existing farmsteads of which a cross-section is given in thirty-three figures, supplemented by twenty photographic plates (unfortunately rather poorly reproduced). Second, intensive study of printed and manuscript sources, local and general, that have been ably used by Dr Peters to interpret the three-dimensional changes in the buildings surveyed. These changes are to a great extent capable of being expressed in typological sequences and analysed statistically as well as being plotted on distribution maps, and Dr Peters has done this systematically, throughout the book, compressing his material into manageable form.

As an exercise in seeing what can be got out of a strictly limited area, the book is of considerable interest and value. Since it deals primarily with a period during which parallel developments were taking place over much of Britain, it also has relevance for a very much wider area than Staffordshire alone, and will greatly ease the progress of students engaged in similar research elsewhere. Finally, as a by-product, it provides a useful index to the literature on estate building and development, suggests (but does not expand on) the diffusion of ideas on farm-buildings through estate-owners and factors, and gives a hint of how features of Staffordshire farm-buildings may be re-flected as far north as Sutherland, where the Marquess of Stafford also had an estate.

When such links occur, it is clearly worth while for students of Scottish farm architecture to look beyond the Border.

<div align="right">ALEXANDER FENTON</div>

The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain by W. F. H. Nicolaisen (editor), Margaret Gelling and Melville Richards. Batsford, London, 1970. Pp. 215. £2.50.

It is rare today to have the opportunity of purchasing a book on the subject of place-names which is aimed not only at the scholar but at the general reader. Kenneth Cameron's *English Place Names* (Batsford, London 1961) and P. H. Reaney's *Origin of English Place Names* (London 1960) are two examples of this in the last decade, but their scope is limited, naturally enough, to England. Apart from the English Place Name Society's excellent annual publications, which are the work of years of research, and aimed at a more restricted readership, the bulk of volumes on place-names cover relatively small areas dealt with intensively enough to be complete in themselves, like the late Hugh Marwick's *Place Names of Birsay* (Aberdeen 1970) and G. O. Pierce's *Place Names of Dinas Powys Hundred* (Cardiff 1968).

This book departs from convention by investigating names from England, Wales and Scotland in one volume, with scholars from all three countries contributing to the corpus of information and co-operating in the selection of items. The Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland—of whom Professor Richards is the Chairman, and Professor Nicolaisen a former secretary—was the prime mover for instigating this volume, after a meeting in Nottingham in 1965. A good deal of the credit for the publication of this work must therefore go to the Council for Name Studies, who are attempting to encourage and co-ordinate place-name research in these islands.

The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain is obviously aimed at a wide public, since its introduction is short and readable, and the alphabetical layout makes for easy use. However, it departs from convention in place-name publications by examining names not 'primarily dictated by linguistic considerations but by extra-linguistic criteria'. For England, towns with over 10,000 inhabitants have been included, but in order to have a fair representation for Wales and Scotland, the figure of 5,000 was adopted for these countries. At the same time, it was obvious that certain centres which could not qualify on the grounds of population were nevertheless important enough to be included, such as small towns which served as county towns or administrative centres of a similar kind. Thus, for Scotland, Stonehaven KCD, Portree (Skye) INV and Banff BNF are included. Settlements of under 1,000 inhabitants were not admitted since this number, in census terms, constitutes the lower limit for a settlement called a 'town'.

As a straightforward dictionary of British town names, this volume has a definite attraction not only for the academic world but also for the general reader. The authors

have been at pains to emphasise the fact that these place-names are treated as names rather than as words or 'linguistic units'. Most of the items are liberally supplied with early spellings in order to indicate to the general reader the complexity of name-change throughout the centuries. But the main public interest will undoubtedly be in the derivations of each name, and in this respect there is an emphasis on the nature of the name with regard to site and situation, historical implications, social significance, together with its place within the linguistic stratum to which it belongs. In all this, the onomastic 'shorthand', so much a part of publications like those of the English Place Name Society, has been entirely omitted: indeed, the only glossary of abbreviations consists of a list of county names reduced to a three-letter system conforming to current Scottish and Welsh practice in place-name writings. Readers of a more academic turn of mind may therefore find fault with the complete lack of references. Certainly, one can think of those who would very much like to know the references to, say, Dornoch SUT in 1199 or to Bracknell BRK England in 942. Nevertheless, to present this volume as a popular gazetteer requires the omission of all such information, however desirable it may be to the professional scholar.

The list for general reading (p. 29) is very short indeed, although all the works mentioned are available in the majority of good public libraries. Again, one would have liked to have seen a more comprehensive bibliography, especially for Scotland, which is represented only by Watson's *History of Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, and by the 'Notes on Scottish Place Names' in *Scottish Studies*.

In summary, this book must be considered as unique of its kind. Its scope and format are unprecedented, and its content is both accurate and concise. The three co-authors are, of course, experts in their respective fields and must be congratulated on the publication of what, we hope, will be only the first of many volumes of this kind. At £2.50 this book is certainly good value, and must surely emerge as a standard reference book on many household bookshelves.

IAN FRASER

Irish Folk Drama by Alan Gailey. The Mercier Press, Cork 1969. Pp. 103. 42½p.

Mr Gailey handles a complex situation with quiet expertise (*e.g.* pp. 60–1) and scholarly respectability. His book is the fruit of much original investigation and while, as a brief introduction to the subject, it could hardly be better (except for its over-pricing), Mr Gailey's work deserves a more extended presentation, with full academic apparatus. He unobtrusively relates Irish folk mummings to their probable pagan sources and discusses their relationship to other Irish folk customs and to similar activities in Scotland and England (*e.g.* pp. 42, 61, 100). The text of five plays (from the counties of Antrim, Derry, Dublin, Fermanagh, and Wexford) are given, and their nature

discussed. In his opinion there was 'much more borrowing by the literary drama from its folk counterpart, than in the opposite direction' (p. 66). The final chapter provides a judicious summary of his conclusions.

Hypotheses are carefully controlled; no point is pressed to death and evidence is used only as far as it will go: Mr Gailey is, for instance, careful about possible interpretations of the dress of performers and associative links with Scottish folk activities (pp. 52–3), and refuses to submit his evidence to more interpretation than it will bear—a rare quality in this particular field.

The occasional lapses towards the journalistic at the ends of one or two paragraphs—perhaps a glance towards his publishers and the lower *haute vulgarisation*—are the only disconcerting features.

MCD. EMSLIE

Books Received

John Skelton, Poet of Tudor England by Maurice Pollet. Dent, London 1971. Pp. 302. £3.

The Collected Poems of John Galt 1779–1839, Vol. 1 edited by H. B. Timothy. University of Toronto, Canada 1969. Pp. 455. $15.

The Isle of Mull by P. A. Macnab (Islands Series). David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1970. Pp. 246. £2.50.

An Egg at Easter. A Folklore Study by Venetia Newall. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1971. Pp. 423. 24 coloured plates, 20 black and white. £6.

Industrial Archaeology of Galloway by Ian Donnachie. David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1971. Pp. 271 + text illustrations and 32 plates. £3.50

Studies in Chinese Folklore and Related Essays by Wolfram Eberhard. Indiana University Folklore Institute Monograph Series, Vol. 23. Bloomington 1970. Pp. 329. $10.

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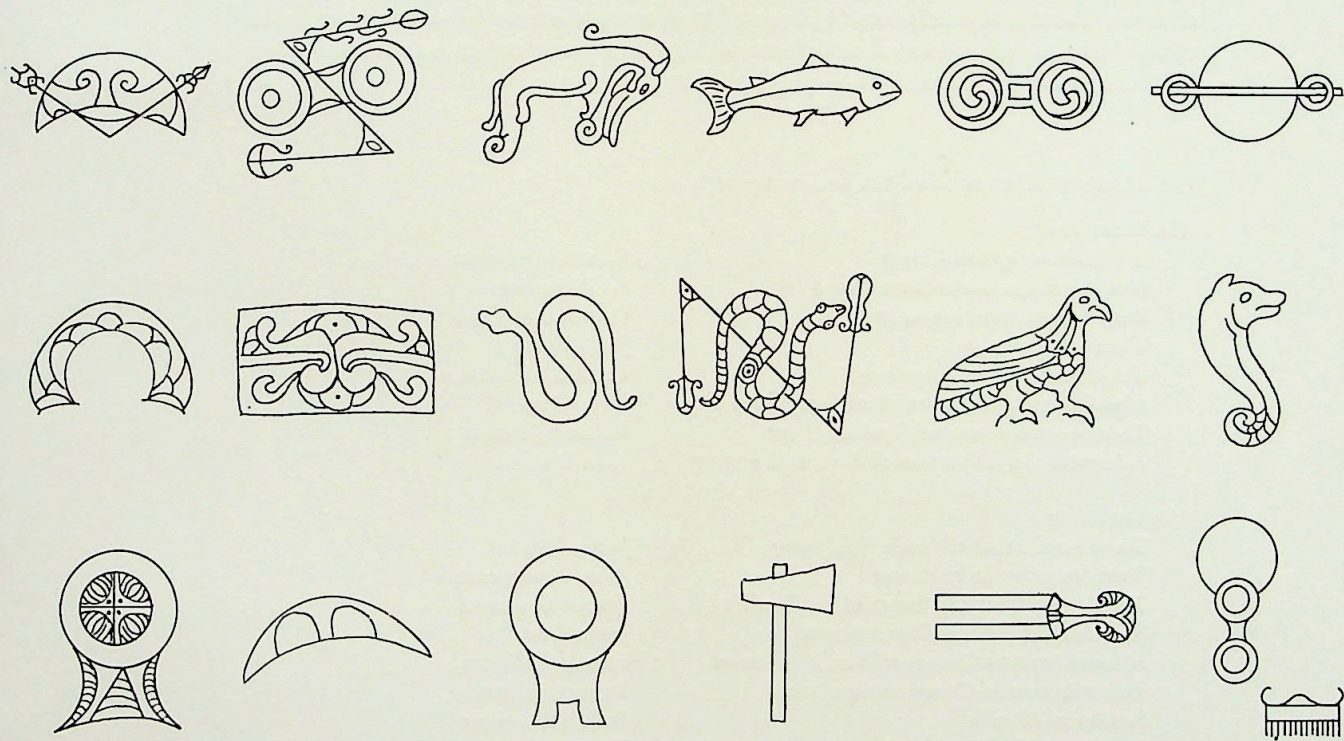
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Scottish Studies

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Notes on Collection and Research

Reviews and Reports

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Scott and 'Tales of My Landlord'

JOHN MACQUEEN

Waverley, with its subtitle "'Tis Sixty Years Since', was published on 7 July 1814. On 29 July Scott embarked from Leith to accompany the Commissioners for Northern Lights on what he called 'a nautical tour round Scotland, visiting all that is curious on continent and isle'. The trip lasted until 8 September, when Scott disembarked at Greenock and took the steam-boat to Glasgow on the first stage of his homeward journey. During the tour he kept a long diary, written primarily for the entertainment of himself, his family, and a few friends, but which incidentally reveals many of his imaginative and intellectual preoccupations at the time. Lockhart embodied it in volume III of his *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (7 vols., Edinburgh and London 1837).

The diary was written at the beginning of Scott's career as a novelist, but also near the beginning of his career as an improving land-owner. The two are more closely linked than one might imagine. Scott had removed to Abbotsford in May 1812, and by the summer of 1814 his baronial mansion had substantially replaced its predecessor on the same site, the small poor farmhouse 'with a common kail-yard on one flank, and a staring barn . . . on the other; while in front appeared a filthy pond covered with ducks and duckweed, from which the whole tenement had derived the unharmonious designation of Clarty Hole' (I quote Lockhart). Scott himself, in other words, had a major responsibility for the redemption of at least one piece of Scotland from the clutches of the old agricultural system, which had survived almost unchanged from the later Middle Ages. His work as landlord plays a significant part in the more general movement which has been described by the late Henry Hamilton in *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford 1963), and by T. C. Smout in *A History of the Scottish People, 1560–1830* (London 1969).

The main processes by which this transformation, the Agricultural Revolution, as it is often called, was affected, were enclosure, plantation, crop-rotation, the introduction of new crops, better animal-husbandry and better farm-machinery. As a consequence, in lowland Scotland, two generations saw the virtual disappearance of the old system of run-rig, infield, outfield, ox-plough, but-and-ben and kailyard. During Scott's lifetime, the entire appearance of the countryside, and the customs and manners of country men and women, were substantially altered—in most ways, for the better, in some for the worse. The older way of society has preserved a continuity with the culture of the past, which Scott felt as distinctively Scottish, the disappearance of which

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he regretted: even when he felt that it was inescapable, and in many ways beneficial, the change still introduced an unfortunate measure of uniformity with, and subordination to, England and Europe. Scott felt nevertheless that some kind of reconciliation between new and old was possible, as it was certainly necessary.

In this, as in other ways, the tension between a retreating and an advancing way of life formed part of the framework of Scott's very existence, and his temperament was of a kind likely to be strongly affected by it. On the one hand, he was a scholar and antiquarian, conservative by imaginative bias and political conviction. On the other, he was a pragmatic lawyer, more concerned with things as they were, or would in the near future be, than with how they had been or ought to be. And of course the political and intellectual background of his own life-time—the Enlightenment, the American and French revolutions, the rise of Napoleon and the long war with France, the preliminaries of the first Reform Bill—all projected on a European and world scale the same impulse towards revolutionary change visible on the face of the Border countryside which had helped to form Scott as an imaginative and thinking being. It is not surprising that revolution, the violent confrontation of an old with a new form of society, formed the staple of his creative output, even before the Waverley novels. The Last Minstrel, as his name indicates, is the last of his ancient order, and has survived into a different world; a vital part of the old Scotland disappeared in company with Marmion at Flodden. In *The Lady of the Lake* we have the reign of James V, with its confrontation of the old, represented by the House of Douglas and the Highlands, and the new, represented by the Lowlands and King James V.

In Scott's earlier and best narrative poetry, however, the confrontation of two orders of society had invariably been seen from a substantial distance. The Last Minstrel belongs to the closing years of the seventeenth century, but his tale, like that of *Marmion* and *The Lady of the Lake*, is of the early sixteenth century. It was only when Scott turned from verse to prose, from the romance to the novel, that he began to exercise his imaginative powers on the more recent past, and to discover in it the seeds of the revolutionary present, the present which the Laird of Abbotsford and uncrowned King of Scotland was himself helping to shape. ''Tis Sixty Years Since', the subtitle of *Waverley*, immediately reveals the change of emphasis—Scott had turned to events within living memory, events which still exerted some influence on contemporary society, much as the 1914-18 War still has its effect on present-day Britain and Europe. If by historical novelist we mean one who excludes, or attempts to exclude, from his work all concern with events of his own time, Scott for the most and best part was not a historical novelist. His concern was with the past as the matrix of the present—if you like, with the birth pangs of the present in the fairly immediate past.

Scott's improvements at Clarty Hole shared in importance with the earlier raids into Liddesdale in forcing him to become aware of the continuity between past and present in the Borders. The voyage with the Commissioners for Northern Lights helped to bring Scotland as a whole within his ken. The voyage took him to the Shetlands and

Orkneys, along the north coast of the mainland and down the west coast, with visits to the Inner and Outer Hebrides, Northern Ireland and the islands of the Firth of Clyde. Scott, as antiquary and historian, was fascinated, but it is clear that Scott, the improving landlord, also found much of importance. In the northern islands particularly, the older Scotland was alive and visible, as some passages from the account of the Shetlands will serve to illustrate.

Scott arrived in Lerwick on 4 August, and almost immediately, as was his way, went for a long exploratory walk:

> The ground is dreadfully encumbered with stones; the patches, which have been sown with oats and barley, bear very good crops, but they are mere patches, the cattle and ponies feeding among them and secured by tethers. The houses most wretched, worse than the worst herd's house I ever saw. It would be easy to form a good farm by enclosing the ground with Galloway dykes, which would answer the purpose of clearing it at the same time of stones; and as there is plenty of lime-shell, marle, and alga-marina, manure could not be wanting. But there are several obstacles to improvement, chiefly the undivided state of the properties, which lie *run-rig*; then the claims of Lord Dundas, the lord of the country; and above all, perhaps, the state of the common people, who, dividing their attention between the fishery and the cultivation, are not much interested in the latter, and are often absent at the proper times of labour. Their ground is chiefly dug with the spade, and their ploughs are beyond description awkward. An odd custom prevails—any person, without exception (if I understand rightly) who wishes to raise a few kail, fixes upon any spot he pleases, encloses it with a dry stone-wall, uses it as a kail-yard till he works out the soil, then deserts it and makes another. Some dozen of these little enclosures, about twenty or thirty feet square, are in sight at once. They are called planty-cruives. . . .
>
> In our return, pass the upper end of the little lake of *Cleik-him-in*, which is divided by a rude causeway from another small loch, communicating with it, however, by a sluice, for the purpose of driving a mill. But such a mill! The wheel is horizontal, with the cogs turned diagonally to the water; the beam stands upright, and is inserted in a stone-quern of the old-fashioned construction. This simple machine is enclosed in a hovel about the size of a pig-stye, and there is the mill! There are about 500 such mills in Shetland, each incapable of grinding more than a sack at a time (pp. 143-5).

In his diary, Scott added a rough sketch to illustrate the operation of the mill.

Two days later he went to dine at the home of an improving landlord on the island of Bressay:

> Young Mr. Mowat, son of my old friend, is an improver, and a *moderate* one. He has got a ploughman from Scotland, who acts as *grieve*, but as yet with the prejudices and inconveniences which usually attach themselves to the most salutary experiments. The ploughman complains that the Zetlanders work as if a spade or hoe burned their fingers, and though they only get a shilling a-day, yet the labour of three of them does not exceed what one good hand in Berwickshire would do for 2s. 6d. The islanders retort, that a man can do no more than he can; that they are not used to be taxed to their work so severely; that they will work as their fathers did, and not otherwise; and at first the landlord found

difficulty in getting hands to work under his Caledonian taskmaster. Besides, they find fault with his *ho*, and *gee*, and *wo*, when ploughing. 'He speaks to the horse,' they say, 'and they gang—and there's something no canny about the man'. In short, between the prejudices of laziness and superstition, the ploughman leads a sorry life of it; yet those prejudices are daily abaiting, under the steady and indulgent management of the proprietor. Indeed, nowhere is improvement in agriculture more necessary. An old-fashioned Zetland plough is a real curiosity. It had but one handle, or stilt, and a coulter, but no sock; it ripped the furrow, therefore, but did not throw it aside. When this precious machine was in motion, it was dragged by four little bullocks yoked abreast and as many ponies harnessed, or rather strung to the plough by ropes and thongs of raw hide. One man went before, walking backward; with his face to the bullocks, and pulling them forward by main strength. Another held down the plough by its single handle, and made a sort of slit in the earth, which two women, who closed the procession converted into a furrow, by throwing the earth aside with shovels. An antiquary might be of opinion that this was the very model of the original plough invented by Triptolemus: and it is but justice to Zetland to say, that these relics of ancient agricultural art will soon have all the interest attached to rarity. We could only hear of one of these ploughs within three miles of Lerwick (pp. 152–3).

The most direct effect of Scott's visit to Shetland is to be seen in one of his less successful novels, *The Pirate* (1821), most of all in the presentation of the anachronistic improver, Triptolemus Yellowley, but it is only necessary to think of Cuddy Headrigg, the ploughman in *Old Mortality*, to see the more generalized effect which his experiences in the Shetlands and elsewhere, sharpened by his labours as landlord of Abbotsford, exercised on Scott's creative imagination. It was not merely, or even primarily, the more glamorous incidents and people of the past—Claverhouse, for instance, the Jacobite cause in general or Prince Charles Edward in particular—which kindled Scott to his most creative achievement. By the 'teens and 'twenties of the nineteenth century, the glamour perhaps remained, but the relevance had departed. Scott's concern was with the continuous process and development which linked past with present. Above all, perhaps, he was concerned with development as it affected the land itself, as it affected Scotland, which he saw dominated by the country-side and its people. Edinburgh was also part of Scotland, but Scott's Edinburgh is a place reserved almost exclusively for lawyers and mobs, a place from which to escape. Several novels—one particularly recalls *The Antiquary* and *Redgauntlet*—begin with a happy departure from Edinburgh. Save in *Rob Roy*, Glasgow scarcely makes an appearance.

Scott only gradually, I believe, came to realise the aptness for his own purposes of the form which he first tentatively adopted in *Waverley*. *Waverley* almost certainly he wrote to be complete in itself. By 1816 when he had completed *The Antiquary*, his ideas had changed, as he indicates in the 'Advertisement' prefixed to that novel. 'The present Work', he says 'completes a series of fictitious narratives, intended to illustrate the manners of Scotland at three different periods. WAVERLEY embraced the age of our fathers, GUY MANNERING that of our youth, and the ANTIQUARY refers to the last ten years of the eighteenth century.' Here, clearly expressed, is the idea of historical

progression through some fifty years which is to unite several volumes otherwise quite distinct. Scott, as the next sentence indicates, emphasised continuity as much as change. 'I have', he says, 'in the two last narratives especially, sought my principal personages in the class of society who are the last to feel the influence of that general polish which assimilates to each other the manners of different nations.' His 'principal personages', in other words, who provide the continuity between one novel and another and between the novel and the reader, are not the titular heroes, but in *Guy Mannering* Meg Merrilees, Dandy Dinmont and Dominie Sampson: in *The Antiquary* Edie Ochiltree and the Mucklebackits—those who personify, as it were, the abiding element in the older order, while the titular heroes and their social compeers proceed towards the new. But at least to begin with not the very new—*The Antiquary* comes no nearer to the present than the 1790s.

Two other things deserve comment. Scott's realisation of his own development is shown by the way in which he sets *Waverley* somewhat apart from the two succeeding and structurally more advanced novels. Secondly, he writes in the 'Advertisement' as if with the completion of his trilogy he intended to give up the practice of novel-writing. 'I have now', he says, 'only to express my gratitude to the public for the distinguished reception which they have given to works that have little more than some truth of colouring to recommend them, and to take my respectful leave, as one who is not likely again to solicit their favour.'

In this way 'The Author of Waverley' made, or pretended to make, his *congé*. It is well known how, in the same year a few months later, a work, apparently by a new author, appeared under the title of *Tales of My Landlord, Collected and Reported by Jedediah Cleishbotham, Schoolmaster and Parish-Clerk of Gandercleugh*. Jedediah claimed to be no more than the editor of the material collected and written up by his deceased assistant, Peter Pattieson, who in turn had gathered it from visitors to the Wallace Head Inn in Gandercleugh, 'the navel (*si fas sit dicere*) of this our native realm of Scotland; so that men, from every corner thereof, when travelling on their concernments of business either towards our metropolis of law, by which I mean Edinburgh, or towards our metropolis and mart of gain, whereby I insinuate Glasgow, are frequently led to make Gandercleugh their abiding stage and place of rest for the night.' The dedication runs, 'To his loving Countrymen, whether they are denominated Men of the South, Gentlemen of the North, People of the West or Folk of Fife, these Tales, illustrative of ancient Scottish manners, and of the traditions of their respective districts, are respectfully inscribed, by their friend and liege fellow-subject, Jedediah Cleishbotham'. The first four volumes contained *The Black Dwarf* and *Old Mortality*. Whatever Scott's intention may have been, the hand of 'The Author of *Waverley*' was at once recognised in them. In the national scope of the series we may perhaps recognise one side effect of the extended voyage with the Commissioners for Northern Lights.

The dedication lays particular emphasis on 'ancient Scottish manners', yet the first readers of the volumes must have been immediately struck by the expression of one

aspect of modern Scottish life which forms the introduction to *The Black Dwarf*.
The story is set in the Borders during the early eighteenth century, and demonstrates
the final stages of Border life as it had been recorded in the ballads—'the auld riding
days'. The modern farmer and his shepherd are introduced not merely as sources of the
story but to contrast the nineteenth with the eighteenth century:

"Hout awa' man," answered the farmer, "ye'll hae heard o' Canny Elshie the Black
Dwarf, or I am muckle mistaen—A' the warld tells tales about him, but it's but daft non-
sense after a'—I dinna believe a word o't frae beginning to end."

"Your father believed it unco stievely, though," said the old man, to whom the scepti-
cism of his master gave obvious displeasure.

"Ay, very true, Bauldie, but that was in the time o' the blackfaces—they believed a
hantle queer things in thae days, that naebody heeds since the lang sheep cam in."

"The mair's the pity, the mair's the pity," said the old man. "Your father, and sae I
have aften tell'd ye, maister, wad hae been sair vexed to hae seen the auld peel-house wa's
pu'd down to make park dykes; and the bonny broomy knowe, where he liked sae weel
to sit at e'en, wi' his plaid about him, and look at the kye as they cam down the loaning,
ill wad he hae liked to hae seen that braw sunny knowe a' riven out wi' the pleugh in the
fashion it is at this day."

"Hout, Bauldie," replied the principal, "tak ye that dram the landlord's offering ye, and
never fash your head about the changes o' the warld, sae lang as ye're blithe and bien your-
sell."

"Wussing your health, sirs," said the shepherd; and having taken off his glass, and ob-
served the whisky was the right thing, he continued, "It's no for the like o' us to be judging,
to be sure; but it was a bonny knowe that broomy knowe, and an unco braw shelter for the
lambs in a severe morning like this."

"Ay," said his patron, "but ye ken we maun hae turnips for the lang sheep, billie, and
muckle hard wark to get them, baith wi' the pleugh and the howe; and that wad sort ill wi'
sitting on the broomy knowe, and cracking about Black Dwarfs, and siccan clavers, as was
the gate lang syne, when the short sheep were in the fashion."

"Aweel, aweel, maister," said the attendant, "short sheep had short rents, I'm thinking."

Here my *worthy and learned* patron again interposed, and observed, "that he could never
perceive any material difference, in point of longitude, between one sheep and another."

This occasioned a loud hoarse laugh on the part of the farmer, and an astonished stare on
the part of the shepherd. "It's the woo', man,—it's the woo', and no the beasts themsells,
that makes them be ca'd lang or short. I believe if ye were to measure their backs, the short
sheep wad be rather the langer-bodied o' the twa; but it's the woo' that pays the rent in thae
days, and it had muckle need."

"Odd, Bauldie says very true,—short sheep did make short rents—my father paid for
our steading just threescore punds, and it stands me in three hundred, plack and bawbee.—
And that's very true—I hae nae time to be standing here clavering—Landlord, get us our
breakfast, and see an' get the yauds fed—I am for doun to Christy Wilson's, to see if him
and me can agree about the luckpenny I am to gie him for his year-aulds. We had drank
sax mutchkins to the making the bargain at St. Boswell's fair, and some gate we canna

gree upon the particulars preceesly, for as muckle time as we took about it—I doubt we draw to a plea—But hear ye, neighbour," addressing my *worthy and learned* patron, "if ye want to hear ony thing about lang or short sheep, I will be back here to my kail against ane o'clock; or, if ye want ony auld-warld stories about the Black Dwarf, and sic-like, if ye'll ware a half mutchkin upon Bauldie there, he'll crack t'ye like a pen-gun. And I'se gie ye a mutchkin mysell, man, if I can settle weel wi' Christy Wilson."

The main conflict of the *Black Dwarf* belongs to the early eighteenth century, when the heroic age of the Borderers as displayed, for instance, in the ballad *Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead* was already a thing of the past. The nurse Annaple announces the harrying of Heugh-foot in the old style—'The steading's a' in a low, and the bonny stack yard lying in the reek ashes, and the gear a' driven away'—but when it comes to organising a pursuit of the marauders who are assumed to be English, no one now clearly remembers the proper method.

> "And besides," said another old man, "I dinna believe there's ane now living that kens the lawful mode of following a fray across the border. Tam o' Whittram kend a' about it; but he died in the hard winter."
> "Ay", said a third, "he was at the great gathering, when they chased as far as Thirlwall; it was the year after the fight of Philiphaugh."
> "Hout", exclaimed another of these discording counsellors, "there's nae great skill needed; just put a lighted peat on the end of a spear, or hayfork, or siclike, and blaw a horn, and cry the gathering-word, and then it's lawful to follow gear into England, and recover it by the strong hand, or to take gear frae some other Englishman, providing ye lift nae mair than's been lifted frae you."

The last counsellor, although confident, is not, one must emphasise, strictly accurate. The fray, of course, peters out into almost nothing, and ends

> "Hout, ay," said Elliot, "just let byganes be byganes, and a' friends again; deil ane I bear malice at but Westburnflat, and I hae gien him baith a het skin and a cauld ane."

The Black Dwarf is not a distinguished novel, but in technique it is fascinating, operating, as it does, at three levels—that of the old ballads, the events and words of which are often echoed and parodied in the main narrative; that of assumed historical actuality in the early eighteenth century, when the old Borders were in decline, and that of the nineteenth century when the old life had been replaced by something apparently quite different. Each period is counterpointed against the others. Yet the sense of continuity is also strong. The old shepherd of the Introduction rides with his master as kinsman and equal; he is mounted on a border pony, and wears the blue bonnet and long blue worsted hose which had characterised his fighting and marauding ancestors. The farmer has converted his feuds into the threat of legal proceedings, and though he poses as a sceptic, it becomes clear that ancestral superstitions have not entirely departed from his mind and imagination—at heart he still believes in the Black Dwarf. One part

of Scott is saying (and hoping) that nothing essential to the life of the Borders has been lost in the transition from short to long sheep, or with the cessation of Border forays. The novel fails, not so much in its basic structure, as in the unconvincing presentation and characterisation of the Black Dwarf himself, a figure whose natural habitat is the absurder kind of Gothic novel more than the novel of social and intellectual change and contrast, which Scott for much of the book had successfully undertaken.

Scott plays more successful variations on this basic technique throughout the three original series of *Tales of My Landlord*—in *Old Mortality*, that is to say, *The Heart of Midlothian*, *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *A Legend of Montrose*.

In *Old Mortality*, the most consistently successful of the series, the primary effect of the counterpoint is pastoral and elegiac; the figure of Old Mortality working among the tombs of the deserted country burial ground effectively distances the savagery of the Killing Times. The novel itself is concerned not merely with civil war and religion, but with reconciliation, symbolised by the wedding of old opponents Cuddie Headrigg and Jenny Dennison, Henry Morton and Edith Bellenden, in each case, to the discomfiture of rivals, Tam Halliday and Lord Evandale, who are politically more extreme than either successful suitor. So too there is much emphasis on the increase of knowledge and prosperity in the countryside. Near the beginning of the novel Cuddie and Mause Headrigg are expelled from the employment of Lady Margaret Bellenden, who exclaims 'I had rather that the rigs of Tillietudlem bare naething but windle-straes and sandy lavrocks than that they were ploughed by rebels to the king.' Cuddie's lament which appears a few pages later—'I am no clear if I can pleugh ony place but the Mains and Mucklewhame—at least, I never tried ony other grund, and it wudna come natural to me'—is reminiscent of the complaints of the Shetlanders against the Border ploughman. It is a different and more perceptive man who at the end of the book replies to the unrecognised Morton's compliment on the rich and peaceful countryside, 'It's no to compleen o', sir, and we get the crap weel in . . . but if ye had seen the blude runnin' as fast on the tap o' that brigg yonder as ever the water ran below it, ye wadna hae thought it sae bonnie a spectacle'. The Killing Time is seen as a kind of baptism of fire for the emergence of the new society.

Scott, however, is not complacent about the new society. *Old Mortality*, basically, is the story of a Whig uprising in the West of Scotland, and, as such, could not be without its painful relevance to the period which immediately followed the Napoleonic Wars, when Castlereagh was Leader of the House of Commons and another rising of the Western Whigs presented a real and dangerous possibility. Scott was a Tory, but in *Old Mortality* his presentation of the moderate Whigs who adhere to Henry Morton is reasonably sympathetic, and it is these moderate Whigs who are the eventual victors in the struggle. Even in 1819, his reaction to revolution, although strong, avoided hysteria. During that year, in Lockhart's words, 'there prevailed a spirit of alarming insubordination among the mining population of Northumberland and the weavers of the west of Scotland' (iv, p. 318). Scott's realisation of the parallel with some of the

events of *Old Mortality*, and the Covenanting period in general, is strikingly revealed in the letters which he wrote at this time:

> Glasgow is in a terrible state. The Radicals had a plan to seize on 1000 stand of arms, as well as a depôt of ammunition which had been sent from Edinburgh Castle for the use of the volunteers. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Thomas Bradford, went to Glasgow in person, and the whole city was occupied with patrols of horse and foot, to deter them from the meditated attack on the barracks. The arms were then delivered to the volunteers, who are said to be 4000 on paper; how many effective and trustworthy, I know not. But it was a new sight in Scotland on Sunday to see all the inhabitants in arms, soldiers patroling the streets, and the utmost precaution of military service exacted and observed in an apparently peaceful city (Lockhart, IV, p. 324.)

Scott's own company of volunteers were to be organised in a way which recalls the tournament of the Popinjay: 'And we will have shooting at the mark, and prizes, and fun, and a little whisky, and daily pay when on duty or drill' (IV, p. 330)—and his comments on the possible defence of Berwick—'I defy the devil to pass the bridge at Berwick, if reasonably well kept by 100 men' (IV, p. 328)—show that the earlier battle at Bothwell Brig was very much present to his mind. Scott as a magistrate was primarily concerned with the issue of law and order. As a novelist, his intellectual and imaginative sympathies were considerably further to the left. In many respects *Old Mortality* is a parable for Scott's contemporaries, a parable which has not lost its relevance to the present day.

The Introduction to *The Heart of Midlothian* provides another elaborate counterpoint. The central event of the novel, set in the late 1730s, is Jeanie Deans's long barefoot trudge from Edinburgh to London to plead for her sister's life. Her sister meanwhile is lodged in the Heart of Midlothian, the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, under sentence of death by the strict and barbarous letter of a law, with which Jeanie has found herself unable to compromise. The contrast between law on the one hand and justice and mercy on the other is symbolised by the two Hearts of Midlothian, the Tolbooth in Edinburgh and Jeanie on the long road to London.

The first theme, which Scott, or rather Peter Pattieson, mischievously takes up in his introductory chapter, is travel, the journey, and the wonders and perils of modern rapid transport as compared with that of the eighteenth century. 'Mail-coach races against mail-coach and high-flyer against high-flyer, through the most remote districts of Britain. And in our village alone, three post-coaches, and four coaches with men armed and in scarlet cassocks, thunder through the streets each day.' The comparison with the journey of Jeanie Deans is obvious. Progress, however, brings new perils on the road, and it is as a result of a mail-coach crash that Peter Pattieson meets the two lawyers and the debtor recently released from the Heart of Midlothian, from whom at the Wallace Head he gathers the material which forms his own *Heart of Midlothian*. The Tolbooth, he also learns, is on the point of demolition, while the released debtor, Mr Dunover, is on a lesser scale as much a victim of the law as was Jeanie Deans's sister

Effie. Continuity is primarily represented by the constancy of injustice, and misfortune, as evident in the case of Mr Dunover as in that of Effie Deans—and also by the kindliness of the lawyers which in a minor way parallels the more heroic conduct of Jeanie.

Nor is this all. Contrast is at least as important as continuity. The most important passage of the introductory chapter is the 'Last Speech, Confession and Dying Words' of the condemned Edinburgh Tolbooth, or rather the development of the theme by the young advocate, Hardie:

> 'I have understood', said I, encouraged by the affability of my rattling entertainer, 'that less of this interest must attach to Scottish jurisprudence than to that of any other country. The general morality of our people, their sober and prudent habits—'
>
> 'Secure them', said the barrister, 'against any great increase of professional thieves and depredators, but not against wild and wayward starts of fancy and passion, producing crimes of an extraordinary description, which are precisely those to the detail of which we listen with thrilling interest. England has been much longer a highly civilized country: her subjects have been very strictly amenable to laws administered without fear or favour, a complete division of labour has taken place among her subjects, and the very thieves and robbers form a distinct class in society, subdivided among themselves according to the subject of the depredations, and the mode in which they carry them on, acting upon regular habits and principles, which can be calculated and anticipated at Bow Street, Hatton Garden, or the Old Bailey. Our sister kingdom is like a cultivated field,—the farmer expects that, in spite of all his care, a certain number of weeds will rise with the corn, and can tell you beforehand their names and appearance. But Scotland is like one of her own Highland glens, and the moralist who reads the records of her criminal jurisprudence, will find as many curious anomalous facts in the history of mind, as the botanist will detect rare specimens among her dingles and cliffs.'

'The history of mind' and in particular the history of the abnormal or non-typical mind, is what Scott here emphasises, and the metaphor which he employs is the contrast between the enclosed cornlands of the Agricultural Revolution and the unenclosed profusion of a Highland glen. As the novel advances, however, one becomes more and more aware that an almost medieval element of biblical allegory is implied by the contrast. Justice and mercy are the main themes of the novel, and time and again a parallel with the thematic development of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* becomes apparent. From this point of view, the old Scotland and its criminal jurisprudence becomes identified with the Old Law of preventive justice; the new and improved Scotland with the New Law of mercy, as the concepts are developed in Pauline theology. The Pauline Old Man appears in the Porteous riots and the condemnation of Effie Deans; the first stages of the transition from Old to New are represented by the end of Scottish independence in 1707, the second by Jeanie Deans's mission of mercy, and the theme is completed by the eventual settlement of Davie and Jeanie Deans and Reuben Butler in the pastoral landscape of Dumbartonshire. The novel turns on two reprieves or redemptions; that of Porteous, which leads to a recrudescence of the Old Law, and

that of Effie which goes far to establishing the New. Time and again the dialogue returns to this point:

> 'I am judging,' said Mr Plumdamas, 'that this reprieve wadna stand gude in the auld Scots law, when the kingdom *was* a kingdom.'
>
> 'I dinna ken muckle about the law,' answered Mrs. Howden; 'but I ken, when we had a king, and a chancellor, and parliament-men o' our ain, we could aye peeble them wi' stanes when they werena gude bairns.'

Stoning as a punishment decidedly belongs to the Old Law. With this, contrast Jeanie's speech to Queen Caroline:

> 'O, madam, if ever ye kend what it was to sorrow for and with a sinning and a suffering creature, whose mind is sae tossed that she can be neither ca'd fit to live or die, have some compassion on our misery!—Save an honest house from dishonour, and an unhappy girl, not eighteen years of age, from an early and dreadful death! Alas! it is not when we sleep soft and wake merrily ourselves that we think on other people's sufferings. Our hearts are waxed light within us then, and we are for righting our ain wrangs and fighting our ain battles. But when the hour of trouble comes to the mind or to the body—and seldom may it visit your Leddyship—and when the hour of death comes, that comes to high and low—lang and late may it be yours!—Oh, my Leddy, then it isna what we hae dune for oursells, but what we hae dune for others, that we think on maist pleasantly. And the thought that ye hae intervened to spare the puir thing's life will be sweeter in that hour, come when it may, than if a word of your mouth could hang the haill Porteous mob at the tail of ae tow.'

Jeanie brings the Queen, who herself represents one aspect of the old regime, if not quite the Old Law, to the general level of suffering humanity, and in this, as in her entire phraseology and cast of thought, she shows the Calvinist and Covenanting ancestry which had done so much to shape the old Scotland. Redemption from the old is by way of the old, raised to the highest point of humanity. Equally, however, as Jeanie realises, the condemnation of Effie results from Calvinist church government in its less enlightened aspects.

> 'Stand up, young woman,' said the Queen, but in a kind tone, 'and tell me what sort of a barbarous people your countryfolk are, where child-murder is become so common as to require the restraint of laws like yours?'—
>
> 'Some thinks it's the Kirk-Session—that is—it's the—it's the cutty-stool, if your Leddyship pleases,' said Jeanie, looking down and curtseying.
>
> 'The what?' said Lady Suffolk, to whom the phrase was new, and who besides was rather deaf.
>
> 'That's the stool of repentance, madam, if it please your Leddyship,' answered Jeanie, 'for light life and conversation, and for breaking the seventh command.'

The Kirk-Session, in other words, is responsible for the situation which led to Effie's condemnation, even if, at the same time, the teaching of the Kirk produced Jeanie to redeem her sister.

One aspect of the Old Law is caricatured by the learned leather-merchant, Bartholo-
mew Saddletree, while the Cameronian, Davie Deans, represents the teaching and
practice of the Kirk in its most traditional form. It is his way of life which is responsible
for the downfall of his daughter, Effie, and for the refusal of Jeanie to perjure herself
even to save her sister's life. But Jeanie's courage and endurance is an even more signifi-
cant part of her Cameronian inheritance. And Deans exhibits in himself the Cameronian
adaptability to the new order when he becomes the successful and effective super-
intendent of the Duke of Argyle's fancy-farm in Dumbartonshire. (Here again, the
novel returns to the Agricultural Revolution.) On his death he leaves a fortune of
£1,500, which with Jeanie's contribution, enables the Butlers to buy the estate of
Craigsture. One of her sons becomes a soldier, the other a lawyer; her daughter marries
a Highland laird. Even if the process is enlightened, and typical of Scotland in the later
eighteenth century, the last pages of the novel are more prosaic, even prosy, than the
earlier chapters. The new Scotland is duller than the old. Scott certainly felt, however,
that his Scotland needed a substantial infusion of plain, prosperous prose. The contrast
of the Butlers with the Catholic, Jacobite Stauntons is self-explanatory.

Although *The Bride of Lammermoor* turns on the same contrast of old and new—the
Master of Ravenswood versus Sir William Ashton—I can see minimal artistic point
in the Introduction, the description of the painter, Dick Tinto. That to *A Legend of
Montrose*, however, is in some ways the most striking of all, because here Scott uses,
as his tragic counterpoint to Montrose and the veteran of the wars of Gustavus Adolphus,
Dugald Dalgettie, a discharged and disabled Highland veteran of the Peninsular War,
Sergeant More McAlpin, who has been forced as a result of the Highland Clearances,
to take up residence in Gandercleugh.

> He retired with the intention of enjoying this income (his pension and prizemoney) in the
> wild Highland glen, in which, when a boy, he had herded black cattle and goats, ere the
> roll of the drum had made him cock his bonnet an inch higher, and follow its music for
> nearly forty years. To his recollection, this retired spot was unparalleled in beauty by the
> richest scenes he had visited in his wanderings. Even the Happy Valley of Rasselas would
> have sunk into nothing upon the comparison. He came—he revisited the loved scene; it
> was but a sterile glen, surrounded with rude crags, and traversed by a northern torrent.
> This was not the worst. The fires had been quenched upon thirty hearths—of the cottage
> of his fathers he could but distinguish a few rude stones—the language was almost extinguish-
> ed—the ancient race from which he boasted his descent had found a refuge beyond the
> Atlantic. One southland farmer, three grey-plaided shepherds, and six dogs, now tenanted
> the whole glen, which in his youth had maintained, in content, if not in competence, up-
> wards of two hundred inhabitants.

Emigration, depopulation, sheep taking the place of men—the perennial lament of
the Highlands in modern times gives a new poignancy to a narrative primarily con-
cerned with what Neil Munro was afterwards to call the Little Wars of Lorne.

It is probably worth while to compare the technique adopted by Scott in *Tales*

of My Landlord with that of his younger contemporary John Galt, in *Annals of the Parish* and *The Provost*. Galt's method is autobiographical. His minister, Mr Balwhidder, and his Provost Pawkie, have themselves lived through revolutionary times, and at the end of their lives set down an account of what they have seen, heard and experienced. The method has some advantages. It is more direct than that of Scott, and at the same time allows a fair number of subtleties, as for instance in Mr Balwhidder's short-sighted but appropriate recollections of the period of the French Revolution. Under 1788 he records the building of a cotton-mill in his parish, and the first 'signs of decay in the wonted simplicity of our country ways'. He mentions in passing that the affairs of the French were then gathering towards a head. Under 1789, the year of the Revolution, the French receive not a single mention. 'This I have always reflected upon as one of our blessed years', Mr Balwhidder remarks. 'It was not remarkable for any extraordinary occurrence.' A stage-coach however makes its first appearance in the parish, where a notable sermon was also preached in a new and Anglified style by a visiting clergyman. In 1790 a bookshop was opened, and a daily newspaper made its first appearance. Infidelity increased, despite the building of a bridge over the Brawl burn—'a great convenience, in the winter time, to the parishioners that lived on the north side; for when there happened to be a speat on the Sunday, it kept them from the kirk, but I did not find that the bridge mended the matter, till after the conclusion of the war against the democrats, and the beginning of that which we are now waging with Boney, their child and champion.'

The French Revolution is present, however muted, and Mr Balwhidder's limited parochial point of view serves marvellously to put even the French Revolution into the more extended perspective of intellectual and industrial change.

Galt was a remarkable man and accomplished novelist, whose work has not yet had its due. He was able, moreover, to tackle what Scott did not attempt, the growth of industrialism in Scotland and elsewhere, and the establishment of emigrant Scots overseas in Canada and the United States. His sense of change is as acute, perhaps more acute, than that of Scott. On the other hand, possibly because he spent so much of his life outside Scotland, and so in a sense lacked roots in the community, Galt in a measure fails to give us the sense of long-term continuity and growth within Scotland, which as I have tried to indicate is so characteristic of Scott. In the world of the full nineteenth century Mr Balwhidder and Provost Pawkie are clearly survivals, anachronisms; the narratives of Peter Pattieson belong to the new world without any sense of total rupture with the old.

I have several times described Scott's artistic accomplishment as one of reconciliation between new and old. In the end, however, even Scott's charity was unable to embrace every feature of the new world. The Whig revolt of the seventeenth century is paralleled by that of the nineteenth. Sergeant More McAlpin is not a figure of reconciliation, and the final impression left by *The Heart of Midlothian* is surely the continued presence of injustice and evil in the new as in the old world.

Economic Models and the Recent History of the Highlands

IAN CARTER

The period since the First World War has seen considerable changes in Scottish historiography. Before 1920 explanations of the changes which have come over the Highlands since 1700 typically were couched in political terms, with Culloden and its aftermath being regarded as a key event. This is Graham's position in his still widely-read book (Graham 1899:205, 210).[1] The work of Margaret Adam heralded a reinterpretation, however. For Adam the causes of emigration from the Highlands in the late eighteenth century were economic rather than political (Adam 1920, 1921), and her interpretation has steadily grown in influence through the succeeding years as a number of outstanding scholars have adopted, applied and elaborated her work. In the work of Hamilton (1932, 1963), Gray (1957), Gaskell (1968) and Smout (1969) we find similar explanations of the radical changes that have affected the Highlands since the beginning of the eighteenth century. In highlighting a basic economic model used by these writers, and in therefore referring to them as economic historians, I do not wish to suggest that any or all of them focus on economic factors to the exclusion of political and social factors. Smout's recent book, for example, has rightly been hailed as a pathbreaking social history of Scotland in the period with which he is concerned. I wish to isolate and examine a model which is implicit or explicit in the work of all these writers rather than to categorise scholars as social, economic, or constitutional historians. This is a task for which, as a sociologist, I would be singularly ill-equipped in any case.

What I wish to do here is to suggest that this economic explanation of Highland history is based on a theoretical model which, as with all models, guides the selection of data—thus systematically illuminating some features of Highland history while systematically ignoring other features, or at least consigning them to a residual category of factors with no causal significance. It is my contention that if one uses different models—and in my case that means sociological models—then firstly one will look for different evidence with which to test hypotheses derived from that model, and secondly one will arrive at different conclusions about the causal factors at work in the Highlands in the past two centuries.

The Dual Sector Model

What I called above the economic model of Highland history is based on an analogy, or more strictly a homology, between the economic history of England and that of

Scotland. Since the model used in accounts of English economic history has been so influential, we need to look at it in some detail.

The Agricultural Revolution and the contemporaneous and even more far-reaching process of industrialisation in England are taken to mark a profound change in economic and, to a lesser extent, in political and social structure. The commercialisation of agriculture, and concomitant changes in agricultural technology, crops and so on is seen to be a prime cause of subsequent non-economic changes—the replacement of ascription by achievement as the basis of recruitment to élite roles; the decline of the extended family (but see Laslett 1965); a move, in Weberian terms, from traditional authority to rational-legal authority: in short, a change from a traditional society to a modern society.

This dichotomy between a traditional society and a modern society is, as Bendix shows, about as old as the processes which we are considering. One of its major sources is the Scottish political economists of the eighteenth century, in particular Smith, Ferguson, and Millar (Bendix 1966, 294-6). The structure of this dichotomy in the economic form in which we are most interested here is very like the structure of the dual economy model employed by many developmental economists when studying developing countries.

> The notion of dual economy implies that, within one political framework, there is one sector which operates according to the principles of modern capitalism. This sector is commercially sophisticated, linked with international trade, dominated by motives of maximisation, and in the colonial context, almost entirely in the hands of aliens or residents of alien extraction. Such aliens are primarily from the metropolitan country of the governing power. . . .
> Opposed to this sector and separated from it is the traditional peasant economy, which according to the puristic form of the theory, is conservatively oriented, interested in security and continuity rather than change, not concerned with maximisation of profit or of resource use, oriented towards the satisfaction of social needs rather than reacting to international forces, and incapable of engaging dynamically in trade and commerce. Except for a very small minority of Westernised natives who have left traditional society, the indigenous population lies in this sector.
> The puristic form of the theory held that there was minimal interaction between these two sectors, and that the example of the commercial sector did not lead to innovation in the traditional one. (Belshaw 1965:96).

With one important exception we may take Belshaw's lucid passage as a summary of the model being used, implicitly or explicitly, by modern economic historians writing about the Highlands. The exception concerns the question of innovation in the traditional sector. Impersonal economic forces are seen to have been irresistible in the Highlands:

> At least as important as the outcome of the battle (of Culloden), however, were the changed economic circumstances of the rest of the country, transmitted to the north as a rising demand for Highland products within two decades of the rebellion. . . .

Indeed, so persistent and unprecedented was this pressure that it is hard to believe that it would not have made much the same impact on the country even if the '45 had never occurred. (Smout 1969:341).

What are the implications of using such a dichotomy between 'traditional' and 'modern' sectors? Firstly, this is what Bendix calls a 'retrospective' model. One looks back from the 'modern society', with its unique constellation of economic, social and political elements, towards the 'traditional society', which is marked by a very different constellation. The danger in this situation is of regarding these particular historical variables as valid in all cases of 'modernisation'. It is the problem of keeping a clear distinction between ideal type constructs and actual historical sequences—the classic fallacy of misplaced concreteness.

The second feature of this traditional-modern dichotomy has again to do with the structure of the model. In such a 'before and after' model, where the before and after are linked by a period of change, there is a great danger of regarding the two end points as static, equilibrated conditions, linked by radical change. And since we live in 'modern' society, and can appreciate the changes going on around us, the danger is much greater that we will regard 'traditional' society as static than that we will so regard 'modern' society. Some sociologists of course do manage to regard both terminal points as static but historians tend to be rather better at avoiding such pitfalls of ahistoricism.

One further implication of the traditional-modern dichotomy deserves mention. The dichotomy was generated, in the main, by classical economists who used it as a descriptive tool in the analysis of contemporaneous British (and particularly English) economic structure. It has since been upgraded by many writers to the position of a generalised, theoretical model. But one must not forget the particular constellation of historical conditions that gave it birth. Better to try to develop a historically based typology of structural changes, as Barrington Moore has tried to do for agrarian structure in his seminal work (Moore 1967:413–52), than to force all cases into a Procrustean bed of English economic history.

Economic Explanations of the Transformation of Highland Agriculture

We must now turn to the accounts of recent Highland agricultural history given by economic historians. These accounts are typically couched in terms of two independent variables—population pressure[2] and impersonal economic forces.

(a) Population Pressure

It is extraordinarily difficult to be precise about population trends in Scotland up to the decennial censuses beginning in 1801. Parish registers of the type currently being explored to such effect in England (Wrigley 1966) are not common (but see MacPherson 1967, 1968). Even when the decennial censuses are available, problems still remain. The census reports are organised on a parish basis, and parishes, particularly on the

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West coast, are too large to serve satisfactorily as units of analysis. It is possible to analyse population changes at a lower level through examination of Enumerators books, but these sources are not available for censuses before 1841 (Storrie 1962:152). Thus more powerful techniques of demographic analysis are available only for relatively late stages of the process in which we are interested.

Some gross statements about population trends may be stated however. Population increased over the whole Highland area between 1750 and 1850, but this increase was unevenly distributed:

> ... An area including the southerly parts of the country of Argyll together with the whole eastward-tilted section of the Highland plateau ... was characterised through all its constituent sections by very moderate increase in population; while, in the remaining areas, the seaboard from Morvern to Cape Wrath together with the more northerly islands, the general rate of increase was much greater (Gray 1957:59).

Gray suggests two possible explanations for these differences in the rate of population increase. The first concerns the policies of landlords—up to 1815 landlords in the areas of greatest population increase (West of the watershed) tended to try to hold on to population resources in order to support labour-intensive industrial operations like kelping. The most important factor for Gray, however, is differential rates of out-migration to industrial areas. The pull of the developing industrial towns, particularly those of the Forth-Clyde Valley, was stronger in the Eastern Highlands than in the area West of the watershed. Voluntary out-migration from the Eastern area consequently reduced the problem of population increase in that area. But the rapid increase of population in the Western area caused increasing pressure on economic resources in that area.

(b) *Impersonal Economic Forces*

Most writers who accept the economic explanation of the agricultural transformation of the Highlands acknowledge some social factors—the crumbling of the clan system, the changing situation of the chiefs, and so on. But an emphasis on the economic explanation makes such factors seem less than important. Gaskell puts the point clearly:

> But although it was a situation in which the rich and the ruthless had the best chances of survival, it would be mistaken to put the blame for the resulting clearances simply upon greedy or malign landlords, for they were really the result of impersonal forces beyond the control of either landlords or tenants, of 'the total impact of the powerful individualism and economic rationalism of industrial civilisation on the weaker, semi-communal traditionalism of the recalcitrant fringe' (Gaskell 1968: 26, quoting Gray 1957: 246).

We need to consider how these impersonal forces radically altered the Highland economic structure, with profound social consequences. The basis of Highland agriculture in the early eighteenth century was the production and export to the Lowlands

of black cattle (Haldane 1952). These exports paid for necessary imports of grain from the rich arable lands of the Lowlands and the East coastal plain. Apart from such imports, Highland agriculture was largely self-sufficient:

> To a great extent the ordinary needs of life were met from within the highland farm, by work in the cottage, or by direct local exchange (Gray 1957:41).

The form of agricultural organisation was runrig. Land was divided into infield, outfield, and hill. Infield was intensively manured and intensively cropped every year. Outfield was manured much less, if at all, and was allowed to lie fallow between infrequent crops. Hill provided rough grazing for beasts. Summer pastures in the hills (shielings) were used to relieve pressure on precious pasture in the straths.

The unit of agricultural organisation was the joint farm. From two to twenty tenants, perhaps with their subtenants, cultivated the land co-operatively. Each tenant was assigned a number of 'rigs' of infield and outfield on which he grew his subsistence crop—chiefly oats at this time—and bere, his 'drink crop'. Each tenant was assigned a 'souming', the right to graze a specified number of beasts. Methods of allocating land varied considerably. Allocation of land between tenants might be altered periodically, or the arrangement might settle down into 'fixed runrig'. Under 'mass tenure' allocation would be unnecessary, since herds and crops were husbanded in common, and profits and rent burdens shared (Smout 1969:121–2). No matter how allocation was handled, however, runrig involved a high degree of co-operative activity between tenants and subtenants: co-operation which was underpinned by the kinship obligations of the clan system which formed the basis of the structure of land tenure.

The chief owned all the clan lands, but parcelled all or almost all of it out in large blocks to his tacksmen. The tacksmen in turn parcelled all or most of their holdings out to tenants, who might let some of their holdings to subtenants. The chief and (in general) his tacksmen lived on rents—in the tacksmen's case on the difference between rents received from tenants and rent paid to the chief. Rents were paid in money, kind (live bestial, for example) or labour—except in the case of tacksmen—and were heavy, amounting to about one-third of total production.

To this situation, not of idyllic equilibrium to be sure, but of slowly moving economic change, came Improvers intent on repeating in the Highlands their triumphant transformation of Lowland agriculture. The Improvers' creed had four tenets; enclosure, improved technology (the iron plough, for example), drainage, and rotation of new crops like turnips and artificial grasses. These innovations took root most speedily and effectively on the Southern fringes of the Highland area—in Perthshire and, to a lesser extent, in Argyll—and in the East coastal belt from Inverness to Wick.

The next phase of agricultural change in the Highlands was the spread of a new, and extremely profitable, cash crop from the South—sheep. By 1800 extensive sheep-rearing dominated the grassy hills of the West side as far north as Morvern. By 1820 Sutherland, 'once the most traditional (county), had become the stronghold of

commercial farming on the very greatest scale' (Gray 1957:88). By 1850 the rest of the Highlands, and the Western Islands (except Lewis) were under sheep.

The response of the landlords varied to the opportunities presented by sheep farming.[3] In general, however, it seems that landlords east of the mountain watershed tended to have fewer doubts about the unmixed blessings that extensive agriculture would have. Clearance of the sitting tenants would be less necessary in this area, since the pull of the industrialising Lowlands was stronger in this area than on the Western seaboard. What is clear is that, at least until after 1815, the landlords whose lands lay west of the watershed failed to develop sheep-farming on a massive scale since they were already enjoying large profits from other cash crops and industrial activities—linen-spinning, fishing, forestry and, most important, kelp and black cattle. The production of such goods either needed, or at least was not incompatible with, a large population engaged in subsistence agriculture. Kelp collection, for example, was a highly labour-intensive industrial activity and landlords frowned on emigration from their estates as a consequence. Land-tenure was reorganised into the subsequently characteristic Highland agricultural unit—the croft. The landlord allowed the crofter a small consolidated piece of ground from which he could produce enough food for his family. But the croft did not provide its tenant with enough work for a full week. The crofter could also engage in industrial activities like kelp, forestry and linen-spinning. In the interests of the maintenance of a large population, holdings were divided and sub-divided until a bare subsistence was available to the crofter.

The landlord raised the rents of their tenants as prices for cash crops rose to their peak after 1815. ' . . . Indeed, it had become the accepted policy so as to set rents as to remove the whole cash income (of husbandry) in return for the tenants' right to use arable plots for subsistence agriculture' (Gray 1957:148). The landlords tied their consumption patterns to this income level and, typically, made no attempt to amass capital either for reinvestment or as a buffer against lean times.

Thus when, after 1815, prices crashed for all the cash crops on which West seaboard estates depended, it was the landlords who suffered. The crofter living on his small arable plot was able to subsist by not paying rent. Rent arrears rose all over the West Highlands. Despite more or less serious attempts to economise in consumption, the landlords and their estates drifted deeper and deeper into debt. The crunch came in 1846–7, when the potato crop—the major subsistence crop—was destroyed over large areas of the Highlands. The landlords were now required to supply relief to tenants who had been in arrears of rent for years. The economic burden was too great. Landlords found themselves faced with two alternatives—to sell the estate or to turn it over to sheep, the one still profitable cash crop, which would involve clearing some proportion of the sitting tenants from the land. Even if they sold the estate it was more than likely that the new owner would clear it for sheep. For many landlords the situation had gone so far that there was no alternative to sale—by 1850 the whole of the Long Island had changed hands, for example. Thus passed 'the historic aristocracy of

the clan—the chiefs' (Gray 1957:187), their position destroyed by the impersonal forces of price runs and the penetration of the money economy.

The Dual Sector Model and the Highlands

We must now return to the modified dual economy model presented earlier in this paper, and ask whether the economic historians whose account of recent Highland agricultural history we have briefly sketched do employ such a model. Let us consider Smout's work, for his subtle and compendious work would seem *a priori* to be less open to this charge than either Gray, Gaskell or Hamilton.

Smout is clearly committed to efficient, rational farming methods. In discussing the role of landowners in Lowland agriculture he says:

> ... Before 1740, indeed, most of the changes were very slow indeed. Economic circumstances generally did not then markedly favour the farmer who went over to modern methods of production, but in that period those exceptional landowners who tried to alter agricultural methods played a vigorous role as innovators and improvers (Smout 1969:292).

He then goes on to commend one particular landowner:

> It is impossible not to be impressed by the energy and vision with which a man like John Cockburn of Ormiston burst open the high walls of tradition on his estate (Smout 1969:292).

The important point is that Smout is accepting the Improvers' definition of their actions (note the assumption that Improvers improve things). The Improvers use 'modern methods', are 'vigorous' as 'innovators and improvers', 'burst open the high walls of tradition'. All of these actions are progressive in that they change the agricultural structure in ways that Smout considers to be ultimately beneficial. What is the goal to which these tendencies lead? The Lothians are seen as being 'In the van of change and in close contact with the market' (Smout 1969:292). The rate of progressive change accelerates after about 1780:

> When in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century rents and prices began to move ahead fast as market opportunities expanded, the scattered improved farms suddenly began to show enhanced profits compared to those of their traditionalist neighbours. . . . The best English farming continued to be held up for admiration . . . (Smout 1969:298–9).

It is clear that 'good farming' for Smout is commercialised farming which is, in Belshaw's words, 'commercially sophisticated, linked with international trade, dominated by motives of maximisation' (Belshaw 1965:96). Good farming is agriculture carried out in the modern sector of the economy.

Conversely, in some areas landowners might face a problem.

> In the backward parts the landowner was still often unable to find tenants who were willing or able to take initiative upon themselves (Smout 1969: 299).

Backward is a relative term. With respect to what were these areas backward? Smout provides the answer earlier in his book when discussing the nature of agriculture before the eighteenth century:

> The trouble was that in the course of time tradition became a god, and when better agricultural practices became known or farming for the market became increasingly important the peasants' blind worship of custom often proved a stumbling block even to changes that might benefit the community as a whole (Smout 1969:123).

In other words, the peasants were

> ... conservatively oriented, interested in security and continuity rather than change, not concerned with maximisation of profit or of resource use (Belshaw 1965:96).

The existence of a sector exhibiting these features—variously called a traditional, subsistence, or peasant sector in the literature—is a drag on the efficient development of economic resources. Since economic development (defined as the move to a monetised market economy) is the aim, the existence or persistence of such a subsistence sector is a curb on a desirable process.

> Undoubtedly social factors impeded penetration into the Highlands of economic forces that could have changed them. The surplus the Highlanders tried to sell outside was black cattle, but the widespread social institution of stealing cattle from a neighbouring clan was so prevalent that it seriously reduced the profitability of ranching within the hills, and thus limited the impact that market forces could have upon the Highlands until they were completely reduced to obedience to law and order (Smout 1969:341).

Fortunately, however, the impersonal forces emanating from the modern sector are so strong that the resistance of the subsistence sector must inevitably crumble (Smout 1969:345). Thus we arrive back at impersonal economic forces as the irresistible driving force of history.

Does it matter that Smout and, I would argue, Gray and Gaskell are using a covert dual economy model? I think that it does, for two reasons. Firstly it leads them to interpret the actions of Highland tenants in a particular way (and in a way in which the actors themselves did not describe their actions). Secondly, as noted above, it leads them to regard economic forces as the main cause of the transformation of Highland economic and social structure, thus consigning other potentially important causal factors automatically to a minor role.

On the Conservatism of the Highland Peasant

We have seen that the subsistence sector of a dual economy is seen to be composed of actors who are conservatively oriented and not interested in the maximisation of profit or of resource use. We have also seen that this is the view of Smout towards the Highland peasants.

Belshaw challenges the view of actors in the subsistence sector as uninterested in maximisation *per se*. Rather, one should think of actors seeking maximisation of those factors which they themselves believe important (Belshaw 1965:96). To define maximisation solely in terms of profit and resource use is to impose the observer's own categories on the actions of those whom he is observing. Furthermore, the development of motives of economic maximisation is not impossible in the subsistence sector—provided that one finds the right incentive system (Higgins 1968:235). Smout is right in seeing it to be 'a tragedy that no-one in authority ever made a serious attempt to harness the co-operative traditions of the joint-farm to the improving ideal, and to create with assistance from the landlords sheepfarms run by groups of Highland tenants . . .' (Smout 1969:359).

It is clear that Highland tenants were not totally opposed to innovation. Two examples will make the point. Firstly, the basic subsistence crop was switched from oats to potatoes all over the Highlands within a very short period of time—40 years. This is a remarkably fast change when one considers the crucial importance of this crop in a subsistence economy. The spread of potato cultivation therefore represents a remarkable example of the acceptance of innovation by Highland tenants.

The second example concerns attempts to do what Smout regrets did not happen—'to harness the co-operative traditions of the joint-farm to the improving ideal' (Smout 1969:359). Consider Morvern:

> The system was an extension of the old runrig, cattle raising township on a higher level of organisation. In the old days the cattle and sheep were grazed in common, but were always individually owned; the essence of club farming was some degree of common ownership. The club farm in Morvern about which most is known was at Achadh nan Gamhna, where six tenants farmed between them 840 sheep, 48 cows and their followers and six horses on 2,265 acres. . . . The farm may have been organised as early as 1823-4; . . . it came to an end when Sellar bought Acharn in 1838 and evicted the population. About five years later the people who were moved by the Gordons from the Auliston area of Drimnin Estate to Oronsay Island formed themselves into a club farm of six members. The stock on this unpromising islet of 429 acres had to be mostly cattle, but these people achieved the remarkable feat of making it support a population of over fifty, dependent on approximately the same number of cows, over a period of twenty-five years (1843-66). [The tenants were evicted in 1868.]

> Lastly there was a club farm on Lochaline Estate before its members were evicted by Mrs. Paterson in 1866 (Gaskell 1968:51-2, 95).

Note that each of these club farms ended in eviction rather than bankruptcy, despite the fact that the period of their existence spans the most difficult economic period in the Highlands in the nineteenth century.

Why were Highland tenants regarded as conservative and as refusing to accept innovation? Part of the explanation lies in the attitude of influential groups outside the Highlands:

The habit of assuming that the Highlanders were congenitally incapable of any effort or self-help had been ingrained in upper-class Scottish thinking since the days of James VI (Smout 1969:359).

In part, however, it is clear that forms of innovation which did not mesh in with the tenants' definitions were rejected or at least resented. Tenants were willing to take up potato cultivation and to accept the reorganisation of joint-farms into crofts because these innovations allowed the tenants to maximise their preferred good—social solidarity—by increasing the supply of the subsistence crop, thus allowing an increasing population to subsist on the land. Why were tenants not willing to accept other innovations? An explanation may be sought by returning to the dual economy model. Myint distinguishes two possible definitions of the subsistence sector. In the first, subsistence merely means 'non-monetised'. In the second use of the term, the inhabitants of the subsistence sector are living at a 'minimum subsistence level'. In this situation:

> ... The peasants had to devote the whole of their time and resources to obtain a minimum subsistence level of living before the opening up of trade. Here, even if switching their resources from the subsistence to the cash crops promised some monetary gain, they would have been obliged to reduce their subsistence output to grow the export crop. This would have made their entry into export production and the money economy a hazardous undertaking with no margin to meet a possible risk of starvation if something went wrong with their cash crops. In this case, we should expect the peasants to be justifiably hesitant about leaving the security of their subsistence economy (Myint 1964:45).

One now has to ask why Highland tenants were existing on this knife-edge of subsistence in the eighteenth century. Gray's answer is population increase, and he shows that this increase (and therefore the subsistence problem) was much greater west of the mountain watershed. But the point about these Western areas is that landlords positively discouraged emigration and reorganised land tenure into the crofting system in order to hold a large population on the land—a large population which was needed for labour-intensive industrial operations like kelping. Thus the conservatism of tenants in the most pressed areas—the Western seaboard and the Western Isles—after the cash crop price crash may be attributed in large part to the landlords' own policies.

The same point may be made about the failure of authoritative groups to develop the joint-farm. Malcolm Gray writes that:

> The tragedy of the Highlands in these years was not that sheep came but that this great increase in production was achieved by inhibiting rather than by releasing the energy of the peasantry: sheep created no opportunities for small farmers (Gray 1957:86).

Sheep created no opportunities for small farmers for two reasons. Firstly, Highland tenants could not afford the capital sums necessary to stock a farm with Lintons or Cheviots. Secondly, sheep farms were let out in very large blocks.

These reasons have little to do with the ability of Highland tenants to adopt com-

mercialised sheep farming. But they have a great deal to do with the policies of land-lords—the extremely high level of rent demands, the immiseration of larger tenants and those tacksmen who did not emigrate to the colonies with their capital (Adam 1920:1921), and the search for rich Lowland, Southern Upland and English sheep farmers who would purchase the bankrupt estate.

Towards Sociological Models of Highland History

Before considering the suitability of specific sociological models for Highland history, one must consider the validity of the basic distinction between Highland social structure and Lowland. My grounds for making a clear distinction are firstly that the actors involved made such a distinction between the Highlands and the Lowlands, and acted in the light of this distinction.

Secondly, in the early eighteenth century the Highland Line marked sharp discontinuities in language, land tenure, agricultural organisation, and kinship and political structure. It thus seems worthwhile to use a distinction between Highland and Lowland social structure, heuristically at least.

(a) Social and Cultural Pluralism

The idea of the dual economy, in a colonial context, is usually attributed to two scholars—J. H. Boeke and J. S. Furnivall.[4] Furnivall foresaw the possibility of more than two sectors coexisting within a given territorial unit, and consequently preferred the term 'plural society' to dual economy. The first sociological model which I wish to consider takes off from this concept of plural society.

M. G. Smith takes up Furnivall's idea of pluralism but Smith is a cultural anthropologist and consequently places cultural factors at the centre of his model, thus rejecting Furnivall's emphasis on economic factors. Pluralism exists when two or more cultural sectors coexist. Since, for Smith, the core of a culture is the institutional system, social and cultural pluralism becomes 'that condition in which there is a formal diversity in the basic system of compulsory institutions' (Smith 1965:82) between two or more sectors. This raises the question of what constitutes 'the basic system of compulsory institutions'. In his study of Jamaican social structure Smith takes this institutional core to be the kinship, religious, educational, economic, legal, and political structures (Smith 1965:162). Kuper argues that such a list can only be determined in the context of a particular society; it is not possible to state *a priori* which institutions will be in the core (Kuper 1969).

Smith makes one further point which is important for our purposes. He distinguishes a *plural society* from a *plural community*. The two or more cultural sectors which make up the *plural society* will, firstly, have different political structure and, secondly, will coexist within a single political unit. Continuing political integration of the whole society is, then, the result not of political consensus between all sectors, but of political

domination of a more or less overt kind by one sector. A *plural community* on the other hand may, as in the case of Negroes in the southern states of the USA, differ from the dominant sector in social, religious and economic structure but does not differ in political structure. Political structure—that is the distribution of power and authority— is thus the central core of cultural pluralism, whereas economic factors were crucial in the dual economy model.

Does eighteenth-century Scotland fit this model? There can be little doubt that it does. To quote Miss Grant:

> ... It is not easy to realise how utter and how clean-cut was the dividing line between the Highlands and the Lowlands during the four hundred years between the fourteenth and the eighteenth century (Grant 1930:149).

By 1700 this dividing line marked cleavages in language, in religion, in educational arrangements, in land-tenure, and in kinship, economic and political structure. It is with the last four elements that we will be principally concerned here.

Differences between the Highlands and the Lowlands in land-tenure, kinship, and economic structure were linked in the clan system of the Highlands and Lowland feudalism. Smout is not sure about the difference between these two forms of social structure.

> The differences in social structure between agrarian society in the Highlands and Lowlands were therefore mainly ones of emphasis—Highland society was based on kinship modified by feudalism, Lowland society on feudalism tempered by kinship (Smout 1969:47).

But this emphasis on feudal structure in both Highlands and Lowlands demonstrates one of the problems in using an ideal typical notion like feudalism, for the form of feudalism differed in the two areas, and these different forms had different social and political consequences. By 1700 the older form of Scottish feudal land-tenure, wardholding, survived only in the Highland area. Elsewhere wardholding had given way to feuferme. The crucial difference between these two forms was that an inferior's principal obligations to his superior were military under wardholding and economic under feuferme.[5] Feuferme thus represents an early attempt at the commercialisation of agriculture, since rents were originally set at an economic level. But the important point is that, with a few exceptions, wardholding continued as the predominant form of Highland land-tenure well into the eighteenth century, supporting and being supported by the clan system.

It may be true that 'At the root of Highland clanship lay the myth that all in a given clan were descended from a common ancestor who had, in some incredibly misty period of the past, founded the tribe' (Smout 1969:334), but the important point is that clan members believed in this myth and acted on this belief. This gave rise to the emotionally charged patron-client relationships typical of the clan system. The chief was not only a feudal superior: he was also a relative. Indeed, in most cases of conflict

between feudal and kinship obligations it was the kinship obligations that were stronger (Grant 1930:508–10). Kinship ties in Lowland areas declined in importance as 'Improvement' progressed, thus throwing into higher relief the binding nature of kinship obligations in the clan system. (The acceptance of membership in a clan did not, of course, necessarily mean that one was related in blood to other members. It was belief that held the clan together, not genetics).

The economic structure of Lowland agricultural areas differed from that of the Highlands even before the agrarian transformation of the Lowlands. The Highlands were, and remained, mainly engaged in pastoralism while Lowland agriculture was basically arable.[6]

We saw above that the primary defining characteristic of a plural society is for M. G. Smith the existence of two or more cultural sectors, differing in political structure, within a single political unit. We have shown above that the Highlands and the Lowlands could, up until the eighteenth century, be regarded as separate cultural sectors in Smith's sense. What we now have to ask is whether these cultural sectors were part of a plural society, or merely plural communities. In other words, (a) were the political structures of the Highlands and the Lowlands different? and (b) were both of these sectors part of a single political unit?

Before the accession of James VI to the throne of Scotland in 1567, effective political power was highly decentralised in the feudal systems of the Highlands, Lowlands and Borders. James managed to centralise power in the Privy Council in Edinburgh, bringing order and stability to the Lowlands and, after his accession to the English Crown in 1603, pacifying the Borders. And, with the brief interlude of the Covenanter's Wars, these areas remained relatively peaceful, and political power remained relatively centralised.

The Highlands were rather different, however. Effective political power remained in the hands of the feudal superior or, in those cases where the two offices were not held by a single man, the clan chief. James VI attempted to curb the power of these feudal lairds and clan chiefs in three ways. He tried and failed to make some of the most unruly leaders accept the central laws of Scotland and keep the peace by making them swear under duress so to do. He attempted to colonise the Highlands with Lowlanders and English. Again it was a failure, unlike his successful colonisation of Ulster. Finally, like others before him, James attempted to control the Highlands by setting chief against chief, by supporting certain great nobles with strong Lowland links and thus making them virtual Royal agents whose interests were to serve the King's interests. It is arguable that James did not bring stability to the Highlands by these means; it is true that disorder in the Highlands slowly decreased in frequency and severity as the seventeenth century passed, but Cregeen maintains that the centrally-supported aggrandisement of the Campbells, the Gordons and the Mackenzies added to the disorder in the area (Cregeen 1967:154, 159). But this establishment of Royal agents did have great importance for the future of the Highlands.

It is thus evident that the two cultural sectors—the Highlands and the Lowlands—did have sharply differing political structures in 1700. In the Lowlands power was relatively centralised in Edinburgh if not in London, while in the Highlands power was decentralised. Chiefs and feudal superiors had a high degree of autonomy in legal and political activities within their own areas.

But can we say that both of these cultural sectors coexisted within a single political unit? If we take Weber's definition of the State as the definition of a political unit[7] then it is quite clear that in 1700 Scotland is not a single political unit. The very ineffectiveness of the central government in controlling clan feuds, cattle raiding and so on is evidence enough of its inability to control the Highlands on a continuing basis.

> In truth, the inefficiency of the Government was largely to blame for the lawlessness of the Highlands (Grant 1930:528).

It follows from this that in 1700 Scotland was not a plural society in Smith's terms. There was indeed a formal diversity in core institutions between Highlands and Lowlands, but these diverse institutions did not exist within a single political unit. By 1760, however, it is clear that Scotland was a plural society. The Highlands had been brought into the centrally organised political system; political power was no longer decentralised. The way in which this incorporation of the Highlands came about is essentially similar to the way in which the plural societies with which Furnivall was concerned were created—by colonisation.

The clearest examples of this colonisation of the Highlands by Lowland and English ideas, social forms and forces occur after the failure of the '45, but in at least one area this process can clearly be seen before Culloden. Many of the changes that one associates with the decline of the clan system and with it the autonomy of the Highland cultural sector had already taken place in Argyll and other Campbell lands before 1745. Hereditary tacks were abolished in 1737. By 1710 leases in Kintyre were already being offered by competitive bidding (Cregeen 1967:164) and kinship and other particularistic criteria, so important in the settling of leases under the clan system (when, indeed, such leases existed) were becoming relatively minor considerations.[8] And who owned these lands which were 'modernised' so early? The Dukes of Argyll; the leaders of the Clan Campbell, which had been such a steadfast supporter of Royal authority in the Highlands, and which had been rewarded so well for that support. The Dukes of Argyll were Protestants and they were Whigs. They thus supported and were deeply involved in that process of internal colonisation which was aimed at the destruction of the autonomy of the Highland cultural sector, which was suspected of Catholic and Jacobite sympathies.

Changes on the Argyll estates preceded the '45. This should warn one against regarding the destruction of Highland autonomy as the sole result of Culloden. The process of internal colonisation was in train before 1745. But after that date the pace

of change increased markedly in response to the close shave that the Hanoverian dynasty had suffered at the hands of the Jacobite forces.

M. G. Smith's ideas on pluralism thus constitute an alternative model to the economist's dual sector model for analysis of the history of the Highlands. The evidence which pluralism leads one to look for is basically political rather than economic, and it thus represents a return to the political explanation of Highland history, though not necessarily in the terms in which that explanation is usually couched. The 'impersonal market forces' which bulk so large in the dual economy model are not regarded as unimportant, but they are regarded as derived aspects of a more fundamental process, which in the dual economy model is often euphemistically referred to as 'the opening up of the subsistence sector'. The economic development of the Highlands—that is the development of the black cattle trade and, later, extensive sheep farming—was contingent upon the 'pacification of the Highlands'; that is the destruction of the autonomy of the Highland sector (Smout 1969:341, Haldane 1952:118–20). It is this process that pluralism would lead us to consider; and it is not only political autonomy that was destroyed —the Gaelic language and culture, the wardholding system of land tenure that underpinned the clan system, indigenous religious beliefs that did not accord with Lowland Presbyterianism, all came under attack in the later eighteenth century. It is naive, as Eric Cregeen reminds us, to regard changes in these areas of social life solely as the result of Culloden (Cregeen 1967:165). But, in the light of pluralism, it is not naive to see them as part of a process of conscious exogenous change which began long before Culloden and ended much later but in which the statutes and proscriptions applied to the Highlands after the failure of the '45 played a crucial part.

Pluralism thus provides us with an alternative model to the dual economy model. It is capable of generating testable hypotheses. Given the dynastic importance of marriage in Highland society before the eighteenth century, one could test the assertion of an autonomous Highland sector by analysing marriage patterns of clan gentry, for example. But pluralism is open to many of the same criticisms as is the dual economy model. Both are 'before and after' models, with the consequent danger of treating the two terminal points in a static ahistorical way. Thus, what is to count as the 'traditional' Highland social system? Is it the clan system as it existed in 1745, as it is often taken to be? But, as Grant shows, most important clans at that time were of recent growth, and to regard the structure of clanship in 1745 as the 'traditional' structure is to freeze history in a potentially misleading manner. The same point may be made about that revered symbol of Highland tradition, the kilt. Prebble would have us believe that this ancient garment was a rather racy new fashion when it was proscribed after Culloden. Its traditionalism thus seems rather spurious.

Again, both the dual economy model and pluralism often lead those who use them to underestimate movement between sectors. Each is seen as an encapsulated natural system. This is not dangerous if one is using the model as an analytical construct, but if one sees the model as a set of interrelated *empirical* variables, then one is in trouble.

(b) *Domain and Role-Bridging.*

The second sociological way of approaching the history of the Highlands which I wish to consider is rather different in emphasis from pluralism. I wish to look at the relationship between clan chief and Highland tenant as a patron–client relationship, and trace changes in this relationship over time. This account will depend heavily on Eric Wolf's work for its theoretical underpinnings.

Many writers describe Highland tenants as peasants. How accurate is this characterisation? Wolf distinguishes primitives from peasants—

> In primitive society (economic) surpluses are exchanged directly among groups or members of groups; peasants, however, are rural cultivators whose surpluses are transferred to a dominant group of rulers that uses the surpluses both to underwrite its own standard of living and to distribute the remainder to groups in society that do not farm but must be fed for their specific goods and services in turn (Wolf 1966:4).

Highland tenants clearly count as peasants on this definition. The extraction of economic surplus by the clan chief or feudal superior (where the two offices were not held by the same individual) was a marked feature of Highland life well before the eighteenth century.

Wolf's definition leads him to consider the forms of domination practised by patrons over their clients. He distinguishes three forms of domination or, in his words, *types of domain.* These three forms are patrimonial, prebendal, and mercantile domain.

> Patrimonial domain over land is exercised where control of occupants of land is placed in the hands of lords who inherit the right to the domain as members of kinship groups or lineages, and where this control implies the right to receive tribute from the inhabitants in return for their occupance. The domain becomes the right of a line of lords, their patrimony (Wolf 1966:50).

In prebendal domain control over peasants is not inherited but is granted to officials who draw tribute from the peasantry in their capacity as servants of the state. Under mercantile domain land is regarded as the private property of the landowner. Land may be bought and sold. The owner has the rights to tribute from occupants of the land in the form of rent, as does the patron under patrimonial and prebendal domain. But in the case of mercantile domain, rent is regarded as a return on land regarded as invested capital—as capitalised rent (Wolf 1966:53).

These types of domain are ideal types, and one should expect to find mixed forms in empirical situations. It makes sense, however, to regard the recent history of the Highlands as a change from patrimonial domain to mercantile domain. The chiefs increasingly came to define clan lands as capitalisable assets rather than as land to be handed on to their successors. There seems to be no doubt that they were entitled to hold this view, since legally they did own the land. But many of their tenants did not share this

definition—as emerged in the Napier Commission's enquiries in the 1880s—and regarded clan lands as belonging to the clan rather than the chief.[9]

Changes in the Highlands have come not only from a change in the type of domain, however. Changes have also taken place in the form of what Wolf calls 'peasant coalitions', by which he means the typical form of relationships between a peasant and other peasants (horizontal relations) or between a peasant and those individuals or groups who enjoy domain over him (vertical relations). Such relations may involve only two actors (dyadic), or they may involve more than two (polyadic). Finally, relations may be singlestranded—when based on only one tie between actors (an economic relation, for example) or they may be multistranded when a number of ties—economic, kinship, religious and so on—bind actors together. Prior to the 'opening up of the subsistence sector', Highland tenants were engaged in *polyadic horizontal multistranded* coalitions through the joint farm system. That is, a number of groups—families—all of whom occupied the same position—tenants (regarding tenants and subtenants as being in a similar position)—were involved in interaction which involved many sorts of ties—economic, kinship, religious and so on. At the same time, however, they were also involved in *polyadic vertical multistranded* coalitions with tacksmen and the chief through the clan system. The mutual obligations of this system, with grants of land, support in lean times and leadership in battle moving downwards, and rent and firepower moving upwards, cemented together social and economic organisation in the Highlands.

> A (multistranded) coalition ... gives men security in many different contexts. In this lies their special strength and also their weakness. Each tie is supported by others that are linked to it, the way many strands are twined around each other to produce a stronger cord. At the same time such a coalition is relatively inflexible. It can exist only as long as the strands are kept together; the subtraction of one strand weakens the others. Hence such coalitions will strongly resist forces which strive to unravel the several strands (Wolf 1966: 81).

This provides us with a non-economic explanation of Highland tenants' unwillingness to accept innovation which threatened social solidarity; an unwillingness which was interpreted by outsiders as general conservatism.

How did these peasant coalitions change in the Highlands? Firstly, *polyadic horizontal multistranded* coalitions were destroyed by the destruction of the old joint-farm runrig system by extensive sheep farming and by the development of crofting. The growth of competitive leasing also had its impact here. The result was a change to *dyadic horizontal singlestranded* coalitions where, with the crucial economic co-operation typical of the joint-farm, attenuated ties between peasant families were reduced to the level of 'ties of friendship or neighbourliness' (Wolf 1966:85).

The penetration of network markets, the crofter's unprecedentedly individualised situation[10] and his new exposure to the cold winds of market forces combined to create

a situation where—analytically at least—the singlestranded coalition, based on a single common economic interest, was the predominant form of peasant coalition.

Vertical coalitions were similarly altered. The destruction of the tacksmen as a social group is an important process in this context for they seem to have acted as a restraining influence on the chief.

> Members of the clan ... sometimes exerted considerable control over the chief, but in all the more circumstantial accounts it is not the clan as a whole but the leading men who do so (Grant 1930:522).

Once this mediating group had gone, through emigration or immiseration, one of the bulwarks supporting the older system of vertical relationships had disappeared.

The relationships between chief and tenants were radically altered as the type of domain shifted from patrimonial to mercantile. Thus, as is frequently noted, before the pacification of the Highlands chiefs tended to calculate wealth in terms of the number of cattle and able-bodied fighting men on their lands. With the destruction of ward-holding and a change to mercantile domain, however, it is the value of the land itself that counts and, particularly after the failure of industrial processes like kelping after 1815, a large population could and did become a liability rather than an asset. Consequently, since chiefs now regarded their vertical relationships with tenants as being *singlestranded*, based solely on an economic relationship, such chiefs need have no compunction about clearing tenants from their lands. But the tenants often did not see it this way. They still regarded their vertical relationships with the landlord as *multistranded*. Thus one of the major causes of the rancour engendered by the Highland clearances—a very ill-defined category—would seem to be this lack of symmetry in the perceptions of their relationship between landlord and tenants, patron and clients.

But this vertical relationship is rather more complex than I have suggested. I noted above that patrimonial domain and mercantile domain are ideal-typical concepts, and that an empirical situation might represent a cross between them. This allows us to understand one of the most puzzling features of the dual economy explanation of Highland history. This model is posited on the usual liberal economic assumption of rational economic action, at least in the 'modern' sector. Now, the dual economy explanation tells us that Highland agriculture and industry became catastrophically unprofitable as a result of the fall in cash crop prices after 1815. One would, therefore, expect landlords to clear tenants from their estates *en masse* at this point. It is not until the middle of the century, however, that the crunch really comes for Highland landlords with the potato famine of 1846–7. Until this point landlords allowed tenants to fall deeper and deeper into rent arrears, with disastrous effects on their estates. Curious behaviour for 'economic men' to countenance! How can we explain it?

F. G. Bailey's concept of *bridge actions* between different systems of interaction can help us here (Bailey 1960:248–55). As the eighteenth century progressed, clan chiefs had roles in two systems of interaction open to them. They could continue to play

the role of chief as that role had been understood before. This, which we may call the 'Highland role' involved the exercise of those reciprocal rights and obligations that were so important under patrimonial domain. Alternatively, the chief could shift his reference group from clansmen and other chiefs towards the Lowland and English aristocracy and play a 'British role' which involved different (and often cripplingly expensive) consumption patterns. Chiefs acting this British role would have little compunction about going against the role expectations of the chief under the clan system.

Those chiefs who adopted the British role early made early, and more thorough, attempts to reorganise their estates. Notable here are the Dukes of Sutherland. This family had been concerned in James VI's attempt to colonise the Highlands. It was very open to Lowland influences. The Sutherland Clearances were economic rationality personified. The straths were cleared, but £14,000 was spent in five years on trying to resettle the evicted tenants on the coast. This was a clearance in which the mutual obligations of the clan system counted for nothing. But then the first Duke was an Englishman, to whom the Highland role would appear, at most, picturesque.

In many areas—particularly on the West Coast—the position was different, however. Chiefs attempted to run their estates profitably without offending too greatly against their obligations to tenants. Their problems after 1815 should not be seen as deriving from a romantic attachment to the past which was holding back the march of progress in the Highlands, but rather as the result of the collision of two situationally incompatible world views, each of them positive and each giving rise to different expectations of chiefly behaviour from different reference groups.

If we now ask why in the end it was the British role that triumphed, then the explanations are familiar. Those who accept the dual economy explanation will talk about the inevitable penetration of market forces into the Highlands, while pluralism and other political explanations would lead us to look at the political penetration of the Highlands. One of the consequences of this political penetration could be seen to be the spread of network markets and other characteristics of a market economy, but such factors do not, on this model, have independent explanatory value. Instead one would look at factors like the abolition of the hereditary jurisdiction of chiefs and the requirement that chiefs' sons should be educated in the Lowlands or England to explain why all Highland chiefs at last adopted the British role.

The distinction between the dual economy model and the sociological accounts that I have been putting forward is of more than recondite academic interest. Models act as spotlights, but they also act as blinkers. The dual economy model is not only influential today in historical approaches to the Highlands; it is also influential in the area of policy-making. The problems of the Highlands today are officially seen to be problems of remoteness and bad communications. In other words, the opening up of the subsistence sector did not go far enough. Pluralism would lead one to take another line, however, and to look at the political structure of the Highlands today. One would

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want to examine links between this political structure and economic and social structure. Who are the individuals or groups who dominate the Highlands economically? What influence do they have in the process of making decisions on the future of the Highlands? At what level is such influence exerted—county council, St. Andrews House, Whitehall? These are the sorts of questions that academic research derived from pluralist assumptions might ask. At the moment they are not being asked.

NOTES

1 This political view of Scottish history has its adherents today. See, for example, Mackie 1964.
2 Once again note the similarity between explanations of Highland and English agricultural history. Chambers and Mingay take the Black Death as the origin of the Agricultural Revolution. (Chambers & Mingay 1966:6).
3 The commercialisation of agriculture means that we now speak of landlords rather than chiefs (Hicks 1969:109). Note the assumption about the new specificity of roles.
4 For exegesis of Boeke's ideas see Higgins 1968; for Furnivall see Rex 1959.
5 For an excellent account of the intricacies of Scottish feudalism see Grant 1930:171–218, 244–86.
6 Some Lowland areas had considerable pastoral activities, of course—Aberdeenshire is an example—and oats and bere were grown for home consumption in Highland areas, though imports from Lowland areas were not infrequently needed (Gray 1957:9).
7 'This system of order claims binding authority, not only over the members of the state, the citizens, most of whom have obtained membership by birth, but also to a very large extent, over all action taking place in the area of its jurisdiction. It is thus a compulsory association with a territorial basis' (Weber 1947:157).
8 Except in those areas, like Tiree, where the opposition of tenants was too strong to allow the Duke of Argyll to implement his improving plans and the Duke was unwilling to use the draconian tactics employed, for example, in Sutherland. See Cregeen 1967:178–83.
9 A measure of the widespread nature of the belief that clan lands really belonged to the clan rather than to the chief is provided by the fact that Marx based a blistering attack on the Sutherland Clearances on this legally erroneous view. See 'The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery', reprinted in Bottomore and Rubel 1961:131–2.
10 This point must not be overstated. While it is true that the crofter's situation was highly individualised when compared with his situation at the time that the clan system formed the basis of Highland social structure, this does not mean that cooperative activity among crofters was not important—and indeed continues to be important.

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Pictish Social Structure and Symbol-Stones

An anthropological assessment

ANTHONY JACKSON

If the Picts were matrilineal and polygynous, as has been maintained, then they must have been divided into small groups of matri-clans practising patrilateral cross-cousin marriage based upon avunculocal residence. This logical deduction then suggests that their symbol-stones commemorate political alliances between lineages. Each lineage has one symbol, alliances are only contracted between two lineages at a time, thus there are two and only two such symbols on the memorial stones. However, marriage alliances employ one additional symbol—the 'mirror'—in order to signify the giving of bridewealth. Occasionally, two or more pairs of lineages set up memorials which are normally class II* monuments.

'It is unwise for a scholar to stray too far from fields with which he is familiar, and no problem is at once so seductive and so treacherous as that of the Picts.' This quotation from F. T. Wainwright's introductory chapter to *The Problem of the Picts* should rightly be borne in mind when setting forth yet another theory on the Picts. So far, the scholars in question have been archaeologists, historians and philologists, as in the above-mentioned book. What has a social anthropologist to say in this matter? My plea is that the Picts have a remarkable similarity to a people in China, the Na-khi, who also have matrilinearity and pictographs. This is pure coincidence and no parallels are to be drawn from it but since my interest has been focussed on the question of kinship and symbolism among the Na-khi it seemed possible that a similar examination of the Picts might reveal something that had escaped attention. It so happens that only two things are known to be definitely Pictish: their list of kings and their symbol stones. This is why there is a problem and why it is so treacherous: too many possibilities exist. Although this paper, too, must be speculative since we know so little it is confined to exploring the possible relationship between these two known facts.

The first section is devoted to examining the effects the Picts' kinship system would have on social structure, especially political institutions. The second section deals with the symbol stones, their meaning and significance in Pictish society. It is argued

* Class I have incised symbols only; Class II often have symbols in relief, with a cross; Class III are purely Christian monuments, with no symbols.

that the symbol stones have a political meaning and the bridge to an understanding of them is the kinship system. For this reason we have to examine their kinship in some detail. (See Henderson (1967) which also contains a select bibliography.)

It seems to be widely agreed that the Picts were matrilineal. The evidence rests on literary sources. Bede tells us that they chose a king from the female royal lineage rather than from the male. This is confirmed by the *Pictish Chronicle* which shows that the royal succession was not patrilineal: sons do not succeed fathers. The classical writers, including Julius Caesar, lend support to this idea besides implying that the Picts were polygamous. It is on these two points that we shall endeavour to reconstruct the kinship system. This may seem far-fetched but because kinship does form a system it is possible to discard certain combinations of features as highly unlikely. What will be shown is that there is only one combination that can meet the requirements of the Pictish case.

In considering any type of kinship system there are three key variables: (*a*) the type of descent, (*b*) the type of marriage, (*c*) the mode of residence of the family. All three should be specified if we wish to describe the kinship system fully. It is not the case that kinship is primarily a means of regulating marriage: it is a way of allocating social roles and, first and foremost, it is a social device for recruiting groups for whatever purpose be it political or economic or religious. When members of such a group are related to each other through females only, this method of tracing relationships is known as *matrilineal* descent; when recruitment is through males it is called *patrilineal*. Both systems are unilineal, *i.e.* only one sex is used for tracing descent. If sex is ignored in tracing descent, as in our society, it is named *cognatic*. Over time, the unilineal descent principle produces groups called *lineages* in which all members can trace their descent from a common ancestor or ancestress. Where several lineages regard themselves as having common descent but are unable to demonstrate this they are called *clans*. This term is not the same as the Gaelic *clann* which refers to the cognatic descendants of the founding ancestor.

The unilineal and cognatic kinship systems represent the two major branches of kinship. Of the two main forms of unilinearity, it is assumed that matrilinearity is the earliest for the simple reason that it is impossible to get a direct transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent whereas the reverse is both logically possible and historically attested. Today, matrilinearity is quite rare possibly because of the tendency of this system to change with increasing prosperity. It was never typical of Indo-European cultures.

The other variables, marriage and residence, are independent of descent although certain combinations are more likely than others. All societies regulate marriage. Where marriage is prohibited within a group it is termed *exogamy* although the size of this group may vary from the elementary family to the whole society. Some societies are divided into two intermarrying halves called *moieties*. Such moieties may comprise groups of lineages called *fratries*. In unilineal societies one can never marry into one's

own lineage and the closest possible arrangement that does not infringe the rule of incest prohibition, forbidding sexual intercourse between kinsmen, is that of cross-cousin marriage. Here the preferred match is either with mother's brother's daughter or with father's sister's daughter, as far as a man is concerned. It should be remembered that marriages are primarily alliances between families for political, economic and other reasons that have little to do with the wishes of the two principals. Where multiple spouses are allowed, the term *polygyny* is applied for several wives and *polyandry* for several husbands. The latter form is extremely rare.

Although kinship allows group formation not all kin groups live together even if they do meet from time to time. It is important to distinguish between *local descent groups* who live with each other and *descent lines* which are merely the theoretical representations of kin relationships. Everyone has kin (dead or alive) but the important ones are generally those with whom one lives. Now residence has little to do with lineages *per se*. A married couple may live with the wife's parents (*uxorilocal*), the husband's parents (*virilocal*), with the husband's mother's brother (*avunculocal*), or with none of them (*neolocal*). The actual choice will depend on a number of factors.

There are three ways in which local descent groups could come about, logically speaking:

(*a*) patrilineal descent and virilocal residence

(*b*) matrilineal descent and avunculocal residence where succession of male authority is from mother's brother to sister's son.

(*c*) matrilineal descent and uxorilocal residence with matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and succession of male authority passing from father-in-law to son-in-law.

Of the other logical possibilities, patrilineal-uxorilocal has not been recorded while matrilineal-virilocal is extremely rare. (See Leach 1961, Ch. III.)

Having spelled out the possibilities of kinship systems, let us return to the Picts and consider their system. It is perfectly feasible that they were indeed matrilineal. If so, this must represent an older tradition than the incoming Celts, since no society has been known to switch from patrilinearity to matrilineal descent, directly. The Picts may well have been non-Indo-European. Bede says that at first they obtained their wives from the Scots and this could be true if they practised lineage exogamy, in which case an interesting situation arises. This will be discussed later.

Let us assume our two propositions that the Picts were matrilineal and polygynous. What sort of residence pattern would it take? There are two possibilities with matrilinearity. Uxorilocal residence is the most probable form when the means of gaining subsistence rests primarily upon women's activities, *e.g.* primitive agriculture. It is also likely when women have high status and there is an absence of movable property, cattle or other valuables. However, polygyny is incompatible with uxorilocality. Why is this so and how could it come about?

When property increases or where the men's contribution to the economy becomes

predominant, then virilocal residence is promoted. This is the case in pastoral econo-
mies, with the use of plough animals, or where there is an abundance of game. Other
factors which encourage virilocality are warfare, slavery and political integration.
When there is a concentration of wealth in men's hands there is often a transition from
matrilinearity to patrilinearity as well. Polygyny may be regarded as the concentration
of women in men's hands also and this is perfectly possible in virilocal communities.
However, when uxorilocality is practised the only form of polygyny could be sororal
polygyny (the marriage of two sisters to one man). For a matrilineal society this would
be a waste of potential man-power and unacceptable. If fertilisation was all that was
required then marriage could be dispensed with. However, marriage is basically a
means of obtaining alliances between families—it is a social compact first; later, it is
the means of creating new families.

Avunculocal residence only arises as a *replacement* of uxorilocality and it stems from
similar causes as does the transition to virilocality. Hence they are alternatives to one
another and they may be regarded as being equivalent in all respects save the rule of
descent, one being matrilineal, the other patrilineal. In both cases men live with their
unilineal male relatives while their wives come from elsewhere and are often separated
from their kin. Men can in fact derive every benefit from avunculocal residence that
they can from virilocal residence—wealth, political power, military prestige, slaves
and polygyny. (See Murdoch 1949 Ch. II and VIII.)

In the Pictish case, taken over the long view, we may postulate that they practised
all three modes of residence: uxorilocality in pre-historical times which gave way to
avunculocality in historic times with the increasing prosperity of the society to viriloc-
ality in the final phase which inevitably led to the abandonment of matrilinearity
and the final dissolution of all that was distinctive of Pictish society. Our interest in this
societal form of the rake's progress lies in the central phase: avunculocality and poly-
gyny. Let us examine this further.

residence
group

residence group
with polygyny

= marriage
I descent
△ male
O female
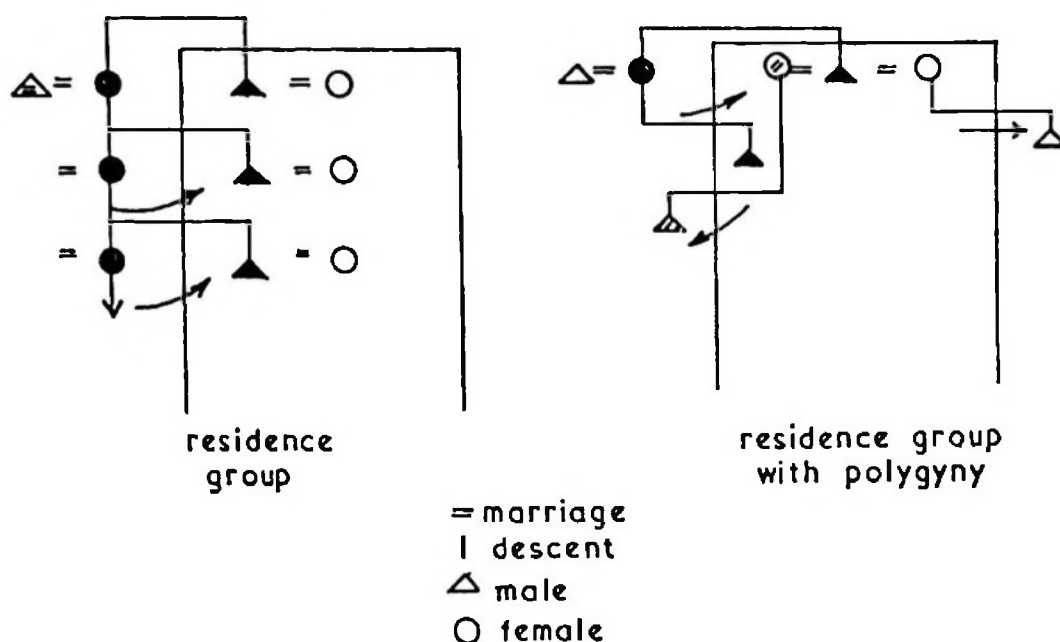
The classical anthropological example of avunculocality is the Trobriand Island society. This unusual form of residence requires that a boy leave his natal home on or before marriage and take up residence with his mother's brother. Thus instead of going to live with his wife's parents (uxorilocality) which is the usual practice in matrilineal societies, they both take themselves to the husband's mother's brother's home. In this way it is possible for the society to retain its matrilineal lineages, clans and moieties but the families will be avunculocal extended families. Such a local group consists of matrilineally related men with their wives and dependant children but with no adult children.

It will be seen that polygyny makes little difference to the strength of one's own matrilineage since no matter how many wives a man may have his sons must go to his wives' brothers, to other lineages in fact. It follows that not only could there be rivalry between brothers to attract their sisters' sons to come and live with them but that the residence group is inclined to be unstable. The reason why nephews are attracted to come to their uncles' in the first place is because they inherit the lineage property from their mother's brother. One solution to the problem of fraternal rivalry is for the brothers to live together and hold the property in common while ranking the brothers according to age.
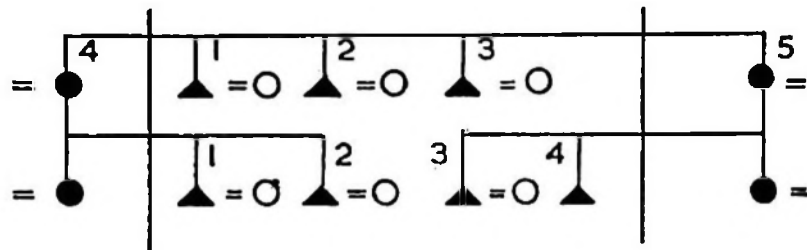
Succession, along such lines, would pass from brother to brother before descending to the eldest son of the eldest sister and then repeating the process. The tangled claims to succession may easily be imagined and the feuding this would give rise to. An irritating feature of such a system is that the sisters, on whom the brother relies for his supporter and successor, are living in a different group. There is a way to reduce this uncertainty— to control whom one's sister marries. The best way is to restrict the choice of intermarrying lineages by encouraging cross-cousin marriage. (Fox 1967 Chs. IV & VIII.)

There are three possible variations of marriage system:

(a) symmetrical cross-cousin marriage—where two local descent groups exchange women: a man marries his mother's brother's daughter who is also the sister of his own sister's husband.

(b) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage—where two local descent groups exchange women but the cycle is only completed after one generation: a man marries his father's sister's daughter.

(c) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage where exchange between two groups is precluded; a man marries his mother's brother's daughter

The question is which form would an avunculocal residence favour? The first type demands moieties since it operates by a process of sister-exchange. This form is

hard to combine with avunculocality and quickly leads to many complications in any but the simplest society. Although the other two types of marriage system require two groups to exchange their women, there must be at least three intermarrying lineages if the system is to function at all. Either form may be practised with either type of linearity but there will be a difference in the resulting social structure in the two cases.

In the patrilateral case the rule is that ideally a girl should marry into the group her mother's mother married. If A receives a woman from B in one generation then it should give one back in the next generation. It follows that if in the first generation B gives a woman to A, then B males cannot receive women from A and so they must go elsewhere; also A females cannot marry into B. Thus, at least three lineage groups are required for everyone to get married.
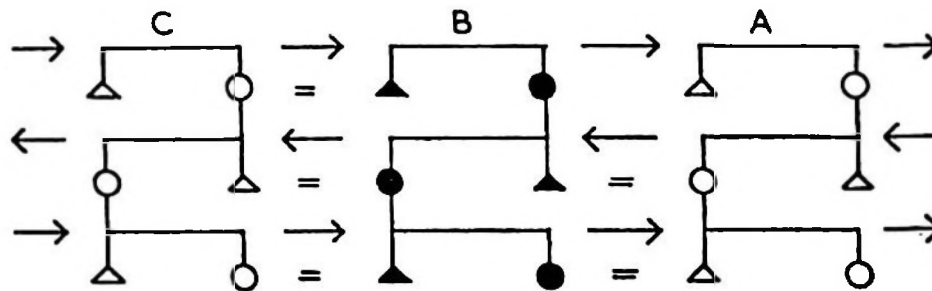
In the matrilateral case, while three groups are again the minimum, the exchange of women is asymmetrical. The women can only move one way. If B takes a woman from A, he can *never* give one back. In this case the wife-giving groups are always distinct from the wife-receiving groups. Such a society is made up of a hierarchy where wife-givers are generally superior to wife-receivers and the marriage system keeps it that way. In this way permanent superordinate-subordinate relationships are made and maintained, the groups so formed being matrilocal descent groups. As this is not compatible with polygyny, nor with avunculocality it follows that Pictish society must have opted for patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. This alternative will be examined in more detail.

The rule of exogamy, common to most societies, states that one must give women away to other groups if one wants wives for oneself since incest is not allowed. Underlying this rule there seems to be implicit a further rule: *wife-givers are usually superior to wife-takers*. In other words, the giving away of women places the receivers in a debt relationship. Of the three types of marriage system discussed above, the first—sister-exchange—cancels the debt immediately while the last—matrilateral cross-cousin marriage—never allows the debt to be extinguished and hence wife-givers are always superior even when bridewealth is paid by the receivers as a kind of tribute. The patrilateral case is half-way between these two systems. Here there is a temporary dominant-subordinate relationship that can be reversed or equalised in the next generation.

Why should a society adopt a patrilateral marriage system? One explanation is that the society consists of egalitarian but competitive lineages. No lineage is accepted

as being inherently superior for all time but for various reasons, generally political, it may be advantageous to dominate other lineages or be their clients for a short time. In this way there is no rapid change in relative status between lineages. The reason for practising exogamy is, as in most gift-exchanges, that the women exchanged serve to express, cement, or create alliances. The actual marriages may be only part of a series of ceremonial exchanges between lineages or clans, and as such, are indistinguishable from the political system of the society. It should be noted that the exchanges discussed here depend very much upon the level of social organisation in question. Thus, at the level of clan organisation it may be that direct exchange is being practised, A gives women to B and B reciprocates, while at the local lineage level delayed exchange occurs: A1 gives to B1 but must wait a generation before B1 returns a woman, meanwhile A1 receives wives from B2, B3, etc.

Where a lineage is involved in such wife-exchanges with several groups then there will always be women coming in and one may enjoy superiority over those lineages that have not reciprocated. Simultaneously one will be in debt to other groups. When one wishes to stop being indebted to a particular group one pays them back and the cycle begins all over again. Should one wish to mitigate some of the debt then bride-wealth or material goods may be handed over in exchange for the gift of a woman. This does not completely cancel the debt but it reduces one's subordination.

In such a system, polygyny is a viable way of extending one's alliances and ensuring a flow of wives into the group although it does not increase the numbers of the male lineage group itself. In fact, polygyny creates problems for the matrilineage since one may not be able to repay one's debts if there are not enough sisters to go round. It is then likely that bridewealth payments would have to be made in order to compensate for a shortage of women. There are, however, a number of ways round this problem. In the first place, it is not necessary that the women given away are real sisters—they could be classificatory sisters *i.e.* women classified as sisters. There are two sources: (*a*) adoption of girls as sisters *e.g.* orphans or slave (*i.e.* kinless) women to use in exchange, (*b*) foreign women (*i.e.* non-matrilineal women) could be married and their children claimed as siblings to one's sisters' children. The latter device, transparent patrilinearity, would quickly lead to a break-up of the matrilineal principle and the overt adoption of patrilinearity. Such a temptation would apply particularly to dominant or chiefly lineages who wish to retain their numbers and not to be indebted to creditor lineages. It is common when chiefs wish to consolidate their power that they go over to patrilinearity first, while the bulk of the population retain their matrilineal principles. It is then only a question of time before there is a complete transition to patrilinearity. Such changes tend to be unidirectional, from matrilinearity via avunculocal residence to patrilinearity. It is indicative of increasing male control, increasing wealth and prosperity which may eventually result in a cognatic society where control over resources is a more important principle of social organisation than the kinship system.

All this has relevance to Pictish society. It would seem reasonable to argue that in

their hey-day the Picts were avunculocal. What would be the structural consequences of this? The society would consist of several matrilineages, roughly equivalent in status because of the marriage system, though because there were kings there could have been a royal lineage but its status would be that of *primus inter pares*. Succession would be along a line of brothers before descending to the sisters' sons. Problems would arise here in deciding which nephew was to succeed and conflicts are likely to occur, which if not settled by a strict rule might be settled by force. In which case the most powerful lineage claimant may press his claim and this would, in the last analysis, depend upon the number of allies available. This brings us to the central issue in social organisation: the method of group formation.

We have seen that avunculocal residence entails the movement of young adults (who are also the warriors) to their maternal uncles' home. For maximum strength it is desirable that brothers live together and avoid rivalry. The household would thus consist of the brothers, their wives, dependant children, retainers and slaves plus their sisters' sons with their wives and dependants plus their own sisters' sons, wives and dependants. This matrilineal household would, of course, fluctuate in size depending on the age structure of the group. Its corporate nature rests on fraternal loyalty, the hopes of the nephews in the succession and the matrilineal bond. What effectively holds such a group together is wealth or the prestige of the group, each factor being mutually reinforcing. The key factor is wealth: indeed, this is the reason for avunculocality in the first place. The problem is where does the wealth come from? Since the Pictish area is not noted for its abundance of natural resources, whatever wealth there was is likely to have been hotly fought over. The nature of this wealth is most probably the classic trio of gold, women and cattle. The only difficulty is to obtain them and the two standard ways are raiding and trading. The other side to the coin is to keep what one has acquired. In both cases alliances are useful, especially in the avunculocal case where one's precious women and their sons are residing with another group.

Since recruitment of males to the local descent groups takes place when the sisters' sons are deemed to be men and not boys, it is clear that such a transition would be important and might be marked by initiation ceremonies where the boys undergo ordeals (*e.g.* tattooing) to prove their manliness. As the elders of the avunculocal residence would be the lineage heads they would function as the ritual leaders on this and other ritual occasions. It is doubtful if such initiation ceremonies would be on a large scale since the effect would be to create age-sets of youths whose primary loyalty would be to each other instead of their lineage.

Mere residence does not confer loyalty unless it has been life-long. In the present case the newcomers to a group may not even know each other and some means would have to be found for creating bonds. It could be that some form of ancestor worship (unlikely in the matrilineal case), totemic observances or worship of the gods might suffice. Only totemic gatherings are likely to fulfil this requirement since one may assume that the other gods and spirits are common to all the society. Totems can be
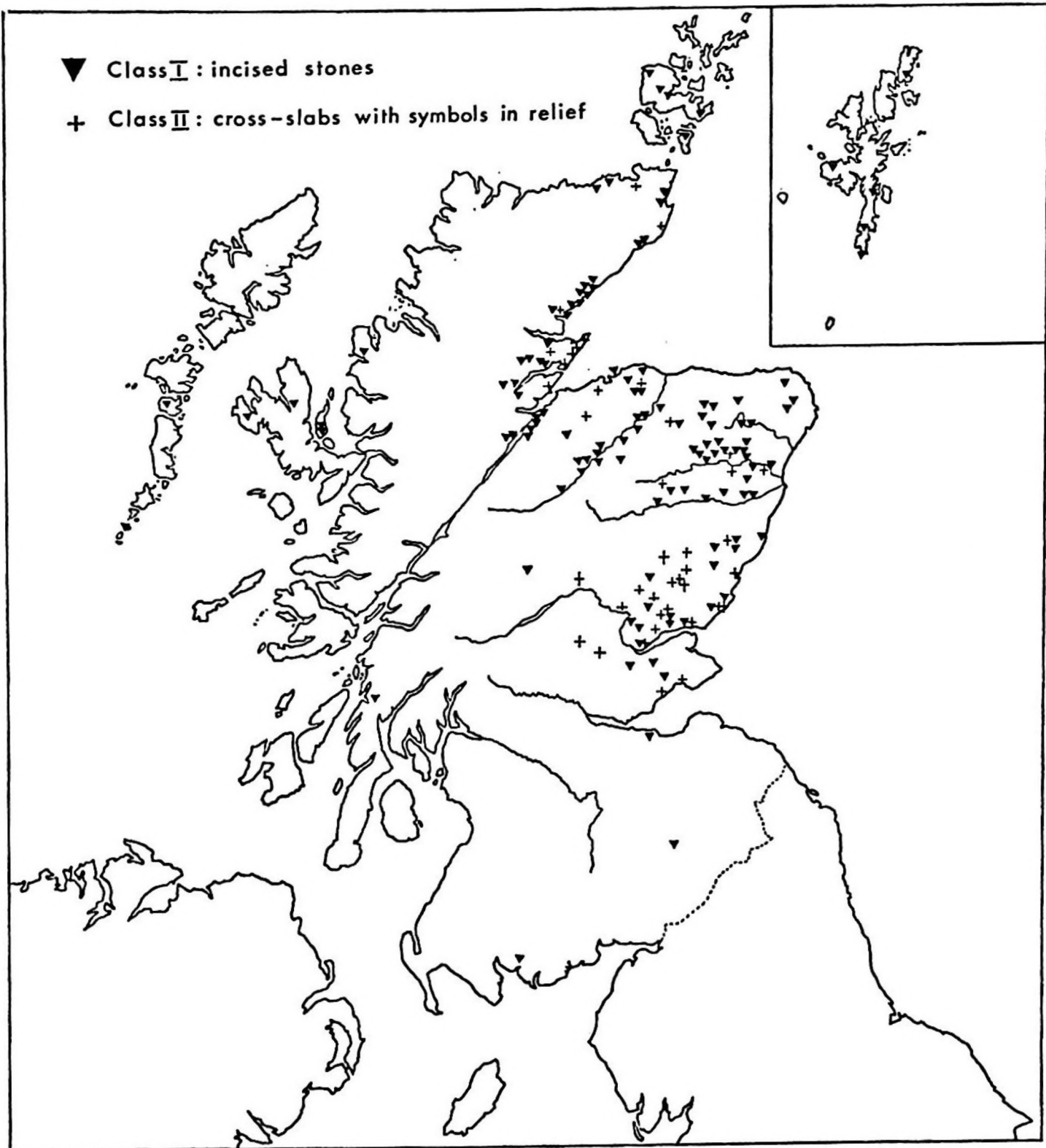
FIG. 1 Distribution map of Pictish symbol stones.

anything one chooses to call a totem, they do not have to exist objectively. Totems act as badges, a differentiating factor between people that serves as a means of identification. It is likely that the matrilineages would have some means of indicating corporate identity either by wearing an emblem, or painting it on their shields, their bodies, or on other objects. The difference between a badge and a totem is a slim one, resting only on the beliefs of the people, *e.g.* the Australian aborigines' *churinga*, an abstract design incised on their boomerangs which sometimes represented the totem of the clan which was believed to be shared by all members—human and totemic alike.

We now come to a consideration of the Pictish symbol stones which, it is suggested, fall into this category of emblems or totems. The symbols mainly occur on prominent standing stones which could be regarded as 'feast-stones', visible records of some feast. What sort of occasion would warrant their erection? What do the symbols mean?

From what we have been saying about the importance of the matrilineage descent groups, it is most likely they who erected them to commemorate themselves. The symbols could represent the local lineages—the three generation avunculocal unit. There are several reasons for putting up such a stone. It could be to commemorate a victory or success although it could serve as a gathering place for such celebrations or for rituals. However, the most probable reason is that these stones commemorate a pact and coalition between lineages—an everlasting witness to their treaty of alliance.

Such suggestions must account for the distribution and types of symbols employed by the Picts. It is assumed that the Pictish symbols do not represent an attempt to use language in which each symbol stands for a word. At this stage, no interpretations are offered for the meaning of individual symbols: they are taken to be merely conventional signs. Further negative assumptions are that the stones have nothing to do with burials or the status of individuals in the society. These points are spelled out to emphasise the collective nature of the symbols and the holistic approach towards them that has been adopted. If these symbols reflect anything, they must represent something that was of vital importance to the society and were not pure decoration. It was in order to gauge the vital areas of Pictish society that so much space was devoted to social organisation. Now we must judge its relevance.

The analysis of the symbols is based upon the collection of information made by Romilly Allen in *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (1903). While care has been taken to check his distributive analysis, no attempt has been made to check all his statements with regard to the originals. Thus errors of analysis may result from over-reliance on the given figures, though this should not affect the total view put forward.

The most significant feature of the Pictish symbol stones is that the symbols occur in pairs and only in pairs. This, given the above analysis, is not really surprising since lineages only exchange women between pairs. We do not find that lineages give women to two different groups simultaneously and on the same occasion. Before continuing, a few objections have to be met.

Firstly, we have to establish that the symbols only occur in pairs. If one looks at

Romilly Allen's summary tables (pp. 79–128) it would appear that symbols can appear once, twice, thrice, *etc.*, up to as many as eight symbols on one stone. In fact, single symbols do not occur on whole monuments although they are still listed when part of a symbol occurs even on a fragment. We need say nothing of the double symbols, neither when they occur once nor when four pairs are grouped around the cross in class II monuments; these are simply multiple pairs. It will be noted that odd numbers of symbols, 5, 7, 9, do not appear, although 3 does. Here we have our first problem.

How can we reconcile the statement that symbols occur in pairs when there are stones with three symbols on them? If we make the reasonable assumption that it is impossible to count symbols on broken, defaced or badly weathered stones as representing the true number of symbols made upon them (there are half a dozen to which this particularly applies here) then it can be stated that *all the recorded examples with three symbols upon them contain one pair plus the so-called 'mirror (and comb)' symbol.* There are no reliable exceptions to this rule. We may discount Romilly Allen's somewhat arbitrary selection of the symbols worth mentioning, not that this affects the argument significantly. In over thirty cases of triple symbols, each contains the mirror and sometimes the comb. The only other occurrence of three symbols is either upon damaged stones or in the case of twice-repeated symbols in a pair. In other words we never get a triplet that does not have the mirror symbol—a surprising feature when one considers the possible permutations of the fifty-odd symbols used. The occurrence of a symbol given twice upon the same stone is explicable as the reunification of a separated lineage, what is termed fusion of segments.

The admission that triplets appear seems contradictory to the statement that symbols only come in pairs. This is not so paradoxical as it may sound. If we find that no other symbol is joined to a pair but one particular symbol then it is obvious that this one symbol must have a common meaning independent of the pair with which it appears. The 'mirror and comb' symbol is just such a one. Its peculiar mode of occurrence has often been noted, *viz.* that it is placed lowest and last of a group of symbols. It is here suggested that this additional symbol was used to denote those alliances in which bridewealth was handed over by the wife-receiving lineage, thus indicating that partial compensation had been made. The symbol is quite reasonable since it *is* a feminine article and of some worth. It is to be noted that some pairs of symbols occur with a 'mirror' and sometimes without it. Its addition in no way alters the fact that two main symbols are used each time on the monuments. For this reason we can leave this symbol to one side when discussing the other combinations.

There are some eighty different pairs of symbols recorded while the number of repeated pairs is over forty. To illustrate the range of combinations the following table lists the pairs found in class I and class II monuments. The code numbers used are those given by Romilly Allen (p. 57–8). The number of repeats is given before the bracket while the sign * denotes 'mirror'. The arrangement is made in order of

frequency with the commonest symbol given first in each case. This table is purely classificatory. (For illustrations of the symbols see fig. 3, p. 139.)

TABLE I

Class I	Class II
6(8–31)**,5(8–17)*,3(8–5)**,3(8–23), 2(8–1),2(8–4)*,2(8–9)*,2(8–12)*,(8–3), (8–6),(8–7),(8–21),(8–46). 3(5–31)*,2(5–41)*,2(5–45)*,(5–4)*,(5–11), (5–38)*,(5–39)*,(5–44)*,(5–46)*. 2(31–12),(31–41).	6(8–5)*,4(8–31),2(8–3),(8–6),(8–7),(8–14), (8–21),(8–35),(8–39),(8–46). 4(5–31),3(5–39),(5–3)*,(5–4),(5–9),(5–13).
(41–4),(41–6)*,(41–12). 2(3–45),(3–21),(3–40). (4–6)*,(4–14),(4–15). (12–1),(12–6),(12–14)*,(12–17)*,(12–40). (17–1),(17–37),(17–38)*.	(31–3),(31–6),(31–17),(31–18),(31–23)*, (31–39)*,(31–41),(31–45). (41–35),(41–40)*,(41–44)*,(41–45). (3–9),(3–10),(3–18),(3–23),(3–44),(3–croc). (4–20),(4–39),(4–46).
2(40–6)*,2(40–23).	(44–27),(44–40),(44–46). (45–40)*,(45–46).
(6–23),(6–34). (9–21),(9–38). (7–14),(7–15)*. (25–26). (21–10).	(43–19),(43–42). (9–19)*. (25–26).

From the above table it is clear that symbol 8 (crescent and V-shaped rod) is combined with more, and more different, symbols than any other. Secondly, it will be seen that symbol 5 (double disc and Z-shaped rod) is most often associated with the 'mirror (and comb)' symbol (No. 24).

With respect to the two commonest symbols, 8 and 5, we may judge that 8 was superior to 5 not only on the grounds of having more alliances but that 8 generally received bridewealth (symbol 24) whereas 5 more often had to give it than receive it.

It is not possible to conduct a rigorous geographical distribution analysis because of the small numbers involved and the bias introduced by the preponderance of class I stones in Aberdeenshire and class II stones in Angus. This distribution of symbols could be chance and not a correct picture of the original placement of symbol stones. It may be remarked that it is perfectly possible that the Picts broke up some of these symbol stones when an alliance was formally annulled.

One way of analysing these alliances is to put them in diagrammatic form (fig. 2). If we represent the three commonest symbols, 8, 5 and 31, by circles which overlap
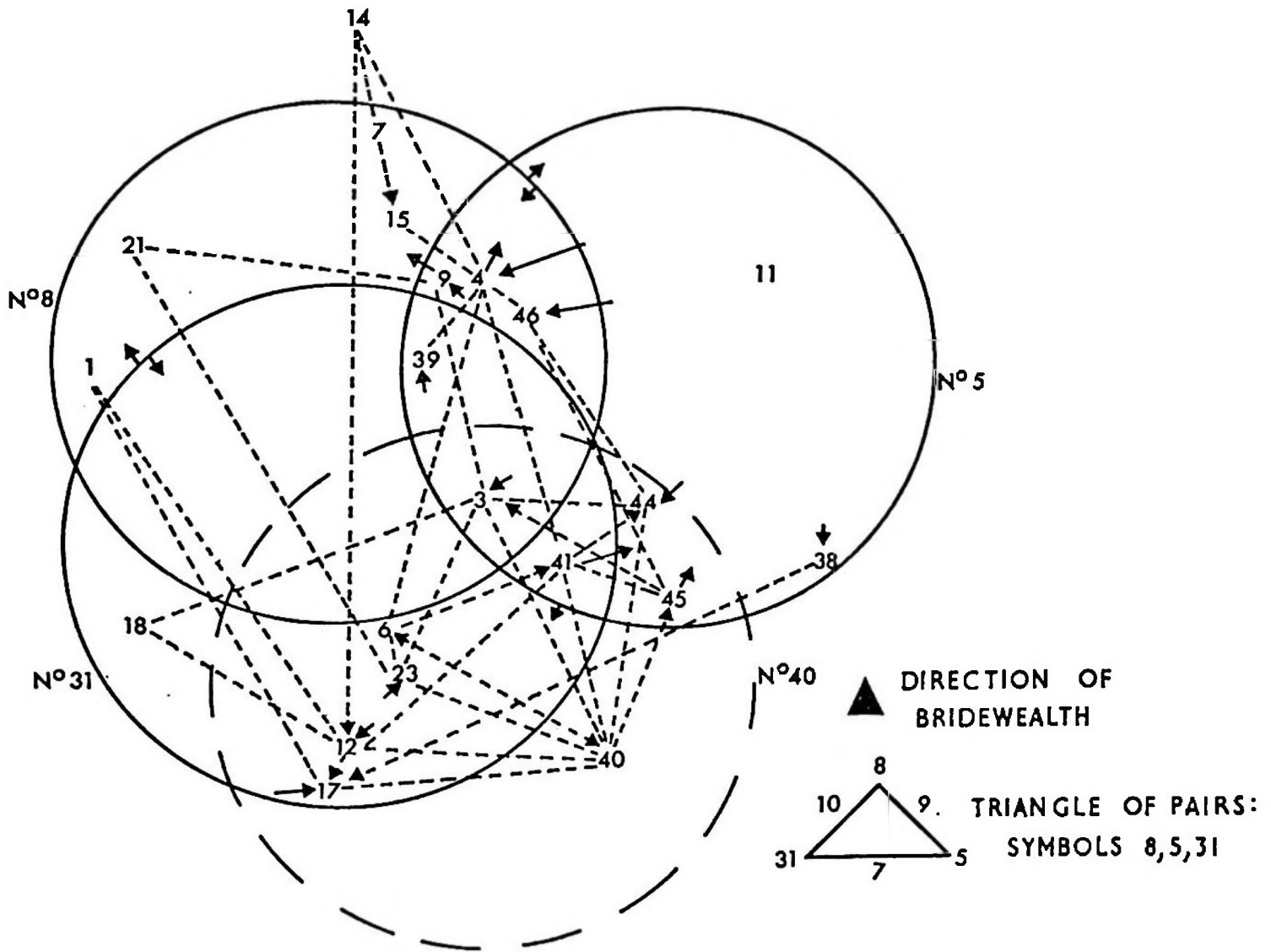
FIG. 2   Diagram showing symbols shared by the three symbols, 8, 5 and 31. The circle for the non-inclusive symbol 40 is given a broken outline. Paired symbols are joined by a dotted line.

and mark in the appropriate spaces the other symbols which are paired with them, then the accompanying diagram results. A small triangle indicates how many times the three commonest symbols are paired, *e.g.* 8/31 occurs ten times. If the symbols which are also paired with each other are connected by straight lines, a pattern may be seen to emerge. Symbols 8 and 5 share symbols 4, 9 and 46; symbols 5 and 31 share symbol 41 exclusively; symbols 8 and 31 do not have any common symbol to themselves; on the other hand symbols 8, 5 and 31 all share symbols 3 and 39, while each has certain symbols not common to the others. What this diagram tells us are the types of combinations of symbols that are and are not found on the monuments.

It will be noticed that there is one symbol, No. 40, that is not combined with the three commonest symbols. If a broken circle is placed around those symbols combined with symbol 40, not only does it separate certain interrelated symbols but it cuts the three circles in an interesting way. We now have two pairs of circles: 8 and 5, 31 and 40. The only symbol common to all four circles is No. 3. It will be seen that all the symbols enclosed by circle No. 40 *receive* bridewealth. The arrows on the diagram denote the direction in which bridewealth is given; the assumption being that the lower symbol of the pair, which is closest to the 'mirror (and comb)' symbol (No. 24), is the giver since bride-givers are superior to wife-receivers who give the bridewealth. In fact, with one exception (No. 11) all the symbols enclosed by circle 5 and all those enclosed by circle 40 receive bridewealth. However, six of these symbols get their bridewealth from 5 while two symbols return bridewealth to 5.

The complex of relationships within circle 40 are worth studying. These nine symbols are related, often in pairs, with most of the remaining symbols: 18, 1, 21, 14, 9, 4, 46 and 38; only 7, 15, 39 and 11 (which is an isolate) are indirectly connected. That is to say, the majority of the symbols are found as a member of a pair with either symbol 8, 5, 31 or 40. Although the diagram does not illustrate all the known symbols, sufficient have been given to show clustering of combinations and also the non-occurrence of certain pairs.

What does the diagram mean in real terms? The symbols stand for lineages and the pairing denotes alliances. The use of the 'mirror (and comb)' denotes the giving of bridewealth between two lineages. The case where no pairs are to be found between symbols either means they could not form an alliance because the lineages were too closely related or because they did not wish to—which it was will depend, perhaps, on factors we cannot discover. Nevertheless, these omissions should be considered in a fuller analysis.

So far, we have suggested that lineage 8 was superior to lineage 5. There is another point worth noticing connected with the lineage 40: its symbol is a bird. The three lineages associated with it and lineage 5 are 41, 44 and 45 which are represented by a fish, a snake, and a snake with a Z-rod; lineage 5 has a double disc and Z-rod. The only other symbol common to lineage 5 and 40 is No. 3—a plain double disc, which is also shared with lineage 31: represented by another animal—the 'elephant'. Lineage

31 shares only one other symbol with lineages 8 and 5, *viz.* No. 39—the 'Pictish beast'. There are a few other animals not shown on the diagram and these are paired as follows: 34–6; 35–8, 35–31, 35–41, 35–3, 35–46; all these would tend to fall within the ambit of lineage 40. While lineage 38 seems to fall outside the following generalisation, it looks as if lineages 31 and 40 contain most of the animal symbols within their orbits, but only when those symbols are associated with lineage 5. The suggestion that arises from this is that while lineages 31 and 40 are closely allied, lineage 40 is inferior to lineage 5.

It is interesting that lineages 8 and 40 between them are related to most of the other lineages and that themselves only have lineage 3 in common. The same is true of lineages 5 and 31 except they are related to each other and also have lineage 39 in common. Are these remnants of a moiety or fratres system?

This analysis suggests that there were both local and more widespread political alliances. It would be interesting to tie this in with the geographical distribution of the symbol stones, but it will not be attempted here. There do appear to be at least two polar regions: a north-west group and a south-east group, in which certain combinations are more prevalent and other alliances correspondingly less likely to occur. However, the diagram given here is not so specific in this matter since it gives the total occurrence of pairs of symbols for both class I and II monuments (*cf.* distribution map, fig. 1).

It is important to notice that the pair of symbols depicted on the stones are almost always placed very close together, if not actually touching, which supports the idea that they represent unions. Even on class II monuments, which have interlaced crosses on them, the symbols are generally carved in pairs. This raises the crucial question of why these symbols occur both on pagan and Christian monuments? Obviously the symbols must have been compatible with the native religion and Christianity. Since we have associated these symbols with kinship and politics, not with ritual, it is perfectly feasible that these secular symbols would have continued in use. The only significant difference is that *several* pairs of symbols appear with the crosses. This would seem to indicate a wider alliance or even a peaceful treaty between Christians. Thus the erection of class II monuments served the same purpose as before except they were conducted under the aegis of the Church.

The question arises: where did the Picts get the idea of commemorating their political alliances in such a way? Now the use of symbols to designate lineages, families, clans or tribes is an extremely common procedure which is found all over the world. Such symbols, crests or marks are used on property—houses, clothes, furniture, utensils, tools, and on slaves—as an identifier. These symbols may be abstract or naturalistic. Not infrequently these designs are tattooed on the body. It is believed that the Picts tattooed themselves, again for reasons of mutual identification most likely, in which case the principle was there. However, it is improbable that they simply transferred their symbols from skin to stone. Nevertheless, it would appear that they used symbols in this manner to identify their lineages. Any attempt at speculating what the symbols

actually meant is probably fruitless at this stage. Their derivation may be from many sources, *e.g.* badges or ornaments, manuscripts, or native invention quite simply.

Irrespective of the origin of the symbols themselves, there is the problem of why put them on stone, and why in pairs? It is likely that the actual erection of the monuments took place within a relatively short space of time. The reasons for saying this are that the symbols display a striking similarity all over Pictland and they display a remarkable technical mastery of stone-cutting. This may be put down to itinerant stone-masons who executed these monuments for the lineage heads. But why were they put up at all and why in this manner? We have seen that the display of the two symbols of a pair of intermarrying lineages indicates where wives and where new lineage members are coming from for a whole generation. Now this would not be altogether news even in newly-forming avunculocal communities. However, if it also bore witness to a standing permanent alliance, this would be different. It would be a public treaty. Furthermore, it indicated who was then superior—they came on top! Where an alliance was based on a new marriage arrangement then the bridewealth symbol could be added. It must be noted that we cannot divorce kinship and politics in this matter. One reason why this custom of erecting stones could become popular would be political expediency itself, plus the fact that there were stone-masons around. In the centralising and unifying period of Pictish history the leading lineages may have set the fashion, indeed they may have compelled it. There was more to setting up such stones than pure whim: they could have played an essential part in the unification of the Picts. It is not improbable that they were the result of a royal edict.

The reason for an edict commanding the lineages to erect stones stating with which other lineage they were in alliance/marriage arrangement would serve several purposes that all promoted Pictish unity. Firstly, the peculiar kinship system is difficult to maintain without strict observance of details and it becomes complicated when polygyny is allowed. Secondly, the strength of the matrilineages depends upon unity among brothers. The symbol stones are like nailing one's colours to the mast: they commit the lineages. Thus in the face of inherent weaknesses in the kinship system which are magnified with polygyny, of the wish to preserve the matrilineal succession as a Pictish custom and to unify the lineages by establishing stable alliances, the setting up of the symbol stones was an admirable device to come to terms with the basic instability of Pictish society. This sort of problem was not unique to the Picts: it faces all societies with matrilineal succession and especially if they have patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Almost inevitably the system becomes too complicated and it collapses into a patrilineal based society.

The nearest ethnographic parallel to the Picts are the Haida and Tsimshian tribes of British Columbia. They were matrilineal and had clans, each with their own crests: bears, wolves, eagles, fishes. These family crests were tattooed upon the body and, more famously, they were carved upon their totem-poles. These carved poles had nothing to do with religion and they served many different purposes: houseposts,

house frontal poles, memorial and heraldic poles, mortuary poles, *etc.* The heraldic post, for example, displayed the crests of the clans to which the householder (generally a chief) belonged. The houseposts gave the crests of the clans to which a man was related by heredity or marriage. These North-west Coast Indians are famous for their 'potlatches', feasts at which clan heads demonstrated their rights to titles and crests.

Of course, nearer at home, the obvious parallel to the symbol stones are the heraldic devices used by the peerage. These blazons give the arms and bearings of the family and they are often composite in carrying the markings of two or more earlier families which have been acquired by inheritance or marriage. This heraldic system began somewhat obscurely in the thirteenth century, many centuries after the Pictish kingdom collapsed. Since British inheritance is patrilinear, the actual blazoning had a different function from that ascribed to the Pictish symbol stones, though it amounts to the same principle.

The above examples show that family crests are widely used in space and time. In both cases they serve as status symbols and are closely connected with the prevailing political system. There are no exact analogues of the Pictish stone monuments probably because few societies have had to cope simultaneously with the intractable difficulties of their kinship system and kingdom building in the face of external troubles. This is not to say that a matrilineal society cannot be stable nor that kingship is impossible: there are many examples of matrilineal states. Their problems of succession are no more difficult than that of other societies: they are different.

If we return to Bede's statement about the Picts receiving wives from the Scots, it is possible that they took wives from outside the tribe. This could be because they had no women to marry—either there were not any, or more likely there were none they were allowed to marry. The latter case could arise in two ways: either the unmarried women belonged to the 'wrong' clan or, possibly, the chiefs did not wish to marry inside the tribe since it put them under obligation to their subordinates. Whatever the reason, an interesting dilemma arises if they took women from an outside patrilineal tribe. As would be customary in both types of society, bridewealth would be given in exchange for the women. However, the children of these imported women, would according to Pictish custom, return to their mother's brother *i.e.* back to the tribe that gave the women. This would not be acceptable in a patrilineal society. Nevertheless, if a chief of the Picts married a foreign woman he would have the problem of what to do with the children. He could not claim them as his own without contravening custom and becoming patrilineal, neither could he send them away. They would have no right to succeed him either, but they would have to be accorded some kin status. The possibility arises if there was no sister's son to inherit his position that, in full accordance with this system, the chief's wife's brother be invited, *i.e.* the brother of the mother of the chief's children. He would, in other words, be a foreigner, from the tribe (Celts?) who provided the women. In such a way it is possible that Scots' princes were introduced into Pictish society—as local chiefs. The only sacrifice they

would have to make would be the denial of inheritance to their own children by, presumably, a Pictish woman. We know that later on non-Pictish princes married into Pictish noble families. This would make no difference to the succession in Pictish eyes but it might have caused disappointment on the non-Pictish side.

As we have noted, a natural corollary to increasing wealth and state formation in a matrilineal society is the greater desire of men for more control over affairs which, given the restraints of the kinship system, tends to promote avunculocal residence and polygyny. The next, but irretrievable, step is never far distant: the desire that one's *own* sons succeed to wealth and power. In matrilineal societies this step is usually taken first by the chiefs or the leading men and it may be some time before the rest of the society follows suit. But once done, it is irredeemable.

It is most likely that the Picts originally practised matrilocal marriage but had slowly gone over to avunculocal residence. This produces problems of recruitment, both of wives and followers, since they both come from the same lineage in any one generation. To a chief wishing to unite the various lineages into an effective fighting force there is the problem of maintaining alliances and morale, not to mention the jealousy of rival chiefs. As has been mentioned, it is difficult to keep a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage system going over many generations—not that there is any alternative if one wishes to keep matrilinearity and male privileges given by polygyny. The erection of the symbol stones might have been a means of staving off the disintegration of the system through confusion by giving clear guide-lines: such a point might have been reached by the sixth century. However, a century later the matter was complicated by the success of the Christian missionaries. It is clear that the Church would hardly approve of polygyny and it is doubtful if they would accept the practice of cross-cousin marriage. Should the priests have forbidden these two things then the advantages of the whole system is lost. It is unlikely that this would have occurred in any dramatic fashion but the point of the old customs would become gradually meaningless if the marriage alliances were discouraged. The need for alliances would not be lost but one might have to marry into new groups or into a wider circle to avoid first cousin marriage. The temptations and pushes towards patrilinearity must have been hard to resist.

By the eighth century, through various causes: the difficulty of the kinship system, the pressure from the Church, the attitude of 'foreigners' married to the Picts (especially in the royal circles), it is probable that some Picts were going over to patrilinearity or contemplating it. Such a state of affairs—traditionalists versus modernists—could lie at the bottom of the civil wars that rent the Picts in the eighth century. The issue would simply be: which is the correct form of inheritance and succession now? It is notable that this is roughly the time that the class II monuments appear to be gaining ground.

The Pictish kingdom came to an end about A.D. 850 and with it the cessation of the symbol stones, not unsurprisingly, although purely Christian monuments—the class III type—continued after the disappearance of Pictish power. If as has been argued
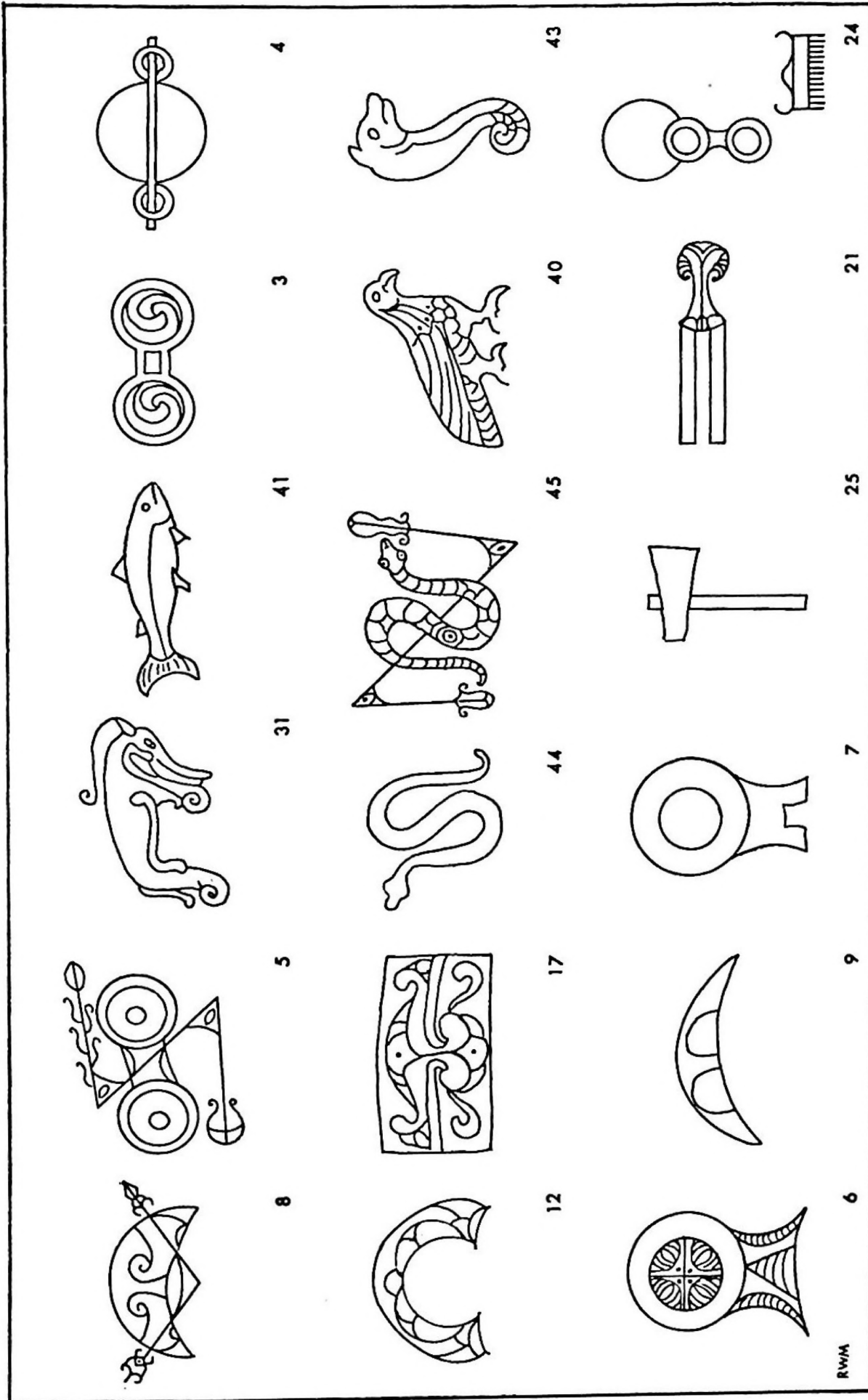
FIG. 3 Some of the most common Pictish symbols (with Romilly Allen's code numbers) arranged from left to right in the order of frequency shown in Table 1, page 132.

the symbols stood for political alliances between lineages, their function would be lost under their Scots overlords—if not banned outright, as many other aspects of Pictish life were, by Scottish decree. The sudden collapse of the Picts in the face of the Scots might have been due to the prior collapse of their old kinship network—the kingpin of their society.

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Editor]

Notes on Collection and Research

'The Scotch Fiddle'

W. N. BOOG WATSON

The skin disease known as scabies or the itch is produced by a tiny mite which burrows in the cuticle of most parts of the body and especially about the hands. The mites, so small that they can only just be seen by the naked eye, are passed from person to person mainly by direct contact, less often by clothes or bedding. Their presence in the skin is attended with an intense itching, especially when the sufferer is warm abed or sits by the fire. In circumstances of prolonged dirt and neglect persistent scratching may cause septic sores to break out all over the body and a person so affected becomes a pitiable and repulsive object.

Avenzoar, an Arabian physician of the twelfth century, is credited with being the first man to have discovered the true cause of the itch but it was not until 1834 that a French scientist demonstrated beyond question the rôle of the itch mite by a series of experiments carried out on his own skin. If so many years had to pass before the scientific world agreed on the nature of the disease it is not surprising that ordinary people had divergent and erroneous beliefs as to its cause. Some blamed the weather, the bodily humours or miasmata for its appearance; others looked on it as an infectious disease like measles or smallpox. Still more common was the belief that certain foods, for instance salt fish, if taken in excess were responsible. In Scotland predominance of oatmeal in the diet bore the blame and reference to it as causing the itch often occurs in travellers' descriptions of the country. At the same time there was no doubt in people's minds that the itch was passed by contact from person to person. Indeed it was considered to be so highly contagious that the merest touch of skin or clothing could transfer the infection, which would immediately make its appearance as a rash covering the body. The itch is not, in fact, so dramatically eruptive but it spreads when close contagion occurs and is still a public health problem. For example, in Edinburgh in 1969 one hundred and five cases are known to have occurred among some seventy thousand school children. In 1970, when the school population was about the same, one hundred pupils were affected.

For many centuries the disease was widely prevalent in Europe and where poverty, uncleanliness and indifference were at their worst there the itch was most at home. It must be sadly admitted that in Scotland more than anywhere else in Britain conditions

for a long time favoured the infection and scabies came to be looked on as *the* disease of that country. There it was known as the itch, the scab, the scaw,* the yewk and, in Gaelic, *an tachas*. By about the year 1700 Scotland's reputation for the itch was widespread in England. An outcome of this was the introduction into popular speech of the term 'the Scotch fiddle' for the itch and the phrase 'to play the Scotch fiddle'. It is true that even today diagnosis of scabies may be in doubt for a time and in the past 'the Scotch fiddle' must not infrequently have been applied to itching conditions not caused by the mite. We are, however, justified in accepting the name as a synonym of scabies. As such it appears in standard dictionaries as well as dictionaries of slang and of dialect. According to Hotten to play the Scotch fiddle is 'to work the index finger of the right hand like a fiddlestick between the index and middle fingers of the left. This provokes a Scotsman in the highest degree as it implies that he is affected with the itch. It is supposed that a continuous oatmeal diet is productive of cutaneous affection' (Hotten 1874:279). Up to a point the whole Celtic Fringe seems to have had a bad reputation. Thomas Aubrey, a physician employed by the African slave traders, wrote in 1729 that yaws, a tropical skin disease, was as common among the slaves as was the itch in Wales or Ireland (Aubrey 1729:110) and Hotten mentions the use of 'Welsh fiddle' and 'Welsh hug' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as names for the itch.

The story of the treatment of scabies in Scotland begins in early days when reliance was put on herbs of the earth only. Progress came in the seventeenth century when wood tar imported from the Baltic, mixed with lard or butter, began widely to be used to prevent the scab in sheep and its use was extended to the cure of human scabies. About the beginning of the eighteenth century ointment of mercury, more effective but more costly, came into service. Sulphur, a still more powerful destroyer of the itch mite, is mentioned as early as 1617 when Sir Anthony Welden observed the popularity of 'burntstone (brimstone) oyntment' among the ladies of Edinburgh (Welden 1837, 1: 301) but it was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that it replaced tar and mercury in popular use. Some thirty years ago sulphur in its turn gave place to benzyl benzoate which is equally potent and more agreeable to the patient (Boog Watson 1971:141-2).

The Oxford English Dictionary (1933) says that 'Scotch fiddle' appears for the first time in English writings in 1670 in Rochester's works. [Partridge (1949:734) corrects this to 1675.] Another early reference may possibly be a pictorial representation dating from the time of the Fifteen (Plate III): the London fugitive press was active after the battle of Sheriffmuir and among the broadsheets which have survived is one in verse dated 1715 entitled *A Dialogue between his Grace the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar*. One of the two woodcuts on the sheet seems to represent a Scot riding woman-fashion (B.M. 1715). So crude is the workmanship that detail cannot be resolved

* In English 'scab' is the name given to a skin disease of sheep caused, like scabies, by a mite. In Scots 'scab' and 'scaw' were used to denote this condition also.
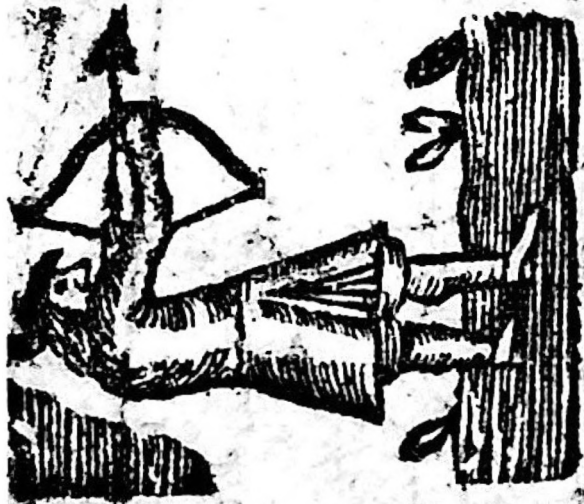
A Dialogue betvveen her Grace the Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of war

Or an Excellent New Song, to the Tune of the Hark Merchants Ranti &c.

PLATE III. 'The Scotch Fiddle'. Woodcut on a broadsheet dated 1715. (See p. 142.)

(Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

with certainty, but the rider appears to be playing the fiddle, and this interpretation is supported by Dick in his *Songs of Robert Burns* (1903:464). During the Forty-five an eye-witness description of the playing of the Scotch fiddle was written by a young Englishman who took part in the campaign on the side of the Government. In November 1745 James Ray, a soldier by profession, set off with his regiment from Kent to join in the pursuit of the retreating Jacobite forces. He was present at the battle of Culloden and later wrote *A Compleat History of the Rebellion*. Ray was a man of inquiring mind, interested in the manners and customs of the people he encountered on the march north, and at Dunkeld he observed with distaste the villagers and their cottages: 'They have generally two apartments in their houses by means of a slight partition; one end they lie in themselves, having a fire in the middle, and chaff of corn or heather is their bed; the other end is for their oxen, calves etc, which are exceeding small; a full-grown ox is seldom bigger than one of our calves of a year old. The smell of the cattle's dung (which is generally very thick about the house) and their peat fire I believe keep them in health, but not free from the itch which is as common as their oatmeal; and their better sort of people are rarely free from this malady, which they seldom mind to cure any other way than by their dumb music (they having their instruments always about them); and when the spirit moves them, which is most frequent, they are very dexterous in playing both with their arms and fingers; nay their whole bodies would very often move. You must think, this gave us not a little diversion, but at the same time we had great fear, lest they should present us with a Fiddle' (Ray 1749:117).

By the beginning of the nineteenth century readers in the United States and Canada were familiar with the Scotch fiddle. In February 1826 John Randolph of Roanoke sent a letter to his friend Josiah Quincy, into which he introduced what he imagined to be a Scots vernacular phrase. 'I hope that you'll pardon my using the Waverley tongue', he continues, 'which I fear bodes no good to the old English and which I shall therefore leave to them that like it. . . . In short, I have not catched the literary "Scotch fiddle"' (Quincy 1869:421). The term is also employed in Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*, in the second chapter of which the author rebukes the natives of Nova Scotia, or blue-noses as he calls them, for their overweening conceit. This he attributes to their contact with the Royal Navy. 'These blue-noses have caught this disease, as folks do the Scotch fiddle, by shaken hands along with the British' (Haliburton 1837:143).

So long as the itch was a common affliction among them the words 'Scotch fiddle' must have been offensive to the Scots and it is not until the nineteenth century, when the prevalence of scabies in Scotland no longer exceeded that in England and the gibe had lost its sting, that references appear in Scottish writings. Three extracts are given here. The first occurs in Headrick's *General View of the Agriculture of Angus*. In it the author, discussing the feeding habits of the country-folk, observes that 'Farm servants live chiefly on oatmeal and potatoes and milk. . . . Much ridicule has been thrown upon the Scotch on account of this immoderate use of oatmeal. This has been

represented as inflaming the blood and producing their favourite disease called the *Scotch Fiddle* and other cutaneous eruptions. But oatmeal is as much used in some districts of England as in any part of Scotland; and cutaneous eruptions are much more frequent in some of those districts than they are here, where they are seldom seen or heard of. The latter ought rather to be ascribed to dirty linen and clothing than to oatmeal or any particular species of food' (Headrick 1813:501). Penny's *Traditions of Perth* provides the second mention. Speaking of past days Penny remarks that no luxury was equal to a seasonable scratch: 'Certain it is about fifty years ago, the fiddle was in such general repute that few allowed themselves to be absolutely idle, the fiddlers devoting all their spare moments to this agreeable pastime. It is only those who have come through the trying ordeal and searching purification necessary to overcome this insidious disease that can fully appreciate the advancement which society has since made and emphatically thank God their hands are clean' (Penny 1836:126). The third reference comes in a saying of Dr John A. Easton (1807–65), professor in Glasgow and lecturer in Materia Medica. We are told that when discussing the therapeutic uses of sulphur and its efficiency in curing scabies he would employ such words as these: 'Our friends south of the Tweed speak of this disease as the Scotch fiddle or Caledonian Cremona. But, gentlemen, its silent notes have been attuned in other lands than that of the mountain and the flood. We claim no monopoly in any such disease and we trust our countrymen's hands are as clean as we know their hearts are pure' (Murray 1927:237).

An even later reference to the fiddle has come to light in a biographical sketch of Dr Robert Pairman (1818–73), surgeon in Biggar, written by his son. On one occasion Dr Pairman is said to have remarked to an acquaintance 'I'll guarantee to cure scabies, or what is called the Scotch fiddle, with flowers of sulphur'. The words were spoken before 1873 but the biography, still in manuscript and in the possession of the family, was written about 1900. Since then the term 'Scotch fiddle' seems to have passed out of currency, although *Chambers' Twentieth Century Dictionary* (1970 edition) still has this entry: 'Scotch fiddle—the Itch (from the motion of the fingers against the palm)'.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Black Dwarf: A Peeblesshire Legend

JAMES FERGUSSON

Sir Walter Scott's novel, *The Black Dwarf*, published with *Old Mortality* in December 1816, has, not surprisingly, been greeted ever since with little enthusiasm. Scott lays himself open to modern critics by his self-depreciation, and his review of his own *Tales of My Landlord* in 1817 (an attempt to prove to Murray that he was not their author) adds fuel to complaints against *The Black Dwarf*. Few have recognised any merit in the work. Saintsbury, however, declared that he had 'always thought the early part of *The Black Dwarf* as happy as all but the best of Scott's works', and Andrew Lang numbered it among his childhood favourites. Lockhart regarded it of 'singular interest' as the lame Scott's study of physical deformity, and this is doubtless what attracted Byron to the work, which he wrote that he had read 'with great pleasure'.

In his excellent essay on Scott, V. S. Pritchett (1946:45) cited it as an example of Scott's inability to reach beyond his historical recollections—the Black Dwarf lives immortal in the novel, accurate in superficial detail, as Scott saw his original in the flesh, but deeper than that unreal and idealised into a mere type. This draws one to consider the character of Scott's recollection from whom the portrait is derived.

David Ritchie would survive in his idealised form in the novel of 1816; but for our knowledge of his original self we are largely indebted to the brothers Chambers, founders of the publishing firm. Four years after the publication of *The Black Dwarf*, when the Author of Waverley still remained hidden behind his smoke-screen of anonymity, William Chambers (1820) wrote a small volume gathering together much of the Ritchie legend, and offering him as the original of the Black Dwarf. 1822 saw his brother Robert delving into the originals of other characters besides, in *Illustrations of the Author of Waverley*. This he revised and enlarged in 1825. Soon after, rumour became reality and Scott could now write Introductions to all his works, supplying such information about his subjects as had for the previous inquirers remained only surmise: these were published posthumously in 1833. In his Introduction to *The Black Dwarf*, Scott even draws on the results of Robert Chambers's research to embellish his description.

The next to treat David Ritchie at any length was Dr John Brown, the author of *Rab and his Friends*, who compiled an interesting study of the Dwarf out of a correspondence in 1858 with one Robert Craig. It was in the form of an essay entitled 'The Black Dwarf's Bones', later published in *Horae Subsecivae* (pp. 341–62, Edinburgh 1864). One of Robert Craig's neighbours was Professor John Veitch, author of *The*

History and Poetry of the Scottish Border. He wrote much of the valley he loved, of that 'sweetest stream of all the South', where Ritchie chose to live and roam: an essay for *Blackwood's* (republished in *Border Essays* in 1896) called 'The Vale of Manor and the Black Dwarf' well evokes the natural spirit of the glen. One other minor source should perhaps be mentioned, since it is so often quoted: William Chambers's *History of Peeblesshire* (1864:402). Of these six accounts of the dwarf Veitch's is perhaps the most sympathetic.

Before starting a Tour to the Lakes in 1797, Walter Scott, the young advocate as yet in literary obscurity, stayed a few days at Hallyards, near Peebles, the Manor Valley house of Professor Adam Ferguson whose son was accompanying Scott on his trip. During this stay Scott met David Ritchie, a dwarf under four feet high. Robert Craig, himself a medical man, describes him diligently—he had a body of normal size, but quite stunted legs. 'They were bent in every direction, so that Mungo Park, then a surgeon in Peebles,. . . said he could compare them to nothing but a pair of corkscrews; but the principal turn they took was from the knees outwards, so that he rested on his inner ankles, and the lower part of his tibias . . ..' Evidently prepared to strike a vivid impression on the local people, Ritchie had developed eccentricities which fostered speculative superstition. He became the Brown Man of the Moors, the local sprite of the neighbourhood, perhaps even the Devil himself. Ritchie had gained what was all-important to him—recognition, a reputation. Consequently the visitor was led to see the valley's showpiece, and the character lasted nineteen years in Scott's memory before being committed to paper as Canny Elshie.

Scott's Gothic imagination invented a malignant figure, personifying misanthropy. William Chambers's oft-quoted description of the interview between Scott and Ritchie is twisted through the same essentially dramatic purpose—the whole confrontation lasts about two minutes, hardly a word passes, and Scott emerges 'as pale as ashes, . . . his person shaking in every limb' (Chambers 1864:404); Ritchie is 'the misanthrope'. A romanticised picture. If we are to believe Lockhart, this was all: 'they staid [at Hallyards] for a day or two, in the course of which Scott had his first and *only* interview . . .' (Lockhart 1862, I:364) (my italics). How then can one account for Scott's words in his Introduction? 'The author understood him to say he had even been in Dublin' and 'the author has heard his most unmusical voice repeat the celebrated description of Paradise . . .' (Scott 1893:321). It would not be fitting dramatically for the 'misanthrope' to communicate so readily the tale of his life's wanderings, or to recite the words of Milton, however unmelodiously: Chambers seems to have sacrificed accuracy for effect. It also brings one to question the motives for both brothers' interest in the dwarf—the headstone by his grave 'erected by W. and R. Chambers, 1845'.

Reading the *Illustrations*, one is struck by the author's rather callous attitude towards his subject: the dwarf turns from an awkward and unfortunate freak of nature into a literary curiosity. Ritchie had a normal, though simple, sister, called Agnes, living in

part of his cottage, with whom he was not on friendly terms, and who outlived him by some years. Scott regretted in 1833 that 'a sort of "local sympathy" and the curiosity then expressed concerning the author of Waverley and the subjects of his novels exposed the woman to inquiries which gave her pain . . .' (Scott 1893:327). One fancies that Robert Chambers's two articles of 1817 (one in *Blackwood's*, the other in *The Scots Magazine*) caused some of the mischief. Chambers, with a journalist's indifference to personal privacy, descended on her at the dwarf's cottage in 1820, and described the occasion with tactless relish in his *Illustrations* (1884:117–33). Why would they not permit the dead to rest? she asked.

David Ritchie was born at Easter Happrew. His deformity hindered him from finding work there, and he said he went far afield in search of it. Disillusioned by the normal-sized world, he came in about 1762 to the Manor Valley, secluded and beautiful, and built his own world—cottage and garden. From then on he lived largely off both what the parish provided and what he gained from going the round of his benefactors. He appears to have been a gentle man, though easily roused if provoked. In 1802 his landlord, Sir James Nasmyth of Posso, replaced his old cottage with the one to which the tourist is directed today by the Chambers Institution at Peebles. Many writers bemoan the slates that superseded the thatch; but the tiny door still remains. In this house he spent the remaining nine years of his life. He died in 1811, and was buried in Manor Kirkyard—a mossy stone, transfixed by an iron bar, covers his grave.

Then came five years of rest. In 1816, however, the *Tales* were published, and he was identified as the original Black Dwarf. Now he was resuscitated by all—even by those who had ignored him during his lifetime—and many was the fond tale of himself and his feats. Apart from his legs, he was immensely strong, and like Chaucer's Miller could butt a door down with his head; he once heaved a tree out of the ground that two men had not been able to move in hours; but in more pastoral pursuits, we hear that he was responsible for cultivating a small patch of heath behind his cottage, making it the most beautiful garden in all the valley. He loved nature, read Shenstone's Pastorals and Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* with avidity (among many other works), and had wished to have been buried on Woodhill, a place of great natural beauty.

The visitor to Manor Valley today will find it quite as beautiful and unspoilt. The dwarf only is gone, and his influence may yet survive in the statue of David Ritchie (a caricature, John Buchan's brother Walter tells us, by one Forrest of Leith) standing beside the Hallyards driveway. The irony of it is that Time has paid more attention to him as a black effigy than as a being with blood in his veins.

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Reviews and Reports

A *History of the Scottish People 1560–1830* by T. C. Smout. Collins 1969. Pp. 576. £3.15.

The period covered by Christopher Smout's book has had much written about it but never better and never in this way. The title is significant: this is a comprehensive survey of a whole people, not simply another political history. The author deals with centuries which saw the political identity of the nation redefined, its religion re-made and its way of life re-directed. Dr Smout, inspired in part by the works of earlier Scottish historians, has attempted to relate these tremendous movements to the state and development of the Scottish people. The outcome is a grand and original work which blazes a trail for future workers and puts paid to those all too common and intolerably dull accounts of Scotland which divorce history from life and society.

The author achieves his ends without any sacrifice of form or accuracy to originality. One may indeed criticise him both in points of detail and in his general approach but there is nothing more impressive about this book than its beautifully contrived structure, its careful scholarship and its reasoned judgments. This is a craftsman's job, with solid foundations and graceful proportions. The illustrations are an integral part of the book, chosen from a wide variety of sources, often unpublished. New research is incorporated, notably in the field of social structure, and the annotated reading list, though necessarily not exhaustive, will prove a valuable guide to further study.

It is a history in which the actual course of events does not dominate and blur everything else. The line is drawn lightly and clearly so as to reveal a crowded and animated picture of Scottish life in town and country. Perhaps the best, certainly the most original, chapters are those dealing with the structure and characteristics of this society: its distribution and economic bases, its social classes and occupational groups, and their education, outlook, values and ways of life. The patient not only survives this rigorous analysis but takes on a more robust life.

In the early chapters we are shown the older, traditional society, which possessed the characteristics of many more modern 'primitive' peoples. It is a society based on kinship, in which status is fixed by inheritance and authority goes by descent. Knowledge and skills are handed on by example and word of mouth and not exposed to overmuch questioning, so that custom controls most of life. Religion is compatible with magic and with a widespread belief in witchcraft. The economy is largely a subsistence one, with only a modest degree of specialisation, and markets are narrow.

REVIEWS

Central government is weak, and law and order are frequently disturbed by powerful feudal magnates and tribal chiefs. From this traditional society, which still existed in most parts of rural Scotland in the seventeenth century, there emerges in this most skilful account a new and different Scottish society with the rational outlook of eighteenth-century European man, the mechanical skill and economic power of the Industrial Age, the centralised institutions of the modern state and the urbanised proletariat of the nineteenth-century capitalist world. One may perhaps argue that change is over-emphasised and elements of continuity underplayed in this book. Certainly the focus is principally upon those areas of the midland valley and the south-east Lowlands where change was most rapid and striking. But this is a legitimate bias, difficult to avoid in presenting the story of Scottish development in these important centuries. Dr Smout has interpreted the history of a small northern people in terms of the evolution of a traditional into a modern industrial society, and so has given his subject a truly universal application.

The fifth and sixth chapters, following an extensive introduction on mediaeval Scotland, are devoted to a survey of rural life and society in Scotland before the Age of Improvements. They are examples of the author's skill in handling a great mass of information and of his lucid and lively presentation. Scotland was a land of small settlements, set among arable strips and grazings, usually shared by the joint tenants. Poverty and lack of mechanical aids made co-operation indispensable, but rules for promoting co-operation could act as a strait-jacket, and the older Scottish agriculture, like most unimproved forms of agriculture, was intensely conservative and fairly unproductive. An unvarying diet, great physical hardship and sometimes famine conditions were the portion of the bulk of the Scottish people in the seventeenth century. Dr Smout warns the reader against romanticising the past, and rightly, but he indicates some of the strength and stability of this society, with its expertise in co-operation, its regulating institutions such as the baron baillie court, and its rich cultural heritage. One would have wished for more about the popular tradition of music and story, so vital and widespread a part of Scottish life, if only because the undoubted hardships of rural life were made tolerable and indeed dignified by it. And one regrets that there was not room for the fishing communities alongside the agricultural town-ships and the miners; they have played an immensely important part in Scottish life. But these chapters are a splendid piece of historical writing and are the best concise account of the subject known to the reviewer.

Democracy is a word totally inapplicable to traditional Scotland. It was a hierarchical society and most people were born into a place in it which could rarely be changed. The laird was everywhere the dominant figure in rural life, much more so than his English counterpart, in the Lowlands as in the Highlands, but the author makes it clear that land-owning carried its obligations and that there was on the whole a remarkable social cohesiveness and absence of social conflict. If rents were heavy, and labour dues galling, the tenants and sub-tenants enjoyed the benefits which could flow from

having a resident laird with a concern for them. (One could moreover point to areas of central and eastern Europe where rents, even so recently as the nineteenth century, well exceeded a third of the tenant's product, which was the norm in Scotland.) The laird was one's shield and support in this patriarchal society, and in the Highlands the poets, in an ancient imagery, eulogised him alive and lamented him when dead, as if he were a god, tempering the seasons and causing the earth to bear crops.

Dr Smout highlights important features of this rural society. Relatively few tenants possessed land on a permanent footing. Amongst these we can number the Highland tacksmen who were kinsmen of the chief. Already in the sixteenth century the security of customary or 'kindly' tenants had been seriously eroded. But rights to land and grazing were widely diffused through all ranks from the substantial tenants at the top to the humble cottar whose work was rewarded with a strip of land and grazing for a cow. It was in fact only the inferior servants who received any part of their reward in cash. (It might be added that dairymaids appear to have been able to save up a tocher for marriage by having the right to the grazing of a cow.)

The author makes it clear that rural society below the laird was far from uniform and formed a graded hierarchy. The tenants formed a privileged group, less numerous than the crofters, cottars and servants, in the Lowlands at any rate. Within the tenants' ranks too were men with substantial farms calling themselves 'gentlemen' in the Lowlands. Such upper tenants existed in the Highlands too and were normally the kinsmen of the chief. Below the tenants were the sub-tenants, who had their own specialised functions and a modicum of land. In the unimproved Highlands this class must have outnumbered the direct tenants. Finally there were the landless servants, who would be unmarried and would hope eventually to acquire a cottar's holding. However small a man's holding was, having one was a matter of great importance and helped to stabilise rural society by acting as a strong disincentive to emigration. One wonders if the cottar had much chance of improving his lot and rising to become a tenant. On the whole it seems unlikely that this occurred frequently, though the movement of tenants' children down into the lower ranks must have been common enough. It is worth observing here that the Highland tacksmen, requiring as they did adequate provision in land for their children, to prevent their losing rank, had strong incentives to push the chiefs into conflicts over land, especially in periods when, as in the sixteenth century, there seems to have been a land shortage. Chances of rising in one's social station through ability are generally reputed to have been uncommonly high in Scotland. But Dr Smout's book would suggest that only very exceptionally did a boy from a humble home enjoy the opportunity of higher education, in this period at any rate.

The vast majority of the population of seventeenth-century Scotland were rural dwellers. Towns were small and still closely linked with the agricultural environment. It was in the towns that specialised crafts and trade and wealth were concentrated (though Scottish merchants, however rich, were not given to needless outward show).

Convention-bound as the townsmen often were, they had wider horizons than the rural population, were more conscious of their common interests and more capable of exerting political pressure. Firm allies of the Government in its policy of extending its control over feuding nobles, predisposed towards the new religious movements for reform and greater lay control, the townsmen—and the lairds who had much to gain materially from the Reformation and whose control over their tenants, gave them such political importance—constituted a highly significant force making for rapid change in a land where hitherto, except in catastrophic situations, society developed gradually. The emergence of a new Scotland is the grand theme of the later chapters of this book.

In general the author sees this transformation as a necessary and beneficent process which delivered the mass of people from the physical hardships and hazards of the pre-Industrial age, and gave them a fuller and more civilised life. It is therefore very much a story of amelioration that the author presents: the achievement of more settled government, greater material security and wealth, wider horizons of thought, greater social mobility.

The author sees the achievement of general law and order as the pre-requisite of any kind of advance, and as the Highlands and Borders were *par excellence* the homes of disorder, feuds and *creachs*, these regions had to be reduced and the chiefs disciplined. This had been often attempted before but never with real success until the reign of James VI. His reign and that of his immediate successors saw the foundations of effective government laid. The result was a marked growth of prosperity as peaceful trade ex-panded across the border and with foreign countries. Its effects can be seen in the town houses of the merchants and somewhat later, in the mansions which began to replace the town-houses. Which is all good and well, but the author overrates the wisdom and effectiveness of the Government. Its Highland policies were frequently brutal and short-sighted, as when clan chiefs like Argyll and Huntly were made agents of royal policy and earned, in the case of Argyll at any rate, such general hatred that, as a direct con-sequence, the Government faced an even more serious threat in the Jacobite movement than the chaotic feuding of the sixteenth century ever presented. Earlier, the Govern-ment's handling of the threat which Macdonald's power constituted had been equally maladroit. By abolishing the Lordship of the Isles in 1493 James IV destroyed the one institution capable of controlling the western chiefs and bears much of the respons-ibility, as Gregory showed, for the century of internecine savagery which ensued, surely too prolonged and terrible to be dismissed in Dr Smout's allusion to increased disorder 'in the short term'. So inveterate has been the stupidity and blunders of Government in relation to the Highland region that one is driven to the conclusion that a more autonomous development would have ensured a happier outcome.

The author's chapters on the burghs and the Reformation are excellent. Without the towns the Reformation would have been unthinkable, though equally without the lairds its ultimate success over most of the country would have been impossible.

The story on the whole is not an edifying one. If there was moral fervour there was also much private interest. The opportunity to set up a soundly financed system of education and poor relief was not realised, but fortunately neither were the reformers' ambitions for a theocratic state. Dr Smout's fair and balanced account makes clear the need for reformation, but equally the distortions which it underwent. The new kirk sessions were much more concerned with enforcing a narrow morality than with the pursuit of social justice. The intolerance and fanaticism of the new Church seem a poor swap for the genial negligence of the old, if one may comment on the account given by Dr Smout. Music and literature were greatly impoverished in the seventeenth century, except in the Highlands, where the reforming movement had a more restricted success.

Religious strife in the seventeenth century belongs more to the old mediaeval Scotland than to the new. More significant for the future was the beginning of a revolution in thought with the achievements of mathematicians like Napier and savants like Sibbald, which eventually would diffuse a more tolerant and rational attitude to life and end the persecution of witches, blasphemers and other deviants, which survived into the early eighteenth century. Scotland, too, was expanding her horizons politically and registering the influence of her southern neighbour.

The Union of Parliaments helped to widen the base of Scotland's political, economic and cultural activity and as such is regarded by Dr Smout as a step in the right direction. The present reviewer would emphasise the Union of Crowns in 1603 as perhaps of greater significance, since it not only led irresistibly to the events of 1707 but, by transferring the court to the South, it introduced the greater Scottish nobles to ideas and manners and a style of life previously alien to the Scots. Transferred back to Scotland by the great magnates in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, these new ideas and influences gradually spread to the upper ranks of society, to the lairds, the lawyers, the merchants and eventually to the lower ranks. Already by the mid-seventeenth century the Marquis of Argyll was engaged in laying out gardens and planting trees, and soon after his son was requiring higher rents, commuting rents in kind for money in some districts and selling quantities of Kintyre grain in the Glasgow market. Argyll was an early example of the landlord whose frequent residence away from his estate made it necessary for him to turn the products of his lands into cash. As this fashion spread among the nobility and lairds in the course of the eighteenth century, it gave an impetus to the commercialisation of estate management and ended by changing the whole basis of rural society in Scotland.

Dr Smout emphasises the gradually developing character of the Improving movement, and he gives a fascinating account of it. We owe to the enlightened Scottish gentry and nobility, and to the architects and gardeners whom they employed, the charm and elegance of new towns and villages, mansion houses and gardens and trees, and innovations in farming practice which meant not only heavier crops and bigger cattle but deliverance from the danger of periodic famine (though no doubt better

transport and communications were equally important in this). But it took half a century for the Improving movement to become more than a pleasant and often expensive hobby and for its promise to be fully realised in more efficient tenant farms and a vastly expanded production capable of meeting the demands of the quickly growing towns. Landlords became content at the end of the century to leave technical improvements to their tenants whilst they themselves reaped higher rents. Dr Smout's statement, however, that the steep rise in rents was a late eighteenth-century pheno-menon needs some qualification. Campbell of Knockbuy, a Lochfyneside laird who con-centrated on cattle-raising, doubled his rents between 1730 and 1760 and again between 1760 and 1780, and his estate was probably not untypical of the cattle-raising areas of the West. As the century went on, the Improvement of the age of amenity turned into the Improvement of the age of commerce, bringing with it a new toughness and a greater impersonality in the relations between social classes. Land, rising fast in value with the appearance on the rural scene of East and West Indian merchants and the *nouveaux riches*, ceased to be the normal currency for compensating labour, and a depressed rural proletariat made its début, largely divorced from social contact with the owners and tenants, and with no land rights. In many ways the new rural society reflected the polarisation taking place in the towns, where industry from the 1780s was creating a modern working class out of touch and sympathy with the entrepreneurs.

Dr Smout re-creates the bustling, exciting, optimistic later decades of the eighteenth century, when human achievement was so patent and human perfectibility seemed with-in reach. Scotland was in the forefront of this expansionist movement, and her thinkers, writers, architects, engineers and farming experts enjoyed fame and influence in Europe. In analysing the origins of this great era Dr Smout, whilst acknowledging the fertilising influence of foreign, notably English, ideas and examples, emphasises the crucial importance of the seed-bed in which they were nurtured in Scotland, where, especially in the Lowlands, native vigour and ability were combined with seriousness, ambition and excellent education. In an interesting and persuasive revision of the Weber-Tawney thesis of the origins of modern capitalism in the Protestant Reforma-tion Dr Smout argues that the mental and moral attributes which gave the Lowland Scot his formidable advantage in the world of industry, trade and achievement gener-ally, were a legacy from his Calvinistic background and represented a translation into more worldly terms of the serious and self-disciplined effort which had formerly been directed to the service of religion. One must own that the determined onward march of the Scottish lairds and merchants, lawyers and professional men, farmers and artisans, had something of the character of a pilgrimage of a chosen people towards the promised land. But it was a very tangible promised land with material rewards, and these are clearly the heirs as much of the revolution in scientific thought as of Knox's Reforma-tion. It was necessary for the stifling influence of seventeenth-century religion to be relaxed before the latent powers of this society could be realised. A base of leisure, education and wealth was necessary too, and the patronage of the aristocracy. But

the middle layers of Scottish (and almost exclusively Lowland) society were those which contributed most to this vast and creative expansion of energy.

The book ends at 1830, with the Scottish people recognisably modern in their distribution, occupations and outlook. The growth of population since about 1750, examined by the author in an excellent chapter, had been accompanied by a process of becoming concentrated in the towns of the midland valley, where now they faced perils and problems in their way no less fearful than the famines which had stalked the scene a century earlier: filth and squalor, crowding and disease, accidents and poverty, oppression and insecurity. These features of industrialised modern life are vividly depicted in the closing chapters. In the remoter country areas, lacking easy access to the markets of the towns, huge tracts of once populous land were now sheep-farms, and in narrow coastal strips in the Highlands there were congested and poverty-stricken communities eking out their livelihood by manufacturing kelp.

Between the splendours and achievements of the Age of Improvement and the miseries of a large part of the Scottish people in this new world there is a terrible contradiction. It is a contradiction which emerges from Dr Smout's book but one which the author does not stress. Indeed he appears virtually to identify Improvement with improvement and therefore describes the emergence of the Highland crofting system (rather than of a modern farming system) as the one failure of the Improving movement. Surely, however, Improvement was basically orientated towards raising standards of efficiency and rationality in economic life, and only incidentally towards social amelioration. It could give us both the highly productive farms of the Lothians and the new crofting townships of the Highlands. In each case it represented a rational, efficient and remunerative return on capital (for at the time kelp was highly profitable). And of the two developments, crofting was undoubtedly less disruptive of rural society, permitting as it did the continuance of the native population with some small stake in the land. True, a period of wretchedness for the crofters and cottars of the West and North followed the end of the Napoleonic War as prices slumped and population rose. But the uprooted population now living in the industrial towns probably suffered just as much at this period. The fluctuations of a world market and the expansion of population were logical consequences of Improvement. It was both a blessing and a bane. Its potential for good, unless directed to humane ends by men of good will, could easily sharpen contrasts in the well-being of the different ranks of society.

Scotland paid dear, too, in cultural terms, for the great achievements of the Age of Enlightenment. What was Scottish in outlook, speech, music and the arts was forsaken by the polite and sophisticated and survived mainly among the unfashionable, the remote and the poor. After the brilliance of the Age of Enlightenment, Scottish letters, music and art were for the most part undistinguished. This much is brought out by Dr Smout in the closing chapter. But he greatly underestimates the native tradition, which he regards as backward-looking and uncreative. This is far from being the case, especially in the Highlands. Among country people the older tradition in

music, poetry and story retained a remarkable hold into our own day. It was still vigorous and creative through the nineteenth century, and in this century has emerged as an important influence in the poetry of such writers as Hugh MacDiarmid and Sorley Maclean and George Campbell Hay.

This neglect of the popular tradition affects Dr Smout's treatment of the Highland area in the early nineteenth century, otherwise so percipient. From this book, with its account of destitution and squalor and 'rural slum' conditions, one would not be prepared to find exquisite and highly elaborate music and poetry vigorously alive among ordinary crofters and cottars, and alive not only in the sense of perpetuating an earlier heritage (although it did that) but in the sense of renewing it in creative and socially relevant work. Bards like Donald Maclean ('the Cooper') in Tiree composed eulogies, laments and satires of telling force and beauty, no longer exclusively for the lairds and tacksmen. Nor were such men isolated or uncommon sports. In Donald the Cooper's township of eighty or so people there flourished at the end of the nineteenth century nearly a score of bards, who entertained the local population with their songs. (Their number is exceptional but not the existence of poets as a normal element of the community). The poets of the nineteenth century sometimes recall, in their imagery and laconic style, the earlier court songs but they relate to their own situation and conditions and are in no sense backward-looking. Whatever the material conditions of the Highland population of the early nineteenth century, they had nothing of the 'slum' mentality and were indeed infinitely more civilised than most of the dwellers in the cities of the plain. One would conclude from the reference to the Highlanders' 'massive problem of illiteracy' at this time that the author believed that their only hope for the future was to become rapidly conditioned to what the Lowland towns had to offer by a process of re-education. It is sad that the ruling classes believed this at the time and that a highly civilised people was subjected in the nineteenth century to a flattening process of religious propaganda and an alien secular education that helped to destroy a remarkable culture and to deplete communities of their most talented members.

Yet it must be said that the Highlanders themselves co-operated in the process. Dr Smout brings out forcibly the important effects which flowed from the chiefs' transformation into landlords, and the blow which this dealt to the social structure and to Gaelic civilisation. What ought to be added is that an almost equally potent solvent of Highland life was the seasonal flow of young men and women, through much of the eighteenth century, from the West Highlands to the Lowland harvests, into domestic service, to the great western herring buss fishing, and later to the bleach-fields and the cotton factories. In years of crop failure around 1740 these migrations involved huge numbers of people, and one gets the impression that few families below the level of tacksmen in the later half of the century could have broken even without the invisible earnings of their young migrant members. This spontaneous activity was probably more effective than any educational method in preparing the Gaels for new ways of life. Older people in the Highlands were shocked at the luxuries and novelties, the

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Anglicisms of speech and manner which the young came back with, and by the high wages which they expected. They were simply, however, following their betters, the lairds, in adopting the values of the south. For such as these, becoming weaned from their rich oral culture, it may be right to speak of a problem of illiteracy, though ironically they would have been the last to see themselves as a deprived generation.

If there are judgments and assumptions to be challenged in this book, they do not affect the magnificent achievement that it represents. One cannot give anything like a complete impression of the wealth of learning and sanity which it embodies but must commend it to the reader to read (and re-read) for himself. It is endlessly stimulating and prompts a thousand thoughts. It will provoke new research in neglected areas of social history and related fields, and it sets a standard in the writing of history which many aspire to but few rival. Dr Smout is to be congratulated on having given Scotland a history for which her neighbours will have cause to envy her.

ERIC CREGEEN

The Declaration of Arbroath by Sir James Fergusson, Bart. Edinburgh University Press 1970. Pp. vii+54, with two facsimiles of the Register House copy of the Declaration.

The first thing to be said of this little book is how attractively it has been produced. Covers, paper, typography, the facsimile tucked into a wallet at the back, even the end-papers which cleverly reproduce the last part of a Scotichronicon MS version of the Declaration—all are a delight to look upon and handle. It is excellent that the Edinburgh University Press and Sir James Fergusson came together in this way to celebrate the 650th anniversary of the Scots lords' letter to Pope John XXII. The second thing to say is that Sir James's essay is much more than a *pièce d'occasion*. His detective predilections and skills have been aroused by certain puzzles, certain silences, of which previous historians have indeed been aware but which they have been too lazy or incurious to investigate. The passage in which Sir James reconstructs the history of the printed editions of the Declaration from (how aptly!) Mackenzie of Rosehaugh to his own constitute a wholly original and enormously valuable contribution to the historiography of a famous state paper. Even so, the aspect of the book which is likely to prove of most permanent worth is the reconstruction of the 'original' text derived from the author's careful examination of the relationship between the Register House text and the version, preserved in a number of forms which vary slightly, to be found in Walter Bower's Scotichronicon. For the historian, Sir James's most arresting conclusion appears on p. 21: 'I now feel certain that what Bower had before him was the draft of the Letter, and that from a comparison of it with the Tyninghame manuscript [*i.e.* the Register House copy] it is possible to reconstruct a text approximating very closely to that which went to Avignon. Further, from a study of both versions I think some new light can be thrown on the manner and circumstances in which the Letter

was composed, revised and sealed.' Such a reconstructed text is important because the 'original' has not been preserved in the papal archives (although the pope's reply, whose text does survive, shows that it was duly received). And in the pages which follow, Sir James does indeed throw light which is both new and most illuminating. Briefly, his hypothesis is as follows. The letter was drafted in advance of some actual gathering of the Scottish magnates, not at Arbroath but probably in the south-east, perhaps near where the king was, if not actually in his presence. The author of the draft is taken to have been the Chancellor, Bernard of Linton, abbot of Arbroath (hence the place-date). A certain number of lords were intended and expected to be named as senders of the letter and to authenticate it with their seals. Most of these, but not quite all, were duly named in the superscription and appended their seals. Others attended the gathering or fixed their seals (or both) unexpectedly. The loyalty and goodwill of certain barons were in doubt, perhaps up to the very last moment. Naturally the letter sent to the *curia* must have been definitive and must have been sealed by the senders; but because of the uncertain position at home, an equally authoritative, and therefore sealed, copy had to be made. This was made in such haste that though finely engrossed its scribe made numerous slips of eye and pen. It is this copy which is now in the Register House. In a sense it has always been part of the national archives, despite the lengthy period when it was, however irregularly, in the possession of the earls of Haddington at Tyninghame. And if it had not been for their irregular possession, we should almost certainly not have it today. Meanwhile, a draft which gave nearly but not quite the final version of the text was preserved long enough to be accessible to Walter Bower. He reproduced it in the Scotichronicon, but unfortunately Goodall's edition almost silently substituted the Tyninghame text for Bower's own.

This, in merest skeleton, is the chief part of the thesis adumbrated in this book. Such a summary does much less than justice to the evidence led and the arguments deployed. The book has the fascination proper to all good detective stories, but it also possesses permanent value. During the course of the thirteenth century the people of Scotland, the lieges of the king of Scots, came, however imperfectly and incompletely, to realise a conception of nationhood which was to endure essentially unchanged for more than four centuries. The process may be seen as the birth of the later medieval Scots realm and nation. The Declaration of Arbroath has made this process articulate in a particularly memorable fashion. The truth of this proposition is not affected by the fact that during the half-century or so after 1290 the question of which family or individual had the right to hold the throne perplexed many Scotsmen. Nor is it affected by the equally indubitable fact that in this period many known (and presumably unknown) Scots did not behave as though they knew or cared about the Scottish nation in this new sense. To argue otherwise seems no more sensible than to say that nineteenth-century Britain was not urbanised or industrialised because in 1900 the greatest employers of labour remained, as in 1800, agriculture and domestic service. The historian must see things not only as they actually were and had been,

but also as they were coming to be, as they were going forward. And what, politically speaking, was going forward in thirteenth-century Scotland, as in contemporary Spain, France and England, was the strengthening of national monarchy interacting with the growth of national consciousness. It is this (among other things) which makes the letter to the pope so rewarding to study. It may of course be viewed from many angles: as a specimen of a multiple-sealed document; as a splendid exercise in Latin rhythmic prose; as a counterpart and response to the English barons' letter of 1301; as an appeal to international opinion via the only acceptable international tribunal; as a demonstration—and test—of Scottish feudal loyalty to Bruce; as a test of Bruce's loyalty to the Scots; and so on and so forth. But in the last resort, the Declaration makes its contribution to European and ultimately world historiography as a classic statement of national consciousness and national aspirations in the earliest phase of the development of the national states, later the nation-states, of Europe. Sir James Fergusson has most fittingly crowned his long and fruitful career as Keeper of the Records of Scotland by giving us a study which will be essential for historians of medieval Scotland and an indispensable starting-point for all future work on Abbot Bernard's masterpiece.

G. W. S. BARROW

Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts by Anne Ross. Batsford, London and Putnam, New York 1970. Pp. 224, 100 figs. and pls. £1.50.

This is an exciting and well-written account of many aspects of pagan Celtic society between 700 B.C. and A.D. 500. Dr Ross, who was a member of the research staff of the School of Scottish Studies between 1961 and 1965, has used three sources of information about the Celtic world, namely archaeological remains, classical writings and representations, and finally Irish epic tales and laws. These different types of evidence have been skilfully blended into a study of the appearance, dress, weapons, fortifications, religion and art of the Celtic tribes. For some topics, such as physical appearance, armament and settlements, the evidence of material remains and the more dispassionate descriptive writings of classical authors are complementary; and in some cases the Irish tales provide colourful detail which confirms what can be discovered from earlier sources. Of course it would have been safer to begin with the archaeological information or the evidence provided by Greek or Roman writers, although these were often second-hand or even biased against the barbarian way of life, and then to use the more narrative information of the epic tales. It would then have been possible to separate the contemporary material from the Irish tales, contemporary only by inference and certainly insular in detail. But Dr Ross has been right not to do this, for by interweaving the information, she has provided a much more coherent picture of the workings of society and its attitudes to religion and to the gods of the Celtic world. She states constantly that the points of detail may not be true for the complete Celtic

area throughout the period under discussion: the survey is of necessity an idealised one and in this lies the strength of the book.

Some of the most interesting chapters are those where the archaeological evidence is least important and where, without using the Irish material, no clear picture could be obtained. Chapter 4 on 'Games and Hunting; Music and Entertainment; Food and Drink' is a good example of this. The dice, gaming pieces, representations of people with 'hockey-sticks', and even the tankards of the archaeological record are made more vivid when illustrated by an epic tale. Dr Ross's best chapters are perhaps those where she uses her insight into Celtic learning and religion. This section (chapters 5 and 6) can be viewed either as a sufficient and satisfying part of her present book, or as an introduction to the fuller complexities of the religion of this period described in her work on *Pagan Celtic Britain*. This volume will find many new readers, their interest awakened by these two chapters.

Dr Ross has deliberately concentrated on those aspects of Celtic life which seemed to her to be most distinctive; there is thus greater discussion of Celtic social organisation, religion and art than of such mundane matters as agriculture and technology. On the other hand, in building up a picture of everyday life in the Celtic world, these topics should not have been ignored, even though 'they differed little from other contemporary peoples'. The Celts contributed several agricultural and technological advances which might have been mentioned even in passing.

Professor Piggott has given a warning about the use of Irish literary evidence 'that we should not too closely compare Cú Chulainn with Commius, nor the state of affairs at Manching with that of Emain Macha' (*Ancient Europe*, p. 227. Edinburgh 1965). If this reviewer has any slight doubt about Dr Ross's book it is not that the Irish material has been compared—this is successfully and sensitively done—but that the reader is left with a picture of insular, and especially Irish, Celtic society. The social and mercantile organisation of the Celtic world, for which Manching may stand as an example, is not immediately apparent. But this is a minor criticism when the book is taken as a whole. Dr Ross's most important contribution has been to provide the general reader with a reliable introduction to the Celtic 'ideal', discussing the motivating forces in Celtic life and not merely their surviving pots and pans. The book is well illustrated with photographs and attractive line drawings.

GRAHAM RITCHIE

Temenos. Finnish Society for the Study of Comparative Religion, Helsinki. Volume 5, 1969. Pp. 248. $5.

This attractively produced periodical first appeared in 1965 and is devoted to studies in comparative religion written by scholars in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. The contents of volume 5 cover a wide field, ranging from North America to the

Near East (with a natural bias towards northern Europe), and from the Classical period to modern times (though with a strong preference for historically documented rather than contemporary religions). For readers whose primary concern is with Scottish studies, one of the most interesting contributions is that of Gustav Henningsen, who bases his article on his rediscovery of the original papers of Alonzo de Salazar Frias, the early seventeenth-century inquisitor who painstakingly investigated charges of widespread witchcraft in the Basque provinces of Spain, and found them to be without foundation. These documents are of vital importance for a fuller understanding of the witch-craze all over western Europe, and their more detailed publication, promised by the author, will be a very welcome event.

Henningsen sensibly sees the witch-craze not as a struggle against age-old heathen practices but as the persecution of all who deviate from the norms of their society by the creation of an imaginary 'out-group' to which they are then said to belong. In an interesting article Martti Haavio deals with the beliefs of a genuine out-group, the Lapps, and especially with the evidence for the identification of their supreme god. Haavio concludes that he corresponds closely to the Norse fertility-god Freyr, and that his title 'Ruler of the World', recorded by eighteenth-century missionaries, is not honorific but derogatory, a translation of the 'Prince of this world' (*i.e.* the Devil) in St John's Gospel. He also argues, with a wealth of comparative material, that the pillar set up beside the altar of the supreme god was not, as is commonly supposed, a replica on earth of a cosmic pillar supporting heaven, but merely the pole to which the sacrificial victim was tied.

Torbjörg Östvold also deals with Scandinavian material, and takes the myth of the war of the Aesir and Vanir to be a myth of the Fall, when lust for gold brought disaster and war to mankind. As background to this ethical interpretation she sees an ancient conflict between the gods of fertility and war, linked to the rites of the yearly cycle, and adapted to suit the new prominence of Odin in the special social conditions of the Viking period. In the peace-agreement and exchange of hostages which conclude the war she detects a fusion both of opposed deities and of opposed ways of life—that of the cultivator and that of the Viking. Her work will be of interest to all who are concerned with the interpretation of mythic material in terms of theology, history or sociology.

Moving further south, Haralds Biezais takes as his text the description of the gods of the Naharvales in the *Germania* of Tacitus, and proceeds to destroy the lofty edifice of speculation which has been built around them. He finds no evidence for twin-gods in Germanic religion, or for any connection with stags, or for any survival of such ideas beyond the Classical period. His contribution, though largely negative, is a salutary lesson in the use and misuse of sources.

H. Ludin Jansen is also concerned with the Classical field when he considers the literary portrait of the Greek prophetess Cassandra given by Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon*. His conclusion is that in appearance, behaviour and the form of her prophecies the dramatist's character was drawn from contemporary life and would be immediately

recognisable to the audience. But the seer-in-the-street and her prophecies of doom have been used by the author to convey a significance which far transcends the ordinary. In a very real sense the prophet of the Oresteian trilogy is Aeschylus himself.

Peder Borgen spreads his net wider when he examines the so-called 'Golden Rule' as it appears in Graeco-Roman, Jewish and New Testament sources. He shows that no distinction can be made between a 'primitive' negative version and a positive version with a higher ethical content, but still considers the New Testament version to be not merely a survival of the age-old doctrine of retaliation, but an integral part of the Gospel message of charity and love.

In a completely different sphere Jussi Aro illustrates from the works of the Egyptian author Taha Husain the wide-ranging influence of dervish-chiefs on the lives of members of their orders, and their ability to impress people, both individually and *en masse*, by the use of cloudy pronouncements which give an impression of knowledge of things beyond the horizons of ordinary men. He suggests that a profitable comparison could be made with the leading figures of Protestant revivalist movements. This is a hint that might well be taken up by students of Scottish religion.

In a short article Jes P. Asmussen considers the word for 'tent' in Judaeo-Persian translations of the Bible, and after showing that two forms of the word (by'n and gwy'n) are philologically possible, but only one (by'n) has so far been found, he produces no fewer than eighteen examples of the other form, selected from a manuscript in the British Museum. This discovery will cause delight in linguistic circles, but it is a little difficult to see why it should be announced in a journal of comparative religion.

Perhaps the least convincing article in the volume is that in which Åke V. Ström seeks the source of the non-Biblical material to be found in early Mormonism in the legends and beliefs of the Delaware Indians. Many of the parallels produced by the author seem too vague and general to be acceptable as proof of specific influence, and although their sheer number may be felt to give some weight to the case, at least one reader (who admittedly is no expert in either field) finds it difficult to accept the claim that 'there are strong Red Indian elements in early Mormonism'.

As well as these articles the volume contains a rather scrappy discussion of structuralism as applied to myth and folk-tale, and a number of interesting and authoritative reviews. Its layout and general appearance are very good, and it has been carefully produced, with only a few misprints, although a little more attention could have been paid to proof-reading the Greek quotations.

J. G. MACQUEEN

Sir Walter Scott, The Man and Patriot by Moray McLaren. Heinemann, London 1970. Pp. 244. £2.75.

'If I may be allowed to express one regret', writes Moray McLaren in *Sir Walter Scott, The Man and Patriot* (London, Heinemann, 1970), 'it is that I was born too late to have

enjoyed Walter Scott at Abbotsford' (p. 154). This sets the tone of the author—very much one of enjoyment—for Moray McLaren disclaims any intention of setting out to 'do' a book on Sir Walter in the big sense. He takes for granted his reader's knowledge of the general outline of Scott's life, he prefers 'a study of his immense influence on the world of his era' (p. x), promising particularly an account of North American receptions of Scott.

Within this proposed framework, Mr McLaren has produced a pleasant and readable, easy-going book on Scott's life and fiction. In fact much of Scott's life is re-told, and the reader is taken through the major events of Scott's life and the publication of the more important works in more or less chronological order. The style is likewise easy-going. 'It is astonishing', writes Mr McLaren of Scott's father, 'now to think that a well-doing and well-connected lawyer like the elder Walter Scott could have settled in and tried to bring up a family in such a festering spot as Old College Wynd. But that was the Edinburgh way of it then. Reputable lawyers neither knew nor cared much about germs . . .' (p. 26). The style is that of a Scott enthusiast at his ease, speaking conversationally to the world at large of an interest that has been part of his life.

Two main areas of unease present themselves to the reader. One is this relaxed style and approach, pleasant in biographical narration, but (in this book) frequently unsuccessful when applied to the novels themselves. The reader learns little about Scott's style from the following: 'He bashed ahead, and achieved or missed his effects by a kind of happy accident' (p. 230).

The Heart of Midlothian, we are told, ' . . . is Scott at his pure best. As such it is recognised by Scots readers not only in Scotland but wherever they may find themselves. It has been less popular in England, partly because of the essential Scottishness of the story, and partly because of the wealth of broad Scots which English readers find difficult, or say they find difficult, to understand' (pp. 138-9). *Redgauntlet* comes in (on pp. 168-84) for some particularly uncritical treatment.

An uncritical approach to Scott's literary output is one criticism, the other is dissatisfaction at not finding very much new in this book. The promised American chapters do not contribute much to the book as a whole. The life-story is familiar largely from Lockhart, certainly now from Johnson. The critical comments enlighten little. What remains is Moray McLaren's view of Scott—after all what this book claims to be, and what it is. But at £2.75 for a rather unattractively-produced and carelessly proof-read volume of 244 pages, it is an expensive introduction to Scott's work, and an expensive luxury for the enthusiast.

IAN CAMPBELL

Sir Walter Scott, 1771–1971: a Bicentenary Exhibition organised by the Court of Session, the Faculty of Advocates and the National Library of Scotland in the Parliament House, Edinburgh, 15th August–11th September. National Library of Scotland, 1971. Pp. 60. 50p.

A reviewer of this catalogue who has been on Lord Clyde's planning committee of the Exhibition must seem (in classic Edinburgh phrase) like the cook who should come from the kitchen and criticise the dinner. But since the present reviewer did no more than occasionally murmur 'Throw in a bay-leaf', it is hoped that without impropriety he may now cry 'Perfection'; for the catalogue is excellent. There are chapters on Scott's Edinburgh and the Borders; his friends; influences on music, theatre and literature; connections with law; and, above all, his work as poet, novelist, miscellaneous writer and editor. These chapters are balanced by descriptions of the exhibits, from The Queen's and other collections, ranging from portraits of genius by Raeburn and Geddes to *The Tea-table Miscellany*, one of the 'two or three old books which lay in the window-seat' at Sandy-Knowe. For this great Exhibition, assembled in the glorious building familiar to Scott, as an Advocate, most of the loans came from the adjacent National Library, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and Abbotsford. To all the owners who agreed to be parted from their treasures, many must be grateful. The catalogue has an attractive cover showing on a brown ground the emblem of the Exhibition, the noble, kindly features of the Chantrey bust. Brown is used again for the many splendid illustrations; and the contrast between them and the text (black, with wide columns for narration, narrow for catalogue-entries) is admirable. The authors are Messrs Eric Anderson and Basil Skinner (portraits and other pictures), Miss Marion Linton and Mr Alan Bell, the Editor (books and manuscripts), Mr David Edward (buildings), and Professor Trevor-Roper (Scott's influence abroad). Along with designer, printer, and publisher, they have produced a work of lasting value and pleasure.

W. BEATTIE

The First International Saga Conference. Edinburgh, 21st–28th August 1971.

This conference was the occasion for an international gathering of scholars. It was sponsored by the Departments of Educational Studies and English Language at Edinburgh University. Mr Hermann Pálsson, reader in Icelandic, presided over the conference, and Mr James Chisholm, senior lecturer in Educational Studies, was responsible for its organisation. The papers that were delivered ranged from textual criticism of saga manuscripts to more literary topics, and some were outstanding. In addition, there were some lively discussions about saga studies, both in general, and with particular reference to undergraduate teaching. There can be no single measurement for the

success of such a conference, but at any rate there was general agreement, both that the proceedings of this conference should if possible be published, and that in the future other such conferences should be held. Committees were elected to examine both matters, and there was a general welcome given to an invitation to hold a conference in Iceland in 1973. Anyone wishing to be kept in touch with developments should write to Hermann Pálsson at the Department of English Language, University of Edinburgh, David Hume Tower, George Square, Edinburgh 8.

JOHN SIMPSON

Fourth International Conference on the History of Cartography. Edinburgh, 21st–24th September 1971.

The development of the History of Cartography as an academic discipline is symbolised by its being the subject of an international conference held in the University of Edinburgh. It was the fourth of a series which began with a symposium in the rooms of the Royal Geographical Society, London, in 1964.

Like geographical studies in general, the history of cartography makes use of other disciplines, among which are bibliography, textual analysis, historical background studies, physical geography, and various technologies such as surveying, navigation, engraving and printing.

It was thus appropriate that the conference should have been organised by a committee representative of the National Library of Scotland, the University of Edinburgh, the Scottish Record Office, the Edinburgh Geographical Institute, and the Scottish Geographical Society. Miss Ann Young, Map Room, National Library of Scotland, was general secretary.

Early maps, charts and estate plans are not only interesting in themselves but form sources for other studies, including that of place-names. It is nearly always desirable to know something of the history of a map before its contents are used as evidence.

The papers with some specific Scottish interest included:

C. Koeman, University of Utrecht, 'Life and works of Willem Janszoon Blaeu: new contributions to Bleau studies'.

J. C. Stone, University of Aberdeen, 'Origins and sources of the Blaeu Atlas of Scotland with particular reference to *Extima Scotiae* (*Atlas Novus*, 1964)'.

Roger H. Fairclough, Cambridge University Library, 'The manuscript Roadbook of George Taylor, 1785'.

Marcel Destombes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 'A new copy of the map of the British Isles by Gerard Mercator, 1564'.

A. B. Taylor, Edinburgh, 'Alexander Lindsay's Rutter of the Scottish seas, *circa* 1540'.
I. H. Adams, University of Edinburgh, 'John Ainslie, map-maker'.

A. B. TAYLOR

'*A Virtuous & Noble Education*'—an exhibition held in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, 19 August—18 September 1971.

This admirable exhibition took us abroad in 1651 with two young Scotsmen, sons of the 3rd Earl of Lothian, and brought us home again with them in 1657. Like so many of their countrymen before them, Lord Kerr and his brother enrolled at Leiden University. They came to a country which was closely tied to Scotland by trade interests and religious and political sympathies. Again like many Scots of that period, they had a kinsman serving in the regular Dutch army. They studied at Leiden alongside students from Poland and other parts of Europe (as indeed would also have happened had they gone instead to the Universities of Aberdeen or St Andrews), in an age when differences in nationality mattered less than a shared Protestantism. They had their early struggles with the still international Latin language. They later took the route to the celebrated Protestant academy at Saumur in France, training ground of many Scots ministers of religion. During their years abroad the Kerr brothers learned to dance, to ride, and to dress as befitted apprentice courtiers. But they remained sober sermon-attenders, true to their Scottish inheritance. Although they did some sight-seeing (they went to Chartres and St-Denis), no record has survived of their responses, either of approbation or revulsion, nothing, understandably enough, to parallel the diarist John Evelyn's eloquent appraisal of French art treasures and monuments in the 1640s. Only one letter, urgently pressing for parental permission to go to Italy, shows the conformist biddable boys momentarily seeking, but in vain, a wider more complicated and heady intellectual environment than they were ever able to know.

Dr Duncan Thomson's intelligent and imaginative selection of exhibits, contemporary paintings and drawings, manuscript letters and accounts, books, weapons, furniture and plate, enabled us to enter in authentic detail into the boys' own experience, to see the neat towns where they lived, the water-ways and broad skies of their travels, the textbooks that they read, the personalities whom they met socially or in their schools, and to re-capture the atmosphere in which they passed their studious days under the eye of their painstaking tutor, Michael Young. The catalogue has a long sympathetic and learned introduction, and is amply illustrated with representative items from the exhibition. Copies are still available, and for those who missed the exhibition itself it is well worth acquiring at 50p.

GEORGE HENDERSON

Books Received

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

The Blind Harper (An Clarsair Dall). The Songs of Roderick Morison and his Music. Edited by W. Matheson. Scottish Gaelic Texts Society Vol. 12, Edinburgh 1970. Pp. 265. £2.75.

Carmina Gadelica: Hymns and Incantations collected by Alexander Carmichael, Vol. VI: Indexes. Edited by Angus Matheson. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh & London 1971. Pp. 271. £4.

The Ballad as Song by Bertrand Harris Bronson. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, and London, 1969. Pp. 324.

Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots, edited by A. J. Aitken, Angus McIntosh and Herman Pálsson, Longman 1971. Pp. 247. £2.25.

Gaelic by Roderick MacKinnon. Teach Yourself Books, London 1971. Pp. 324. 55p.

The Brothers Grimm by Ruth Michaelis-Jena. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1970. Pp. 212. £2.75.

The Industrial Archaeology of Galloway by Ian Donnachie. The Industrial Archaeology of the British Isles series, David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1971. £3.50.

Henry VIII's Scottish Diplomacy 1513–1524 by Dr Richard Glen Eaves. Exposition Press, Jericho, New York 1971. $6.50.

The Irish Flowerers by Elizabeth Boyle. Ulster Folk Museum, Holywood, Co. Down, and Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, Dublin. Pp. 160 + 22 plates. £2.50.

A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe by Joseph MacDonald. First published 1803. Republished, with a new introduction by Seumas MacNeill (from the 1927 edition of Alexander MacDonald, Inverness) by S.R. Publishers, Wakefield 1971. Pp. 48. £2.

[The Annual Bibliography for 1970 will appear in Volume 16.   Editor.]

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Titles of contributions appear in bold type, and names of contributors in small capitals