Scottish Studies

Volume 17 : 1973

part one

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

17

1973

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Editorial Advisory Board

K. H. Jackson
K. L. Little
A. McIntosh
J. MacQueen
B. R. S. Megaw
S. Piggott
J. W. Watson

Editor

J. MacQueen

Associate Editor

B. R. S. Megaw

Assistant Editor

D. J. Hamilton

Material quoted from the archives of the School of Scottish Studies is copyright and may not be reproduced in any form without the permission of the Director.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
ABERDEEN

Contributors to this Issue

MARION STEWART MA, MLITT
Research Assistant, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh

JOHN MACQUEEN MA
Director, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

ERIC RICHARDS BA, PHD
Senior Lecturer, Department of Economic History, School of Social Sciences, Flinders University of South Australia

IAN CARTER BSC, MA
Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen

† A. B. TAYLOR CBE, MA, DLITT, FRSE

ALEXANDER FENTON MA
Assistant Keeper, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh

JAMES B. CAIRD MA, DDEL'U
Senior Lecturer, Department of Geography, University of Glasgow

COLM Ó BAOILL MA, PHD
Lecturer, Department of Celtic, University of Aberdeen

AILIE MUNRO MA, BMUS
Lecturer, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

† See editorial note, p. 69.

VOLUME 17 (1973)

PART 1

Marion Stewart	'King Orphius'	1
John MacQueen	The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick	17
Eric Richards	How Tame were the Highlanders during the Clearances?	35
Ian Carter	Marriage Patterns and Social Sectors in Scotland before the Eighteenth Century	51
A. B. Taylor	Cape Wrath and its Various Names	61
Alexander Fenton	Craig-Fishing in the Northern Isles of Scotland	71
BOOK REVIEWS	COLM Ó BAOILL: William Matheson (ed.), *The Blind Harper (An Clarsair Dall): The Songs of Roderick Morison and his Music*	81
	AILIE MUNRO: George S. Emmerson, *Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String: A History of Scottish Dance Music*	
	JAMES B. CAIRD: I. H. Adams, *Directory of Former Scottish Commonties*	
	ALEXANDER FENTON: R. de Z. Hall (ed.), *A Bibliography on Vernacular Architecture*	
Books Received		90

PART 2

J. F. and T. M. Flett	The History of the Scottish Reel as a Dance Form: II	91
W. D. H. Sellar	The Earliest Campbells – Norman, Briton or Gael?	109
Geoffrey D. Hay	The Cruck-Building at Corrimony, Inverness-shire	127
Aidan Macdonald	'Annat' in Scotland: A Provisional Review	135
Alan Bruford	'The King's Questions' (AT 922) in Scotland	147
Ian Fraser	The Place-Names of Illeray	155
E. B. Lyle	An Eighteenth-century Record of 'The Laird o Logie'	162
Alexander Fenton	The Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group	165
BOOK REVIEWS	COLM Ó BAOILL: Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages*	168
	IAN FRASER: Osgood Mackenzie, *A Hundred Years in the Highlands*	
Books Received		172
INDEX		173

'*King Orphius*'

MARION STEWART

Introduction

The legend of Orpheus, the peerless musician who ventured into hell in search of his lost wife Eurydice, has exerted a strong influence on the cultural life of Europe throughout the centuries. Variants of the myth have also been found in Manchurian and Polynesian cultures and amongst American Indians (Eliade 1957:195, 219, 281, 331, 351–2). In its currently best-known form the story derives from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* X and XI, Virgil's *Georgics* IV, and the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* III, metre xii, of Boethius. King Alfred's translation and elaboration of Boethius (Sedgefield 1908: 116–18) was the first English version of the legend (Severs 1961: 187–209). In Scotland, Henryson tells us in his haunting poem of Orpheus and Eurydice that he has worked from Boethius' 'gay buke of consolatioun' (Henryson 1968: 129–48) through the moralising medium of the late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century English Dominican scholar,

> . . maister trivat doctour nicholass
> quhilk in his tyme a noble theologe wass (ll. 421–3).

In all these versions of the story, Orpheus suffers the loss of Eurydice in his moment of triumph on the very threshold of life because he has looked back to see his love behind him.

There is, however, another, older version of the legend in which Orpheus' journey is not in vain and he succeeds in restoring Eurydice to the world. This was the dominant version in the classical world until the first century B.C. (Bowra 1952: 113 and Heurgon 1932). Euripides (*Alcestis*, 357 ff.) and Isocrates (*Oratio* xi, 7) both allow Eurydice to be reunited with her husband. By the second century A.D. the story had undergone a Christian metamorphosis. The catacombs of Calixtus show Orpheus playing his flute to the animal creation, in his role as Christ the Good Shepherd. In the Patristic period there is the suggestion, in a hymn of Prudentius, that a parallel is being drawn between the descent of Orpheus into Hades to redeem his bride, Eurydice, and Christ's descent into Hell to redeem His bride, mankind. This parallel is given clear expression in the twelfth-century sequence from Saint-Martial 'Morte Christi Celebrata' (Dronke 1962: 198–215). There exist also three eleventh-century Latin poems relating to the story of Orpheus in which the hero's search has a happy ending (Dronke 1962: 198–215).

It is this 'happy ending' version of the myth that seems to have provided the source

of the now-lost Breton lai of Sir Orfeo which is referred to in the late twelfth-century romance of 'Floire et Blanceflor' where the minstrel

> Une harpe tint en ses mains,
> Et harpe le lai d'Orphey (Meril 1856: ll. 70–1),

and later in the 'Lai de l'Espine' (Zenker 1893: ll. 233–55) and the 'Prose Launcelot' (Sommer 1909: l. 290). This Breton lai, probably through the medium of a now-lost French translation or adaptation, provides the source for the Middle English 'Sir Orfeo' (Bliss 1966). There are today three texts of this remarkable poem. It is capable of an arrestingly pictorial quality, as in its description of the fairy company seen by Orfeo in his wanderings; of a moving pathos, as in the description of Orfeo's change from joy and wealth to wretchedness in the wilderness; and of building up suspense, as in Orfeo's testing of his steward; and at the same time is consistent in the skill with which the story is evolved and in the economy of its vocabulary. The three texts are the Auchinleck manuscript (the earliest and best), dating from around 1330 and probably originating from the London area; MS Harley 3810, written in Warwickshire early in the fifteenth century; and MS Ashmole 61, in a North East Midland dialect and probably written down after 1488 (Hibbard 1924:195–213).

The English 'Sir Orfeo' displays many features which may have been in the Breton lai but are not to be found in the Classical versions of the Orpheus myth mentioned above. Among these features is the idea that the English Heurodis does not enter the otherworld in the traditional manner in which having

> . . strampit on a serpent vennemuss (Henryson, l. 105) . . .
> In peisis small this quenis harte can rife,
> and scho annone fell on a deidly swoun (Henryson, ll. 118–19).

This natural death is not Heurodis' way of entering the otherworld. Rather, she falls asleep under a tree in a May garden, is visited by the fairy king who summons her to his kingdom and, despite her own reluctance and her husband's armed guards, is spirited away to a strange, twilight realm where she alternately languishes in the attitude in which she was taken from the world, among a grisly throng of others similarly arrested in attitudes of violent or tragic seizure, or joins in the activities of the fairy company, as is the case when Orfeo glimpses her riding with the fairy host. (Allen 1964:102–11).

In the Classical story, Orpheus reacts to the loss of Eurydice by setting out to recover her and Henryson sends his hero to beg his father Phoebus,

> Len me thy lycht, and lat me nocht go leiss,
> To find that fair in fame that was never fyld,
> My lady quene and lufe, euridices (ll. 171–3).

He is directed in search of her through the heavens where he learns the music of the spheres, over all the earth and even 'attour the gravis gray' (l. 244), until, after twenty days, he reaches 'unto the yet of hell' (l. 250). The hero of Calderon's *El Divino Orfeo* and Lope de Vega's *El Marido Mas Firme*, armed only with the magical charm of his

music and spurred by his faithfulness to his wife, undertakes a similar deliberate quest (Cabañas 1948:87, 239). In the *Metamorphoses* it is not until he has lost Eurydice the second time that Orpheus wanders distraught on the bank of the Styx (x, ll. 73–4). In 'Sir Orfeo', however, when Orfeo loses Heurodis he abandons his kingdom and retires to the wilderness to wander in ceaseless lamentation. It is only when, after many years, he chances to catch sight of her with the fairy throng that the possibility of searching for her occurs to him and he follows her into the otherworld.

These changes in the Orpheus legend—the manner of the heroine's loss and the hero's reaction to it—are seen as the effect on the myth of Celtic lore and tradition (Smithers 1953:61–92). The Irish tale of the Wooing of Etain, preserved in the ninth-century *Yellow Book of Lecan* and the *Book of the Dun Cow* (Dillon 1948:53–7) seems here to be the probable source of influence. In this story, Etain, wife of Eochaid Airem king of Ireland, is mysteriously spirited away by the fairy prince Midir, despite the armies of Ireland placed round his palace by her husband to guard her (Cross and Slover 1936: 82–92). In his wanderings in the wilderness, Orfeo has much in common with the Celtic wild man of the woods (see Jackson 1940:535–50), while the belief that sleeping under a tree puts a mortal into the power of the fairies is also Celtic (Allen 1964:102–11). Orfeo's glimpse of his lost wife among the fairy host, also foreign to the classical story, may have been derived from the story told by Walter Map in *De Nugis Curialium*, Distinctio IV, cap 8, of the 'Filii Mortuae', in which a knight of Lesser Britain, grieving for his dead wife, sees her in the midst of a company of women in a lonely valley and boldly carries her off to resume their happy married life as if she had never been lost to him (James 1914; Loomis 1936; Severs 1961:187–209).

There remains another element in 'Sir Orfeo' which, if not exactly unknown in the Classical tale (that is, the version with the happy ending), is at least of far less significance in this version. This is the account of the return to his kingdom by Orfeo and his queen. In the Middle English poem, Orfeo's recovery of his former position, including as it does his testing of the steward in whose charge he had left his kingdom, is given a prominence which sets the episode up as a counterbalance and corollary to the episode of the recovery of Heurodis, without which Orfeo's rehabilitation could not take place.

The latest survivor of the Orfeo legend is the ballad of 'King Orfeo' (Child No. 19) which has been recorded in Shetland in the late-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries (Child 1882:217; Bronson 1959–72: I, 275; IV, 455–6). This ballad covers in outline the same story as 'Sir Orfeo', with the primary emphasis being laid upon the hero's skill in music:

And first he played da notes o noy,
  Scowan ürla grün
An dan he played da notes o joy.
  Whar giorten han grün oarlac

An dan he played da göd gabber reel,
Dat meicht ha made a sick hert hale. (Child: 217, A. 7–8)

It seems a strange and lengthy voyage from the Middle English 'Sir Orfeo' to the Shetland 'King Orfeo' and one can only speculate as to intermediary versions of the legend now lost.

One of these lost intermediaries however has now come to light, or rather, two portions of it have reappeared. From amongst a pile of miscellaneous fragments in a manuscript of around 1585 in the Scottish Record Office (see Stewart 1972)—fragments whose provenance it is now impossible to trace and which are sadly ravaged by time, damp and mice—I have managed to piece together the following lines of a new and original version of the Orpheus legend, a Scottish 'King Orphius'. This transcript from RH 13/35 is made with the kind approval of the Keeper of the Records of Scotland.

Text

. . Sen scho maid ws allwayis blyth
and we saikles soe mot I thryfe
yis day is gain all haill
euer ye plisance of portingale[1]
and fra ye king orphius glaidnes 5
hes gain for ewermair I vis
yai tuik hir wp v^{t}outtin mair
and to ye chalmer yai hir bair
and softlie laid hir in hir bed
yat was w^{t} cumlie claythis ouerspred 10
and laid be yat yis ladie doun
it vas neir ye tyme of none[2]
ye menstrallis playis into ye hall
ye lordis vas cumit bay^{t} greit and small
ye king to vesche maid him boun 15
foir to serwe him com mony ane man
lauaris off gold com yair bedein
ye king speiris quhair is ye quein
yan anserit ane fair ladie
scho kneillit doun and said trewlie 20
ye quein is no^{t} disposit at all
yis day to dyne into ȝour hall
ye king anserit w^{t} . . eit cheir
yis day at morne scho vas haill and feir
and yis bly^{t} sall I no^{t} be 25
my soverane lady quhill I see
. . to hir chalmer is he gone
his lordis followitt him ilk ane

als schone as he wes cumitt yair
he fand his ladie grainand sair 30
greit pittie may be sein
quhan ye king luikit on ye quein
he said alace quha did yis deid
how is it hapinit I will it wit
. . lam it no[t] I vill it vit 35
yan anserit ane ladie cleir
and askit mercie oft bot veir
ye quein ye day airlie at morne
scho went to ye gairding as biforne
and sat doun in arbour grein 40
and leind hir to ane fair laurein
or euer we vost scho gaif ane skirll[3]
and ay sensyne scho vas deidlyk
. . be yai had tellit yair taill
ye quein vas bay[t] van and paill 45
scho said my soverane I ȝow reid
ȝe vyd na ladyis of my deid
ye king of pharie vill me haif
yair may na erdlie thing me saif
bot va var me to pairt ȝow fra 50
and I my[t] . . .

. . . .

. . quhat neidis ye harberie ask att me
and yair so fair ane thing w[t] ye
I merwell yat sick ane cairle as yow
soe fair ane lady for to wow 55
sa meiklie orphius anserit yan
sir I am sib to gentill men
sumtym I haue sein ye day
yat gentill men vald w[t] me play
ye burgess anserit to orphius 60
and in haist he said to him yus
I did it to ȝow foir ye best
sall na man do ȝow deir
noir ȝit yis ladie yat is ȝour feir
bot I vald vis ye yis 65
quhat war ȝour craft and ȝour office

yan orphius anserit sickarlie
yair is non bot my hairp and I
to find me and my ladie cleir
to my hairt yat is so deir 70
bot I am cumit in yis contrie
yis varld for to sie
foir to play into his hall
gif ony revaird may to me fall
ye burgess anserit to him bly^{t}lie 75
I sall ȝow tell trewlie
ye morne quhair ȝe sall him meit
Into ye middis off ye streitt
to pray for orpheus ye king
and Issabell ye worthy quine 80
he begouithe to weip w^{t} yis
yat was ye vorthiest I wis
yan orphius tuik his hairp v^{t} yis
for to comfort ye burgess
and sa he did into yat stound 85
ye hairp it gaif sick ane sound
yan all ye folk thankit him of his play
yat ewer hard him be ny^{t} or day
syne wpone ye morne
he met ye king ye streit biforne 90
orphius kneillit wpone his knie
and said sir king for cheratie
gif ȝe pleiss I sall ȝow tell[4]
yat I may play into ȝour hall
and now ane menstrall me to mak 95
foir orphius ȝour eimis saik
ye king command ane squyr
to haif him to ye hall bot veir
and he commandit v^{t} reverence
yat nain to him suld do offence 100
sone efter ye king vas set
and he vas serwit of his meit
the menstrellis playitt and did no^{t} ceis
sall na man play ye king said yan
bot ȝone auld hairritt man 105
than orpheus tuik his harp in hy
ye king beheld him fellonlie

he knew ye hairp vondrus veill
and said auld man I haud sum feill
yow tell me foir yi vrisone 110
quhidder yow gat yi hairp in . . or toun
throw ane vilderness com I
and treulie yair yis hairp gat I
foirsuithe yair ye hairp I van
besyd ye banis of ane ald man 115
he changit culeur on ye kingis face
yat was orphius my . . em allace
yat maid me king in his steid
now vait I weill he is deid
god vait gif ye king maid . . orthe 120
w^t yat he weipit full sair . . .
ye buird and all couth doun couth cast
he said to god ane vou I mak
I sall newer lauch yat men may sie
quhill yat his bainis baireist be 125
yan orphius can to him ga
he tuik him in his armis tva
he said lat be and veip na mair[5]
I am ye man yow veipis foir
vpone his knie he fell doun 130
and sone biheld his . . . .
and said to him in all degrie
deir vellȝum yow artt hame to me
yan all yat was into ye hall
wpone yair kneis yai couthe doun fall 135
and thankit god of his cuming
and knew him foir yair richtious king[6]
v^t claithe off gold yai him cled
and w^t ane knyf yai schuif his hair
yan was he ewin as he vas ay 140
yan fetche ye quein w^tout dillay
scho bydis neir hand by
yan start yai wp bay^t mair and les
and gatherit all in presence
yan bellis rang throw ye citie 145
yan all ye toun vas fain
and foir ye finding of ye quein
yat lang bifoir tint had bein

yan all ye contrie far and neir
war bly[t] and glaid and maid guid cheir 150
ye king and als god wait
restoirit var to yair awin estait
and wan ye joy of hewin so hie
god grant ws all yairin to be.
finis huius fabulae.

Commentary

It is most noticeable that while what is here left of 'King Orphius' is very close to 'Sir Orfeo' in content and development, in detail the two are as different as two versions of the same story can be. In the Auchinleck Manuscript (Bliss 1966, from which I take all quotations of 'Sir Orfeo' unless otherwise noted) Heurodis and her maids sit together in an orchard 'vnder a fair ympe-tre' (l. 70), the queen falls asleep and her ladies dare not waken her so that she slumbers on 'til after none' (l. 75). On waking, the queen appears to go mad, tearing at her face and clothes, so that her ladies, terrified, rush off for help which they get in abundance:

Kniȝtes vrn & leuedis also,
Damisels sexti & mo.
In þe orchard to þe quene hye come,
& her vp in her armes nome,
& brouȝt hir to bed atte last,
& held hir þere fine fast: (ll. 89–94).

The impression made in this passage is of the extreme violence of the demented queen which is such that the crowds of attendants have great difficulty in restraining her:

Ac euer sche held in o cri,
& wold vp, & owy. (ll. 95–6).

Naturally, Orfeo hears the commotion and comes with ten knights to her chamber where he begs her to tell him what is wrong that

'Þi bodi, þat was so white y-core,
Wiþ þine nailes is al to-tore'. (ll. 105–6).

The same events are related in 'King Orphius' with multifarious minor differences. The loss of the early portion of the text makes it impossible to know if Issabell's affliction is described as is that of Heurodis, or if the first explanation for her 'grainand sair' is the account given by the frightened maid to the angry and mystified Orphius. In our fragment we are told simply that the queen has gone into a garden as was her habit. A note of impending tragedy is struck in the midst of this happy scene, however, with the lines:

> and fra ye king orphius glaidnes
> hes gain for ewermair I vis (ll. 5–6).

The queen is carried, apparently docile or in a fainting condition, by a vague 'yai' and gently laid on her bed, the splendour of which is particularly noted:

> yai tuik hir wp v^{t}outtin mair
> and to ye chalmer yai hir bair
> and softlie laid hir in hir bed
> yat was w^{t} cumlie claythis ouerspred
> and laid be yat yis ladie doun (ll. 7–11).

There is no mention of the wild hysteria of Orfeo's queen or of the vast and impressive array of court officials who attempt to restrain her. The tone is here more subdued and the mood is one of tender concern for the suffering queen.

Orphius is all the while ignorant of the fate of his lady, unlike Orfeo who is summoned directly by the clamour. In 'King Orphius' there ensues an interlude of normality in which the busy scene in the hall is described as minstrels play, the lords gather for the approaching meal, dishes are carried in and the king washes and prepares to eat. The cheerful ignorance of the king in this scene heightens the suspense for the poem's audience, knowing as it does that some dread affliction has overtaken the queen and forewarned that 'glaidnes' has already gone 'for ewermair' from the unsuspecting king. The suspense is further heightened when Orphius, unaware of the impending tragedy, asks for his wife. The ambiguous reply of one of her ladies:

> ye quein is no^{t} disposit at all
> yis day to dyne into ȝour hall (ll. 21–2)

is not enough to fob him off and he refuses to eat without her company, secure in his misplaced confidence in her wellbeing:

> yis day at morne scho vas haill and feir
> and yis bly^{t} sall I no^{t} be
> my soverane lady quhill I see (ll. 24–6).

After this scene of festivity the audience can share the king's sudden shock when he enters his wife's chamber and finds his lady 'grainand sair'.

In his bewilderment, Orphius seeks an explanation and a frightened maid tells how

> ye quein ye day airlie at morne
> scho went to ye gairding as biforne
> and sat doun in arbour grein
> and leind hir to ane fair laurein (ll. 38–41).

The enchantment is swift and terrible. There is no intervening slumber and no exaggerated raving on the part of the queen whose very silence is the more moving and dreadful:

> or euer we vost scho gaif ane skirll
> and ay sensyne scho vas deidlyk (ll. 42–3).

The first words spoken by the queen point the awful finality of her fate:

> yc king of pharie vill me haif
> yair may na erdlie thing me saif (ll. 48–9),

and the human sadness of her inevitable separation from Orphius:

> bot va var me to pairt ȝow fra (l. 50).

Perhaps the following lines, now lost, contained something like the beautiful passage in 'Sir Orfeo' in which Heurodis 'stille atte last' (l. 117) expresses her love for her husband and Orfeo declares his refusal to be parted from her:

> 'Whider þou gost ichil wiþ þe
> & whider y go þou schalt wiþ me.' (ll. 129–30).

We shall probably never know.

The story of King Orphius in this fragment is resumed after his return from the realm of the fairy king, accompanied by his rescued wife. Here again while 'King Orphius' follows 'Sir Orfeo' exactly in its subject matter and in the manner in which this is unfolded, there is striking dissimilarity in detail. In 'Sir Orfeo' the king of the otherworld is unwilling to grant Orfeo his request because he thinks them too ill-assorted a pair:

> 'A sori couple of ȝou it were,
> For þou art lene, rowe & blac,
> & sche is louesum, wiþ-outen lac:
> A loþlich þing it were, forþi,
> To sen hir in þi compayni.' (ll. 458–62).

This contrast between the lovely queen and her grim and haggard consort is put in 'King Orphius' into the mouth of the burgess who shelters the wanderers:

> I merwell yat sick ane cairle as yow
> soe fair ane lady for to wow (ll. 54–5)

—a comment that draws from Orphius the dignified retort:

> sir I am sib to gentill men
> sumtym I haue sein ye day
> yat gentill men vald w^t me play (ll. 57–9).

a masterly understatement, coming from a man described at the beginning of 'Sir Orfeo' as one whose

> . . fader was comen of King Pluto,
> & his moder of King Juno,
> Þat sum-time were as godes y-hold (ll. 43–5).

There is no equivalent in 'Sir Orfeo' of this entertaining little exchange with its shrewd insight into character—the supercilious questioning of the burgess, Orphius' dignified reply and the burgess's hurried excuse for his rudeness showing his eagerness not to

offend what is obviously not the beggarly rogue he had thought but, rather, a nobly born gentleman:

> ye burgess anserit to orphius
> and in haist he said to him yus
> I did it to ȝow foir ye best
> sall na man do ȝow deir (ll. 60–3).

In 'Sir Orfeo', when the hero returns to the world he seeks refuge on the outskirts of Winchester in a beggar's hovel where he passes himself off as 'a minstrel of pouer liif' (l. 486). In response to his guest's questioning, the beggar relates the tale of Heurodis' disappearance '& hou her king en exile ȝede' (l. 493), and tells him how the land is held at present by the steward. The next day Orfeo borrows the beggar's clothes and wanders around the city where all men marvel at his travel-worn appearance:

> 'Lo! Hou his berd hongeþ to his kne!
> He is y-clongen al-so a tre!' (ll. 507–8).

By chance he encounters his steward and begs his aid. The steward welcomes him for Sir Orfeo's sake and the hero enters the hall where a meal is in progress:

> Miche melody þai maked alle,
> & Orfeo sat stille in þe halle
> & herkneþ: when þai ben al stille
> He toke his harp & tempred schille. (ll. 523–6).

King Orphius also reaches the king's hall but his progress there is rather different. He seeks refuge with a respectable burgess giving rise to the amusing dialogue already mentioned. Orphius' assertion that he is 'sib to gentill men' does not entirely still the suspicions of his host who is determined to know a bit more about his unlikely guests:

> bot I vald vis ye yis
> quhat war ȝour craft and ȝour office (ll. 65–6).

Orphius says that he relies only on his harp for a living and that it is his desire to play in the king's hall. The burgess, with typical officiousness, tells Orphius where he is likely to meet the king:

> ye burgess anserit to him blyᵗlie
> I sall ȝow tell trewlie
> ye morne quair ȝe sall him meit
> Into ye middis off ye streitt
> to pray for orpheus ye king
> and Issabell ye worthy quine (ll. 75–80).

The grief reserved to the faithful steward in 'Sir Orfeo', and later to be shown by the regent in 'King Orphius', has its first appearance in the person of the burgess who is a character in the story in his own right as opposed to Orfeo's vague beggar figure whose presence is purely functional. The tears of the sorrowing burgess give Orphius an opportunity to display the traditional magical, soothing quality of his music.

Next morning Orphius meets the 'king'—who, we are told, is his nephew (l. 117)—in the street as the well-informed burgess had told him he would. Orphius begs to be allowed to play in the hall 'foir orphius ȝour emis saik' (l. 96). In this version of the story it is the minstrel who invokes the name of the musician king when begging for an audience rather than the ruler explaining his charity by reference to his lost master, the musician king, as is the case in 'Sir Orfeo'. Such minor differences in detail are in themselves insignificant but their very multiplicity lends them importance. In 'King Orphius', the musician does not wait patiently for a lull in the harping of the other minstrels to tune his harp, unbidden, and ravish the ears of the steward and his courtiers with his divine melody as in 'Sir Orfeo'. Here the 'king' commands the other minstrels to give way to the playing of the fierce looking stranger:

> sall na man play ye king said yan
> bot ȝone auld hairritt man (ll. 104–5).

We are not even told that Orphius struck a note for at once the 'king' recognises his harp and demands to know how it has come into the possession of the minstrel.

To return to 'Sir Orfeo'. Surprisingly, the enchanting music of the harper does not reveal his identity but the steward does recognise his harp and asks,

> 'Where hadestow þis harp, & hou?' (l. 533).

Orfeo tells him how he had found the instrument ten years before in the wilderness by the body of a man sadly mutilated by wild beasts:

> 'Wiþ lyouns a man to-torn smale,
> & wolues him frete wiþ teþ so scharp;' (ll. 538–9).

The steward is horrified at the fate of his lost king,

> 'Þat him was so hard grace y-ȝarked
> & so vile deþ y-marked!' (ll. 547–8),

and promptly faints. This obvious distress has proved to Orfeo the loyalty of his steward and so he can begin his own gradual unmasking. He postulates to the steward a situation which is his own in fact, suggesting that such a part might be played by the king returned in disguise 'For-to asay þi gode wille' (l. 568) which being proved, 'þou schust be king after mi day' (l. 572). Eventually the faithful steward recognises his master and his joy is such that

> Ouer & ouer þe bord he þrewe (l. 578).

There ensues general rejoicing at the safe return of the king.

Orphius, on the other hand, does not conjure up such a dramatic picture of his own assumed death in the wilderness, simply saying that he has found the familiar harp in the wilderness 'besyd ye banis of ane ald man' (l. 115). Orphius' nephew's distress is thus caused not by the horror of the mutilation of the body of the dead king but by the fact that he sees this as final proof that his uncle has indeed perished in the wilds:

> now vait I weill he is deid (l. 119).

He does not faint as does Orfeo's steward, but he weeps and makes a solemn vow:

> he said to god ane vou I mak
> I sall newer lauch yat men may sie
> quhill yat his bainis baireist be (ll. 123–5).

'King Orphius' contains no hint of Orfeo's careful deception to test the loyalty of his steward being revealed in an elaborate hypothesis. Instead we have the abrupt, unexplained, fairy-tale return from beyond the grave of the hero. All those present in the hall are filled with joy and gratitude at the return of their king:

> wpone yair kneis yai couthe doun fall
> and thankit god of his cuming
> and knew him foir yair richtious king (ll. 135–7).

Even in the last few lines of the 'happy ending' the two poems diverge in detail. Orfeo's courtiers

> To chaumber þai ladde him als biliue
> & baþed him, & schaued his berd
> & tired him as a king apert (ll. 584–6).

The return of Heurodis, whose loss has occasioned the whole story, is passed over briefly as unremarkable beside the wonder of her husband's safe return to his kingdom (ll. 587–9). King and queen are recrowned and the faithful steward is rewarded '& seþþen was king þe steward' (l. 596). The Auchinleck version ends with a postscript explaining how this story was made into a lay:

> Harpours in Bretaine after þan
> Herd hou þis meruaile bigan,
> & made her-of a lay of gode likeing,
> & nempned it after þe king.
> þat lay 'Orfeo' is y-hote:
> Gode is þe lay, swete is þe note. (ll. 597–602).

Although the Harley MS 3810 (Bliss 1966) ends without this explanatory note, Ashmole 61 (Bliss 1966) echoes Auchinleck:

> Herpers of Bretayn herd [anon]
> How þys a-ventour was be-gon,
> And made a ley of grete lykyng,
> And callyd it after þe kyng (ll. 590–3).

'King Orphius' ends rather differently. The king is treated by his delighted subjects much as is his English counterpart by his rejoicing people:

> v^t claithe off gold yai him cled
> and w^t ane knyf yai schuif his hair
> yan was he ewin as he vas ay (ll. 138–40).

The queen is fetched and her return is marked by great rejoicing:

> yan start yai wp bay[t] mair and les
> and gatherit all in presence
> yan bellis rang throw ye citie
> yan all ye toun vas fain
> and foir ye finding of ye quein
> yat lang bifoir tint had bein (ll. 143–8).

Something of the miracle of her return from the mysterious otherworld is hinted at here and one is reminded that it is the loss of the queen that is at the heart of the legend. The stress at the end of 'King Orphius' is on a return to the natural and divine harmony of the Mediaeval world. King and queen and their subjects are once more in their rightful places, a state pleasing to God and necessary for the smooth functioning of society:

> ye king and als god wait
> restoirit var to yair awin estait
> and wan ye joy of hewin so hie
> god grant ws all yairin to be. (ll. 151–4).

There is no mention of reward for the king's nephew who has ruled in his uncle's absence. In this he has simply been filling the role expected of his station, and his future and that of the kingdom is as God decrees: it is necessary only that the natural order, disrupted by the abduction of Issabell by the king of the fairies, should be restored by the resumption of their rightful positions in society by Orphius, his nephew and his queen for the future to be secure. Nor is there any word at the end of 'King Orphius' as to the source of the story. There is only the conventional 'finis huius fabulae'.

What conclusions can be drawn from these remarks on 'King Orphius' and its relation to 'Sir Orfeo'? So much of the Scottish poem has been lost that any suggestions can only be tentative. I would suggest that 'King Orphius' is derived not from any of the known versions of the Middle English 'Sir Orfeo' (for the point of this comparison, what has been said about the Auchinleck version applies equally to Ashmole 61 and Harley 3810), but rather from an independent version of the story. If the Auchinleck 'Sir Orfeo' is a translation of a French version of the original Breton lai, may not 'King Orphius' be so as well? This would explain the extreme closeness in theme and development of the two poems but the complete lack of verbal echoes that would be present if one version was derived from the other, and also the way in which a different aspect of each situation is emphasised in each poem.

This idea raises fascinating issues: which is the earlier version, or was the French poem being absorbed into the literatures of Scotland and of England simultaneously? Certainly the poem has lived on in the folk literature of Scotland—witness the ballad still sung in Shetland in the present century—long after it has died in England where the latest version is the late fifteenth-century Ashmole 61. It is for the linguists to determine the

likely date of composition of 'King Orphius' which has obviously been copied from a manuscript by a scribe who would no longer have been speaking or writing many of the phrases he was copying. Whatever its claim to antiquity may be, this lost poem of 'King Orphius' has been a work major in conception, sustained in execution, and rich in character, pathos and humour. One can only hope that more of it may yet come to light.

NOTES

1 *portingale* (l. 4), meaning 'Portuguese', is found in the Treasurer's Accounts in 1497 (I. 383) 'Item . . to the Portingales in almous, xviij s' and in 1591 (36 b) 'To his maiesties self to play at the cairtis ane portingale ducat'. I can find no reference to the word applied to a type of garden.

2 *none* (l. 12) is probably to be taken here to mean and to sound 'noon' since it is to rhyme with 'doun' (l. 11) as in the 1567 edition of the *Gude and Godly Ballatis* where we find 'Priestis change ȝour tune / And sing into ȝour mother tung, / Inglis Psalmes and ȝe impugne / ȝe will dyne efter none'.

3 *skirll* (l. 42) may be a scribal error for 'scrike' meaning 'screech' as it should rhyme with 'deidlyk' (l. 43). This would seem to be the older version of the word as in *Lancelot of the Laik* (around 1500) line 1881 'For-quhi the woice It scrik[i]th vp ful ewyne' and in Douglas's *Aeneid* II viii 83 (around 1513) 'With dulefull scrike and waling.' By the latter portion of the sixteenth century when the scribe was copying the poem the form 'skirl' seems to be prevalent as in the *Complaynt of Scotland*, p. 40, line 10 'he cryit vitht ane skyrl' (around 1549) and in the *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie, Supplement*, p. 167, line 486 'they skirlde ilk ane' (around 1585).

4 *tell* (l. 93). As this does not provide a satisfactory rhyme for 'hall' (l. 94) and as the line reads awkwardly and seems to lose its sense in the middle, it may be that the scribe, having confused the order of the words and thus finding himself with a word at the end of the line which bore no resemblance to that at the end of the ensuing line, changed that word to the nearest approximation to the sound required. Thus the line might have read 'gif ȝe pleiss ask ȝow I sall' which was wrongly written 'gif ȝe pleiss I sall ȝow ask', the 'ask' then replaced by 'tell'. Other than the confusion in the sense of the line the reading 'tell' would be acceptable as there are numerous instances of slightly defective rhymes throughout the poem—lines 5, 6 'glaidnes' and 'vis', lines 27, 28 'gone' and 'ane', lines 56, 57 'yan' and 'men', lines 83, 84 'yis' and 'burgess', lines 97, 98 'squyr' and 'veir', lines 101, 102 'set' and 'meit', lines 110, 111 'vrisone' and 'toun'.

5 *mair* (l. 128). As this is intended to rhyme with 'foir' (l. 129) it might hint at faulty transcription by a Scottish copyist working from an English source, the original word being 'more'. A similar Scottish version of an original English word could be seen in 'mak' (l. 95) which in this version provides a defective rhyme for 'saik' (l. 96).

6 lines 137–46. The rhyme scheme within these lines appears to have been abandoned and the result is more akin to prose than to verse. Other departures from a fixed rhyme pattern can be seen in lines 120–5, and occasionally a line is interpolated into the regular rhyme scheme as is the case in line 33, line 62, lines 79–80 and line 103.

REFERENCES

ALLEN, DORENA
1964 'Orpheus and Orfeo: The Dead and the Taken.' *Medium Aevum* 28: 102–11.

BLISS, A. J.
1966 *Sir Orfeo*. 2nd edn. London.

BRONSON, BERTRAND H.
1959–72 *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads.* 4 vols. Princeton.

BOWRA, MAURICE
1952 'Orpheus and Eurydice.' *The Classical Quarterly* N.S. 2: 113–26.

CABANAS, V. PABLO
1948 *El Mito de Orfeo en la Literatura Espanola.* Madrid.

CHILD, FRANCIS J.
1882 *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads,* vol. I. Boston and New York.

CROSS, T. P. and SLOVER, C. H.
1936 *Ancient Irish Tales.* New York.

DILLON, MYLES
1948 *Early Irish Literature.* Chicago.

DRONKE, PETER
1962 'The Return of Eurydice.' *Classica et Mediaevalia,* 23: 198–215.

ELIADE, M.
1957 *Le Chamanisme et les Techniques Archaiques d'Extase.* Paris.

HENRYSON, ROBERT
1968 *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson,* ed. H. Harvey Wood. Edinburgh.

HEURGON, M. JAQUES
1932 'Orphee et Eurydice avant Virgile.' *Melanges d'archeologie et d'histoire,* 49.

HIBBARD, LAURA
1924 *Medieval Romance in England.* New York.

JACKSON, K. H.
1940 'The Motive of the Threefold Death in the Story of Suibhne Geilt', in *Essays and Studies Presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill,* ed. John Ryan. Dublin. Pp. 535–50.

JAMES, M. R.
1914 *Walter Map: De Nugis Curialium.* Oxford.

LOOMIS, R. S.
1936 '*Sir Orfeo* and Walter Map's *De Nugis.*' *Modern Language Notes,* 51: 28–30.

MERIL, E. DU (ed.)
1856 *Floire et Blanceflor.* Paris.

SEDGEFIELD, W. J.
1908 *King Alfred's Version of the Consolations of Boethius Done into Modern English.* Oxford.

SEVERS, J. BURKE
1961 'The Antecedents of *Sir Orfeo*', in *Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor Albert Croll Baugh,* ed. MacEdward Leach. Philadelphia. 187–209.

SMITHERS, G. V.
1953 'Story Patterns in Some Breton Lays.' *Medium Aevum,* 23: 61–92.

SOMMER, H. O. (ed.)
1909–16 *Prose Lancelot: The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances,* vol. IV. London.

STEWART, MARION
1972 'A Recently Discovered Manuscript: *ane taill of Sir colling ye kny*[t].' *Scottish Studies* 16: 23–39.

ZENKER, R. (ed.)
1893 *Lai de l'Espine.*

The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick

J. MACQUEEN

Gaelic is no more indigenous to Galloway or Carrick than to other parts of Scotland. It became established, however, at an unusually early date, and continued to be the language of the bulk of the population, at least until the Reformation. During the seventeenth century it suffered a rapid eclipse, for which no very satisfactory explanation has ever been advanced. It is virtually certain that by 1700 no Gaelic speaker native to the area was to be found in Galloway or Carrick (Lorimer 1949). Place-names are practically the only available written source, and this paper is a modest attempt to decipher some part of the writings on the landscape which have been transcribed on to Ordnance Survey maps. The writings, unfortunately, contain no verbs.

If we ignore the occasional references to be found in the classical historians and geographers, the earliest accounts to provide detailed information are those which deal with St Ninian, who established Candida Casa at Whithorn in Wigtownshire somewhere between A.D. 400 and 450, and who is often called the Apostle of the Southern Picts. About this saint, three points seem fairly well established (MacQueen 1961):

1 Ninian was a Briton, who had Roman connections, and he lived and worked among his fellow-Britons on the periphery of the Roman Empire. The language of Galloway, *c.* A.D. 400, in other words, was not Gaelic but British, and closely akin to modern Welsh.
2 The Picts, probably converted by Ninian, inhabited the north-eastern midlands of Scotland rather than the area now called Galloway. Their language was not Gaelic but Pictish, which like British and Welsh was a P-Celtic language.
3 Ninian himself had contacts of some kind with Ireland, and, although doubts have been cast on some of the evidence (see also Boyle 1968), in the period between 450 and 650, Candida Casa would seem to have been in close touch with developments in the Irish church. Partly as a consequence, some Gaelic speakers settled in Galloway during this period.

Place-names provide the evidence for this last statement, but in two different ways, and with reference to two rather different groups. The general Scottish distribution of place-names in which the first element is *Carrick-* or *Slew-* (Gaelic *carraig* and *sliabh*) suggests that at a time more or less contemporary with the Gaelic settlement in Argyll, traditionally associated with Fergus son of Erc (in the later fifth and earlier sixth centuries, that is to say), fishermen and small farmers from northern Ireland were crossing

the Channel and settling in the Rhinns, the westernmost peninsula, and to a lesser extent in other parts of Galloway and Carrick (MacQueen 1961:45–7. Nicolaisen 1965:91–106). Examples are Carrickadoyn, Carrickafliou, Carrickahawkie, Carrick Kibbertie, Slewcairn, Slewcreen, Slewdonan, Slewdown and Slewhabble. In the remainder of Scotland such names are virtually confined to the areas of primary Gaelic settlement, and they also occur in the Isle of Man. It seems reasonable to assume that in all three regions the names were given at much the same time and by much the same kind of people. *Carrick-* names belong to rocks and cliff-slopes at the sea edge, and are probably to be associated with fishing communities. *Slew-* names are more appropriate to farmers, herdsmen and hunters. But there is no need to assume the existence of two entirely separate groups.

Dr Nicolaisen has made the most extended survey of Galloway hill-names in *Slew-* (Nicolaisen 1965). For the Rhinns I have only one addition to his list—Slaewhullie, the name now given to a cot-house on Logan Head in Kirkmaiden parish. The cottage stands on the summit of a hill which rises from sea level to a height of 179 feet. There is a magnificent view in every direction. The name has presumably been transferred from hill to house.

In one other aspect, Dr Nicolaisen's article is slightly misleading. With one doubtful exception, he confines *Slew-* names to the Rhinns. The names extend however across the Moors and Machars into Kirkcudbright. Slewcairn (Colvend parish, Kirkcudbright), which Dr Nicolaisen (p. 99) was unable to identify, is a hill, some 950 feet high, which forms part of the Criffell *massif* on the western side of the Nith estuary, about eight miles south of Dumfries. Slogarie (Balmaghie parish, Kirkcudbright) is 838 feet high. Fifteenth and sixteenth century forms agree in spelling the first element *Sleu-*. Slickconerie (New Luce parish, Wigtownshire) is a hill 698 feet in height. Slochabbert (Kirkinner parish, Wigtownshire) is on record in 1457 (Reid 1960:168) as Slewheubert; the hill is 186 feet high. The overall distribution of *Slew-* names, all this is to say, is much like that of *Carrick-* names: the great majority occur in the Rhinns, but they are to be found in small numbers throughout Galloway.

Evidence of the second kind is provided by place- and personal names given in commemoration of saints, the majority Celtic, although a few are English or biblical. Most of the place-names are compounds, formed on the usual neo-Celtic pattern, with the generalizing element (*cill* or the like), in initial semi-stressed position, followed by the particularising element, usually the saint's name in full or hypocoristic form, the first syllable of which takes the stress. An unstressed honorific possessive personal pronoun ('my' or 'thy') sometimes separates the two main elements. I shall begin by listing with brief comment place-names of this type in alphabetic order and in terms of the four main divisions with which we are concerned—Wigtownshire, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Carrick in south Ayrshire, and Dumfriesshire. Where a commemoration has given rise to a local personal name, the fact will be noted. Personal names offer good confirmatory evidence of the importance of individual cult-centres. It is probably

safe to assume that a surname which includes the name of a saint originally belonged to a family in some way connected with the service of that saint's church. Names compounded with *gille*, 'servant', offer particularly good evidence of this relationship. The status of men with such surnames was frequently far above the servile: one instance is pointed out by W. J. Watson (Watson 1926:164), 'Gilbert McGillelan or McGillolane (*Mac Gille Fhaolain*) is on record as chief of Clan Connan in Galloway in the reign of David II. (1329–1370)'. The modern form of this surname is McLellan. Watson, on the other hand, also quotes (Watson 1926:162) 'Gillemachoi of Conglud with his children and his whole following' who in 1164 were granted to the church of St Kentigern in Glasgow. The name means 'Mo-Choe's Lad' and Mo-Choe was a by-name of St Kentigern.

Wigtownshire

Clashmahew (Inch parish): ? *clais mo-Choe*? 'Mo-Choe's ditch'. Compare Kilmahew in Cardross parish, Dumbarton.

Clashmurray (Kirkcolm): *clais m(h)oire*, 'Mary's ditch'. This is an alternative name (Maxwell 1930) for Kilmorie, 'Mary's church'. The reference here and in Clashmahew is perhaps to a well or spring. Alternatively, the meaning may be 'grave yard'. *Clashwhannon* (Kirkmaiden parish) may also contain a commemoration.

Clachaneasy (Penninghame parish): *clachan Iosa*, 'Jesus' Kirk' (Watson 1926:170).

Kildonan (Kirkmaiden and Stoneykirk parishes): 'Donnan's church'. Donnan is almost certainly the saint who in 618 was martyred on the island of Eigg. If this is accepted, the hill-name Slewdonan (*Sliabh Donnain*) above Kildonan in Kirkmaiden parish is almost certainly later, and cannot possibly be much earlier, than 618. Another dedication, *Chapel Donnan*, is in Kirkcolm parish. See also under Carrick. Donnan occurs as a local surname.

Kilfeddar (New Luce parish): 'Peter's church'.

Kilfillan (Old Luce and Sorbie parishes): 'Faolan's church'. The two Airyollands in Old Luce and Mochrum parishes are probably to be connected with those two commemorations. Early forms *Arehullen* (1561) and *Arewlene* (1498) (Reid 1960:81, 182) represent *àirigh Fhaolain*. 'Faolan's shieling', and indicate lands which formerly belonged to the church. McLellan is a common local name: compare Balmaclellan in the Stewartry and Maclellan's Castle in the town of Kirkcudbright. Compare also the reference to Gilbert McGillelan above.

Killantringan (Port Patrick parish): 'church of St Ringan (Ninian)'. The prefixed 'saint' indicates that the name cannot be earlier than the twelfth century. See also under Carrick.

Killasser (Stoneykirk parish): 'Lassair's church'. Lassair is a woman's name. Chapter 12 of the *Vita Sancti Colmani de Land Elo* (Heist 1965:213), the saint commemorated in the name Colmonnel in Carrick, tells how he visited the cell of St Lassar. Clachanmore is a farm and hamlet name in the immediate vicinity of Killasser.

Killimacuddican (Kirkcolm parish): 'my little Cutu's church'. St Muchutu of Rathan and Lismore is said to have died in 637. The parish church of Wigtown (*ecclesia S. Macuti*) is probably dedicated to the same saint.

Killingeane (Kirkmaiden parish): 'Finnian's church'. Behind the church is Knocktaggart, 'the priest's hill'. With this commemoration is to be associated *Chapel Finnian* and *Chipperfinian* ('Finnian's well') in Mochrum parish, Wigtownshire, *Chipperdingan* ('thy Finnian's well') and *Ballochagunnion* ('Finnian's pass'), also in Kirkmaiden parish. In Kirkcudbright are Kirkgunzeon and Killimingan. The fact that the saint's name appears in Cumbric (*-gunnion* and *-gunzeon*) as well as Gaelic form suggests that the cult was established in Galloway before the end of the 7th century, by which time it is plausible to assume that Cumbric had ceased to be spoken in Galloway (MacQueen 1961:25, 53). Finnian is definitely associated with Whithorn in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* (MacQueen 1961:36–9).

Killumpha (Kirkmaiden parish): 'Iomchadh's church'—a commemoration of a very obscure saint. McClumpha is a local surname.

Kilmorie (Kircolm parish): 'Mary's church'. 'St Mary's croft' and 'St Mary's well' are in the immediate neighbourhood.

Kilmacfadyean (New Luce parish): ? 'my little Patrick's church'. McFadyean sometimes appears as a local name.

Kilquhockadale (Kirkcowan parish): 'valley of Cuaca's church'. Cuaca is a woman's name. If the suffixed *-dale* is directly derived from Norse *dalr*, the commemoration may antedate the Viking period.

Kirkbride (Kirkcolm and Kirkmaiden parishes): 'Brigid's church'. A field on Kirkbride farm in Kirkmaiden, called 'Kirkbride kirkyaird' contains what seems to be the ruins of a small medieval chapel. 'St Bride's Well' is in the immediate neighbourhood of Kirkbride in Kirkcolm. McBride and McIlbryd are local surnames of some frequency. See also under Kirkcudbright, Carrick and Dumfries.

Kirkchrist (Old Luce and Penningham parishes): 'Christ's church'.

Kirkcolm (Kirkcolm parish): 'Columba's church'. 'Clachan' and 'Clachan Heughs' are in the immediate neighbourhood. 'St Columba's Well' is three miles distant. McColm is a surname of some frequency in the area.

Kirkcowan (Kirkcowan parish): 'Eoghan's church'. The reference is probably to Eoghan of Ardstraw in Co. Tyrone. According to the *Vita S. Eogani Episcopi Ardsratensis* (Heist 1965:400–4), Eoghan received a religious education in Britain from a holy and learned man, Nennyo, who is called Maucennus, of the monastery at Rosnat. Nennyo is in some sense Ninian, and Rosnat is usually identified with Whithorn, from which Kirkcowan is distant by some thirteen miles. McCowan is a common local surname.

Kirkinner (Kirkinner parish): 'Cainer's church'. She has an Office, historically worthless, in the Aberdeen Breviary (29 October). According to this, she was one of Ursula's 11,000 virgins. The name is certainly Celtic.

Kirkleish (Kirkmaiden parish): ? *kirk ghille Iosa*, 'church of Jesus' lad'? The last remains of a small stone building are still visible. McLeish is found as a local surname.

Kirkmabreck (Stoneykirk parish): 'church of Mo-Bhric', or just possibly, 'church of Aedh mac Bric'. A *Vita Aidi Episcopi Killariensis* has survived (Heist 1965:1967–181). A church and parish with the same commemoration is to be found in the Stewartry.

Kirkmadrine (Sorbie and Stoneykirk parishes): 'church of my Draighne'. Fifth and sixth century inscriptions and a series of crosses from the fifth to the twelfth century have been found in the neighbourhood of the church in Stoneykirk parish. The Sorbie site is some five miles from Whithorn.

Kirkmaiden (Kirkmaiden and Glasserton parishes): 'church of my Étaín'. The remains of medieval churches are to be found at both sites. St Medan's Cave, a Dark Age and medieval site, is half-a-mile from Kirkmaiden in the Rhinns, and the bay there is Portankill, *port na cille* 'harbour of the church'. An Office in the Aberdeen Breviary (November 19) links the two Kirkmaidens, and brings the saint into contact with St Ninian at Whithorn. This last is a secondary accretion.

Port Patrick (Port Patrick parish): 'Patrick's port'.

Of the Wigtownshire commemorations, 29 are Celtic, 10 Biblical, none English, and one uncertain—a total of 40.

Stewartry of Kirkcudbright

Killimingan (Kirkgunzeon parish): 'my Finian's church'. See Kirkgunzeon below and Killingeane, Wigtownshire.

Kilquahanidy (Kirkpatrick-Durham parish): 'Connait's church'. McQuanity is a local name.

Kirkanders (Borgue parish): 'Andrew's church'. Compare the three Kirkanders in Cumberland. Andrew was a favourite saint of the Northumbrian church.

Kirkbean (Kirkbean parish): 'Bean's church'. The Aberdeen Breviary contains a brief office for Bean under October 26th.

Kirkbride (Kirkcudbright and Kirkgunzeon parishes): 'Brigid's church'. See under Wigtownshire.

Kirkcarsel (Berwick parish): 'Oswald's church'. The commemoration is of the Northumbrian king Oswald, who was killed in 642. He introduced Irish Christianity to Northumbria as a result of his exile spent on Iona and elsewhere in the Celtic west. See also under Carrick. There is a Kirkoswald in Cumberland.

Kirkchrist (Kirkcudbright parish): 'Christ's church'.

Kirkconnel (Tungland parish): 'Conall's church'. See also Carrick and Dumfries, *Conall* is taken by Watson (1926:169) to be the Gaelic form of Cumbric *Congual*. Latinised as *Convallus*. In fact, it is more likely that it derives directly from Old Irish *Conall*. According to the rather dubious authority of Fordun (III. xxix) and

Boece (IX. xvi), Conall 'Wes the discipull of Sanct Mongo, and is beryitt in Enchennane, nocht far fra Glasguw' (Chambers and Batho 1938:392. Compare Skene 1871:115). McConnel, McIlconnel and Whannel are surnames of some frequency in the area.

Kirkcormack (Kelton parish): 'Cormac's church'. The commemoration is probably of Cormac Ua Liatháin, abbot of Durrow, a contemporary and friend of Columba. He is mentioned at some length in Adomnan's *Life of Columba* I. 6, II. 42 and III. 7 (Anderson 1961:222–5, 440–7, 478–9). The story of his northern voyages receives particular emphasis. McCormack is a common name locally.

Kirkcudbright (Kirkcudbright parish): 'Cuthbert's church'. The commemoration is of the Northumbrian St Cuthbert, who joined the community at Old Melrose in 651 and died as Bishop of Lindisfarne in 687. See also Carrick and Dumfries.

Kirkenan (Buittle and Minnigaff parishes): ? 'Enan's church' or 'Finian's church'?

Kirkeoch (Twynholm parish): ? 'Eochaidh's church'?

Kirkgunzeon (Kirkgunzeon parish): 'Finnian's church'. See under Killingeane, Wigtownshire, and Killimingan, Kirkcudbright above.

Kirkinna (Parton parish): ? 'Cainnech's church'? McKinna is a local name. See under Kilkenzie in Carrick.

Kirklebride (Kirkpatrick-Durham parish): 'Kirk' + 'Kilbride', 'Brigid's church'. See the remarks on Kilquhockadale, Wigtownshire.

Kirkmabreck (Kirkmabreck parish): 'church of Mo-Bhric' or 'church of Aedh mac Bric'. See under Wigtownshire.

Kirkmirran (Kelton parish): 'church of Mirren'. Mirren is the saint of Paisley, and this commemoration may reflect a connection with Paisley Abbey, or its daughter house of Crosraguel in Carrick. Mirren is a fairly common woman's Christian name in Galloway.

Kirkpatrick-Durham and *Kirkpatrick-Irongray* (both parishes. Kirkpatrick-Durham is also a village in the parish of that name): 'Patrick's church'.

Of the Kirkcudbright commemorations, 13 are Celtic, 2 Biblical, 2 English and four uncertain—a total of 21, roughly half that for Wigtownshire.

Carrick

Chirmorie (Ballantrae parish): *tìr Moire*, 'Mary's land'.

Colmonell (Colmonell parish): 'church of Colman Elo'. He was abbot of Lann Elo in Co. Offaly, and is said to have died in 611. A *Vita S. Colmani Abbatis de Land Elo* has been preserved (Heist 1965:209–24). His connection with St Lassar has already been mentioned. The *Vita* also associates him with St Columba. Adomnan refers to him in the *Life of St. Columba* I. v, II. xv (Anderson 1961:222–3, 356–9).

Kildonan and *Chapeldonnan* (Colmonell and Kirkoswald parishes): 'Donnan's church'

or 'chapel'. See under Wigtownshire. Above Kildonan is Pindonnan (1,037 feet), a hill with a name which probably means 'Donnan's pennyland'. The nearby Garleffin 'rough halfpenny land' may represent an old subdivision of Pindonnan.

Kilkenzie (Kirkmichael parish): 'Cainnech's church'. The dedication is probably to the saint of Achadh Bó in Co. Leix. A *Vita S. Cainnechi Abbatis de Achad Bó Chainnich* has been preserved (Heist 1965:182–98). This lays considerable emphasis on the saint's sojourn in Britain, apparently with St Columba. Adomnan refers to him in the *Life of Columba* I. iv, II. xiii–xiv, and III. xvii (Anderson 1961:220–21, 352–7, 500–1). McKenzie is a common local surname.

Kilkerran (Dailly parish): 'Ciaran's church'. The village of Dailly, from which the parish takes its name, first appears as Dalmulkerane (Hunter Blair 1886: Index *s.v.*), *dail m(h)aoil Ciarain*, 'St Ciaran's servant's dale'. Dalquharran in the immediate vicinity may also contain the name Ciaran. The saint is probably Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, who is said to have died in 549. A *Vita S. Ciarani Abbatis Cluanensis* has been preserved (Plummer 1910). Adomnan refers to Ciaran and his monastery in the *Life of Columba* I. iii (Anderson 1961:214–19).

Killantringan (Ballantrae and Colmonell parishes): 'St Ninian's church'. See under Wigtownshire.

Killochan (Dailly parish): 'Onchu's church'. From Mac Gille-Onchon is derived the local surnames McLanachan and Clanachan.

Kilpatrick (Girvan parish): 'Patrick's church'.

Kilphin (Ballantrae parish): ? 'Finnen's church'.

Kilwhannel (Ballantrae parish): ? 'Conall's church'. Craigmawhannel, 'rock of my Conall' is in Barr parish. See under Kirkconnel in Kirkcudbright.

Kirkbride (Maybole and Straiton parishes): 'Brigid's church'.

Kirkconstantine (Colmonell parish): 'Constantine's church'. 'The conversion of Constantine to the Lord' is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster, sub anno* 587 (Anderson 1922:91–4). He is an elusive saint, who is given connections with Cornwall and Ireland, as well as Strathclyde and Galloway. The parish church of Govan, near Glasgow, was dedicated to him, and he is associated with St Kentigern. His office appears in the *Aberdeen Breviary* under March 11th.

Kirkcudbright (Ballantrae parish): 'Cuthbert's church'. The pre-Reformation name of Ballantrae. See under Kirkcudbright in the Stewartry.

Kirkdamdie or *Kirkdomine* (Girvan parish): ? 'the Lord's church'?

Kirkmichael (Kirkmichael parish): 'Michael's church'. The reference is to the archangel. See also under Dumfries.

Kirkoswald (Kirkoswald parish): 'Oswald's church'. See under Kirkcarsel, Kirkcudbright.

Of the Carrick commemorations, 13 are Celtic, 3 Biblical, 2 English and 3 uncertain—a total of 21, exactly the same as that for Kirkcudbright.

Dumfries

Brydekirk (Annan parish): 'Brigid's church'.

Closeburn (Closeburn, Closeburn parish): 'Osbern's' or 'Osbran's church'. Osbern was an English, Osbran an Irish saint (Watson 1926:167).

Dercongall (Holywood parish): 'Congal's oakwood'. Despite Watson, it seems unlikely that this is a commemoration of Conall, but the name may well commemorate a churchman.

Ecclefechan (Hoddom parish): ? 'Fechin's church'.

Kirkblain (Caerlaverock and Kirkmahoe parishes): 'Bláán's Church'. According to the notes to the *Martyrology of Oengus*, Bláán was bishop of Kingarth in Bute which is described as being in the territory of the Gall-ghàidhil. Dunblane in Perthshire is described as his principal seat. The *Aberdeen Breviary* includes an office for Bláán under August 10th (Anderson 1922:176–7). This appears to originate from Dunblane. Bláán was apparently a Briton, and so presumably his native language was Cumbric.

Kirkbride (Holywood parish): 'Brigid's church'.

Kirkconnel (Kirkconnel and Tynron parishes): 'Conall's church'. See under Kirkconnel, Kirkcudbright.

Kirkcudbright (Glencairn parish): 'Cuthbert's church'. See under Kirkcudbright. This apparent commemoration may be derivative and have no ecclesiastical connections.

Kirkmahoe (Kirkmahoe parish): 'my Cotha's church'. Watson (Watson 1926:162) identifies the saint with Mochoe of Nendrum in Co. Down. As Professor Jackson has pointed out (Jackson 1958:302), the commemoration is much more likely to be of Kentigern under the by-name Mochohe, preserved in chapter IV of Jocelin's *Vita Kentegerni* (Forbes 1874:169). Kentigern is also the patron of Abermilk in St Mungo parish.

Kirkmichael (Kirkmichael parish): 'Michael's church'. See under Carrick.

Kirkpatrick (Closeburn, Kirkpatrick-Juxta and Kirkpatrick-Fleming parishes): 'Patrick's church'.

Of the Dumfries commemorations, 12 are Celtic, 1 Biblical, none certainly English, and 2 uncertain—a total of 15.

In all four areas, there are 67 Celtic commemorations, 16 biblical, 4 English, and 10 uncertain. Of those last, 9 are probably and one possibly, Celtic. More than 75 of the 97 commemorations, in other words are likely to be Celtic.

Those names should be linked with the much smaller series in Cumberland, where 2 commemorations are Celtic, one English and 3 biblical. Another series occurs in the Isle of Man, but here it is more difficult to give precise figures. Fifteen of the 17 modern Manx parishes have names which follow *Kirk-* pattern. Eleven are Celtic commemorations, 4 biblical. Thirty-nine *keeill* names begin with that word, of which 27 certainly

contain commemorations. Of those, 8 are Celtic, 15 biblical, one English (Cuthbert) and 3 commemorate saints of the universal church—Catherine twice, and Martin (Kermode and Bruce 1968: Index).

The commemorations are predominantly Dark Age and Irish. The distribution ignores the national and local boundaries of the Middle Ages and later. One cannot claim that all the commemorations are early—the three Killantringans demonstrably belong to the twelfth century or later. Nothing much is to be made of the Kirkpatricks and Kirkbrides—commemorations of the two most famous Irish saints on routes used by pilgrims from Scotland and England to Ireland, and in territory much of which was long subject to the Douglases, whose patron saint was Bride, might date from any period of the Middle Ages.

Among the Scottish commemorations, a fourfold pattern seems to emerge—a Whithorn group, a Columban group, a Strathclyde group, and a small English (Northumbrian) group. The first is for the most part confined to Wigtownshire, indeed to the Machars and the southern Rhinns. Here I include Kirkcowan and the various commemorations of Finian. The possibility of an actual connection of those Irish saints with Whithorn is at least strongly suggested by surviving Irish documents. Finian is also found in Kirkcudbright and Man, and an early date for the commemorations is perhaps indicated by the fact that his name occurs in both Gaelic and Cumbric forms. I regard the two Kirkmadrines and the two Kirkmaidens, with their archaeological interest and dedications to more obscure saints, as belonging to this group, and it is possible that the two Kirkmabrecks should be added.

The second group may be regarded as centring on Columba, and includes Kirkcolm, the five commemorations of Donnan, Kirkcormack, Kilkenzie, Kilkerran and Colmonnel. The orientation is to the northwest, with a marked concentration on Carrick. Kirkcormack is the only one of the group to be found in the Stewartry.

The third group centres on Kentigern and the Cumbrian church, and has an eastern orientation. It includes Kirkmahoe, Abermilk and the three Kirkconnels. Kirkblane probably belongs here, as may Kirkmirren and Kirkconstantine in Carrick. Much less certain are Clashmahew in Wigtownshire and Kilwhannel in Carrick. The medieval diocese of Glasgow, which included both Dumfriesshire and Carrick, may to some extent explain the spread of this group, but the general concentration on Dumfries and the Stewartry is striking.

The fourth group, the Northumbrian, touches Carrick and Kirkcudbright, and extends into Cumberland and the Isle of Man. It includes the commemorations of Oswald, Cuthbert and the apostle Andrew, a favourite saint of the Northumbrian church.

The pattern is essentially that of northern Christianity in the seventh and eighth centuries. Almost certainly the Celtic commemorations do not result from, and probably antedate, the Northumbrian political and ecclesiastical supremacy during most of the eighth and ninth centuries. The 'inversion compounds' (MacQueen 1956:135–6) in

which Northumbrian saints are commemorated is a Celtic rather than a Germanic speech habit, something which suggests that the alien names have been fitted into a pre-existent linguistic pattern. This is supported by commemorations which preserve names in a Cumbric as well as a Gaelic form, and which therefore probably antedate the year 700. If the names belonged to the post-Anglian period of Norse influence, associated with the settlement of the *Gall-ghàidhil* (*c.* 875–*c.* 950), such formations as Kilquhockadale and Kirklebride would be more difficult to explain. Indeed, it seems likely that even the common *Kirk-* in inversion compounds often represents a replacement of an earlier *Kil-*, in districts where Scandinavian linguistic influence had become locally powerful (MacQueen 1956: 142). It is also important that the hostility of the *Gall-ghàidhil* to the Christian church was a byword. The commemorations, in other words, might have survived the settlement of the *Gall-ghàidhil*, but the times must surely have been unfavourable for the foundation of religious establishments on a scale such as the names imply. I have shown that some names demonstrably do, and others inferentially may, belong to the full Middle Ages, and I should be prepared to admit the possibility of adding to the number. But it is hard to believe that the majority of the names are any later than the period of *Gall-ghàidhil* settlement; the balance of the evidence, I believe, is that they are earlier.

This being granted, the commemorations, and the fact of their survival, must indicate a substantial Gaelic-speaking settlement in Galloway in the period between the sixth and the ninth centuries—a settlement which to an unusual extent was church-directed. The existence of Ninian's foundation at Candida Casa provides at least a partial explanation. Irish churchmen, attended sometimes at least by followers in substantial numbers, would in the ordinary course of events frequently visit Whithorn. If Irish-speaking farmers and fishermen were already established in Galloway, they would have a double motive for making the journey. Some would remain for months or years rather than days: a few would probably settle permanently. It is to visiting churchmen and their followers that I attribute the earliest Celtic commemorations in Galloway.

Fairly clearly, the modern Wigtownshire formed the centre of distribution on the mainland. If we exclude late and uncertain names, Wigtownshire has 31 commemorations, all but 6 of Irish saints. None are of English saints. Kirkcudbright has 14, with 10 Irish and 2 English: Carrick 15, with 9 Irish and 2 English: Dumfries 9, with 6 Irish and none necessarily English. This again would seem to emphasise the importance of Whithorn. Wigtownshire, too, is the only area in which something like a monastic *paruchia* seems to be visible in the case of the two Kirkmadrines and the two Kirkmaidens, one on each side of Luce Bay, and each closely connected with Whithorn.

The fact that in so many of the names quoted Norse *Kirk-* has been substituted for Gaelic *Kill-* is one pointer to the second main Gaelic settlement in Galloway, that of the *Gall-ghàidhil*, 'foreign, Norse, Gael'. (MacQueen 1956; Nicolaisen 1960: 61–70). 'These were men who had forsaken their baptism; and they were called Northmen, because

they had Northmen's manners, and had been fostered by them; and though the original Northmen did evil to the churches, these did far worse; this people, wherever they were in Ireland' (Anderson 1922:1. 287). That was written about events in the year 858 in Ireland: by 1138 the *Gall-ghàidhil* had not greatly changed, if we may trust the partisan words put by St Ailred into the mouth of the Norman, Walter Espec, before the battle of the Standard (MacQueen 1962:139). The emphasis is mainly on mere savagery. The Gallovidians, Walter claims, have amused themselves by throwing children in the air and catching them on their spear-points, and by ripping unborn infants from their mothers' womb and dashing them on the rocks. They have eaten their meat with the knives which had killed children; they have drunk water mixed with human blood, saying how fortunate they were to be able to drink the blood of Gauls. A Gallovidian who found a house full of children swung them by the heels against the doorpost, boasting afterwards to a companion, 'Look how many Gauls I have killed by myself today'. In addition, however, Walter still emphasises the hostility of the Gallovidians to Christianity. They have violated churches and the sacrament. It is not men but beasts that the Normans are fighting; the earth has not swallowed them up so that the Normans with their own hands might slaughter them.

This is good ascendency talk, not fully accepted even by Ailred, but even so, the ancestors of these Gallovidians are not likely to have founded some fifty churches to commemorate the saints of the Golden Age of the Celtic church. Ailred indicates that their language was certainly Gaelic. Whenever they refer to the English or Normans, the term used by them is 'Gauls' (*Galli*). Ailred may, or may not have understood it, but I do not think that any reference to France or Normandy is primarily intended. *Galli* is a Latin rendering of Gaelic *Gall*, 'foreigner', applied successively to Gauls, Franks, Scandinavians, Normans, English and lastly Protestants (in Ireland), and in Scotland to speakers of Lowland Scots. It is the first element of the very word Galloway, derived, as it is, from *Gall-ghàidhil*. But if this is the origin of the name, and Ailred is basing his work on authentic report, it is clear that the Gallovidians did not think of themselves as *Goill*—the term was reserved for the Normans and English.

Some of those *Gall-ghàidhil* may have been descendents of the earlier Irish settlers in Galloway who in the ninth and tenth centuries had been won or forced over to the Norse way of life. Others certainly were incomers from Ireland or the Hebrides. The *Gall-ghàidhil*, it is clear, are the people who created the great majority of the Gaelic place-names in Galloway. It must be emphasised that despite their association with Norsemen, they were primarily speakers of Gaelic rather than a Scandinavian language. There is no trace in Galloway of the extensive Norse settlement which introduced in the Hebrides such names as Carbost and Sheshader.

In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the *Gall-ghàidhil* existed as a virtually independent state with their own laws and customs administered by rulers whom the Irish annalists habitually describe as kings—Fergus, who died in 1161: his sons Uhtred, who died in 1174, and Gilbert, who died in 1185: Uhtred's son, Roland, who died in

1200: Roland's son, Alan, who died in 1234, and Thomas, Alan's bastard son, who on the death of his father attempted to succeed, but was rapidly and forcibly deposed in favour of his three legitimate sisters, each of whom married a Norman: Helen becoming the wife of Roger de Quincy: Derbforgaill, the wife of John de Balliol, and Christiana, the wife of William de Fortibus, earl of Aumerle. Helen died young and childless, and in effect Derbforgaill inherited the modern Kirkcudbright, Christiana Wigtownshire. The boundary at the significantly named River Cree (Gaelic *abhainn na crìche* from *crìoch*, 'boundary') may date from this time. Derbforgaill, it will be remembered, founded Sweetheart Abbey and endowed Balliol College, Oxford, in memory of her husband.

With most Gaelic place-names in Galloway, it is virtually impossible to decide whether they belong to the earlier era or to the period of the *Gall-ghàidhil*. Under such circumstances the balance is always in favour of the later period. Many names are simply descriptive—Freugh (*Fraoch*), 'heather'; with which is associated Loddanree (*lod an fhraoich*), 'pool among the heather'; Losset (*losaid*), 'a kneading trough', *i.e.* 'a small fertile patch of land'; Drummore (*druim mór*) 'big ridge'; Challoch (*teallach*), 'a smith's forge' (this usually appears as the name of a hill of no great height); Grennan (*grianan*), 'sunny place', often 'place where peats were dried'; Derry (*doire*), 'oak thicket'; Benyellary (*beann na h-iolaire*) 'peak of the eagle' (it is 2,360 feet in height); Myroch and Morroch (*murbhach*), 'plain near the sea'; Chippertie (*tiobartaich*), 'at well-place' (a field-name); Eldrig (*eileirg*), 'a defile, natural or artificial, wider at one end than at the other, into which the deer were driven, often in hundreds, and slain as they passed through' (Watson 1926:489); Balkelly (*beul [na] coille*), 'mouth of the wood'; Balloch (*bealach*), 'gap, pass'; Clash (*clais*), 'gutter', 'ditch'; Glaik (*glac*), 'hollow, valley'; Tonderghie (*tòn ri gaoith*), 'arse to wind'; Crammag Head (*cromag*), 'a crook' (the reference is to the shape of the headland as seen from above on the landward side); the Gounies (*na gamhna*), 'the stirks' with English plural—a name given to rocks under the headland to the south of Clanyard Bay in the Rhinns. Eclipsis sometimes occurs, as is no longer usual in modern Scots Gaelic, after the genitive plural of the definite article, but this feature is of little use for purposes of dating the names which illustrate it. Most of those names are also descriptive: Cairnywellan (*càrn na bhfaoileann*), 'cairn of the gulls'—a headland; Craigenveoch (*creag na bhfitheach*), 'rock of the ravens'; Damnaglaur (*dam na gclàr*), 'dam made out of planks'; Dunman (*dun na mbeann*), 'fort of the peaks' or 'fort of the gables'—an iron age fort on a steep cliff above the sea; Bennaveoch (*beann na bhfitheach*), 'peak of the ravens'; Dunveoch (*dùn na bhfitheach*), 'fort of the ravens'; Auchengairn (*achadh na gcarn*), 'field of the cairns'; and Pulnagashel (*poll na gcaiseal*), 'burn, stream of the bulwarks', or perhaps 'stream of the salmon cruives'.

All these names probably belong to the later period; others certainly do. I have already mentioned Killantringan, where the actual words used to form the compound indicate a twelfth- or thirteenth-century date. With the three Killantringans another point may be introduced. Before the Reformation, St Ninian's shrine at Whithorn was a major object

of pilgrimage from many places both inside and outside Scotland. The fourteenth-century author of a verse *Life of Ninian* (Metcalfe 1896:325–6), for instance, says:

> ilke yere
> men cumis of landis sere,
> of France, of Ingland and of Spanye
> of the pardon for bewanye,
> and of al landis this halfe Proyse,
> men cumis thare, of commone oyse,
> of Walys and Irland eke.
> Thar hyddir men wil seke,
> in sic nowmir, I tak one hande,
> that sic day ten thousande
> thar men wil se, for-out mare
> oftyme that cummis thare.
>
> (751–62)

The name Killantringan illustrates how the presence of those pilgrims affected the toponymy of Galloway. It is attached, first, in Wigtownshire to a farm above a pleasant sandy bay on the west coast, north of Portpatrick; secondly, in Carrick, to a loch beside the main road from Girvan to Stranraer near the head of Glenapp, and in the immediate vicinity of a farm called Auchencrosh (*achadh na croise*), 'field of the cross'; thirdly, again in Carrick, to a small farm on the main road from Girvan to Newton Stewart. All three, in other words, are strategically placed on major routes into Wigtownshire, two from the north and one overseas from Ireland to the west. All three, I suggest, mark the site of chapels erected for the use of pilgrims on their way to Whithorn. Almost equidistant (two to three miles) from Killantringan Bay, Portpatrick and Port of Spittal, three of the best landing places on the west coast, stands the modern Spittal (*spiteal*) 'a place of hospitality'. There are two other Spittals, one at a bridge over the River Bladnoch, five miles from the burgh of Wigtown, and one in Kirkcudbright, just above the estuary of the Water of Cree. All three, I suspect, have been places of accommodation for pilgrims to Whithorn in the period from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

In a rather similar way one may suspect that place-names which contain the final element *-drochat* (*drochaid*) 'bridge' belong to the Middle rather than to the Dark Ages, and may also be connected with the pilgrim traffic. I am aware of two, Kildrochat, a farm beside Culmick Bridge on the Piltanton Burn in Wigtownshire, and Bardrochat above the bridge over the River Stinchar at Colmonell in Carrick. It is on record that before 1441 the River Bladnoch was crossed by a number of wooden bridges, primarily intended for the use of pilgrims, but that during 1441 floods had swept them all away. As a consequence, Margaret, countess of Galloway, obtained a papal indulgence for those who assisted her to build a stone bridge (Reid 1960:119).

Names may sometimes be dated because they refer to persons, offices or occurrences of

historical record. The name Knockefferick, for instance, which is found near Kirkinner in Wigtownshire, and which appears in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century documents as Knokeffric, Knokaffric, Knokafrik, may contain the name of Affrica, Fergus of Galloway's daughter, who sometime between 1124 and 1142 married the Manx king, Olaf. Knockefferick is not much more than 5 miles from Fergus's castle at Cruggleton. Portree, 'king's port', once probably an alternative name for Portpatrick, *may* refer to the Lords or Kings of Galloway who belonged to Fergus's line. The name Balnab (*baile an aba*) means 'abbot's steading', and in Wigtownshire there are two places of this name, one 4 miles from the Abbey of Glenluce, the other a mile from the Priory of Whithorn. The first is on record in 1450 as the property of the Abbot of Glenluce. The second, despite its proximity to Whithorn, belonged to the Abbot of Saulseat, not far from the modern Stranraer some 25 miles distant from Whithorn (Reid 1960:29, 100, 111). Both place-names must be later than the foundation of the abbeys on which they depended—Glenluce in 1192 and Saulseat in the third quarter of the twelfth century.

One may indeed suspect that all names which contain the word *baile* are relatively late. (In Ireland, they are twelfth century, or later). Balmaclellan, Balmaghie, Balmurrie and possibly Balsmith self-evidently belong to the period when fixed surnames had become the normal practice. The modern name Ballantrae (*baile na tràighe*), 'steading on the shore', has replaced the older Kirkcudbright Innertigh, and indeed is first recorded as late as 1617. The older name for Sandhead on Luce Bay was Balgreggan; here the second element is probably *gràgan*, 'manor, big house'. The modern village street is clearly aligned on an impressive Norman motte or castle hill, still called the Motte of Balgreggan, and the *gràgan* which gave the village its name was, I suggest, either the wooden castle which once crowned the motte hill, or the tower house which probably succeeded it, and stood on the site of the modern Balgreggan House. The name Balgreggan, that is to say, cannot have come into existence much before the end of the twelfth century, and may even be considerably later.

Balgreggan is one of several Gaelic-speaking villages which grew up in the shadow of a Norman motte: others are Drummore, where the motte stands on what was probably the big ridge; Balmaclellan, where Maclellans may at some time have occupied the motte, and Dalry, which may mean 'king's meadow' (*dail an rìgh*); if so, the reference is again probably to the kings or Lords of Fergus's line, who in turn may have built the motte. The most successful among such developments was probably Innermessan beside the motte of the same name on Loch Ryan, a settlement which eventually achieved burgh status, and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had obviously become a place of some importance. Nowadays it has disappeared, except for a farm steading: during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was killed by the rise of the new burgh of Stranraer. Very recently however a rather ghostly seasonal reappearance has become evident: the site has been turned into a caravan park which in summer is fairly populous.

Besides those larger villages and smaller burghs, there were also the more sub-

stantial burghs of Wigtown, Whithorn, Glenluce and Kirkcudbright, the first an administrative, the others, at least to begin with, ecclesiastical centres. But it is clear that for most people in Galloway life continued to be a matter primarily of agriculture and stock-rearing, with attendance on Sundays and feast-days at the local church, which was probably administered by a vicar appointed from one of the monasteries which had gained control over most of the parishes. In the immediate neighbourhood of Balyieland, for instance, the home of the long-established family of McDouall of Logan, one finds a church, Killingeane, immediately under a hill, Knocktaggart (*cnoc an t-sagairt*), 'the priest's hill'. Logan Mill is nearby, as are Balgown (*baile a' ghobhainn*) 'steading of the smith', Auchness (*each-innis*), 'horse-meadow', Falnaha (*Fàl na h-àtha*), 'dyke of the kiln' (now a field-name), and Elrick, a name already discussed. This cluster of names represents the centre of activity and administration of the barony of Logan, a barony which extended as far south as Garrochtrie, which probably, I suggest, contains the word *gàradh* 'wall, dyke' in the sense of 'boundary dyke'. The name sometimes appears simply as Garroch. The farm of Creechan (*crìochan*), 'boundaries' probably represents the southern limit of a more southerly barony, that of the Edgars, which centred on Drummore, and was succeeded by that of the Gordons which extended to the Mill of Galloway. (Alternatively, and perhaps in view of the site more probably, the word is Gaelic *creachann* 'stony declivity of a hill'.) The Edgars' church was probably Kildonan, and that of the Gordons Kirkmaiden. Kirkleish was probably the church for the barony of Barncorkrie. All four baronies were included in the parish of Kirkmaiden, so Kildonan, Kirkleish and probably Kirkbride (near which is a field Kirkbride Kirkyaird with remains of buildings) and Killingeane may have functioned as chapels-of-ease, providing for the needs of a parish which, as one Vicar of Kirkmaiden in the middle fifteenth century ruefully observed, was 'eight Italian miles around and very populous' (Reid 1960:93).

The barony of Kirkcolm will serve to introduce another important feature of rural life in medieval Galloway. In the Rhinns generally, the land to the east is lower, more sheltered from the prevailing winds, and more fertile than the land to the west. In Kirkcolm the transition from east to west is marked by the name Ervie (*eirbhe*), 'a dividing wall or boundary'. The boundary separated cultivated land from summer pasture, for, directly to the west and above Ervie, one finds a group of names, Airies, Mains of Airies and Little Airies, all of which represent Gaelic *àirigh*, 'shieling', with English plural. It is clear that in Galloway, as in the Highlands and Islands, cattle in summer were driven to higher uncultivated ground, thus leaving the crops free to ripen in the lower cultivated land, undisturbed by farm animals. The word *àirigh* is common in Galloway and Carrick place-names especially in Wigtownshire, where we find, for instance, Airyolland (on which see Kilfillan above), Airyhemming, Airieglasson, Airyligg, Craigairie, Airiequhillart, Airies Knowes and Airyhassan.

Carrick provides the best evidence for the way in which agricultural land was subdivided for tenant farmers. There the basic unit was the pennyland (*peighinn*), a division

ultimately of Norse origin. From this were derived such names as Dupin, Pinbain, Pinwherry, Pinmore, Pinclanty, Letterpin, Pinmacher and Pinminnoch. A smaller unit was the halfpennyland or Leffin (*leth-pheighinn*), as in Leffin Donald, Garleffin and Leffinwyne. Smaller still was the farthingland, as in Farden, Fardenreoch, Fardendew and Fardenwilliam. The quarterland (*ceathramh*) is common throughout Galloway, as in Kirminnoch, Kirranrae, Kirriedaroch, Kirriemore and Kirriereoch. The term ounceland (*tìr-unga*, Manx *treen*) does not appear, but in the west generally the quarterland represents a quarter ounceland, and a pennyland one-twentieth of an ounceland or one-fifth of a quarterland. It does therefore look very much as if the general Galloway and Carrick system of land measurement was more or less identical with that which came to prevail in the Hebrides, Argyll and the Isle of Man, and which in all probability was yet another contribution by the *Gall-ghàidhil* to the Galloway economy. (An examination of such names will form the basis of a second article.)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am most grateful to Professor Kenneth Jackson for help in the preparation of this article. The faults are, of course, solely my own responsibility.

REFERENCES

ABERDEEN BREVIARY
1852 and 1854 edited for the Maitland Club. 2 vols. (The original was printed by Chepman and Miller in 1509 and 1510.)

ANDERSON, A. O. (ed.)
1922 *Early Sources of Scottish History A.D. 500 to 1286.* 2 vols. Edinburgh and London.

ANDERSON, A. O. and ANDERSON, M. O. (eds.)
1961 *Adomnan's Life of Columba.* London and Edinburgh.

ARMSTRONG, A. M., MAWER, A., STENTON, F. M. and DICKENS, B.
1950, 1952 *The Place-Names of Cumberland.* E.P.N.S. Cambridge.

BOYLE, A.
1968 'Saint Ninian: Some Outstanding Problems'. *Innes Review* XIX: 57–70.

CHAMBERS, R. W. and BATHO, EDITH C. (eds.)
1938 *The Chronicles of Scotland Compiled by Hector Boece, Translated into Scots by John Bellenden 1531*, vol. I. Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh.

FORBES, A. P. (ed.)
1874 *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern.* (*The Historians of Scotland.*) Edinburgh.

HEIST, W. W. (ed.)
1965 *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae.* Bruxelles.

HUNTER BLAIR, F. C. (ed.)
1886 *Charters of the Abbey of Crosraguel.* 2 vols. Edinburgh.

JACKSON, K. H.
1958 'The Sources for the Life of St. Kentigern', in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. N. K. Chadwick. Cambridge.

KERMODE, P. M. C. and BRUCE, J. R.
1968 *Manx Archaeological Survey. First to Fifth Report, Manx Archaeological Survey, Sixth Report.* Manx Museum and National Trust. (I am much indebted to Mr Eric Cregeen for drawing my attention to those valuable reports.)

KNEEN, J. J.
1925–1929 *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man.* Douglas

LORIMER, W. L.
1949 'The Persistence of Gaelic in Galloway and Carrick'. *Scottish Gaelic Studies* VI: 114–36.

MACQUEEN, J.
1956 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names'. *Archivum Linguisticum* VIII: 135–49.
1961 *St. Nynia. A Study of Literary and Linguistic Evidence.* Edinburgh and London.
1962 'The Picts in Galloway'. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* XXXIX: 127–43.

METCALFE, W. M. (ed.)
1896 *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century.* Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh.

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H.
1960 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland'. *Scottish Studies* 4: 49–70.
1965 '*Slew-* and *sliabh*'. *Scottish Studies* 9: 91–106.

PLUMMER, C. (ed.)
1910 *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae.* 2 vols. Oxford.

REID, R. C. (ed.)
1960 *Wigtownshire Charters.* Scottish History Society.

SKENE, W. F. (ed.)
1871 *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (*The Historians of Scotland*). Edinburgh.

WATSON, W. J.
1926 *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland.* Edinburgh and London. (Every reader of this article will realise the extent of my debt to Watson's great work.)

How Tame were the Highlanders during the Clearances?

ERIC RICHARDS

There is an aspect of the history of the Highland clearances which has yielded widespread agreement among historians past and present. It is that the Highlander, in the face of the most extreme provocation from landlords, remained passive and undemonstrative. In total contrast to their fellow Celts across the North Channel, they raised no opposition to the clearances: it is a story of heroic stoicism and submission. This article offers a different perspective on this problem while also hazarding some statements which relate the Highland experience to the general study of pre-industrial societies. If the main task of modern research in Scottish social history is the demolition of cherished myths, it may be that the notion of Highland passivity should be regarded, if not derelict, then at least very suspect.

An authoritative and succinct statement of the question has been given by H. J. Hanham. After 1745 the Highlanders, he remarks, became pacified, tamed and domesticated to such an extent that, in the clearances, 'scarcely a hand was raised against the destruction of much loved homes'. By the mid-nineteenth century the Highlanders had become 'notoriously god-fearing and law-abiding, and unwilling to cause trouble' (1969:21–3). Most seem to agree. Eric Linklater has stated without qualification that 'a singular feature of the clearances is the absence of resistance' (Grimble 1962:XIII), and T. C. Smout has remarked that there was no 'major organised protest' between the Leveller's revolt of 1724 and the crofters' war of 1882 (1969:325). William Ferguson writes that 'there was little resistance, the people were leaderless and stunned, the clergy for the most part siding with the lairds' (1968:276), and John Stuart Blackie claimed that 'the Highland people were, by the double influence of tradition and religion, by far the most loyal and law-abiding of her Majesty's subjects' (1885:192). W. C. Mackenzie said the same: 'With remarkable patience—the result of their religious training, and the torpor into which they had fallen through the hopelessness of their lot—the crofters had endured for generations their hardships, without open resistance to the oppressions of some proprietors, or, far worse, those of their tyrannical factors' (1907:321). Rosalind Mitchison emphasised 'the traditional submissiveness of the Highlander to civil and religious authority' (1970:393). John Prebble notes that resistance did occur but remarks that the common people came to accept sheep 'as they accepted famine and pestilence' (1963:52). Alexander Mackenzie claimed that 'The mild nature and religious training of

the Highlanders prevented a resort to that determined resistance and revenge which has repeatedly set bounds to the rapacity of landlords in Ireland. Their ignorance of the English language, and the want of natural leaders, made it impossible for them to make their grievances known to the outside world. They were, therefore, maltreated with impunity' (A. Mackenzie 1946:21). More recently E. J. Hobsbawm has written about the clearances in terms of the 'handful of Scottish nobles who drove their dumbly loyal clansmen across the seas to Canada to make room for the profitable sheep' (1969: 100). Alluding to the relative quiescence of the north in 1832 the great sheepfarmer Patrick Sellar gave a different gloss: 'The people', he wrote, 'know right from wrong. They know their friends; they speak English, they cannot be deluded by the old tacksmen who fattened on them' (S. P. Sellar to Loch, 20 May 1832).

There is an important corollary to the received interpretation on the question of the popular response to the clearances. It is that the crofters' war of the 1880s sprang into life without precedent: without warning, the peaceful world of the Highlands exploded. The 'Battle of the Braes' is thus regarded as a unique moment in Highland history: it was not until 1882 that the Highlanders at last shook themselves into action. Only then was the value of resistance by the common people realised, and a measure of success achieved. Even then, it is said, the crucial factor in the victory was the recruitment of outside support which made the crofters' case vocal to the nation.

Thus the story is one of pathetic peasant stoicism which showed no cracks until 1882. Like so much of Highland history it emphasises the very special, perhaps uniquely Highland, response to the pressures of the new economic age. In its main thrust this view contains an important element of truth. It is obviously correct to say that the clearances continued for more than a century without a violent halt. Nevertheless the burden of the present paper is to suggest that the conventional interpretation tends to distract attention from the long tradition, indeed the continuum, of popular Highland protest which broke out in every decade after 1790.

I

Surveying the evidence of popular disturbance in the period between 1800 and 1855 the most striking impression is one of sporadic but repeated eruptions of spontaneous resistance to established authority. Not only is there a continuity, but there is also a recurrent pattern in the record of popular protest. Totting up the scores one can find a minimum of forty occasions[1] when the forces of law and order were challenged by the will of the common people.

Highland disorder was favoured by the fragility of the system existing for the maintenance of civil peace in the north. Geographical isolation, the awkwardness of the terrain, and the derisory establishment of police and militia—all this inevitably left the authorities painfully stretched at times. It helps to explain the condition of near-

hysteria that often infected law officers and landlord agents during times of disturbances. The line of communication from Whitehall to Edinburgh, then to Inverness or Fort William, and then to the location of resistance, was long and easily broken. There were times—especially during the French Wars—when the availability of troops to put down recalcitrant Highlanders was extremely unsure.

Within the Highlands it was often difficult to raise constables who were sufficiently well-motivated to be trusted when putting down local skirmishes. In 1813 Sidmouth was informed that, in the Highlands, 'most of the local Militiamen are either themselves of the number who are to be dispossessed, or entertain the same sentiments. A Military Force of a different description has become necessary. There are however few troops in the North of Scotland' (Richards 1973). In 1821 it was difficult to get constables to do the unsavoury work of clearing the common people from the straths. There is good evidence that at Coigach in 1853 the authorities were exceedingly pessimistic about the pertinacity of either local or Glasgow policemen in the task of evicting obstinate and riotous crofters. The constables were lukewarm towards the work, and were generally sympathetic to the people. Thus, when the authorities did act—by calling in troops, despatching naval vessels, mobilising police from Glasgow—it gave the impression of employing a steam hammer to crack a nut. Nevertheless the over-reaction of authority in several instances may be one powerful factor explaining the general lack of sustained opposition by the people.

Two cases of confrontation may illustrate the 'classic' form of Highland protest behaviour. The people of Kildonan acted in February 1813. Here sullen discontent had been simmering for months. The clearance plans of the landlord required that at least sixty families be moved from the inland areas to resettlement zones along the Sutherland coast. Their old land would become part of a large commercial sheep farm. Valuers who came to mark out the sheep farm were given short shrift by the people. 'The natives rose in a body and chased the valuers off the ground and now threaten the lives of every man who dares dispossess them', wrote the local factor. The people had spurned the resettlement plans made for them by the Countess of Sutherland. The factor was at his wits' end: if he did not get 'power to quell this banditti we may bid adieu to all improvement' (Richards 1970: 170). It was war as far as he was concerned. He believed that the Kildonan affair was encouraging a spirit of insubordination across the Highlands. The people were driven by the notion that not only could they halt the clearances, but also that previous clearances would be reversed. The people would establish their right to the land which had been expropriated. It was one of several occasions when Whitehall was apprehensive of rumours of a Highland Rebellion.

The dénouement of the Kildonan affair was uncomplicated. Troops were called in from Fort George and Inverness: they travelled in fishing boats. Their journey turned out to be unnecessary. As soon as the threat of intervention was known, the people and the landlord came to terms. No legal action, it was agreed, would be taken against the people. From the factor was extracted a promise that future clearances would use no

harsh methods and that adequate warning would be given. For their part, though vanquished, the people had drawn the attention of London newspapers (notably *The Military Register* and *The Star*) by their actions. They also sent a deputation and petitions to London.

The most effective weapon in the hands of the Kildonan people was the attraction of national publicity. This indeed was a general feature of Highland social protest. On his own admission the landlord regarded such publicity as acutely embarrassing. His greatest fear in the whole Kildonan episode was that the subject would be brought before the House of Commons. At least in Sutherland, this fear acted as a brake—not always very effective, to be sure—on landlord policy throughout the era of the clearances. But it was also a recurrent tactic in the long story of popular discontent in the clearances. Often it took the form of an appeal by the people to some distant authority—to the Prince Regent, to the House of Commons (by petition), to Edinburgh and London newspapers, even to public opinion in general. It was as though the common people believed that the transparent rightness of their cause would be recognised above the heads of the landlords and their factors. The more sensitive, or perhaps the less desperate, of the Highland landlords conceded the danger of this tactic. In Sutherland such an anxiety plainly persuaded the landlord to curtail some clearance plans: fire was specifically prohibited in all post-1816 evictions. It also helps to explain why many of the later clearances—particularly after 1850—were executed in the name of anonymous legal agencies rather than directly by the landlords.

Many of the Kildonan people of 1813 emigrated to Canada with Lord Selkirk. He wrote of them: 'These people had so much of the Old Highland Spirit as to think the land their own'. They were fine people, morally and physically, and were not predisposed to violence—but, said Selkirk significantly, 'there is scarcely any who can be pointed out as a leading man'. They were 'rigid Presbyterians' (Selkirk: 16 June 1813).

The pattern of resistance—repeated many times before the Battle of the Braes—was vividly demonstrated in the Culrain uprising of March 1820. Here a large area was marked out for clearance: six hundred people were to be evicted without alternative provision of accommodation. At Culrain popular resistance was formidable. Officers delivering the summonses for eviction were set upon, humiliated and told never to return. A second attempt was made by a party of constables. This time they were 'seized by men in women's clothes—beat—and the summons burnt in their presence'. At this point the sheriff mustered a posse of forty constables, together with armed militia. The sheriff, confident of his strength, accompanied the party to Culrain. The confrontation is worth full description:

> they were opposed by an overwhelming number of men and women organised and armed to give Battle . . . hundreds of young lads and women met them on the Boundaries of the Grounds to be removed from, who had there a Collection of Stones and of which they made in their fury such use that hardly a Gentleman present or soldier came back without being hurt and several severely—even Gearnies [the sheriff] was hit several times. These women

> paid no regard to the fire arms—but rushed through knocking about them—one woman was shot and it is supposed mortally, another was badly wounded in the mouth and eye by a bayonet and a young lad was shot in the legs which immediately took him down . . . their principal force of reserve it was said were armed and reported to be about 500 . . . but observing the number of women suffice in making the Military and Civil force retreat they do not come nearer . . . they [the women] did not regard the Soldiers daring them to shoot as they would sooner suffer in that manner than remove.

Such was an excited account of a landlord factor. (S. P. Sutherland to Loch; 5 March 1820.) The desperate resistance lasted a fortnight and then was pacified by the combined persuasion of the local minister and the looming menace of military intervention. The minister publicly denounced the landlord, and specifically denied any connection between the Culrain affair and the radical politics of the day. The people, he said, had been goaded to distraction. He calmed them to an acceptance of their fate. It was a measure of his own influence in the community, and of the futility of further resistance.

II

In the many cases of popular resistance to landlord policy the common people seem to have adopted, or conformed to, a recurrent, almost stylised, mode of action. From these cases one can create a composite picture of a Highland disturbance as a four stage challenge to landlord authority:

i The local law officer, or landlord agent, would attempt to serve the summons of removal on a village. The first time he might simply be turned away. The second time he would be subjected to some kind of petty humiliation, most usually at the hands of the womenfolk of the village. They might seize his papers and burn them under his nose. Almost as frequently the officer was stripped naked and chased off the land—or else pushed out to sea in a boat without oars.

ii A posse of constables, led by a sheriff and his assistants would arrive—often very early in the morning. Real resistance would follow: they would be assaulted by volleys of stones and sticks from a massed group of the common people. In the front line of the latter were, invariably, the women and boys, making most noise and taking the worst injuries. Sometimes men were reported at the front—but dressed as women. But most of the menfolk were to the rear, apparently as a second line of defence. The resistance was usually sufficiently vociferous and violent to push back the posse. Meanwhile the common people may have made an appeal to some distant authority: the press, local worthies or even the landlord.

iii Higher legal authorities would be alerted: the Solicitor General, or the Lord Advocate, or perhaps the Home Office. Repeatedly the local landowners, in an advanced state of panic, would attribute the disturbances to agitators with suspected connections with 'Radicalism'. Sometimes there was inflated talk of a 'Northern Rebellion' which

helped persuade the authorities that military intervention was required—from Inverness, Fort William or Aberdeen.

iv The news of impending intervention was usually enough of itself to lead to a collapse of resistance. Troops intervened on ten occasions but were never actually engaged in physical hostilities. The termination of resistance was usually facilitated by the mediation of the local minister who produced a face-saving formula for the people. It generally took the form of a delay of removal, but did nothing to prevent the eventual clearance.

In the majority of Highland disturbances women took an extraordinarily prominent, often a dominant, role. At Durness in 1841 the women assaulted and humiliated the sheriff's officers. At Sollas in 1849 the women confronted the officers; at Lochshiel in 1842 the eviction party was driven off by the womenfolk; at Glencalvie in 1843 it was the women who took the lead. At Greenyards in 1854 the local women bore the brunt of the armed attack by the constables, and the women sustained the worst injuries. It was a similar story at Knockan and Elphin in 1852, at Coigach and at Ullapool in 1853. Women were, of course, a very prominent element in the 'Battle of the Braes' in 1882. We know very little of the historical sociology of the Highlands but the role of women in these riots is probably related to their position in the family economy.[2] Direct female activism indeed may be a characteristic of a pre-industrial society in conflict. In a semi-communal peasant life the women may naturally have placed themselves in the front line when the fabric of social existence seemed under threat.

As for the ministers, they have been afforded an unenviable reputation. They are regarded as the Quislings of modern Highland history. Alexander Mackenzie wrote, angrily: 'The professed ministers of religion sanctioned the iniquity [of the clearances] and prostituted their sacred office and high calling' (1946:22). W. C. Mackenzie concurred: 'The attitude of the clergy during the expatriation of the Highlanders was almost uniform in the absence of outspoken denunciation of an iniquitous injustice; in others they were passive spectators of it; with hardly an exception, they showed themselves unworthy of their calling' (1907:289). Certainly the influence of the clergy was considerable—as Eric Cregeen has said, 'In the nineteenth century the tacksman's role as a social leader and educator was largely taken over by the minister' (1968:189 fn. 16). But the connection between religion and social action is a notoriously subtle and complex question. The relationships between landlord policy, religious dissidence, and popular protest in the nineteenth-century Highlands have yet to be properly established. There were, for instance many occasions when the ministers spoke up, and wrote down, the case for the common people against the landlords. A reading of some of the Highland sections of *The New Statistical Account* (as well as government reports) demonstrates how critical and unsycophantic some of the ministers could be (this applies to Sutherland in particular—the county often represented as the most abused in this respect). But the ministers did not lead the people in physical resistance. T. C. Smout has

offered a general psychological proposition: that the Church provided a refuge into which passions were channelled away from violent opposition to landlords. In a vivid phrase he says that 'the people fled towards the compensations of an intense spiritual enthusiasm like leaves before the storm' (1969:465). In preaching a fatalistic acceptance of landlordism the ministers probably saved lives and avoided futile resistance: they dissuaded their people from violence in the face of the overwhelming power of the authorities. For the most part the role of the Highland ministers was not unlike that of Catholic priests in Irish rural disturbances of the early nineteenth century (Broeker 1970). They gave solace and mediation. They were leaders *of* the people, from *within* the crowd, but they cast their influence against the spontaneous resistance of the people.[3] Nevertheless it is not the case that the ministers invariably deserted the common folk. It is quite likely that the conventional view of the Highland clergy is close to a caricature.

Religion was of course one area of life in which the Highlanders were prepared to stand firm and united against the will of the landlord. The rioting against the induction of unacceptable ministers in the early nineteenth century was only a degree less violent than the anti-clearance agitation. Religion was a sphere in which the people were able to concert with unprecedented (though not total) unanimity. The Disruption of the Church in the Highlands was a saga of social protest which produced a measure of solidarity remarkable for its contrast with the weakness of organisation in the anti-clearance protests. Apart from the Disruption, rioting on religious issues took much the same form as the anti-clearance disturbances. So also did the Highland food riots of the 1840s.

Some of the weaknesses of Highland popular protest are reasonably obvious. Outbreaks of resistance were sporadic and spontaneous—they never cohered into a continuous threat to the landlords. Inchoate, dispersed, unarmed, apolitical and rural based, Highland discontent was unsophisticated in comparison with the methods of the new urban and industrial working class of central Scotland and England.

Highland leaders were too few in number and inadequate in organisational ability. Partly, these weaknesses may have reflected the loss of the traditional leaders in Highland society which resulted from the emigration of tacksmen. Those tacksmen who remained were frequently more closely attached to landlord policy than were the ministers. Where one is able to identify the leaders during disturbances they seem to be men of 'middling rank'—a schoolmaster, a publican, a small landowner, a failed land-agent, several half-pay captains. On the whole they lacked both funds and the ability to co-ordinate the rebellions.

Even more certainly there was a fundamental lack of a rallying ideology for the common Highlanders. The people believed that they had traditional tribal rights to their land and that the landlords were usurping those rights, and acting against real justice. This basic assumption was not given effective political expression until the 1870s. So far as one can tell, much of the thinking in the Highlands was essentially backward-looking. There was much discussion of lost rights—but little radical thought was

devoted to any consideration of the future of the Highland society and economy—or even to any notion of an alternative to landlordism. The voluminous evidence of the Napier Commission in the 1880s demonstrated the tenacity of this way of thinking. As T. C. Smout has written in a recent article—there was 'no reasoned economic argument against clearance' and 'the intellectual trumpets of the Scottish left gave forth no certain sound whatever' (1972:15). It was, of course, extraordinarily difficult for anyone to demonstrate conclusively, in short-run economic terms, that the Highlands could be rendered viable—even if the institutional structure were altered in the most radical fashion.[4] Through the nineteenth century there was an almost continuous rumbling of anti-landlord journalism in the north: it was able to frighten Highland proprietors who knew the potential power of a literary protest to act as a catalyst on the people. And there were those like Hugh Miller who were ready to assert that, in net practical terms, the clearances cost the landlords far more than any financial benefits that they derived. On the whole, however, the message was not well sustained.

But this was not only a Highland failure. British radical thinking as a whole failed to generate much effective questioning of the political and legal bases of landlordism. It was not until the emergence of Irish pressure after the famine that the Highlanders found any kind of political focus. Before that virtually all the intellectual penetration had come from outside—notably from Karl Marx and the Swiss economist Sismondi—both of whom caught at the significance of the Highland problem. From within Scotland only Hugh Miller and John Stuart Blackie were really able to budge the prevailing complacency of public opinion.

At the other end of the spectrum of protest it must be said that even in the technique of rural terrorism, the Highlanders were less active than their Irish counterparts. Through eighty years of discontent I can find only three instances of 'outrage'—of desperate protest against irresistible landlord power. The petty intimidation of English shepherds was fairly commonplace. In 1813 this type of antagonism was found in a threat—never fulfilled—that an attack would eventually be made on the unborn child of Mrs Reid, the Highland wife of an English sheepfarmer in Sutherland. Again in 1816—after the acquittal of Patrick Sellar, the throats of his sheep were slit in a kind of ritualistic blood letting. On one other occasion arson was the resort of evicted people seeking revenge on a landowner (Richards 1973). On the whole however the Highlanders did not follow the strategy advocated by Hugh Miller in a letter of 1846 in which he wrote:

> They (the Irish) are buying guns, and will be by-the-bye shooting magistrates and clergymen by the score; and Parliament will in consequence do a great deal for them. But the poor Highlanders will shoot no one, not even a site-refusing laird or a brutal factor, and so they will be left to perish unregarded in their hovels. I see more and more everyday of the philosophy of Cobbet's [sic] advice to the chopsticks of Kent, 'If you wish to have your wrongs redressed, go out and burn ricks; Government will yield nothing to justice, but a great deal to fear.' (W. M. Mackenzie 1905:190–1.)

Direct and physical social protest was generally less effective than the passive resistance which, although much more difficult to define, was virtually universal during the clearances. Inevitably passive resistance is less easily identified and gauged in its impact than physical protest. Nevertheless this was the other side of the coin of 'Highland fatalism'. A land agent in 1841 put the matter plainly enough: 'I was always afraid of this passive sort of resistance, and, if resorted to it will no doubt create a vast deal of difficulty and trouble to all concerned' (Richards 1973).

Passive resistance entailed a sullen refusal to partake in landlord plans, a withholding of co-operation—and an implicit rejection of all the assumptions of the landlord-directed transformation of the Highland economy and its society. It proved more lethal a weapon than violence in many areas. Of course landlords varied—some evicted their people without compunction and for them the relative passivity of the people was totally irrelevant. But for those landlords who wished not only to clear but to reconstruct the local economy, for those who sought to promote secondary industry, the social response was crucial.

A strong case could be made that in both Argyll and Sutherland radical landlord policies, involving heavy investment, and containing a reasonable chance of generating a new basis for Highland economic life, foundered on the rocks of social resistance by the common people. Sullen apathy, mixed with 'a malicious joy' when failure occurred, was an impenetrable barrier to development. This attitude—all-pervasive even into the twentieth century—may have been half the tragedy of the Highland problem.[5] Economic plans which ignored the social response entailed in those plans, carried within them the seeds of their own destruction. Indeed the failure to recruit the active co-operation of the people compounded the problems of generating economic growth in the Highlands. It would have been a miracle of planning for even the best-intentioned landlord to have rendered the clearance of the people palatable. As it was, the social response was ignored and the investment plans, for the most part, came to nought.

The work of Eric Cregeen on Argyll points this way. There was, he notes, 'a legacy of mistrust and hostility' which 'proved an almost insurmountable obstacle to the Argylls when in the eighteenth century they launched programmes of economic reform that required trust and co-operation from their tenants' (Cregeen 1968:154). Passive resistance with its withdrawal of collaboration developed into a formidable impediment to progress. Of the project in Tiree of the fifth Duke of Argyll, Cregeen has written: though 'impeccable in theory, the scheme was a total failure in practice. It embodied many of the defects of doctrinaire planning and was highly unpopular. With the spirit of resistance spreading through the island and giving rise to plans of emigration, the Duke seized the first pretext to withdraw his plan' (1970:19). Emigration from the Highlands had many causes but it was, as much as anything, a final expression of the polarisation of Highland society.

The popular campaign against Patrick Sellar in Sutherland in 1814–16 was neither violent nor passive. It employed relatively unusual tactics to draw attention to the

circumstances in Sutherland, with the object of destroying Sellar and reversing the clearances to the point where the land would be returned to the people. T. C. Smout has derided the 'ritual national hatred of Sellar', and has suggested that there has never been a proper intellectual rebuttal of Sellar's way of thinking: 'he was unkind and a bit rough', but unanswered (Smout 1972:16). Smout seems to imply that only on the most radical assumption—in effect, only when the criterion of profit-maximisation is relegated to secondary importance in the Highland economy—were Sellar's views at all assailable. This, however, may be too generous to the Sutherland sheepfarmer and his kind. Sellar can be impeached without recourse to such an extreme assumption. The critical point is that Sellar's attitude to social relations *of itself* gravely impeded the economic development of the Highlanders. It was an attitude which, when executed by way of policy, necessarily entailed a disruptive social response. The re-structuring of the economy and the collapse of social cohesion were central factors in the Highland tragedy. The fatal weakness of the Sellar mentality—and though he was an extremist in his views the direction of his thinking was followed by most clearing landlords—lay precisely in its failure to take into account the feelings of the common people. Their co-operation was never properly sought and they were thoroughly alienated—not by the intellectual consistency of the landlords' rationale but by the arrogance of the planners, and by the communal agony which was the practical consequence of even the most constructive landlord's plans.

The significance of Patrick Sellar and his ideology was that he helped to build that mountain of hatred which destroyed for a century any chance of a co-operative and radical attack on the Highland problem by the landlord and the people. It was expressed in the fatalistic apathy of the people which even today is not fully dispersed. It dislocated positive investment programmes during the clearances and left a legacy of burning distrust. Any attempt to reconstruct the Highland economy must take the most serious cognisance of the social context. The long history of economic experiments in the Highlands—from the Dukes of Argyll to Lord Leverhulme—presents a sharp lesson for any planning authority in the region.

III

In his recent paper 'The Problem of Highland Discontent, 1880–1885', H. J. Hanham has examined at length the circumstances of 'The Crofters' War'. Specifically he asks the questions 'Why . . . did such disturbances occur? And why, in particular, did they start early in 1882?' (Hanham 1969:30). Hanham is one of many writers who have stressed the apparent discontinuity element in the question of the Braes disturbances. In this interpretation 1882 is the year during which the Highlanders stopped being passive and, at last, fought for their rights. Hence 'The Crofters' War' requires a special historical explanation. Hanham answers his questions in terms of the current political and social

context, the over reaction of the local authorities, and the widespread press coverage. 'Once the attention of the outside world had been attracted, the character of the land problem in the Western Highlands changed dramatically' (1969:65).

With the assistance of Hanham's detailed descriptions one is able to define the main characteristics of the Skye incident of 1882. Although Hanham states categorically that 'There was no tradition of resistance to government and no desire to use the land agitation for general political purposes' (1969:22), virtually all the features of the crofters' agitation had their counterparts in the pattern of protest that had been repeated so often in the previous eight decades. The main contrast was the ultimate success of the agitation as a movement—though even success was not unprecedented. Otherwise, to put the point somewhat paradoxically, the 1882 agitation was within a long-established continuity of sporadic protest in the Highlands.

The Skye events seem to have begun with the attempt to serve notice of ejectment on a group of people following a dispute over lost grazing rights. The people were in defence of what they regarded as traditional rights to their land. The first summons had been burned by 'some crofters and their wives'. During the main confrontation with the police force the womenfolk played a prime role. The accompanying newspaper reporter gave a description reminiscent of many such scenes earlier in the century of clearances:

> The women with infuriated looks and bedraggled dress . . . were shouting at the pitch of their voices, uttering the most fearful imprecations, hurling forth the most terrible voices of vengeance against the enemy. . . . The women, with the most violent gestures and imprecations, declared that the police should be attacked (Hanham 1969: 24, 30).

The people possessed no firearms and no apparent leader was picked out. The action had had 'a religious counterpart in a riot of Strome Ferry in 1883'. Hanham does not mention any intervention by the minister but reports that the dispute was eventually settled quite amicably in December 1882 (1969:53).

The authorities blamed the events on 'agitators'. It was found that 'the forces of law and order in Skye (a pitiful fiction) were far too weak to serve writs or notices on tenants determined not to receive them' (Hanham 1969:54). Thus outside police were requisitioned. Hanham notes a reluctance on the part not only of the police, but also the army and the navy, to become involved. He writes, 'There is no suggestion [in the reports] that an attack at dawn on the houses of god-fearing Free Churchmen by a large body of police from Glasgow is an odd way of arresting five crofters in Skye' (1969:30). It was in fact a well tried way of dealing with recalcitrant crofters. As it was, the force proved to be insufficient—any smaller action would have been implausible. Each of the characteristics of the 'Battle of the Braes' had had its echo in previous Highland riots.

Nevertheless the events became part of a wider conflagration in the Highlands which was unprecedented in its level of sustained agitation, its geographical solidarity, and the positive legislative response which it eventually elicited. As Hanham points out, the

connections with the Irish Land Leaguers, the sympathy of expatriate Highland societies, and the excellent press coverage, were each important factors (1969:64–5). Yet it is also true that land agitators had given vent in previous Highland disturbances—the writing of Donald MacLeod, David Ross, Hugh Miller, Karl Marx and Sismondi in the early 1850s had provided some semblance of a strategy for the crofters' revolt. In 1855 landlords in the north were fully aware of 'a strong feeling among the people that they would all resume possession of what they conceived to be the possessions of their fathers' (S.P.: James Loch to the Duke of Sutherland 19 Feb. 1855). The Duke of Sutherland was warned that if landlords 'persevere in pursuing a mistaken policy they do more to hasten their downfall than the wildest Leveller could hope to accomplish' (S.P. Davidson to Duke of Sutherland 3 Aug. 1855). Press coverage of Highland protest was not new—most riots were reported, and newspapers such as *The Military Register*, *The Scotsman* and *The Times*, at various times took up a stridently sympathetic attitude to the crofters—in the 1810s, 1840s, and 1850s. It was not a new development: nor was expatriate assistance unprecedented. In 1822, for instance, 'The Expatriated Highlanders of Sutherland' in India, in addition to voicing criticisms of landlordism, had raised subscriptions for victims of the clearances.

There are so many elements in the crofters' war which are common to previous riots that the pressing historical questions would seem not to be 'Why did they start in 1882?' but 'Why, in the 1880s, did the disturbances yield such rapid returns?' Since the character of the disturbances had changed so little, it seems most likely that the explanation will be in terms exogenous to the Highlands. The key variable may be in the changing receptivity of both public opinion and the authorities to the demonstrations of Highland crofters. Press coverage undoubtedly helped, so also did the Irish parallels: but the most important element was probably the least defineable—public opinion in the south. The pattern of Highland discontent had changed very little.

IV

John Stuart Blackie, writing in 1885, was prepared to advocate greater direct resistance for the Highlander: 'Sometimes, however, they did resist, and recent experience has amply proved that they might have been better treated, if they had at an earlier period, and with greater observance, applied to the Government accustomed to act only on compulsion from below, the highly stimulant recalcitration of a Kenmore or Killarnye squatter.' Blackie stated clearly his opinion that 'the lawbreakers in the Highlands were less to blame for recent disturbances than the lawmakers' (1885:192–202). In a similar vein were the remarks of W. C. Mackenzie that 'so long as the Highlands remained quiet, neither of the great political parties paid heed to the miseries of the voteless and voiceless proletariat; but when the agents of the law were defied, public opinion fired the government into action' (1907:321–22). There is of course a danger in concentrating

attention on one aspect of the Highland question since there will be a tendency to inflate the importance of disturbances in the history of the clearances. Nevertheless it is one thing to say that popular Highland resistance before 1882 was relatively ineffective: it is something quite different to believe that it was non-existent.[6]

There was a contrast not only with the Irish, but also with the English experience. As E. P. Thompson has pointed out 'enclosure riots [in England] were rare, not because enclosure was not unpopular, but because the people learned early that to riot was hopeless' (1968:20). It would be a mistake to write off the record of Highland protest as futile. In functional terms the resistance performed three important tasks: it attracted public attention which had a cumulative effect; it checked the full exercise of landlord power; and it sabotaged plans of economic reconstruction. Resistance, or the threat of it, helped to define, increasingly restrictively, the tolerable limits of landlord behaviour and thereby reduced some of 'the legalised brutality' of the clearances (Smout 1972:16). It acutely embarrassed the more sensitive of the Lairds. In Sutherland it certainly produced a degree of caution in, and later a suspension of, the clearance policy. At Coigach (as well as at Elphin and Knockan) it prevented a clearance.[7] But, in the long run, it was passive resistance that was more permanent and decisive in its consequences. If the Napier Commission Report was an acceptance of 'the Highland ideology' then the deadening passivity of the Highlanders had proved its power.

It is inconsistent with the historical record to consider the crofters' war of 1882 as a unique case of Highlanders rebelling against established authority. That occasion, indeed, was in almost every respect within the classic mould of Highland protest set since 1790. The Highlanders in 1882 had not suddenly become untamed. The Skye people revolted in the manner, and employing much the same methods, that had been used throughout the clearances. It was not only a victory for 'Highland ideology' but also for the new sensibility of Victorian opinion and its growing and faintly condescending concern for lesser elements on the fringe of society. The social conscience of the British upper middle classes had changed. The Highlanders had changed hardly at all.

In comparing the Highlanders' response to the clearances with our knowledge of the reactions of other agrarian societies, one is struck by similarities. Indeed the forms of protest employed by the Highlanders correspond exceedingly well with the types of social action that are now well known in other pre-industrial societies. The apolitical character of the riots, the spontaneity, the sporadic incidence, the composition, the absence of arms, the role of women, the motives, the fragility of effective leadership—all this accords well with the established patterns of the typical pre-industrial forms of protest. From studying the experience of other pre-industrial societies Charles Tilly has defined an analytical category which he terms 'reactionary collective violence'. Such disturbances he says are usually 'small in scale, but they pit either communal groups or loosely organised members of the general population against representatives of those who hold power, and tend to include a critique of the way power is being wielded.... The somewhat risky term 'reactionary' applies to their forms of collective violence

because their participants were commonly reacting to some change that they regarded as depriving them of rights they had once enjoyed; they were backward-looking' (Tilly 1969:16).[8] It might be fair to say that the occurrence of food riots in the Highlands into the 1850s (they had virtually disappeared in the rest of Britain by 1830) is a further symptom of survival of the essentially 'pre-industrial' mode of life in the Highlands. More generally, on these comparative criteria, the Highlanders' action during the clearances, far from being especially tame, was a good average for such a society. The Highlander was not so much naturally submissive as technically limited in his possibilities of effective protest. In the main the Highlanders behaved and reacted in a manner that we have come to expect of a pre-industrial society in such circumstances.

The widening literature of crowd studies in other societies suggest many parallels with the Highland experience. But the point may have a wider application. For instance T. C. Smout has recently introduced the stimulating idea of 'the Highland ideology' by which 'the crofter put home before wealth, the possession of land before the dubious opportunity to gain enrichment by a better income as an industrial worker, or even as a landholder overseas' (1972:14). Such attitudes may have been less exclusively Highland and more widely characteristic of pre-industrial societies to an extent that would transcend the specifically regional focus offered by Smout.[9]

The main burden of so much discussion about the Highlands has tended to be in terms of the notion that there has been something uniquely Celtic in its character and institutions. This applies to such questions as the Highland attitude to the profit motive, to social protest, to religion and to economic development. It may be more helpful if social historians considered the Highland experience in relation to similar societies. It is not necessary to deny the special qualities of life in the nineteenth-century Highlands to see it as an essentially pre-industrial society in a growingly industrial age. Such an approach, for some, will rouse the bogey of historicism. Nevertheless a more eclectic and analytical approach in general might yield new perspectives in Scottish social history.

NOTES

1 I have documented these cases in some detail in my forthcoming paper 'Patterns of Highland Discontent 1790–1860'.

2 For an excellent description of the work of women in the West Highland economy in the 1820s, see Peter Bayne, *Life and Letters of Hugh Miller*, 2 vols., London 1871, vol. II. p. 115.

3 They were in effect reverse types or 'leaders-in-reverse'—a figure neglected in the study of crowd behaviour.

4 I am currently preparing a survey of 'Solutions to the Highland Problem since Adam Smith'.

5 This is not to say that 'non-co-operation' was the only reason for the failure of the Highland economy, as will be obvious to anyone who has read the work of Malcolm Gray.

6 There may be some parallel with the experience of contemporary England. See the intriguing footnote on page 182 of Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780–1880*, London 1969: 'There was . . . a great deal more sporadic agrarian violence between 1830 and 1870 than is usually

supposed, *cf.* the forthcoming work of Dr. E. J. Hobsbawm on this topic.' [E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, London 1969.]

7 These points are considered in my paper mentioned in footnote 1.

8 *Cf.* George Rudé's remarks: 'the pre-industrial age has its own type of disturbance whose objects, behaviour, forms of action, and participants are, more or less, peculiar to the times' (Rudé 1964:5) and also the 'common features' described in his essay (Rudé: 1970).

9 It should be noted that Smout has himself made comparative statements of the kind which I am advocating, *e.g.* 'In many ways there are much greater similarities between the peasant culture of seventeenth-century Scotland and those of the more backward tribes of Asia and Africa than between that culture and that of the modern rural Scotsman who were their direct descendants.' (1969: 134). The dangers of the comparative approach of course should not be neglected: see E. P. Thompson's warning about the over-facile comparison of disparate phenomena under such rubrics as 'The Nuclear Family', 'The Peasantry', and 'Pre-Industrial Society', with the consequence that 'the integument of the historical discipline comes under extreme strain, and is in danger of being punctured to let in a gush of abstract typological air.' Thompson adds that the danger may be worth risking. ('Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical context', *Midland History*, vol. 1 (1972), p. 46.)

REFERENCES

Manuscript Sources

SELKIRK — Selkirk Papers, Public Archives, Ottawa, Selkirk to MacDonnell (C.M.G. 19 E1, 1(2). Pp. 650–661)

S.P. — Sutherland Papers, Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford. All references are to the Estate Correspondence (D593K).

Printed Sources

BLACKIE, J. S.
1885 *The Scottish Highlanders and the Land Laws, an Historical-Economical Enquiry*. London.

BROEKER, GALEN
1970 *Rural Disorder and Police Reform in Ireland 1812–1836.* London.

CREGEEN, ERIC
1968 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll in the Scottish Highlands', in *History and Social Anthropology* edited by I. M. Lewis. London.
1970 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll in the Scottish Highlands', in *Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century* edited by N. T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison. Edinburgh.

FERGUSON, WILLIAM
1968 *Scotland, 1689 to the Present Day*. Edinburgh.

GRIMBLE, IAN
1962 *The Trial of Patrick Sellar. The Tragedy of Highland Evictions.* London.

HANHAM, H. J.
1969 'The Problem of Highland Discontent, 1880–1885'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th Series, 19:21–67.

MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER
1946 *The History of the Highland Clearances* (2nd edn.). Glasgow.

MACKENZIE, W. C.
1907 *A Short History of the Scottish Highlands and Islands* (2nd edn.) London.

MACKENZIE, W. M.
1905 *Hugh Miller. A Critical Study*. London.

MILLER, HUGH
1870 *Leading Articles on Various Subjects*. Edinburgh.

MITCHISON, ROSALIND
1970 *A History of Scotland*. London.

PREBBLE, JOHN
1963 *The Highland Clearances*. London.

RICHARDS, ERIC
1970 'The prospect of economic growth in Sutherland at the time of the Clearances, 1809–1813.' *Scottish Historical Review* XLIX: 154–172.
1973 'Patterns of Highland Discontent, 1790–1860', in *Popular Protest and Public Order, 1780–1920*, edited by J. Stevenson and R. Quinault (forthcoming).

RUDÉ, GEORGE
1964 *The Crowd in History, 1730–1848*. New York.
1970 *Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century*. London.

SMOUT, T. C.
1969 *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830*. London.
1972 'An Ideological Struggle: The Highland Clearances.' *Scottish International* 5, No. 2, Feb. 1972:13–16.

THOMPSON, E. P.
1968 'English Trade Unionism and other Labour Movements before 1790.' *Society for the Study of Labour History* Bulletin No. 17.

TILLY, CHARLES
1969 'Collective Violence in European Perspective', in H. D. Graham and T. R. Gurr, *Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. New York.

Marriage Patterns and Social Sectors in Scotland before the Eighteenth Century

IAN CARTER

The history of Scotland is the history of a number of distinct social and political units.

> Scottish history is at bottom a provincial history, yet it has suffered from the failure of historians to grasp this fundamental truth. All our standard histories are written from the viewpoint of a national entity which is assumed long centuries before it existed (Simpson 1923: viii).

Rosalind Mitchison proposes that Scotland, for the purposes of historical analysis, should be divided into three exclusive sectors: Highlands, Lowlands and North (Caithness, Orkney and Shetland) (Mitchison 1962:4). This paper presents a test of the existence of an autonomous Highland social system between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, during the latter part of the period in which clanship was the organising principle of Highland social structure. It is an empirical test of an argument presented in an earlier paper (Carter 1971:113).

The study rests on the assumption that the choice of marriage partners for a clan chief or the head of a cadet branch of a clan, and for the corresponding actors in a Lowland family, was an important political decision before the institutional incorporation (Pearse 1971:75) of the Highlands into the national community. Fraser of Reelig asserts the political importance of marriage for the chiefly line of Fraser of Lovat:

> A scrutiny of the proved Lovat pedigree reveals that the chief's subsequent prosperity was primarily due to a sequence of carefully planned marriages. After 1416 they sought no more landed heiresses. But for nearly a century—from 1416 till 1512—no chief married into a Highland family, though sometimes his younger children might. The chiefly marriages were with the noble "Names" of Wemyss, Lyon, Gordon and Gray... Even after 1512 no MacShimi married a MacDonald, a MacLean, a Cameron, or a MacKintosh. Anyone familiar with Scottish history of this period can see the wisdom of this self-restraint, for by this alone could the favour of the Crown be retained, and the chiefly patrimony rendered secure. Highland relationships in particular were prone to involve the whole kindred in sanguinary feuds, if not open rebellion. The Lovat chiefs were well aware of this danger. (Fraser of Reelig 1966: 17–18).

The establishment of cadet branches was an essential part of consolidating the clan's hold on its territory (Fraser of Reelig 1966:19), so the marriages of the heads of such cadet branches would clearly also have political significance for clan members. Moreover,

although there was a preference for endogamy and patrilocal residence in the clan system, that system was cognatic rather than patrilineal (Fox 1967:159). That is to say, a child inherited membership of his father's clan, but he was also a member of his mother's clan. In a society, like that of the Highlands, where cognatic descent groups formed the kinship structure and kinship was intimately bound up with economic and social structure, marriage alliances would clearly be extremely important political actions. The analysis of the marriage patterns of clan gentry and Lowland family heads should show whether or not the Highlands formed an autonomous social and political sector before 1700, by seeing if it was thought worthwhile, in a situation where marriages were arranged, to make alliances by marriage within the Highland area.

Method of Study

The definition of the Highland area is taken from Grant (1961:10). The boundary follows the Highland Boundary Fault in the south then follows the edge of the hills around the Mounth, cuts the Moray coast at Nairn, and excludes Caithness and the North Isles. The eight hundred foot contour line is taken as the boundary round the Mounth, and straths which penetrated into the Highland area at a lower level are regarded as Highland from the point where the strath cut the extrapolated eight hundred foot contour. This definition of the Highland area, shown in Figure 1, is largely based on geographical criteria; but the definition is social and cultural rather than geographical. Cleavages in language and culture, religion, social organisation and economic production are superimposed on this geographical division between Highlands and Lowlands (Carter 1971:109–111).

Cases are chosen to provide examples of Highland clans living well away from the boundary with non-Highland areas (MacDonald and MacKenzie), an example of a Highland clan living close to the boundary (Fraser of Lovat), and examples of Lowland families (Burnett of Leys and Fraser of Philorth). The choice of particular cases is governed by the availability of good genealogical information. The method is to abstract from the genealogical information the name of each head of the clan or family and its branches who died between 1500 and 1900, or as late as the source allowed if before 1900. Dates of death are used rather than dates of marriage because the former are much more frequently recorded. The name of the wife or wives of each individual is also abstracted, and the name of the place of residence of the father of the wife or wives.[1] The name of the wife's father and his place of residence are the crucial data: they are used to establish whether the marriage formed an alliance within the Highland area or the non-Highland area, or whether links were forged across the Highland boundary. 'Non-Highland' is a residual category in this analysis: it is taken to mean anywhere not included in the Highland area. This would obviously cause problems in some studies, but does not matter here since the key concern is the autonomy of the Highland sector.

A time-cut is established at 1700. This is an arbitrary date, since the destruction of

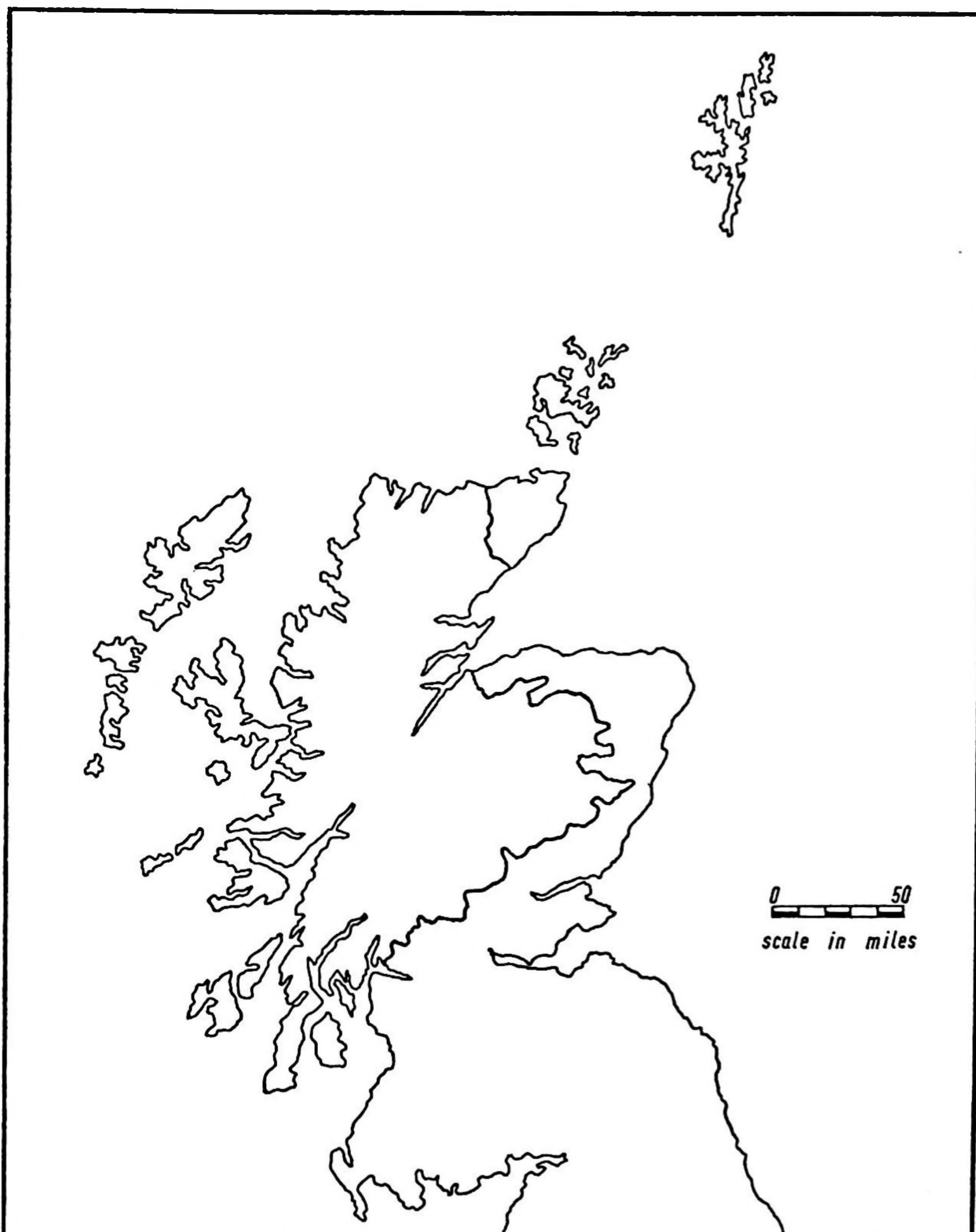


FIGURE 1 : THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN HIGHLAND, LOWLAND AND NORTH SECTORS.

clanship and the centralisation of political authority in Scotland took place over several generations—although one can identify key events in this process, such as the legal changes that followed the Jacobite Rebellions. Where the information on death dates is incomplete the cut-off point is established by means of a convention that a generation is twenty-five years. This will clearly introduce errors, but such errors will be randomly distributed.

Results

Cross-classification of the data on the two dimensions of Highland/non-Highland paternal residence and death before or after 1700 produce the results shown in Tables 1 to 6. Tables 1 and 2 show the results for the West Highland clans, the MacDonalds[2] and the MacKenzies.[3] Despite the differences in the origin (Grant 1961:15–16, 18) and history of these clans, the data present remarkably similar patterns. In each case one finds before 1700 a very strong tendency for chiefs and the heads of cadet branches to marry, and thus form alliances, within the Highland area. The proportion of marriages contracted with partners from outside the Highlands increases after 1700, in both cases, to about one-third of all marriages.

TABLE I

Marriage Patterns of Clan MacDonald, 1500–1880

	Origin of Wife (Per Cent)		*Number of Cases*
	Highland	*Non-Highland*	
1500–1699	93	7	46
1700–1880	66	34	80

Table 3 shows that the family of Burnett of Leys,[4] unambiguously Lowland yet living no great distance from the Highland line in Aberdeenshire, never saw any advantage in making alliances with Highland Clans. There is not one instance, before 1700 or after, of a wife of a Burnett laird coming from the Highland area.

Table 4 shows that the Frasers of Philorth[5] had a disinclination to marry Highland girls almost as marked as that of the Burnetts. The proportion of marriages contracted with Highland partners increased slightly after 1700, but it still remained very small.

TABLE 2

Marriage Patterns of Clan MacKenzie, 1500–1900

	Origin of Wife (Per Cent)		Number of Cases
	Highland	Non-Highland	
1500–1699	92	8	59
1700–1900	62	38	69

The Frasers of Lovat present a more complex picture. By contrast with the MacDonalds and MacKenzies, clans of Gaelic origin, the clan Fraser of Lovat is an offshoot of a Norman Lowland family (Fraser of Philorth 1879: I. vii). Some Gaelic customs were soon adopted, like the fostering of chiefly children with clansmen, but the chiefly line of Fraser of Lovat remained much less integrated into the Highlands than did the MacDonalds or MacKenzies. Marriage patterns demonstrate this point. Seven marriages were contracted with Highland partners by Fraser of Lovat chiefs between 1500 and 1699, and five marriages with non-Highland partners. Between 1700 and 1900 there were two Highland matches and four non-Highland matches.

TABLE 3

Marriage Patterns of the Family of Burnett of Leys, 1500–1900

	Origin of Wife (Per Cent)		Number of Cases
	Highland	Non-Highland	
1500–1699	0	100	16
1700–1900	0	100	18

But if the marriage patterns of chiefs of the main line of clan Fraser show an intention to maintain strong links with non-Highland areas, the marriage patterns of the Highland sections of clan Fraser[6] as a whole show no such intention.

TABLE 4

Marriage Patterns of the Family of Frasers of Philorth, 1500–1878

	Origin of Wife (Per Cent)		*Number of Cases*
	Highland	*Non-Highland*	
1500–1699	8	92	12
1700–1878	14	86	14

TABLE 5

Marriage Patterns of Clan Fraser of Lovat (including the Highland sections and the Lovat chiefs), 1500–1895

	Origin of Wife (Per Cent)		*Number of Cases*
	Highland	*Non-Highland*	
1500–1699	80	20	64
1700–1875	57	43	105

Table 5 shows there was a stronger tendency to form alliances with non-Highland groups than was the case with the MacDonalds and MacKenzies, but a large part of the difference is accounted for by the idiosyncratic pattern of the main Fraser of Lovat line. If one concentrates on the marriage patterns of cadet branches of the clan living in the

Highlands, then once again it appears that place of residence strongly determined the choice of marriage partners.

Striking support for this thesis is provided by the behaviour of those cadet branches of clan Fraser of Lovat[7] which were settled in non-Highland areas. The Frasers of Strichen and of Inverallochy occupied lands in east Aberdeenshire. Fraser of Reelig tells us that

> The Aberdeenshire properties were in character essentially Lowland, even though their Lovat possessors spent much of their time in their own Highland country, and made a point of taking a prominent part in clan affairs. (Fraser of Reelig 1966: 10).

TABLE 6

Marriage Patterns of Lowland Cadet Families of Clan Fraser of Lovat, 1500–1895

	Origin of Wife (Per Cent)		*Number of Cases*
	Highland	*Non-Highland*	
1500–1699	0	100	6
1700–1895	27	73	11

Despite this involvement in the matters of the clan, Table 6 shows that the heads of these cadet branches invariably made marriages with non-Highland partners between 1500 and 1699, and usually made such marriages afterwards. This pattern is much closer to the Lowland Frasers of Philorth than it is to the Highland sections of the Frasers of Lovat: the preference for endogamous marriages that Fox sees to be a mark of the kinship system of Highland clans is heavily outweighed by the advantages to be gained by making alliances through marriage with other Lowland dwellers.

Discussion

The above analysis supports the hypothesis that the Highlands formed an autonomous social and political sector between 1500 and 1700. The Highland boundary not only separated objectively defined differences in language, culture, religion and social organisation, but also divided Scotland into a number of what Barth calls *ethnic groups*: that is, groups created by individuals defining themselves, or being defined by other

people, as having common features with other members of the ethnic group (Barth 1969: 10). The existence of two ethnic groups—Highlanders and Lowlanders—is characteristic of Scotland in the period with which we are concerned. James VI had a clear conception of Highlanders as an ethnic group:

> As for the Hie-lands, I shortly comprehend them al into two sorts of people: the one, that dwelleth in our maine land, that are barbarous for the most parte yet mixed with some shawe of civilitie: the other that dwelleth in the Iles and are alluterlie barbares . . . reforme and civilize the best inclined among them, rooting out or transporting the barbarous and stubborn sort and planting civilitie in their roomes (James VI, Basilikon Doron, quoted in Smout 1969: 111).

This conception of Highlanders as a different kind of people comes out again and again in the accounts of the travels of Lowland and English visitors. Here is Dr Johnson's impression:

> At Nairn we may fix the verge of the Highlands; for here I first saw peat fires, and first heard the *Erse* language (Johnson 1928: 22, original emphasis).

It is less easy to document the Highlanders' perception of Lowlanders as a separate ethnic group, since Gaelic culture was oral, not written. But Johnson notes the unfavourable attitudes still held by Highlanders to Lowlanders in the 1770s:

> By their Lowland neighbours they would not willingly be taught; for they have long considered them as a mean and degenerate race. These prejudices are wearing fast away; but so much of them still remains, that when I asked a very learned minister in the islands, which they considered as their most savage clans: '*Those*, said he, *that live next the Lowlands*' (*Op. cit.*: 31, original emphasis).

Residence in the Highland area or the Lowland area (and, we may suggest, the North area) thus involved belonging to an ethnic group, in Barth's terms, before the social and political incorporation of the Highlands into Scotland. But the existence of a relatively impermeable social boundary between Highland and non-Highland areas demonstrated above does not mean that the boundary was equally impermeable in spheres of life other than the social. Economic historians have emphasised the economic flows that crossed the boundary, with exports of Highland cash crops (notably black cattle) paying for needed imports of grain, iron and, in some areas, timber (Gray 1957:42–9). The existence of economic links does not necessarily imply any other form of linkage (Barth 1969:16–17). Indeed, economic links by themselves may not mean that non-economic differences between sectors will grow less important, as economic historians suggest (Smout 1969:345): rather, economic contacts at the boundary may emphasise how different in social, cultural, and other matters are the members of different ethnic groups, and so serve to consolidate social and cultural differences (Barth 1969:15–16). Thus, interaction at the boundary of Highland and non-Highland sectors may be seen to reinforce the definition of the sectors.

The analysis presented earlier in this paper shows that, by and large, from 1500–1700 there was a strong statistical relationship between residence in the Highland area and marriage within that area. A similar strong relationship holds for Lowland marriage and Lowland residence. In these situations there is no conflict between ethnic group membership (taking residence in the Highlands or in the Lowlands as a measure of ethnic group membership) and objective criteria like language, culture and religion. But a case like that of the Lowland cadet branches of the Frasers of Lovat allows one to examine a situation of conflict between ethnic group membership and clan membership. One would predict, from the literature on clanship and from Fraser of Reelig's emphasis on the important part in clan affairs played by the heads of these branches, that the marriage patterns of these branches would resemble the patterns of Highland sections of the clans: in fact Table 6 shows that this most definitely is not so. This is an intriguing result, and it suggests that further work by historical sociologists and anthropologists on the wealth of genealogical material that exists for Scottish clans and families might provide insights which would be useful not only for students of Scottish history but also for the comparative analysis of kinship.

NOTES

1 The sources used to determine the place of residence were Groome 1903, Johnston 1958, and Johnston 1934.
2 Source of data for the MacDonalds of Sleat, Kingsburgh, Castleton, Vallay, Glengarry, Scotus, Leek, Greenfield, Clanranald, Glenaladale, Kinlochmoidart, Boisdale, Sanda, Keppoch, and Dalchosnie, the MacDonells of Greenfield and the MacEachainn-MacDonalds: MacKenzie 1881.
3 Source of data for the MacKenzies of Kintail and Seaforth, Assynt, Kildun, Kinchulladrum, Pluscardine, Earnside, Allangrange, Inchcoulter, Dundonnell, Kinnoch and Putlindue, Redcastle, Kincraig, Ord, Davochmaluag, Kilchrist and Suddie, Inverlael, Hilton, Brae, Achilty, Ardross, Fairburn, Tolly, the later MacKenzies of Seaforth, and Colin MacKenzie, Governor of Ellandonan: Warrand 1965.
4 Source of data for the Deeside Burnetts, Burnetts of Craigmyle, Kemnay, Crimond, Monboddo, and the Ramsays of Balmain: G. Burnett 1950.
5 Source of data for the Frasers of Cowie, Durris and Philorth, Philorth, Fraserfield, Lonmay, Park, and the Abernethies of Philorth: Fraser of Philorth 1879.
6 Source of data for the Frasers of Lovat, Brae, Farraline, Erchilt, Balnain, Leadclune, Gortuleg, Culduthel, Castle Leathers, Culbockie and Guisachan, Belladrum, Achnagairn, Stucy, Eskadale, Ardachy, Boblainy, Fairfield, Foyers, Reelick, Dunballoch and Newton, Phopachy and Torbeck, and the Fraser-Tytters of Aldourie: MacKenzie 1896, checked wherever possible by reference to Warrand 1934.
7 Source of data for the Frasers of Inverallochy and of Strichen, as in note 6.

REFERENCES

BARTH, FREDRICK
1969 Introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference*, ed. F. Barth. Boston, pp. 9–38.

BURNETT, CHARLES H.
1950 *The Burnett Family, With Collateral Branches*. Los Angeles.

BURNETT, GEORGE
1901 *The Family of Burnett of Leys, With Collateral Branches.* Aberdeen.

CARTER, IAN R.
1971 'Economic Models and the Recent History of the Highlands', *Scottish Studies* 15: 99-120.

FOX, ROBIN
1967 *Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective.* London.

FRASER OF PHILORTH, ALEXANDER (LORD SALTOUN)
1879 *The Frasers of Philorth.* 3 vols. Edinburgh.

FRASER OF REELIG, CHARLES I
1966 *The Clan Fraser of Lovat: A Highland Response to a Lowland Stimulus,* 2nd edn. Edinburgh.

GRANT, ISABEL F.
1961 *Highland Folk Ways.* London.

GRAY, MALCOLM
1957 *The Highland Economy, 1750–1850.* Edinburgh.

GROOME, FRANCIS H. (ed.)
1903 *Ordnance Gazateer of Scotland.* 3 vols., London.

JOHNSON, SAMUEL
1928 *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland,* edited by R. W. Chapman. Oxford.

JOHNSTON
1958 *Johnston's Gazateer of Scotland,* 2nd edn. Edinburgh.

JOHNSTON, JAMES B.
1934 *Place-Names of Scotland,* 3rd edn. London.

MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER
1881 *History of the MacDonalds and Lords of the Isles.* Inverness.
1896 *History of the Frasers of Lovat.* Inverness.

MITCHISON, ROSALIND
1962 *Agricultural Sir John: The Life of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, 1754–1835.* London.

PEARSE, ANDREW
1971 'Metropolis and Peasant: The Expansion of the Urban-Industrial Complex and the Changing Rural Structure', in *Peasants and Peasant Societies,* ed. Teodor Shanin. London. Pp. 69–80.

SIMPSON, W. DOUGLAS
1923 *The Castle of Kildrummy.* Aberdeen.

SMOUT, T. C.
1969 *A History of the Scottish People, 1560–1830.* London.

WARRAND, DUNCAN
1934 *Some Fraser Pedigrees.* Inverness.
1965 *Some MacKenzie Pedigrees.* Inverness.

Cape Wrath and its Various Names

A. B. TAYLOR

I

Introductory

Cape Wrath, a headland in Sutherland, rising 300 feet above the sea, forms the extreme north-west point of the mainland of Britain. It is separated from the main part of the parish of Durness by the Kyle of Durness, and by a twelve-mile stretch of uninhabited moorland.

The tourist can visit it from the village of Durness during the summer months by taking himself by car to the sands at Keoldale, joining a ferry-boat that crosses the Kyle once or twice daily and being conveyed in a mini-bus across the moor by a rough road that leads to the lighthouse (built in 1828). The Cape itself is not impressive from the landward side, but there are grand views of the cliffs and the sea to the east and south. The trip, exhilarating in the highest degree on a fine day, takes up to four hours.

When the writer visited Cape Wrath in 1970, the ferry-man, aged 65 and a Gaelic speaker, called the cape ['kɛp 'ra:θ] or, in Gaelic ['parau]. The bus-driver, a crofter aged about 35, used the more usual Gaelic pronounciation ['parəv], and said that the name was also applied to the moorland country between the Kyle and the headland. *Parph* and, more often, *Am Parph*, are the written forms in which the Gaelic name now normally appears.

If one leaves out Ptolemy's *Tarvedum*,[1] which is less likely to be Cape Wrath than Dunnet Head or, perhaps, Holburn Head further east, the oldest name of the headland is the Norsemen's *Hvarf*, *c.* 1200. Between *Hvarf* and the current Gaelic and English names there lies a curious diversity of other names, which have been gathered by the writer over a period of years in maps, sailing-directions and topographical writings. These include *de forro, capo bocam, c. de barels, Wraith head, Fairheid, Faro Head, Wrayght Head, Row na Farriff*, and variant spellings of these names. The purpose of this paper is to see if the names can be linked together, either phonologically or by the processes of scribal transmission. The story that emerges is a complicated one. It can best be told, it is hoped, by beginning with ON *Hvarf*, and then tracing the current names back to this etymon; after which the intervening names will be examined; and finally the results will be summarised so far as is possible in the form of a textual tree or stemma of the name.

ON *Hvarf* appears in the accounts of two separate historical episodes in old Icelandic sagas. In 1202 Gudmund Arason and Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson sailed northwards between

Lewis and the mainland of Scotland on a stormy voyage from Ireland to Norway. *Hrafns Saga*, written in Iceland 1213–40, records the course taken and quotes a verse by a poet, Grim Hjaltason, who was on board. A reference to *Hvarf* in the prose narrative is based upon Grim's verse, as the following extract shows:

> After that they were driven towards Scotland, and lay several nights at a place called *Staurr*. Along the coast of Scotland they had a south wind so strong that the men who were there said that they had never been in such high seas as when they sailed out from the *Hvarf* in Scotland [*undan Hvarfinu á Skotlandi*]. Grim Hjaltason recited this verse:
>
> The foaming billow blows beneath us.
> Now it blows hard from the south off *Hvarf* [*ór suðri fyri Hvarfe*].
> The mighty billows grow greater.
> Our toil is no little thing.
> The keel gives way and the storm brings men in peril.
> The ship sailed on most proudly.

Staurr, also mentioned in *Orkneyinga Saga*, is the Point of Stoer, a prominent headland of 500 feet, on the coast of Assynt, Sutherland. It will be noted that the prose narrative gives *Hvarf* the definite article, whereas the (earlier) verse does not do so.

In 1263 King Hakon Hakonsson sailed round *Hvarf* on his expedition to the west of Scotland. His saga, written in Norway a year or so later, says of his outward voyage:

> King Hakon sailed on St Laurence's Day off *Hvarf* [*fyrir Huarf*].

and of the return journey, after leaving Skye:

> From there he sailed off *Hvarf* [*fyrir Hvarf*], but when he came to *Dýrnes* [Durness] there was a dead calm.[2]

ON *hvarf* is a noun derived from the verb *hverfa*, which has the primary meaning of 'to make a turn', and the secondary meaning of 'to disappear'. The noun *hvarf* is used ordinarily in the sense of some kind of 'disappearance', but in a few place-names in the sense of 'a turning point'. The headland at the entrance to Bergen Sound in Norway is *Kvarven*, which appears in *Heimskringla* (thirteenth century), as *Hvarfsnes*. The southernmost point of Greenland, Cape Farewell in English, was *Hvarf*, appearing first in the same century in *Landnámabók*.[3] In the north-west of Scotland, Cape Wrath is an inevitable turning-point, and with the name *Hvarf* must have been well-known to Norse seamen from the ninth century to the thirteenth.

ON *hvarf* also appears in Quarff, a district in Shetland: (*Quharf*, *i.e.* phonetically [hwarf] 1569. Clouston 1914:128). There is no headland here, but the village of Easter Quarff is the first point on the road from Lerwick to Sumburgh at which one can turn right to the west of the south mainland. Alternatively, as Fritzner's Dictionary shows, *hvarf* was used of farm settlements in out-of-the-way situations in Norway; and Jakobsen (1936:63) thought that this might possibly explain the meaning of Quarff in Shetland.

II

A phonological connection between G *Parph* and ON *Hvarf* was proposed for the first time, so far as the writer has discovered, by Henderson (1910:157). Without the benefit of early spellings, Henderson suggested in effect that the initial [p] in the Gaelic name is a de-aspiration of initial [f] developed from *Hv* in the ON name.

Numerous early forms are in fact available. The earliest ones of special significance are as follows:

de forro 14th century. Anonymous Venetian portolan chart, described and quoted by Andrews (1926:145). Probably originally preceded by *Capo* or *C.*

Faro Head c. 1540. Alexander Lindsay's *Rutter of the Scottish Seas* (Adv. MS 33. 2. 27, item 29, early 17th c.).

Row na farroy c. 1600. Timothy Pont's MS maps (no. P. 1).

Row na ferryif c. 1600. *Op. cit.* (no. P. 3).

Row na farriff c. 1600. *Op. cit.* (no. P. 2).

In Durines, west of the Diri-more, there is ane excellent and delectable place for hunting, called the Parwe, where they hunt the reid deir in abundance; and sometimes they drive them into the ocean sea at the Pharo-head, wher they do take them in boats as they list 1639. (Gordon 1813:4).

locus . . . venatu celebris vulgo Parwe c. 1650. Gordon of Straloch (MacFarlane 1906–8: II. 438).

Parre head 1653. Gordon of Straloch, *Scotia Regnum.*

Parff Forest 1750. James Dorret, *General Map of Scotland.*

Barve Head 1789. John Ainslie, *Scotland.*

The above forms can be divided into four types according to how they begin and how they end:

i Forms with an initial 'aspirate' [f] and with a final consonant.
ii Forms with an initial 'aspirate' [f] but with no final consonant.
iii Forms with an initial 'de-aspirated' [p] and with a final consonant.
iv Forms with an initial 'de-aspirated' [p] but with no final consonant.

Timothy Pont's *Row na farriff* belongs to Type i, and is perhaps the most informative rendering of the name. Pont prepared his maps by travelling about the country, and what he wrote on his sheets is his Scoto-English version of each name as he heard it locally. *Row* is obviously G *Rubha*, 'cape'. The final element *farriff* is an accurate transcription of a hypothetical Gaelic form **Farph* pronounced in the usual Gaelic way ['farəv] with a glide vowel between the final consonants *r* and *bh*. His transcription shows that the aspirated form was still in use by about 1600.

The forms *forro* and *Faro* have the initial aspiration but *not* the final [v] and thus belong to Type ii. As a name for the headland, *Faro Head* is of interest because it had a wide usage in maps, charts and topographical writings after its first recorded appearance in

Lindsay's *Rutter* in the middle of the sixteenth century. As this work will be referred to again in this paper, a word or two about it may conveniently be interpolated here.

This *Rutter* is a set of about two hundred sailing directions round the coast of Scotland prepared by Alexander Lindsay, a Scottish pilot, for a voyage made in 1540 by King James V from the port of Leith round the north and west of Scotland in 1540. The *Rutter* was probably put together a little before the voyage took place. The original in Scots is lost, but six later versions survive, three in English 'translation' and three in French. The fullest and best English text is in item 29 in Advocates MS 33. 2. 27 in the National Library of Scotland. It is in this MS that *Faro Head* occurs. The three French translations, as the writer has shown in his paper 'The Place-Name St Kilda' in *Scottish Studies* (1969: 150), stem from a primary French translation made from a Scots exemplar in 1546 by Nicolas de Nicolay, cosmographer to the King of France. The earliest of the extant French versions is in MS Harl. 3996 in the British Museum, and was originally prepared by Nicolay for presentation to the Cardinal of Lorraine in 1559. The present writer has an edition of the *Rutter* nearing completion.

The forms *forro* and *Faro* show that Type ii is a very early one.

There are other examples of Gaelic words having parallel forms with and without final [v]: *e.g.* G *marbh*, 'dead', has the pronunciations [ˈmarəv] and [ˈmarau].

Lindsay's *Faro* is a reasonable Scoto-English spelling of a hypothetical Gaelic [ˈfarau]. It may have taken this form—and thus become popular among cartographers—by analogy with Italian-Spanish-Portuguese *faro*, 'a lighthouse'.

Type iv, with initial [p] and no final consonant appears next on the record, *i.e. Parre* 1653, ancestor of the ferryman's [ˈparau]. De-aspiration must have taken place among at least some Gaelic speakers by the early years of the seventeenth century.

Type iii, although it is the commoner Modern Gaelic form, is the last to appear certainly on the record. *Parff* 1750 and *Barve* 1789 are the earliest forms of this type that have been found. *Parph* is the form that appears most frequently on the area of the deer forest in nineteenth-century maps.

The form *Parwe* 1639, *c.* 1650, by the ambiguous spelling rules of the time, might represent either of the last two forms, type iii if we take ⟨w⟩ as equivalent to ⟨v⟩ for [v], type iv if we take ⟨w⟩ as representing the vowel [u], either of these being possible.

The evidence provided by the early forms quoted, therefore, indicates that the two Modern Gaelic forms of the name are descended phonologically, for the most part by separate routes, from ON *Hvarf*; and that the initial consonant in each form was affected by de-aspiration by the early years of the seventeenth century.

III

The development of the English name of the headland begins, like the form *Faro Head*, with Alexander Lindsay's *Rutter of the Scottish Seas*, *c.* 1540. *The Wraith Head*

occurs three times and in four of the six versions, with a variant *the Wrayth head* in one version.

On the face of it this *wraith* can hardly be anything but the Older Scots adjective 'angry', 'wrathful'; 'fierce', 'savage'; and (of the wind or the sea) 'violent', 'stormy', from the Old English *wrāþ*. As the corresponding English form of the adjective is *wroth*, the 'expected' anglicisation would be **the wroth head*. The actual English form first found (in John Speed's map of Scotland in his *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, London 1610) must result from a confusion of the Scottish adjective and the cognate noun (also *wraith etc.* in Scots) and the rendering of the latter by its English equivalent *wrath*.

Then, curiously, *Wrath* gives place in cartography to *Faro Head* for the next hundred and thirty years. We find *Faro* (or *Farro*) in Timothy Pont's manuscript maps; in Blaeu's *Atlas*, 1654 and subsequent editions; in Hermann Moll's maps of Scotland, 1714 and 1725; and in John Cowley's map of North Britain, 1734.

Then *Wrath* returns. The Rev. Alex. Bryce prepared a new outline of the north coast of Scotland, from the Ord of Caithness to Assynt on the west, which was engraved by R. Cooper in 1744. His outline is superior to any previous one. The north-west extremity is *Cape Wrath*, without alternative.

It is a little difficult to say with certainty how Bryce came to revive Speed's form. It is unlikely that he had seen Speed's *Theatre*, which must have been a book collector's piece by 1744. And if he had asked the local fishermen at Durness they would probably have given the Gaelic name [ˈparəv] or [ˈparau]. Speed's form must have survived in 'literary' English use. It appears, for example, in a description of the district of Strathnaver dated 1726, prepared probably by a local minister of the Church of Scotland:

> The Parish of Durness lys much on the sea coast as the former [*i.e.* Tongue], a few places excepted. Its bounded on the east by the Whitenhead and on the west with Farohead, or Cape Wrath a high promon. five miles at least betwixt both (MacFarlane 1906–8: I. 192).

The firm establishment of this form of the name, however, is due ultimately to its use in 1750 by James Dorret in his large four-sheet *General Map of Scotland*. This map was the basis of most maps of Scotland for the next fifty years.

IV

It is now possible to turn from the main lines of development of the Gaelic and English names to several variants that emerge on the way.

The medieval portolan charts produce two other names in addition to [*Capo*] *de forro:*

capo bocam 16th century. Anonymous Venetian chart, described and quoted by Andrews (1926: 142–3). Andrews says this chart is derived from a late fifteenth-century

revision of an earlier Catalan chart. The name appears twice, applied to Cape Wrath and also to what appears to be Holburn Head further east.

c. de barels 1538. Venetian chart by Bartolomeo Olives; described and quoted by Andrews (1926:196, 200).

Spellings of British names in the portolan charts are notoriously corrupt, the errors no doubt arising through repeated copying by Mediterranean chart-makers of names obtained from sailing directions or sketches originally made in the British Isles. The two names given above have little surface connection with a written form of ['farev], but the possibility of such a connection should not be excluded. It was possible at that time to misread *b* for *v*, *m* for *w* for *v*, and even *ls* for *ff*. All this may seem fanciful, although scarcely so to the student who has examined in detail the strange toponymy of the portolan charts.

The next variant is *Fairheid* which appears, surprisingly, as an alternative to *Wraith* in the three surviving French versions of Lindsay's *Rutter* of *c.* 1540. It is sufficient to quote the relevant 'direction' from the earliest of these French versions in order to compare it with the corresponding 'direction' from the only English version that preserves it. The English text is given first:

> From Arquhytin to the Wrayth Head, otherwise called Faro Head, west, xv mille.
> (Adv. MS 33. 2. 27, item 29, fol. 7)

> D'Arquhytin à Wraithhotherwise autrement Fairheid cest à dire Bellepointe, Cest xv mille.
> (BM. MS Harl. 3996, fol. 23)

Before discussing *Fairheid*, one may make some comments on points of detail in these quotations. *Arquhytin* is now Whiten Head and the distance given between the two headlands, 15 Scots miles, is substantially accurate. The English 'direction' is the first of many instances in which *Wraith Head* (or some variant of it) and *Faro Head* are given as alternatives. For reasons that are not clear, the French translation has imported *otherwise* from its exemplar, but has also translated it. While there are minor textual variations between MS Harl. 3996 and the other two French texts, they all have the same form *Fairheid*, and this must therefore have stood in the primary French translation of 1546.

At first glance, one might take *Fairheid* with its Scots orthography in the second syllable to be textually more original than *Faro Head* with its Mediterranean dress. But there are good reasons for a contrary conclusion. *Faro*, as has shown, fits into the main phonological development from *Hvarf* to ['parau]. *Fairheid* cannot easily be thought to do so. In sixteenth-century Scots, on the other hand, *fairheid* meant 'fairness', 'beauty'; and if it was a new name applied to this wild headland, one cannot imagine it being chosen by a seaman.

It seems possible that *Fairheid* resulted from a miscopying, at some earlier stage in the transmission of the *Rutter*, of *Faro* as *Fare*, *o* being misread as *e*—something which did happen in hands of the time. In Middle English and Middle Scots, one of the common

meanings of *fare* or *fair* as a noun was 'a journey or voyage'. Gavin Douglas, for example, uses *fair* in this sense in his *Aeneid* (1513). This, or the adjective *fair* 'beautiful', may have been the sense assumed by the scribe, doubtless himself wholly ignorant of the topography in question. It may possibly be relevant that there is a *Fair Head* on the north-east coast of Antrim in Northern Ireland.

If this hypothesis is accepted, then Nicolay would find both *Faro head* and *Fair heid* in his Scots exemplar in 1546. Perhaps he preferred the latter because it looked more authentic.

However the form *Fair-heid* arose, it seems to have found its way into some English text or map, for it turns up as *Faire heade* applied to Cape Wrath in Robert Adam's 'Armada' map of the British Isles (London 1590).[4] This map is the last of a series illustrating the defeat and escape of the Spanish Armada. It is based substantially on Ortelius' *Scotiae Tabula* (1573), but Ortelius has *C. Wraith* or *ffaro head*. Outside the *Rutter*, this is the only occurrence of the name that the writer has discovered.

Another variant is *Wrayght Head*. This is found first in Mercator's large scale map of the British Isles (Duisburg 1564), and occurs repeatedly for nearly a century in maps deriving from the Mercator tradition.

The combination *-ght* is an uncommon but not unknown Scottish variant of *-cht* and *-tht*, themselves (with the so-called 'parasitic *t*') common Scottish variants of *-th*.

It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that *Wrayght* is ultimately of Scots origin, and represents a Scottish *wraytht* or *wrayth*. Gavin Douglas's *Aeneid* again provides a parallel:

> Reid the ferd buik quhar quene Dido is wraitht.
> [Read the fourth book where Queen Dido is wroth]
> (Book I, line 437)

V

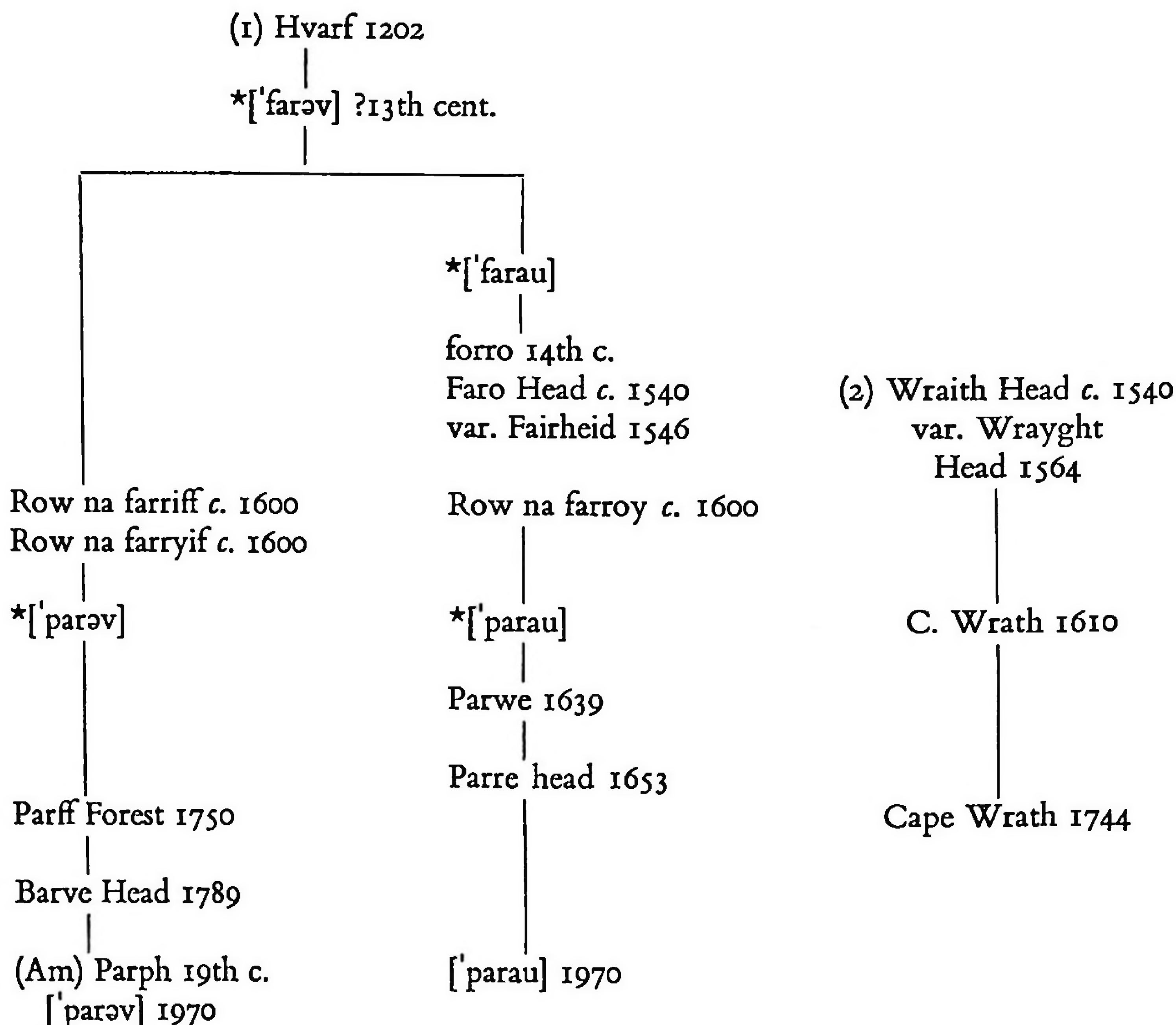
Summary

There are three names for this headland in use today: Scoto-English *Cape Wrath*: Gaelic ['parəv] written *Parph* or *Am Parph;* and Gaelic ['parau], now in oral use only.

The two latter names are derived, for the most part phonologically, from the Old Norse name *Hvarf* meaning 'turning-point', recorded in two independent sources in the thirteenth century. The former is a new fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Lowland Scottish descriptive appellation, meaning 'stormy headland'.

The development of the three modern names is traced through a variety of intermediate forms extending from the fourteenth century onwards. Some of these forms were formerly popular among cartographers and topographical writers, *e.g. Faro Head* and *Wrayght Head*, and these are discussed in some detail. The resultant relationship of

the various forms of the names is shown diagrammatically (hypothetical forms are marked with an asterisk; the two corrupt forms from the portolan charts have been omitted):



NOTES

1 It might be possible to argue that there is a phonological connection between ON *Hvarf* and Ptolemy's *Tarvedum*, and Ptolemy's Greek text can be interpreted in such a way as to permit this identification; see Flinders Petrie 1918:17. But the writer accepts the arguments of Watson (1926:36) and Richmond (1955:137) that Ptolemy's *Tarvedum* refers to what is now Dunnet Head in Caithness.

2 The saga sources for the name *Hvarf* are: *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, MS AM. 155 fol., 17th c. Text in *Sturlunga Saga*, ed. G. Vijfursson (Oxford 1878) vol. II, p. 290. Derivative forms in *Biskupa Sögur* (Copenhagen 1855–78) vol. I, p. 483, and II, pp. 49, 50. *Hákons saga Hákonarsonar*, Codex Frisianus, 14th c., ed. C. R. Unger (Christiana 1871), pp. 572, 579.

3 *Hvarfsnes*, in *Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, (Reykjavík 1941) vol. III, p. 392.
til Hvarfsins aa Graenlandi, in *Landnámabók*, ed. F. Jónsson (Copenhagen 1900) p. 129 (*Sturlubok*).
til Hvarfs, *op. cit.*, p. 4 (*Hauksbok*).

4 Robert Adams drew his map in 1588, and had it engraved by Augustine Ryther in 1590. Originals in British Museum; Pepysian Library, Cambridge; St. John's College Library, Cambridge. Reproduction in *Lord Howard of Effingham and the Spanish Armada with exact facsimiles of the Tables of Augustine Ryther A.D. 1590*, ed. H. Y. Thompson, Roxburghe Club, 1919.

REFERENCES

ANDREWS, MICHAEL C.
1926 'Scotland in the Portolan Charts'. *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 42:129–53, 193–213, 293–306.

CLOUSTON, J. STORER
1914 *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

DOUGLAS, GAVIN
[1513] *The Aeneid*. Ed. D. F. C. Coldwell. Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh. 4 vols. 1957–64.

FRITZNER, J.
1886–96 *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*. Christiana.

GORDON, SIR ROBERT, OF GORDONSTOUN
1639 'Description of the Province of Sutherland', in *The Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*. Edinburgh 1813.

HENDERSON, GEORGE
1910 *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*. Glasgow.

JAKOBSEN, J.
1936 *The Place Names of Shetland*. London.

MACFARLANE, W.
1906–8 *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland*. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

PETRIE, FLINDERS
1918 'Ptolemy's Geography of Albion'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 52:12–26.

PONT, TIMOTHY
c. 1600 Manuscript maps of Scotland (in the National Library of Scotland).

RICHMOND, I. A.
1955 *Roman and Native in North Britain*. Edinburgh.

TAYLOR, A. B.
1969 'The Name St Kilda.' *Scottish Studies* 13:147–58.

WATSON, W. J.
1926 *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*. Edinburgh.

Editorial Note

Dr Taylor had just completed a draft of this article before his sudden death in March 1972. This final version contains revisions by Mr A. J. Aitken, Editor of *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, to whom Dr Taylor had submitted his manuscript for comment.

Craig-Fishing in the Northern Isles of Scotland

and Notes on the Poke-Net

ALEXANDER FENTON

In coastal areas, particularly where the resources of the land are minimal, fishing from the rocks has been common from earliest times. Amongst the poorer people it has often been an absolute necessity, and it is significant of the state of the family economy in late eighteenth-century Shetland that amongst the essential equipment for starting off married life were the fish basket or 'buthie' and fishing rods, along with a cow for milk, a spade to cultivate the soil, a peat spade or 'tusker' to cut fuel, a pot, a rug, and a blanket (Dishington 1792:II. 574). This was the domestic basis for survival, giving a subsistence foothold on the land whilst the man of the house devoted most of his energies to fishing for the laird, using long-lines in open boats. This type of deep-sea or 'haaf' fishing has been frequently discussed in print (*cf.* Goodlad 1971:Chapter 4), but the humbler, everyday forms of fishing from the rocks have received relatively little attention. Nevertheless, they are much older in date and have continued alongside the various phases of commercialisation of the fishing industry.

The Craig Seats

The craig-fishings were assets of great value to the ordinary folk, as aptly expressed by one writer when he said they were 'to the ancient dweller of our islands what the fishing boat is to the modern fisherman' (Spence 1899:34). Proprietary rights were claimed in them and up till about the mid-nineteenth century it appears that 'sanguinary encounters' to defend these rights were not unknown (*Shetland News* 21 October 1899).

Craig-seats were well-known and much frequented places, especially when the population was at its height in the early nineteenth century, and all had their particular names. In Fetlar, for example, two or three places were called 'da Trow's (troll's) Seat', because they were situated adjacent to caves where the trolls were said to hide if anyone came and disturbed them. Moving west around Fetlar from Snap Point, the following names have been recorded by James Laurenson:

Stream Tonga, Gambla Hellicks (Gamla Helliks),* Skukkies, Green Tua, Sheek o' Lang Rivva, Salkness (a troll's seat), Staves Geo, Bogadens, Hylla-roga-ness, Denels Bench, Sheek o' da Mare's Holl, Lequolk (Likilk), Skerry o' da Lee, Peerie Cupla, Muckle Cupla, Fluteris Tonga, Gerdes Bergs (Gerdiesberg), Hivda Cudda, Blo Geo, Bratta Comb (Brecka comb),

* Bracketed forms are from the Ordnance Survey map.

Winya Tonga (Winna Tonga), Inner Tonga, Hammar, Ruan, Soond, Hylar, Higgi, Beadies, Manna Soe, Hellena-quoda, Easter Bench, Waster-ness, Soders (Sodis-)-Keem, Trusgal (Trustgill), Hyal o' Hubie, Britie Geo, Brough, Gerts (Garths), Daal, Big-holm, Sunker, Lam-hella-kodis (Lambhellia-cuddies), Ret o' Mailand, Shenniberg (Sinniberg).

Funzie seats: Wimbligill (Wimligill), Stucks, Virda Berg, Staakens (Stackens), Hylla, Arties' Steen, Keenens (Keenings), da Virr (The Vir), Oxnie Geo.

Gruting Wick.

Mare of Tarrigeos, Scamro, Littlasand, Stattens, Fladrick, Kelsweek, Gurasteen, Grutness, Soond and Boond, Honganess, Shuos, Klubbens, Clay Berg, Mussie-Geo, da Hellicks, Kogie Geos, Hammers Berg.

In the South Mainland of Shetland, in the mile of coast between Noss and Spiggie, there were at least six craig seats, named 'da Scolt, da Sillock Gates, da Gray Beard (? Bard), da Bogie, da Gardie Stane and Laurie Eunson's Steps'. Laurie Eunson was a local worthy born in 1798 who took his peats with him and grilled his fish on the spot (Venables 1956:116–17). Throughout the Northern Isles, wherever the rocks were suitable, such craig-seats could be found.

The name given to them was *craig sitting*, *craigasoad*, or *craigstane*. The men who fished from them were *craigers*, and the phrase applied to fishing for coal-fish with a rod was 'to go to the craigs' (Edmonston 1866). *Craig* and the compounds noted here are Scots in origin, but another term, *bersit* (Spence 1899:32) or *bergset* (Jakobsen) must go back beyond that to the period of Norse occupation, for it is compounded of two Norse words, *berg*, a rock, and *sæti*, a seat. The terminology, therefore, not only points to long continuity of use, but also to historical change.

Craig fishing with rods is still practised, more for pleasure than from necessity, in order to get fresh fish or to lay in a stock to be dried and salted for winter. At present, as in earlier times, the fish chiefly caught are coal fish, especially in their younger stages when they are known as 'piltock' and 'sillock'. When they reach the later 'saithe' stage of development they are more often caught offshore. The pollack or *lure*, resembling the coal-fish, but of an inferior flavour, was also caught, and occasionally mackerel (Saxby 1932:201; *New Shetlander* June-July 1947:2).

Craig-fishing was a job for the men (Plate I), but boys also took to it early (Plate III), as noted in Shetland by Robert Monteith in 1633 with reference to 'young Sheaths (saithe), called by the Inhabitants Pelltacks, which in fair Weather come so near the Shore, that Men, yea Children, from the Rocks with fishing Rods, caught them in abundance' (Sibbald 1845:23). Monteith, who was an Orkney laird, knew the young coalfish by the name 'podlines' (*Ibid.*).

Techniques and Equipment

Three methods of fishing from the rocks of the shore have been recorded. The first is with a rod and line of fixed length, the second with a length of cord and a float, the third with a circular net.

PLATE I Peter Scott, Setter, Papa Stour, with his 'piltock waand' (rod for coal-fish) and home-made 'docken büdie' (basket made of dried dock stalks). (Photo: A. Fenton 1967.)

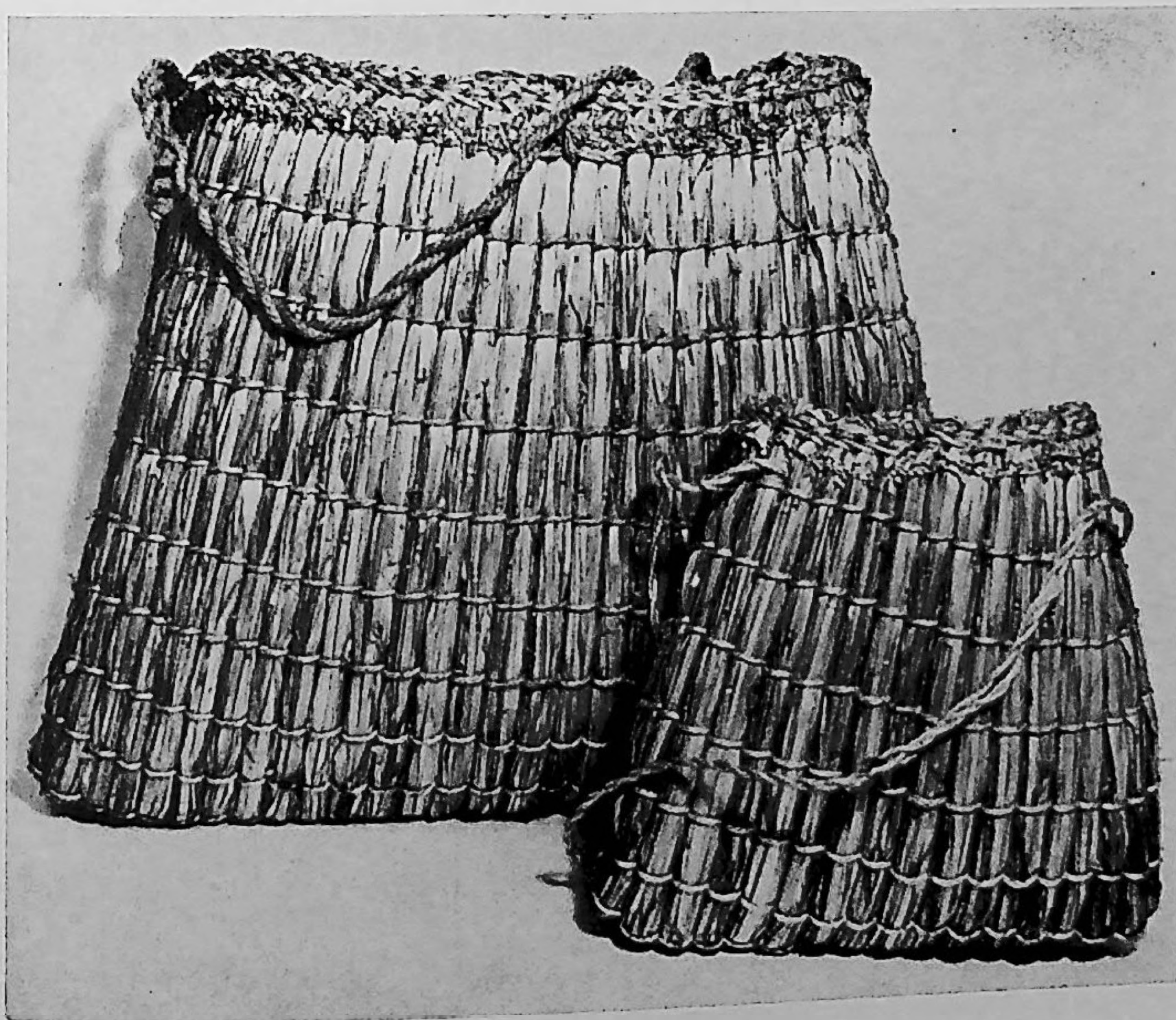


PLATE II A fish 'büdie' (left) and a limpet 'cuddie' (right) for carrying bait, both of straw and twine. Made by W. Stout, Houll, Fair Isle, Shetland, in 1963. (Photo: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.)

PLATE III A Shetlander fishing with a 'poke-net', and boys fishing with rods for coalfish. (From F. Barnard, 1890.)

1 *The Fishing 'Wand'*

The fishing rod or *wand* as used in Shetland was home-made, of two or sometimes three lengths of wood, with an average length of about 11 feet. Bamboo was used if available. The wooden parts were scarfed together, and served with twine over the oints to give strength and flexibility. Like an angler's rod, the craig-fishing rod gradually tapered from the main part or *lim* towards the point, which was known as the *tap* or *mull* (Jakobsen). Unlike an angler's rod, however, there was no reel, and the line was of a fixed length, so adjusted that when the fish was lifted from the water it swung in convenient to the fisher's hand.

The line was secured to the point of the rod with a whipping of yarn, called the *mulin* (Jakobsen), and an extra length was brought back down the body of the rod, through a ring, to be fastened approximately half-way down. In Fetlar, the name *undertome* was given to this extra piece.

The cast or *tome* was made of horse-hair. This was twisted by hand, resin or peat-ash being applied to the thumb and forefinger to provide a better grip. Alternatively, twisting could be done by means of a hooked spindle, frequently consisting of a cylinder of hard peat, 3–4 inches across by 2 inches deep, into the centre of which was driven a notched piece of stick. The 2 inch depth is the normal thickness of a Shetland peat. The spindle method of twisting hair-lines was by no means confined to Shetland, and was also used in the fishing towns of mainland Scotland, where a stone or weight with a hook attached served as the spindle (Macadam 1880–1:148–51).

In course of time, horse-hair lines were replaced by fine hempen cord with a short length of gut to which the hook was attached. The readier availability of gut led to the disuse of the old horse-hair *tome* and single hook, and to their replacement by the 'sillock and piltock flee' (young coalfish fly). The fly consisted of a number of 9 inch lengths of gut knotted on to each other seriatim, in such a way that a two-inch length of each, called the *bid*, was left dangling. The lure, usually a tuft of white hair known as the *buskin*, was attached to the end of the *bid* along with the hook, and the whole unit was fixed to the line by a short length of cord. The multiple hooks of the 'sillock and piltock flee' greatly increased the catching power of the rod.

Limpet Bait

An essential adjunct to craig-fishing was the use of limpet bait. A limpet-knife, in Fair Isle called an *ebb-pick*, often consisting of the broken blade of a kitchen knife fitted in a wooden handle, was used to lever limpets off the rocks, and they were collected in a limpet *cuddie*, a small handmade basket of straw and bent grass (Plate II), or a small wooden box, in Fair Isle called a *truan*. They were then parboiled, and taken by the *craiger* to his craig seat, as dusk was falling.

The limpet bait was either attached to the hook, or mashed to serve as ground bait.

The first step was to prepare the mashed bait, called *soe*, and as a rule this was done in cup-shaped hollows associated with the craig-seats, some of them natural, others artificially formed. These hollows have been the subject of learned antiquarian discussion from time to time, but their purpose does not seem to be in any great doubt. A letter that appears to sum the matter up in a convincingly practical manner appeared in the *Shetland Times* for 17 January 1885:

> Sir,—My investigation into the cup-holes has been confined to the sea-board, and chiefly those places frequented for rod fishing. With this limitation, I proceed to say what I have found. First, I have not found cup-holes on the shores of quiet voes, but on rocks exposed to the open sea, and consequently to the tides. On some places a small mussel grows visible at half-tide; at other places these mussels—locally called pills—are not to be found. I have never found these cup-holes but in the neighbourhood of these mussels. In some places I have found one hole only, in other places two, and frequently three. Where there are three, one is larger than the other two. All are of the same depth—about six inches or so, and no doubt made by human hand. Second—their apparent use. If they have had a mysterious use, I must leave that for others to discover. Fishing from rocks exposed to the tides the fish won't stay. A lure called 'soe' is needed to bring the fish, and this has to be repeated every now and then. The best lure known is these small mussels pounded into a jelly. This can be done with a handy stone and smooth bed, but this process is often inconvenient. You have to bring the stone each time, as you find the sea has washed away the one you brought before. Then a clean surface is rare, and the least weed on the rock spoils the lure. On the other hand, the hole is clean, and no stone is needed. A pounding stick, or even the butt-end of a fishing rod answers well. Third—the process. On a rock where six or eight may have sat down to fish, two boys are told off to prepare this lure. A small quantity is put into the little holes, and when well pounded put into the centre big hole, and so on until the big hole is full. This commonly serves while the fishing lasts for the time being. The men of former times were practical, if anything; they spared no pains or tact to secure success, and these cup-holes, whatever other end they secured, were the things wanted to successful fishing. My impression is that no higher end was intended by the cup-hole makers.—Yours, etc. A.

When the lure of mashed limpets was seen to be doing its work and the first fish appeared, the *craiger* would take several limpets between his teeth and chew them to the correct degree of softness before putting them on the hook. An expert was said to be able to bait the hook by slipping it into the chewed limpet gripped between his front teeth, but lesser men took the bait between their fingers first.

The chewing of limpets brought into the mouth a great deal of saliva, which, when forcibly spat out on the water, added its quota of attraction to the coalfish. The 'sillock and piltock flee', however, did away with the need to use chewed limpets as bait.

For successful craig-fishing, an offshore wind was required. The wind on the fisherman's back and a smooth sea with a good *lioom* from the oil in the belly of the limpets helped to bring the fish *at*, but in the fall of the year the young sillocks were often close in to a good craig-seat, and little bait was necessary.

In Orkney the oily patch made by throwing or spitting out limpet bait was called a

glee, ligny, linyo or *uthy*, and the bait itself was *furto, raa-saithe*, or *saithe*. It was said that the true old *furto* 'consisted of chewed limpets which had been previously "leeped", or scalded, to take off the shells. Fishermen then chewed these limpets into small portions and "spat out furto", which caused an oily smooth patch.... Nowadays, people are usually too "nice" to chew the *furto*, and chop it up instead with a stone on the rocks' (Marwick 1929: *s.v. furto*). If the wind was not suitable on one part of the coast, the geography of the islands often made it possible to cross to the other side of the land to get the wind on the back.

When the fisherman left the seat the stone pounder was taken out of the *soe-hole* and laid for safety in a hollow well above high-water mark, so that it should not be washed away by breakers.

A skilful angler could handle two rods at a time (*New Shetlander* June-July 1947:2). Whilst one was lifted to take off the fish, the other was gripped between his knees. The practice of holding a 'wand' in each hand was also known in the early 1800s (Neill 1806: 92).

The fish as they were caught were put into a basket of straw and bent grass, or of docken-stalks and bent grass, called a *büdie* (Plate II). It was the custom with older fisherman to empty out the catch and count it, whether it was large or small. Counting has only been discontinued in recent years. When he came home, the craiger would say how many score he had got.

The prevalence of craig fishing in earlier times and its close integration with the life of the ordinary folk is amply demonstrated by the beliefs and lore associated with it. For example, scum or froth on the limpet brew was reckoned a good sign for fishing, as was a number of birds sitting on the craig seat. Seals were not regarded very favourably around the fishing places. If a fisherman had left anything behind, he would not go back into the house to get it, but would shout outside for someone to bring it to him. He was also careful to avoid women when going to the fishings, but if he met one by chance, he spat three times when she had passed. On the other hand, however, there was no superstition about women if they came laden with provisions and tobacco to the fishing lodges where the men involved in line-fishing had been leading a bachelor life.

2 The 'Steepa-Dorro'

As an alternative to the fishing-wand, there was another form of tackle much used by older men on the craig-seats. This was known in Fetlar as a *steepa-dorro*. It consisted of a length of heavy cord several fathoms long. At one point a cork float was attached, and from it hung a length of about 6 feet of line, at the end of which was a hook with a fairly large limpet as bait. The shore end was anchored to a suitable stone on the craig-seat, and the float and tackle were thrown out as far as required. Agitation of the float showed when a fish had taken the bait, and the tackle was then pulled in.

Fish caught in this way were chiefly rock cod, large piltocks, and small *tusk* or cod, which lived a little further off the rocks than the young coalfish.

The significance of the first element of the Fetlar name is not certain, but the second is cognate with Norwegian and Old Norse *dorg*, a trailing fishing-line. There can be little doubt that this device was used from Norse times or even earlier as an alternative or complement to the rod with which fish were taken much closer in.

3 *The Poke-Net (in Shetland)*

A third method of fishing from the craig-seats was by means of poke-nets, or 'sillock-pocks'.

These were not as widespread in use as fishing rods, partly because they were much more expensive and time consuming to make, and partly because the range of craig-seats from which they could be worked was much more limited. A poke-net required an easily accessible cleft or *geo*, with room to work.

Poke-nets were 'made in the form of a parachute or umbrella suspended from the top of a long pole, and thereby let down into the sea' (Armit 1845:122). The diameter of the net was commonly 5–6 feet in Shetland (Barnard 1890: Plate XVII; Venables 1956: 116), but in Orkney it ranged up to 8–10 feet (Ellison MS *a.* 1911; Marwick 1929. *s.v. pock*). According to James Laurenson in Fetlar, the mouth spread was 3½–4 feet.

The ring was of iron to give rigidity and weight, for when in action the net was sunk beneath the surface. The bag was made of cord, and tapered towards the bottom. Three or more ropes were attached to the perimeter of the ring at equidistant points, and where they came together they were fastened to a single rope that led to the end of the stout wooden pole by which the net was raised and lowered (Plate III).

To sink the bag to the required depth in the sea, a stone was put in as ballast. As bait, salt herring could be put in the bag, but additionally or instead pounded limpets, sometimes mixed with mashed potatoes, were thrown into and over the body of the net as ground bait to attract the young coalfish. The effect of this could create a kind of frenzied excitement in the fish that brought them swarming together, when they could be caught in huge numbers, by lifting the net through the swarm, emptying it, and getting it back into the water again as quickly as possible. A five foot net could scoop up about half a hundredweight of fish at a time in such conditions (Venables 1956:116).

The usual technique was to keep the net sunk for three or four minutes after spreading the bait, and then to raise it. This the operator did

> by a peculiar process. Planting the hinder end of the pole on the rock, he sits across it, grasping it higher up with both hands. His fulcrum thus established, he slowly falls backward, the weight of his body acting as counterpoise, and the pole moves towards the perpendicular, hoisting the dripping net, from which water pours in a thousand streamlets, while some thirty or forty hapless victims flounce and tumble in the meshes they cannot escape from (Barnard 1890: Plate XVII).

It is, however, the fishing rod with its fixed line, and the line with a float, that represent the oldest and most enduring subsistence fishing equipment in the Northern Isles, for the use of the poke-net seems to accompany changing living standards and an increasing commercialisation of fishing.

Use of the Poke-Net in Orkney and elsewhere

In Orkney, Stromness harbour provided a safe and convenient place for a more commercial use of the poke net. George Ellison has recorded in his manuscript *Reminiscences of my Twenty Seven Visits to the Orkney Is^{ds}.—1884–1911* (preserved in the Stromness Museum) how sillocks were caught there with a poke net, in water one to four fathoms deep. The net consisted of an iron hoop 10 feet in diameter with a net of ½ inch square mesh about 6 feet long, rounded at its base. It was attached by a number of thick cords some 9 feet long, all fastened together at one point, to a single rope whose length could vary depending on the depth of water (Fig. 1). The net was lowered on a stout pole from the stem of a yawl in the harbour, and was generally allowed to rest on the bottom. A bait of mashed crabs was thrown out, and the net was hauled as soon as the sillocks had gathered. This usually took place in November. In frosty weather when the fish were plentiful, no bait might be needed.

The fish were sold for a few shillings a cartload for manure in the fields, or were kept in large floating boxes for bait for the long-lines of the trawlers that went to the fishing banks of North Faroe, Iceland, and elsewhere.

This practice was on a bigger scale than the more domestic poke-net fishing of Shetland, or of the Caithness island of Stroma in the Pentland Firth.

The closest analogy to the poke-net in the Northern Isles is the hoop-net for fishing lobsters, used until the introduction of creels in the early 1800s. The hoop-net differs from the poke-net in that it has no pole, since it is always fished from a boat, but the iron ring of 4–5 feet in diameter, the bag, and the arrangement of ropes are similar. The hoop-net has an additional string or fastening across the middle of the ring, to which the bait was attached (Fig. 2). This type of hoop-net for lobsters was by no means confined to Northern Scotland, and was also used, for example, in North Jutland, where it was called *kranje*, and was fished on stony bottoms (Rasmussen 1968:n.p.).

Poke is a Lowland Scots word meaning a bag, and therefore refers to the shape of the net. The generalised nature of the term is emphasised by the fact that in the salmon fishing rivers and estuaries of Scotland a different type of fixed net also has the same name. The name, therefore, does not in itself give any clues to the age and origins of the net, nor have any early references been found to it in the Northern Isles. The situation is broadly parallel to that on the Åkær River in Kolding, Jutland, where square nets with counterbalanced poles mounted on fixed uprights were used to catch sea-trout. The sources here cannot be followed back beyond 1800 (Rasmussen 1949:126, 129).

Nevertheless, square nets of this type, called by Sayce 'dip-nets' (Sayce 1945:51),

with the pole mounted on a stand or held by the fisherman, are extremely widespread in the world. They are to be found, for example, in China (Rasmussen 1949:132), Polynesia (Forde 1964:194), Central Europe (Moszyński 1967:I. 107), Germany (Rasmussen 1949:130–1), France (du Monceau 1769:30–2; Sayce 1945:51), Italy (Rasmussen 1949:131), and Scandinavia. Even at the present time it is one of the pleasant sights of Stockholm to watch the men with their dip-nets (circular), fixed to the sterns of their small boats, fishing in the water below the royal palace.

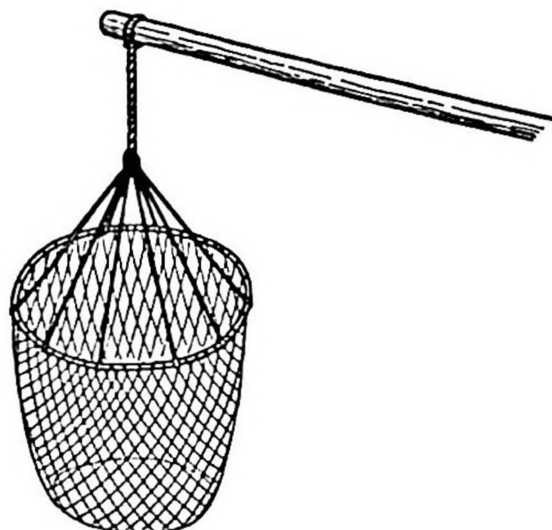


FIG. 1 An Orkney 'poke-net', ante 1911, of the type used in Stromness harbour. (After Ellison, 1884–1911.)

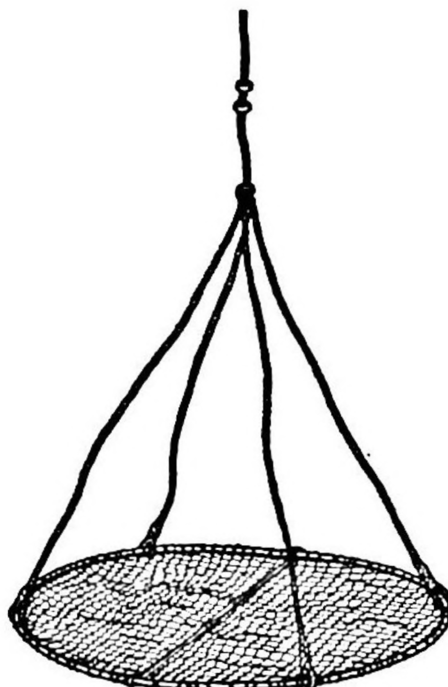


FIG. 2 A hoop-net for lobsters. (After Thomas, n.d.)

In most of these instances the nets are square, a form sometimes reflected in the nomenclature, such as French *carre* and *carrelet* (Augé 1946 *s.v.*, with illustration), and Italian *rete quadra*. The poke-nets of the Northern Isles and Caithness, however, are characterised by their circular form. It is possible that the poke-nets of these areas have been influenced in their form by the hoop-nets for lobster, and that they are a relatively late development, for iron and cord was too expensive for ordinary folk to make much use of before the nineteenth century. However, comparable types of circular nets on iron frames are to be found, for example, in Sweden, where fishermen used them to hoist herring out of seine nets (Andersson 1917:127, 129). This use and form may also be late in date, however. Andersson described such a net as a 'biz' *håv*, which is the term normally applied in Scandinavia to a kind of scoop net with a circular or bow-shaped frame to which a wooden shaft is attached, for use by hand. Such hand-nets were also called *glip* in Danish and Swedish dialects, a name borrowed into Finnish as *lippo*. They can be seen in regular use, for example, at fishing stations on the Torneå river in Swedish Lapland. A derivation from circular hand nets having fixed shafts, therefore, must also be regarded as possible for the north Scottish *poke-nets*.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer is much indebted to James Laurenson of Fetlar, whose detailed knowledge has added a great deal to this paper.

REFERENCES

ANDERSSON, K. A.
1917 *Fisket i Bohuslän*. Svenska Turistföreningens Årsskrift. Stockholm.

ARMIT, J.
'Parish of Westray'. *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* vol. XV. Edinburgh.

AUGÉ, C. et AUGÉ, P. (edd.)
1946 *Nouveau Petit Larousse Illustré*. Paris.

BARNARD, F.
1890 *Picturesque Life in Shetland*. Edinburgh and London.

DISHINGTON, A.
1792 'United Parishes of Mid and South Yell'. *The Statistical Account of Scotland* vol. II. Edinburgh.

EDMONDSTON, T.
1866 *An Etymological Glossary of the Shetland & Orkney Dialect*. Edinburgh.

ELLISON, G.
Reminiscences of my Twenty Seven Visits to the Orkney Isl^ds 1884–1911. [MS, Stromness Museum]

FORDE, C. DARYLL
1964 *Habitat, Economy and Society*. London. [1st edn. 1934].

GOODLAD, A.
1971 *Shetland Fishing Saga*. Lerwick.

JAKOBSEN, J.
1928 *An Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland* (1908). London and Copenhagen.

MACADAM, W. I.
1880–1 'On the Use of the Spindle and Whorl by the Fishermen of the Present Day'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* vol. XV.

MARWICK, H.
1929 *The Orkney Norn*. Oxford.

MONCEAU, D. du
1769 *Traité général des pêches et histoire des poissons*. Paris.

MOSZYŃSKI, K.
1967 (1929) *Kultura Ludowa Slowian*. Warszawa.

NEILL, P.
1806 *A Tour through some of the Islands of Orkney and Shetland*. Edinburgh.

RASMUSSEN, A. HJORTH
1968 Guide for the Museum of Fisheries and Shipping in Esbjerg. Esbjerg.

RASMUSSEN, H.
1949 'Vippegarnet ved Kolding og dets Slægtninge', in *Festskrift til museumsforstander H.P. Hansen, Herning*, edd. P. Skautrup and A. Steensberg. Århus og København.

SAXBY, J. M. E.
1932 *Shetland Traditional Lore*. Edinburgh.

SAYCE, R. U.
1945 'Traps and Snares.' *The Montgomeryshire Collections* vol. XLIX/I.
SIBBALD, SIR R. (ed.)
1845 *Description of the Islands of Orkney and Zetland by Robert Monteith*. Edinburgh.
SPENCE, J.
1899 *Shetland Folklore*. Lerwick.
THOMAS, H. J.
n.d. [*c* 1960] *A Comparison of Some Methods used in Lobster and Crab Fishing*. [Marine Laboratory, Aberdeen.]
VENABLES, U.
1956 *Life in Shetland*. Edinburgh and London.

Book Reviews

The Blind Harper (An Clarsair Dall): The Songs of Roderick Morison and his Music, edited by William Matheson. Scottish Gaelic Texts Society (volume 12), Edinburgh 1970. Pp. lxxvi+265. 55s.

An Clàrsair Dall (Ruaidhri Mac Mhuirich or Morison) is one of the better-known names of Gaelic poets in the period around 1700, yet few have hitherto had any clear idea of his life and social position, or any reliable knowledge of his dates. Information about him has been even more confused than information about other poets of his time, partly because his work (as we have it) marks him mainly as a poet, while his name marks him as a harper, and partly because he has long been confused in Scottish and Irish minds with Ruairí Dall Ó Catháin, an Irish harper who spent most of his life in Scotland.

In editing the seven remaining poems which can safely be ascribed to the Blind Harper, Mr Matheson has expanded the book with an exhaustive biographical Introduction, bibliography, list of variant readings, notes, airs, seven appendices on the life, work, genealogy and kinsfolk of the harper, and three indexes, in addition to the 76 pages of text and face-to-face English translation.

The Introduction presents a tremendous amount of new detail on the poet's life: his birth is placed at about 1656, without much evidence (it could be 1660 or even later), and his death is tidily fixed at 1713 or 1714. One of the most interesting points is the account of the 'Talisker circle' of poets, which included *An Clàrsair Dall* and at least three other major poets of his time.

If the poems themselves are few, they compensate considerably by their length, the shortest having 12 stanzas, the longest 28. The four poems on the MacLeods show a devotion to a particular family similar to that evidenced in the work of Màiri Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh and Iain Lom, and show the same marvellous facility with words and rhythm that these poets had. The famous song to Roderick of Dunvegan (the popular name for which, *Òran Mór Mhic Leòid*, Mr Matheson considers misleading) seems to me to deserve well its position as the harper's most popular song, because of the very effective use (one of the few uses in this period) of the poetic device which gives the poem its setting: the poet laments the passing of better days by the use of a conversation, in this case between himself and Echo (*mac-alla*, easily personified in Gaelic), both now silenced at Dunvegan. This is reminiscent of *Òran na Comhachaig* (*c.* 1600), where an owl tells the poet about the past, but the only similar idea I know of in the harper's period is in *Cumha Choire 'n Easa* by *Am Pìobaire Dall*, where the personified corrie converses with the poet: this poem may well be later than the harper's.

A fifth poem (*Féill nan Crann*) is a burlesque in which the poet mocks the fuss created by the ladies at Dunvegan when he lost his harp-key in the ashes: a rather protracted and, to us, overworked piece of froth containing some rather underworked *double entendre* and many jokes which were probably in-jokes even when the poem was composed. Five of the 15 verses are here published for the first time. A sixth poem (*A' Cheud Di-luain de'n Ràithe*) expresses the poet's fear of having his cattle lifted from his farm at Glenelg, and in traditional style he praises the bravery and nobility of the potential raiders (the list is interesting)—they would not lift a blind man's cattle, he hopes. The seventh poem (*Òran mu Oifigich Àraid*) has not hitherto been recognised as the work of *An Clàrsair Dall*, and occurs only in the contemporary Fernaig manuscript. The editor argues convincingly for its inclusion, yet it stands out among the other extant poems as being the only clearly political one (it deals with the Killiecrankie period).

These seven poems cannot be the only ones composed by *An Clàrsair Dall*—almost certainly many of his poems have been lost. Yet they give a picture, with the aid of the editor's commentary, of a man who was part of the Gaelic tradition ('Gaelic Scotland's last minstrel' Mr Matheson calls him) at a time when that tradition was beginning to suffer severely from a long series of attacks which, in the end, it could not survive. We see a man born into a family of the old *aos dàna*, forced by blindness to resort to the trade of harper and to consort with travelling minstrels he despised and hated; saved from this insecure life by Iain Breac of Dunvegan and ever grateful for his salvation; concerned, apparently, with the cause of the old Stuart dynasty to a greater extent than his master was; deeply hurt and disappointed at being sent off to the edge of his master's estate, and fearful of attack there, unprotected as he was. We see a poet keen to compose for his master and to be an unofficial poet to him; ready to scold, as poets had always been, when the occasion arose, especially when he found the master turning his back on traditional ways and aping the English; not puritanical in regard to bawdry, either in invective or in buffoonery; one who followed the age-old paths of poet and harper from the house of one nobleman to that of another. Perhaps the fondness he has for quoting proverbs, noted by Mr Matheson, is yet another effect of the importance he attached to things traditional.

The Notes are full and detailed, and include gems of information which we might not expect to find there, such as an important discussion of early MacLeod genealogies (pp. 107–9). The note on line 785 remarks on the form *cathair* (confirmed by the rhyme) for *còir*; an interesting survival, as the editor remarks, of the poetic doublet *càir*, but perhaps also a survival of the original disyllabic nature of this word (see *RIA Contributions, s.v. cóir*).

In his discussion of the Airs and Metres for the poems, Mr Matheson puts forward the theory that the three main metrical types in Gaelic verse were the respective provinces of three distinct types of poet who still existed in the seventeenth century: syllabic verse composed by the old *filid* or professional poets; stressed verse in asym-

metrical stanzas composed by the old *baird*, the lesser poets of the old Gaelic world; and a new type of stressed verse in symmetrical four-line or eight-line stanzas composed, mainly to be sung, by people like *An Clàrsair Dall* who did not aspire even to the office of bard. This theory, though it may seem somewhat simplistic thus stated, might explain in particular some of the differences between Irish and Scottish poetry at this time, and we look forward with interest to the promised (p. 149) appearance of the editor's more detailed discussion of it.

Dealing with the harper's instrumental work, Mr Matheson gives four tunes ascribed to 'Rorie Dall' and makes a good case for considering them the work of *An Clàrsair Dall*. The evidence for this, for suggesting that they are not the work of Ruairí Dall Ó Catháin, who has other tunes extant, is rather sparse (to a jaundiced Ulster eye) and, as Mr Matheson says, 'the question cannot be decided for certain': to say (p. lxxvi) that these tunes are '*probably* to be ascribed to the Blind Harper' is therefore perhaps a bit strong.

It is hard for a reviewer to fault this work of scholarship, and he can only carp at minor points:

p. xxix: in the Table of Sources the page-number '103' should be entered under *E* opposite 'Oran do Mhac Leòid'.

p. xxxvi: the date of Tytler's account of '*Rory* or *Roderick Dall*' (footnote 1) is 1783, when it was first published with his *Poetical Remains of James the First* (see p. 222 there).

p. li: the derivation of the surname *MacAndy* from the name *Andadh*, which the editor notes from the Annals of Tigernach in the twelfth century (footnote 1), must be questioned on the grounds that the *-nd-* of Middle Irish might be expected to give *-nn-* in Modern Gaelic. Indeed, this *Andadh* seems likely to be the basis of the surnames *Ó hAnnaidh* and *Mac Annaidh*, which, according to Edward MacLysaght (*More Irish Families*, Galway, 1960, pp. 134, 48), underlie respectively the Galloway names *Hanna* and *Hannay*, and the Irish names *MacCanny* and *Canny*.

p. liv: it seems possible that in the poem given here (whatever the manuscript, or John Mackenzie in his *Sar-Obair*, may say) the quotation marks in the last line should be omitted. The poem would thus end:

gun fios nach cinneadh fo mheuraibh
deuchainn-ghleusda Mhic O Charmaig.

Deuchainn-ghleusda, as Mr Matheson points out, is a common noun. The effect would then be that the poet fears, not that the harper might play a particular harmful tune, but simply that he might use his music as Mac O Charmaig had, that is, as an aid to treachery.

p. lxviii: the suggestion that *An Clàrsair Dall* visited the house of MacKenzie of Coul is reasonably well based, but one pointer against the argument should be noted.

The family of Coul was very closely related to that of Applecross, and the poem by Murdoch Matheson quoted here, mentioning 'An Clàrsair', is addressed to a member of the Applecross family. As it happens, this family is known through other poems to have been highly praised by a harper in the seventeenth century. One such poem is by Lachlann Mac Theàrlaich Òig (Watson, *Bardachd Ghaidhlig*, line 3967), and Mackenzie (*Sar-Obair*, pp. 81–82n.) names the harper in this case as Cailean Cormac. In another poem (MacLagan MS 135B, by Brian, the Assynt bard, on Iain Molach, 2nd of Applecross) the chief is said to have been highly praised by the Earl of Antrim's harper. It is quite possible that the same harper is referred to in all these three poems, and that the note identifying the harper with *An Clàrsair Dall* in the case of Murdoch Matheson's poem is not reliably based.

p. 26: what a pity that the word *bod* (line 351) cannot even yet be printed!

p. 60: surely the form *chunnaigheas* (line 819) is not sufficiently well attested merely by its occurrence in the Turner MS, and ought to be altered to *chunnaigeas*?

p. 95: through the good offices of Dr C. Bruce Fergusson, Provincial Archivist for Nova Scotia, I have managed to get a copy of pp. 190–1 of John Maclean's manuscript of *c.* 1815. For the record, the beginning of *Oran do Iain Breac Mac Leòid* in this (p. 191) is as follows:

Oran do dh Iain Breachd Mach Leoid, le Ruairi Machd Mhuirich. [a later hand, that of the Reverend A. Maclean Sinclair, I think, changes the full stop to a comma and adds: An clarsair Dall See Sar obair nam Bard, Page 72]

Tha moran moran mulaid,
An deigh tuinneach am choum,
'S bliadhna leum gach Sheachdain,
O' nach fachda mi Iain dòunn,
N'a'n cluinnin fhein s'gu faichdin,
Fear do phearsa thine do 'n fhounn,
Gu sgaoladh mo ramh s'm airsdeal,
Mar shneachd oag ri aitebh thruim.

No chorus is given.

p. 142: the suggestion (note 949) that the word *mart*, 'cow', is derived from the word *Martinmas* can hardly be sustained. The long history of the word in Gaelic makes it impossible not to accept rather the derivations offered in the *RIA Contributions*: from Latin *mortuus*, or from Early Irish *mart*, 'a dead body'.

These little points, however, do not detract from the enormous success of this account of the poet's life and work. A scholarly work indeed, but a book which this reviewer could not put down once he had started it—Mr Matheson may be interested to know that only detective stories normally have this effect.

COLM Ó BAOILL

Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String: A History of Scottish Dance Music by George S. Emmerson. Dent, London 1971. Pp. 278+35 plates. £5.

This is a finely produced book, containing many illustrations, over 100 music examples, a list of manuscript collections and their contents, a bibliography of reference books and printed collections of Scottish music, an index of tunes and a general index. Written by a Scotsman (now a professor of engineering in Canada) who surveys his subject with enthusiasm and devotion, it includes songs, bagpipe and fiddle music, and puirt-a-beul.

The historical account, as distinct from musical, starts with Columba in the sixth century and ends with accordian bands in the twentieth century. The title of the book is brilliant and serves as a backcloth for a succession of memorable scena: of James the First, who was 'richt crafty in playing . . .'; of the town minstrels ('inebriation was the occupational disease of professional pipers and fiddlers'); of James Guthrie, the covenanting minister who left a manuscript of some 40 tunes behind him when he was executed; and of the flowering of eighteenth-century musical life alongside the universal popularity of dancing. From the Duchess of Gordon to the humblest country fiddler 'their chief amusement is dancing', and we can almost hear Neil Gow's shout as he changed from the strathspey to the reel.

The instruments associated with Scottish traditional dance music are considered, and the last chapter, 'The Sweetness of a Scottish Tune', deals adequately with modality and contributes some helpful insights into Scottish musical idiom.

In Chapter 7, 'The elements of Scottish traditional dance music', the author steps a sure-footed way through Scottish measures, past rants and reels, round the 'kindlan' bauld' strathspey and on to jigs and hornpipes. There is some slight difference between Emmerson and the Fletts (see *Traditional Dancing in Scotland*) concerning the terms 'single' and 'double' (as applied to jigs and hornpipes) and also on the basic characteristics of the Scottish, or 'Scotch', Measure, but their area of agreement is greater. All these kinds of dance tunes certainly exist but they tend to overlap, and the seeker after too-exact categories deserves to find more dusty answers than certainties. A most interesting metamorphosis is shown, on page 121, of a tune developing from a hornpipe in simple triple time to a jig in compound duple.

The author has evidently kept faith with his aim, as set out in the Preface, of approaching these tunes *as a dancer.* (This is the best way, and many of us might be all the better for a more physical approach to music in general.) His demonstration of the relationship between the 'Scotch Jig' of the eighteenth century and the Scottish Measure is most persuasive and thought-provoking, and I spent a happy half-hour turning 'The Campbells are Coming' into 'Mrs MacLeod of Raasay', and 'A Hundred Pipers and a' and a' ' into 'The White Cockade'.

This perceptiveness of Emmerson's, musical as well as historical, makes the numerous technical mistakes in his music examples all the more inexplicable: they range from

notational slips to some howlers of wrong notes. (And these music examples contain many rich treasures—though surely it would have been better to give the second half of the beautiful 'Rory Dall's Port' instead of repeating the first half.) To the reader who is musically literate, who hears the tune 'in his mind's ear' as he scans the music, the wrong notes are obvious, either because they make musical nonsense, or because one knows the tune already, or because the notes contradict the same section of the tune elsewhere in the example. But what of the less musically knowledgeable reader?—for the preface explicitly states the aim, 'to serve the needs of the layman as well as the scholar'. He may copy the tunes, either to play himself or to pass on to others. It could be argued that, since it is traditional music, the players will soon correct the mistakes, in playing, and this would probably—although not necessarily—happen; but in any case, if you are going to print the tunes *and to quote the sources from which they were obtained*, then you must copy the notes faithfully and accurately.

It would be difficult to imagine a history of any branch of 'art-music'—or of jazz—with comparable mistakes in the music examples. Or, if a history of painting, or of poetry, contained illustrations full of distorted lines and colours or of butchered words, strong objections would certainly be raised by those who knew and cared about the paintings or poems concerned, *even if* these errors did not affect the truth and significance of the historical accounts and comments.

The omission of the sharp sign for notes C and F in the bagpipe scale on page 192 is clearly an unfortunate oversight. Then an otherwise adequate explanation of the facts of scordatura fiddle tuning runs into difficulties: in the second example on page 175 (which contains a thrice-repeated inconsistency in its transposition from the key of the first example) it would have been correct to change the key-signature to one sharp, to fit the key of G; and in the fourth example on this page to have one sharp again for the key-signature but to insert the C-sharp as an accidental in the last bar. But the mistakes in the tunes are less pardonable. Here are three examples (all checked from the sources given).

On page 134, tune [40], *Drummond's Rant* (from the Atholl Collection, 1884), bars 5 to 8 are shown as:

The last four notes of the second bar above (bar 6 of the whole tune) are a tone higher than the correct version: they should read

thus keeping to the double tonic pattern shown throughout the rest of the tune.

On page 148, tune [57], *The Auld Man's Mare's Deid* (from Robert Chambers's 'The Songs of Scotland prior to Burns', 1862), the second half of the tune is given as:

The third note of the second bar above should be F (sharp), establishing the double tonic again, not G as given. In the third bar above, the second last note should not be dotted: this is one of the notational errors. (Contrast Collinson, 'The Traditional and National Music of Scotland', p. 208, where the tune is given correctly.)

On page 156, tune [74], *Pibroch of Donuil Dhu* (from G. F. Graham's 'Songs of Scotland', 1864), the second four bars appear as:

The last note should obviously be E (flat), and is in fact so given at the corresponding point of the tune at the end of the first four bars.

Such mistakes are potentially more serious if the book containing them is in other respects scholarly and definitive, and such as to inspire the reader with confidence. Clearly then these strictures imply a considerable compliment to the author. In fact, not only has his book already proved invaluable for reference purposes but it is also interesting to read or to dip into, and above all it is a pioneer work which opens many doors to other researchers. For this Professor Emmerson deserves our sincere gratitude.

What about a second edition?

AILIE MUNRO

Directory of Former Scottish Commonties, edited by I. H. Adams. Scottish Record Society (New Series 2), Edinburgh 1971. Pp. xiii+281.

Dr I. H. Adams has already done a range of scholars significant service in editing the *Descriptive List of Plans in the Scottish Record Office*, Volumes I and II. This *Directory of Former Scottish Commonties* arises from his doctoral thesis, and although the editor is becomingly modest in his claims, and sees his Directory as an attempt to 'establish a foundation for an eventual bridge that will close the gap of knowledge of this system of land tenure in Scotland', it is as authoritative a list as can be presently presented of 'lands formerly used in co-ownership' or pastures used by several individuals, and records at least half a million acres of former commonties. It is conveniently arranged alphabetically by counties and by parishes within counties.

The completion of the Directory is described in the introduction and was a mammoth task, for there is no single basic source. The major sources used were the collection of estate plans in the Scottish Record Office and Court of Session documents relating to processes of division of the commonties. Other sources lay in the Signet Library and the National Library of Scotland; the School of Scottish Studies' subject index provided references as did the Ordnance Survey Object Name Books. Secondary sources used were the Old and New Statistical Accounts, the early nineteenth-century *General Views* of Agriculture, parish histories and the Municipal Corporations Report of 1835 relating to burghal commons.

The parish entries, located by National Grid reference and with sources noted, provide many details of intrinsic interest and ideas for further research. In New Deer parish, two farms bear the name of North Commonty and Commonty—did the former commonties simply become two farms? The future of 52 acres of Ayr Burgh Common was different: by 1792 it had become a race-course. Glenlivet common pasture was still an undivided common in 1836—one wonders how it is operated at present. A seventeen-acre common in the parish of Channelkirk, Berwickshire, first served as a drovers' resting place, but later was used by tinkers and other itinerants. In 1836 Dumbarton's burgesses had rights of pasturage on the 'town's common or Broad Meadow'. So commonties were still in use well into the nineteenth century.

Attempts by lairds to erode the practice of common usage, which legally they were entitled to do, and divide commons were on occasions met with violence: the editor records how two surveyors attempting to make a plan of the Common Muir of Aberlady in 1780 were met by an armed band of villagers, whose leaders found themselves 'in the Canongate Tolbooth for a month' as a result of their exertions. Less violent action on Alyth Common did not prevent its eventual division in 1792 after a dispute lasting 30 years.

There is a most useful 29-page index of commonties and persons. This Directory provides another important source for students of the Scottish landscape and additional information is being added, as it comes to light, to an interleaved copy of the Directory in the Historical Search Room of the Scottish Record Office.

JAMES B. CAIRD

A Bibliography on Vernacular Architecture, edited by R. de Z. Hall. Newton Abbot 1972. Pp. 191. £3.95.

This bibliography brings together the several lists of books on vernacular buildings published by the Vernacular Architecture Group since 1952. A substantial element relates to Scottish sources, and provides a basis for the future development of vernacular buildings' studies in this country.

The bibliography covers regional and local studies, rural buildings and dwelling houses, town buildings, construction and materials, and early and primitive building, as well as the economic and social background. Because of the breakdown within each section by themes and geographical regions, the bibliography is of equal service to the local researcher and to the one who is concerned with a wide view. In addition, brief comments expand and indicate the value of many of the entries.

The analytical layout of the entries which reduces the need for cross-references to a minimum, and the index of authors help to make this in many respects a model bibliography, whose deceptive simplicity of presentation conceals a great deal of thought and meticulous checking.

The *Bibliography on Vernacular Architecture* is doubly welcome. It performs a service to the growing subject of vernacular architecture, 'the study of houses and other buildings, which, in their form and materials, represent the unselfconscious tradition of a region rather than ideas of architectural style'. It provides, for the first time, a soundly organised basis for the development of the subject. In so providing sources for the pin-pointing of regional identity, the bibliography also performs a service to British ethnology as a whole, and will be a necessary source book not only for all students and teachers concerned with academic aspects of the subject, but also practising architects and local planners whose concern is or should be with the recording, surveying, and, on this basis, selective preservation of vernacular buildings that reflect regional character and show better than any other artifact what makes one area different from its neighbour.

ALEXANDER FENTON

Books Received

Scotland. Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries by Gordon Donaldson. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1972 (2nd edn.; 1st edn. S.C.M. Press 1960). Pp. 128. £1.50.

I Presume: H. M. Stanley's Triumph and Disaster by Ian Anstruther. Geoffrey Bles, London 1973 (reissued; 1st edn. 1956). Pp. 207. £2.25.

Neil M. Gunn. The Man and the Writer, edited by Alexander Scott and Douglas Gifford. William Blackwood, Edinburgh and London 1973. Pp. 400. £4.

Over the Sea to Skye by John Selby. Hamish Hamilton, London 1973. Pp. 170. 10 colour illustrations, 51 black and white. £3.90.

New Ways through the Glens: Highland Road, Bridge and Canal Makers of the Early 19th Century by A. R. B. Haldane. David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1973 (new edn.; 1st edn. 1962). Pp. 247. £3.50.

The Various Names of Shetland by Alexander Fenton. Alexander Fenton, Edinburgh 1973. Pp. 24. 25p.

The Victorians and Social Protest: A Symposium, edited by J. Butt and I. F. Clarke. David & Charles, Newton Abbot, and The Shoe String Press, Hamden, Connecticut 1973. Pp. 243. £4.25.

Education in Scotland by Ian R. Findlay (*World Education* Series). David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1973. Pp. 143. £2.75.

The English Farm Wagon: Origins and Structure by J. Geraint Jenkins. David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1973 (new edn.; 1st edn. 1961). Pp. 250. £3.50.

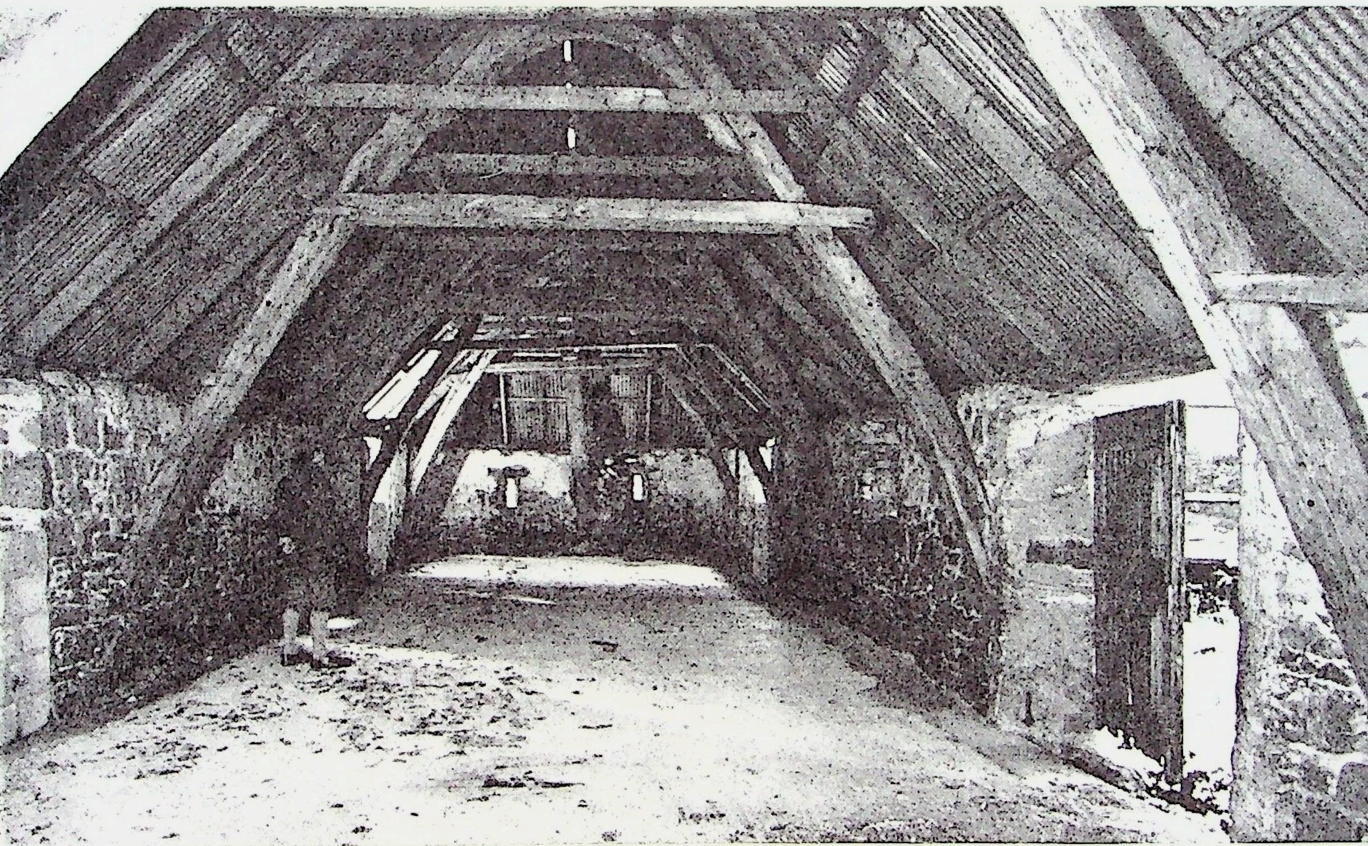
The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution by Eric Richards (*Studies in Social History,* edited by Harold Perkin). Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, and University of Toronto Press, 1973. Pp. 316. 58 illustrations. £5.25.

Ancient & Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads &c, collected by David Herd. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh and London 1973. 2 vols. Pp. 312 and 360. £5 per set.

Scottish Studies

Volume 17 : 1973

part two



UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

17

PART TWO

1973

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Editorial Advisory Board

K. H. Jackson
K. L. Little
A. McIntosh
J. MacQueen
B. R. S. Megaw
S. Piggott
J. W. Watson

Editor

J. MacQueen

Associate Editor

B. R. S. Megaw

Assistant Editor

D. J. Hamilton

Material quoted from the archives of the School of Scottish Studies is copyright and may not be reproduced in any form without the permission of the Director.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
ABERDEEN

Scottish Studies

VOLUME 17 PART 2

91 The History of the Scottish Reel as a Dance Form: II
J. F. AND T. M. FLETT

109 The Earliest Campbells—Norman, Briton or Gael?
W. D. H. SELLAR

127 The Cruck-Building at Corrimony, Inverness-shire
GEOFFREY D. HAY

135 'Annat' in Scotland: A Provisional Review
AIDAN MACDONALD

Notes and Comments

147 'The King's Questions' (AT 922) in Scotland ALAN BRUFORD

155 The Place-Names of Illeray IAN FRASER

162 An Eighteenth-century Record of 'The Laird o Logie' E. B. LYLE

165 The Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group ALEXANDER FENTON

Book Reviews

168 *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages* by Kenneth Nicholls COLM Ó BAOILL

169 *A Hundred Years in the Highlands* by Osgood Mackenzie IAN FRASER

172 Books Received

173 Index

Contributors to this Issue

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

W. D. H. SELLAR MA
Lecturer, Department of Scots Law, University of Edinburgh

GEOFFREY D. HAY ARIBA, FSA
Architect to The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh

AIDAN MACDONALD BA
Research Student, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.
(Formerly Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Public Buildings and Works.)

ALAN BRUFORD BA, PH D
Research Archivist, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

IAN FRASER MA
Lecturer, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

E. B. LYLE MA, PH D
Post-doctoral Fellow, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

ALEXANDER FENTON MA
Assistant Keeper, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh

COLM Ó BAOILL MA, PH D
Lecturer, Department of Celtic, University of Aberdeen

The History of the Scottish Reel as a Dance-Form

II

J. F. and T. M. FLETT

In Part I of this article (Scottish Studies 16:91) we discussed the Threesome and Foursome Reels, and the West Highland circular Reel and its allied forms, *viz.*, The Eight Men of Moidart, Cath nan Coileach, Ruidhleadh nan Coileach Dubha, and Ruidhleadh Mòr. In this second part, our principal purpose is to survey the history and development of the remaining Scottish Reels, of which there are over a dozen. These Reels, most of which are unfamiliar to present-day Scottish dancers, fall fairly naturally into three groups, namely (i) The Reel of Tulloch and the double Reel of Tulloch, (ii) double versions of the Threesome and Foursome Reels, the Reel of Nine, and the Hankies Reel, and (iii) Orkney and Shetland Reels. We discuss each group in turn, and in order to make our survey comprehensive we employ both literary and traditional sources of information.

As in Part I, we refer to our book *Traditional Dancing in Scotland* by the abbreviation TDS.

The Reel of Tulloch

The tune called 'The Reel of Tulloch', or in Gaelic 'Ruidhleadh Thulachain', first occurs in the 'Collection of the best Highland Reels' in the Duke of Perth's MS of 1737, where it is entitled 'Tullich Reel'. In the manuscript it was probably intended for use simply as a reel tune, though it is heavily overlaid with variations, and runs to nearly twenty parts. It occurs also, with even more variations, in the McFarlan MS of 1740, where it is entitled 'Reel of Tullich'.

Several local traditions concerning the origin of the tune were recorded in the nineteenth century. One of these traditions claims that the tune was composed during a wild impromptu dance at the Kirk of Tullich, near Ballater, one bitterly cold Sunday about the year 1690: the minister had failed to arrive to take the service, and his waiting parishioners kept themselves warm with a potent mixture of whisky and dancing, which sufficiently inspired the fiddler to compose the tune (Grant 1861:83–5). Another tradition attributes the tune to Black John M'Gregor of Roro, Glenlyon, about the year 1690. M'Gregor was one of two rival suitors for the hand of Isabella, the daughter of the

laird of Tulloch, near Nethybridge in Strathspey, and the tune, together with accompanying Gaelic verses, is said to have been composed after M'Gregor, with Isabella's aid, had narrowly defeated an attempt on his life by his rival (Shaw 1859).[1]

Of these two traditions, the former seems the more likely, in view of the reference to 'Tullich' rather than 'Tulloch' in the Duke of Perth's and the McFarlan MSS.[2]

Although the tune 'The Reel of Tulloch' is undoubtedly one of the older reel tunes, the dance of the same name seems to be more recent, and it was probably composed about the year 1800. So far as we know, the first reference to it is in the *Caledonian Mercury* for 27 March 1819: in a report of a ball held by the Edinburgh Society of Highlanders we are told that 'the ball opened with the Reel of Tulloch by four of the office-bearers'.

The dance next appears at the piping and dancing competitions held by the Highland Society of Edinburgh in 1829, when it was performed by two sets of four men. At the next competition, in 1832 (at this time the competitions were triennial), all the dancing competitors performed the Reel of Tulloch at the preliminary test, but at the final performance, which was held in an Edinburgh theatre, they seem to have performed only ordinary Foursome Reels. In 1835 the Reel of Tulloch did not feature in either the preliminary test or the final performance, but it reappeared in 1838 and 1844 (Flett 1956).

In 1835 a competitor who was new to the competitions that year wrote to the Secretary requesting 'to have the Breadalbane Ball reel [ ] mostly termed, the reel of Tulloch danced' (the manuscript of the letter is damaged at the point in brackets and a word may be missing). This letter would seem to indicate that the Reel of Tulloch was originally a 'Society' dance which was developed at the Breadalbane Balls, just as the modern Eightsome Reel was developed at the Northern Meeting Balls and the Skye Balls. The Breadalbane Ball referred to here was probably held at Taymouth Castle, for in Joseph Lowe's *Collection of Reels, Strathspeys and Jigs*, Edinburgh, *c.* 1844, there is the following note on the tune 'The Reel of Tulloch':

> The Queen's Favourite or Reel O'Thulichan. It was this Reel which so especially delighted her Majesty, Queen Victoria, when on a visit to Scotland, in 1842. At the Ball given by the Marquis of Breadalbane, at Taymouth Castle, the original figure of the Reel o'Thulichan was danced in the Royal presence, with admirable characteristic spirit, by the Marquis of Abercorn, the Hon. Fox Maule, Cluny McPherson, and Davidson of Tulloch: the Queen seemed quite elated during the performance of this ancient Reel, and expressed herself much delighted and astonished at the lively execution displayed by the Dancers.

There are also other indications that the Reel of Tulloch was at this time more a 'Society' dance than a dance of the ordinary people. For instance, at the celebration to welcome the newly married Marquis of Lorn on his return to Inverary, which is described in the following report from the *Inverness Courier* for 2 October 1844, the Highland Fling and the Sword Dance were performed by anonymous Celts or Highlanders, but the Reel of Tulloch was performed by four of the cadets of Clan Campbell:

About ten o'clock . . . a low platform was erected in front of the portico, and the Highlanders in the garb joined in the dance, by torchlight, to the music of the pipes. They displayed no small amount of agility and animation, in which they did not spare the floor. . . . A Highlander danced the Gille Callum, or sword-dance—a most difficult performance indeed—with rare beauty and admirable precision; and another Celt vied with him in another line of excellence, viz., the spirit and vigour with which he performed the Highland Fling. One of the most animated performances of the whole was the 'Rille Thallachain', or Reel of Tulloch, danced by Campbell younger of Islay, Campbell of Glendaruel, Campbell of Balenaby, and Campbell of Ormsary, the graceful performance of which called forth the loudest plaudits.

The first printed description of the Reel of Tulloch is that in *The Ballroom Annual*, London, 1844, where the dance is given under the title 'The Duchess of Sutherland's New Highland Reel'. The identification of this 'New Highland Reel' with the Reel of Tulloch presents no difficulty in spite of the different title, for this same description is given in the ballroom guides of Willock (Willock 1865) and Wallace (Wallace *c.* 1872, 1881) under the title 'Hullachan', an English rendering of the Gaelic 'Thulachain'. We may safely ignore the title in *The Ballroom Annual*, for several of the other dances described in this work have been assigned new aristocratic titles by the author.

The instructions from *The Ballroom Annual* are given below: we have added in brackets the number of bars of music required for each part of the dance—these are specified in Willock's and Wallace's guides.

Four stand up in a line, ladies outside, and set [8]; reel, or figure of eight [i.e. 'reel of four', 8]; the two gentlemen face and set [8]; all go round [after] each other in a circle [8], and ladies take the centre and set to* partners [8]; the reel as before [8]; gentlemen take the centre, and set to* reverse partners [8]; the circle as before [8]; the two gentlemen set and turn all round, with right arms locked [8]; again set and turn with left arms [8]; the reel as before [8]; ladies take the centre and set and turn each other [16]; the circle as before [8]; gentlemen take the centre, set and turn the ladies [16], and finale [?].[3]

The turns 'with arms locked' are more fully explained in later ballroom guides: to turn with right arms locked the two dancers concerned link right arms, and each passes the left hand behind the back to grasp the other person's right hand.

The dance as described above employs three travelling figures, namely the 'reel of four' from the (Scotch) Foursome Reel, the circle from the West Highland circular Reel, and a turning figure 'with arms locked'. Thus to some extent the dance is a hybrid derived from both the Foursome Reel and the circular Reel. We have seen in Part I of this paper that about 1800–20 the circular Reel was the principal Reel in use in the West and west Central Highlands, and that the Foursome Reel belonged to the Eastern Highlands and the Lowlands. We should naturally expect a hybrid between these two dances to be produced where the two traditions met, and Breadalbane is just such a region.

The turning figure is also not new, for there is a reference to 'setting and wheeling

round each other' in the description of the dance 'America' seen by Samuel Johnson and Boswell at Armadale in Skye in 1773 (Boswell 1936:242). However, we know of no reference to the 'locked arms' prior to the description in *The Ballroom Annual*.

The Reel of Tulloch as described above is not an easy dance to perform, for it involves frequent changes of position, with no clear guiding principle to indicate at each point what the next change should be. It is therefore not surprising that various simplified forms of the dance arose.

In the most widely accepted of these simplified forms, only the 'swinging' portion is preserved, and this is added as a coda to a Foursome Reel.[4] The 'reeling and setting' sequence of the Foursome Reel is performed three or four times in strathspey tempo, then once in reel tempo, and this is followed by the swinging and setting of the Reel of Tulloch. Such a composite dance is first described in the second volume of McIntyre North's *Book of the Club of True Highlanders* (North 1881), an encyclopaediac survey of general Highland matters. However, the part of this composite dance that is in reel tempo is described *c.* 1870 in W. E. Allan's ballroom guide (Allan *c.* 1870), the description being as follows (there is no indication that this sequence follows the strathspey part of the Foursome Reel):

> Stand as for Reel of Four. 1. All reel, or figure of 8.
> 2. Gentlemen set to ladies, turn round, taking hold of hands, the left being behind the back, then right hand behind—ladies forward to centre.
> 3. Ladies set to each other and turn as above.
> 4. Ladies set to gentlemen and turn as above.
> 5. Gentlemen to the centre, set and turn.

It is probable that this simplification of the Reel of Tulloch and its combination with the Foursome Reel took place independently of the professional dancing-masters, for in a revised edition of his ballroom guide W. E. Allan (Allan *c.* 1880) substituted a version of the Reel of Tulloch rather similar to that given in *The Ballroom Annual*, and this version was retained in Mozart Allan's well-known recension of Allan's guide (Allan *c.* 1890). Moreover, it is not until 1900 that we find the complete composite dance described in any work written by a professional dancing-master.

In addition to the ordinary Reel of Tulloch, there were also 'double' forms consisting of two Reels of Tulloch performed simultaneously in the form of a cross. Such a double Reel of Tulloch is described in Atkinson's *Scottish National Dances* (1900), and we have also recorded two such versions from oral tradition in Lochaber and Ardgour (TDS:153).

To sum up, the Reel of Tulloch was most probably composed about 1800 somewhere in the Central Highlands, as a dance of the upper classes, though drawing on the folk traditions of the region. Indeed, it is possible that the dance was a formalization of traditional Reels, danced by all strata of society in the Central Highlands throughout the late eighteenth century, in which the 'reel of four', the circle figure, and swinging were combined as desired. Whatever its origin, the earliest recorded version of the Reel of Tulloch was patently a badly devised dance, and over the period from about 1860

to 1900 various simplified forms arose, owing more to folk influence than to the cultivated ballroom. These simplifications culminated in the combination of the Reel of Tulloch with the Foursome Reel, to produce a dance that embodies the essence of Highland dancing.

Double Threesome and Foursome Reels, the Reel of Nine, and the Hankies Reel

All the dances in this group are obviously derived from either the Threesome or the Foursome Reel. The first three dances discussed below, namely the Reel of Five, the Reel of Six, and the Double Foursome Reel, are 'double' versions of the Threesome and Foursome Reels, consisting essentially of two Threesome or two Foursome Reels performed in the form of a cross. Atkinson, in his *Scottish National Dances* (Atkinson 1900), comments that all three of these 'double' Reels 'are seldom seen except in the Dancing School', and none of our informants in Scotland had ever either performed them or seen them performed.

The Reel of Five

This is a double Threesome Reel, performed by five people standing in cross formation, with one person at the centre of the cross. The Threesome Reels are performed alternately on the two arms of the cross, and the centre person takes part in each Reel. The first Scottish reference to the dance is in the Lowes' *Ball-Conductor* (Lowe *c.* 1830), where the description is as follows:

> (Places—one Lady at the top of the room, one at the bottom, one at each side, and the Gentleman in the middle.) The Gentleman, with two of the Ladies, makes a reel of three, while the other two Ladies circle round them; all set, during which the Gentleman turns to each Lady alternately; he then forms the reel of three with the other two Ladies.

Two other versions, differing slightly from each other, are given by Wilson in the two editions of his *Analysis* (1808, 1811); in these each dancer comes into the centre in turn. The only other writer to mention the Reel of Five is Atkinson (*op. cit.*), who gives the same version as the Lowes, except that 'circle round' is replaced by 'circle part way round and back'.

The Reel of Six

This is a form of double Foursome, but with the centre two people taking part in each of the cross Reels. It appears first in the Lowes' *Ball-Conductor* (*c.* 1830), their description being as follows:

> (Places the same as in the Reel of Five, only two Gentlemen in the middle.) The Gentlemen, with two of the Ladies, form a reel of four, during which, and when the two Ladies are close together in the middle, the other two Ladies cross over, and re-cross, when the first two

Ladies are in the middle again; all set, the Gentlemen turning to the Ladies alternately; they then reel with the other Ladies.

Virtually the same description is given in the ballroom guides of Smythe (1830), Wallace (*c.* 1872) and McLeod (1897), and also by Atkinson (1900). The dance was collected from oral tradition at some time prior to 1930 by the late I. C. B. Jamieson and was published by him in *The Border Dance Book* (Scottish Country Dance Club 1936). Jamieson has left no record of his informants, but we have reason to believe that this dance was recorded from someone who had learnt it in Inverness.[5]

The Double Foursome

This is performed by four couples, and consists of two Foursome Reels performed simultaneously in cross formation. In the 'reels of four' the four ladies pass simultaneously through the centre, and the men likewise. It is mentioned only by Atkinson (Atkinson 1900), who gives a clear description. It is in fact the best of the three 'double' Reels discussed so far, and when combined with a double Reel of Tulloch is both enjoyable and spectacular.

The Reel of Nine

Three basically similar dances of this name are given in the ballroom guides of Willock (1865), Anderson (*c.* 1886–1902) and McLeod (1897), and we have collected from oral tradition another similar dance entitled The Rob Roy Reel, which was performed in Lanark before 1890 as an exhibition dance for children. The name Reel of Nine or Ninesome Reel is also used nowadays for the Bumpkin, a dance which was popular in the early nineteenth century and which is probably the progenitor of the other four. Of all these dances, only Willock's Reel of Nine and The Rob Roy Reel involve the characteristic 8-bar setting periods of the true Reels, and these two dances are essentially 'triple' Threesome Reels. (Descriptions of both dances, and of Anderson's Reel of Nine have been given in Flett 1966–7, part IV; and the description and early history of the Bumpkin in Flett 1965.)

The Threesome (Hankies) Reel

This dance is performed by a man and two ladies, who stand in a line across the room, facing the top, with the man between the two ladies. The man is linked to each lady by a handkerchief held in their nearer hands, and this link is retained throughout.

The dance consists of alternate setting and reeling, and in the reeling figure the two ladies each circle twice round the man in opposite directions. The man and his left-hand lady form an arch, and the right-hand lady passes beneath it, the man following this lady under his own arch. All are now facing down the room, and the man and his right-hand lady form the arch while the left-hand lady passes beneath it. They are now

again facing the top, and they repeat the 'arches figure' once more, ending in original places.

We recorded this dance in the Borders, where it was common up to about 1920, and in parts of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, where it was in use (less commonly) up to about 1905. In all these places it was used purely as a social dance, and was performed to strathspey tunes only (TDS: 173).

Another version of the dance, which was performed to a combination of strathspeys and reels, was collected in Perthshire and Angus by the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society (R.S.C.D.S. 1930), but among our informants we have met this version only as an exhibition dance for children.

We do not know of any literary reference to the dance in Scotland, but the first version above was published by the English Folk Dance and Song Society, who collected it at Kielder in Northumberland.

Orkney and Shetland Reels

With the exception of the North Ronaldshay Axum Reel, which is discussed separately at the end of this section, the Orkney and Shetland Reels are basically similar.

As recently as 1880 the only dances in use in the country districts of the Mainland of Orkney and on most of the smaller Orkney islands were the Foursome Reel, which was identical to that of the mainland of Scotland, the Sixsome and Eightsome Reels, which were peculiar to Orkney, and the ubiquitous kissing dance Babbity Bowster (TDS Chs. 3, 7).

The Orkney Sixsome and Eightsome Reels are danced by three and four couples respectively, and in both dances the setting steps are performed with the dancers placed in two parallel lines, all the men being in one line, with their partners opposite to them in the other. In the travelling figure in the Sixsome Reel the dancers perform the 'reel of three' in pairs, each couple moving as a single unit, with the lady leading and her partner following immediately behind her. In the Eightsome Reel the travelling figure is a 'reel of four', performed in pairs in a similar manner. Like the Foursome Reel, these Orkney Sixsome and Eightsome Reels are both performed to a combination of strathspeys and reels.

The first reference to these Orkney Reels known to us is dated 1905 (Dennison 1905), but this and other subsequent references give only the names of the dances and the number of couples required in each.[6] Detailed descriptions of the dances were first given by one of us in a series of articles in the *Orkney Herald* in 1956, and are reproduced in TDS.

The Shetland Reels, which are for two, three, or four couples, were the principal dances in Shetland up to about 1900 (detailed descriptions of all the forms mentioned here can be found in TDS).

The three-couple and four-couple Shetland Reels existed in a variety of forms, in all

of which the setting steps are performed with the dancers in two parallel lines, with partners in opposite lines. In some forms (and these seem to us to be the oldest), all the men are in one line and the ladies in the other, exactly as in the Orkney Reels. In other forms, however, the couples are arranged so that the lines consist of alternate men and women. In all the known forms the travelling figures are basically similar to those of the Orkney Reels, *i.e.* they consist of the 'reel of three' or the 'reel of four' performed in pairs, though there are differences of detail between the Shetland and Orkney versions.

The two-couple Shetland Reel is exceptional: in this the setting steps are performed with the dancers placed approximately at the corners of a square, and the travelling figure is simply 'four-hands across and back'.

There is one major difference between these Shetland Reels and those of Orkney and the other parts of Scotland, namely that the strathspey tunes so popular elsewhere do not appear to have been accepted in Shetland. Shetland Reels are in fact performed to reel tunes and Scotch measures only—in Shetland both types of tune are called reels, and are usually played at a tempo of about 52–54 bars per minute.[7]

At least one version of the three-couple Reel was known in every district of Shetland. On the other hand, within living memory the two-couple Reel was confined to the western part of the Mainland of Shetland, while the four-couple Reels were confined to the south and west Mainland and to Burra Isle (which is neighbouring to the south and west Mainland).

In most places all these dances were known simply as 'Shetland Reels'. However, in the district of Skeld on the west Mainland of Shetland the local versions of the two-, three-, and four-couple Reels were known as the 'Four-man's Reel', the 'Six-man's Reel', and the 'Eight-man's Reel' (or the 'Fourpenny, Sixpenny, and Eightpenny Reels'), and there the term 'Shetland Reel' seems usually to have meant the three-couple Reel.

These Shetland Reels have attracted more attention from writers than the Orkney Reels. The earliest reference known to us which gives specific information about the form of the dances is the following description of dancing at a Shetland wedding published in the *Shetland Journal* for 1 July 1837.[8]

> The [wedding] dinner being finished, the house is 'red up' (cleared) for dancing. Two fiddlers are perched up on high seats on one side of the room, the lasses, decked out in their best, are ranged on seats along the opposite side, each putting on her most agreeable airs and as fully bent on conquest as the finest drawing-room belle. The young men are also spruced up, and trying to do the agreeable in their best way. The fiddlers begin to tune, the men start up, and selecting their partners, prepare to 'tak da flûre' (take the floor). The 'Foula reel', a native air, is perhaps called for, the fiddlers strike up, and the dancers perform 'a saxome reel', a very simple sort of dance in which the dancers merely perform a figure of 8 in pairs, setting and dancing a jig at each turn of the tune. It must be confessed that there is more of hard work than grace in the dancing of the Shetland peasantry, but there are no people who enjoy that diversion more, and were a fashionable quadriller to see the leaping, shuffling, snapping of fingers, and shouting of a Shetland 'saxome reel', however he might

miss the elegance, he would be obliged to own that in *spirit* his tame performance would bear no comparison with it.

Two other descriptions of Shetland weddings, the first in the *Shetland Times* for 8 February 1875,[9] and the second in George Stewart's *Shetland Fireside Tales* (Stewart 1877), both refer to four couples dancing Reels. The *Shetland Times* article describes a wedding which took place in the Scousburgh district in the south Mainland of Shetland about 1837, and, although the article is unsigned, the account itself leaves little doubt that it too was written by George Stewart. Unfortunately, the article is written with such masterly, if unintentional, ambiguity that one cannot say with certainty that the four couples mentioned are dancing a four-couple Shetland Reel—they could equally well be dancing two Scotch (Foursome) Reels.

The second description, in *Shetland Fireside Tales*, is a little less ambiguous, and here one can be almost certain that the four couples in question are dancing a four-couple Shetland Reel, involving a 'reel of four' performed in pairs. We may therefore take it that such a four-couple Reel goes back at least to Stewart's early youth about 1840.[10]

Yet another description of a Shetland wedding occurs in *Chambers Journal* for 1859 (Chambers Journal 1859). On the occasion referred to, the dancers were in two lines, with all the men in one line and with the women in the other, and in the reeling figure they 'run once or twice round the house', whilst the setting period continued for 'half an hour, thumping and pelting at it, till perspiration streams to the ground and mist ascends in clouds'.

In more recent years detailed descriptions of two versions of the three-couple Reel have been given by Shuldham-Shaw (1949) and MacLennan (1950), and there is also a somewhat misleading description of one of these versions by Saxby (1932). The other versions, and the two-couple and four-couple Reels are first described in TDS.

It is interesting to note that when the dancers perform the travelling figures in any of these Orkney and Shetland Reels they are said to 'run the reel'. This usage is an old one, for in two of the Country Dances in the Young MS of 1740 (Flett 1967) we find the instruction to 'run the Heys' (*i.e.* run the 'reels of three'). We recall also the lines from Ross's *The Fortunate Shepherdess* of 1768, quoted in Part I, where 'throw an' throw they lap, they flang, they ran; The cuintray dances an' the cuintray reels . . .'.

It is possible that a Reel of the same general form as the Orkney and Shetland Sixsome Reels was once known also on the mainland of Scotland, for there is a nineteenth-century reference to a Reel for three couples in the Highlands, and another in North-east Scotland. The first of these occurs in W. Grant Stewart's *The Popular Superstitions and the Festive Amusements of the Highlanders* (Stewart 1822), where, at a wedding:

> The dinner being over, the 'shemit reel' is the next object of attention. All the company assemble on the lawn with flambeaux and form into a circle. The bridal pair and their retinue then dance a *sixsome* reel, each putting a piece of silver into the musician's hand. Those desirous may then succeed, and dance with the bride and the two maids of honour; and are gratified at the commencement and termination of a reel by the usual salutes.

The second reference, which also concerns the 'shemit' or 'shamit' reel is given in Gregor's *Notes on the Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland* (Gregor 1881: 95).

> The dancing [at the wedding] was begun by the *shaimit reel.* This dance was performed by the bride, the bride's maidens, the bridegroom, and the best young men. The music to which it was danced was called the *shaim-spring*, and the bride had the privilege of choosing the music. The male dancers then paid the musician his fee. Another dance was performed by the same six, after which the floor was open.

Gregor goes on to remark that in other districts the 'shaimit reel' was a Foursome Reel performed by the bride and her best maid with the two sens as partners. A similar use of the Foursome Reel, under the name 'Shame-Reel' or 'Shamit Dance', is mentioned in the 1879 edition of Jamieson's *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, with the remark that 'this dance was common in Forfarshire twenty years ago', *i.e. c.* 1860. The same use of the Foursome Reel is described by John Grant in *The Penny Wedding*, referring to the Elgin area about 1806. Grant says that the name 'Shamit Reel' arose 'as it was considered that it [*i.e.* this Reel] would take away the shame and bashfulness which the bride laboured under before so many people' (Grant 1836:30). The 'sens' mentioned by Gregor may possibly be the messengers sent to bring the bride to the wedding.

We cannot be certain that the Reels referred to by Stewart and Gregor were of the same form as the Orkney and Shetland Reels, for neither author describes the travelling figure, but it is perhaps significant that in most districts of Orkney and Shetland the first dance at a wedding was a Sixsome Reel, performed by the bride and bridegroom and their attendants.

We should mention also that a simple 'Six Reel' for three couples, involving a 'reel of three' performed in pairs, was collected by Cecil Sharp in Goathland in Yorkshire in 1914. Moreover, the usage 'to run the reel' also occurs in Yorkshire, as is seen in the following lines from the Cleveland district:

> Becath awd an' yung wad hev a dance
> Tell they gat tired weel;
> They'd crack their fingers an' cry *Yuck!*
> As they ran t'kuntry reel

(Gutch 1901:256; *cf.* the passage from *The Fortunate Shepherdess* on p. 99).

It is natural to wonder why strathspey tunes have never taken root in Shetland, and a possible reason may lie in the extreme popularity of the Sixsome Reel there, for a reel is much better suited to this dance than is a strathspey.[11] In Shetland the Sixsome Reel was normally danced in the confined space of a croft kitchen, and in the travelling figure the dancers had to pass closely round each other as they performed the 'reel of three' in pairs. With the quick tempo of a reel, the travelling steps tended to be short, and the figure fitted perfectly to the music—the dancers returned to their places with just enough time for the three quick stamps which terminated the reeling part of the measure.

On the other hand, to the slower tempo of a strathspey dancers tend to take longer steps, and the use of a strathspey in the Shetland Sixsome Reel would therefore have meant either that the dancers would have tended to finish the reeling figure well before the music, or that their steps would have had to be unnaturally cramped. It is true that the very similar Orkney Sixsome Reel was danced to a combination of strathspeys and reels, but in a confined space the strathspey part of the Orkney dance fits the music much less well than does the reel part.

The popularity of the Sixsome Reel in Shetland might also explain why the (Scotch) Foursome Reel was not accepted into the repertoire of Shetland dances until about 1900. The Sixsome Reel does in fact make a better use of the dancing space available in the small croft kitchens of Shetland than does the Foursome Reel.

If the popularity of the Sixsome Reel in Shetland was responsible for the non-acceptance there of strathspeys and the Foursome Reel, then we may infer a little more about the age of the Shetland Sixsome Reel than is provided by the earliest literary reference, in 1837. We have seen in Part I of this paper that strathspey tunes first became common on the mainland of Scotland about 1760–70, and that the Foursome Reel came into general favour in Scotland (except in the West Highlands and the Western Isles) about 1775–1800. A knowledge of the existence of these new fashions would have travelled almost immediately to Shetland, either *via* polite society or *via* fishermen, but the new tunes and the new dance would not have been adopted into local repertoires if the Sixsome Reel was already well established there.

On the other hand, true Reels involving alternate setting and reeling do not seem to be native to Shetland. This may be inferred from a paper given to George Low in 1774 by the Reverend William Archibald, Minister of the island of Unst in Shetland, and printed in Low's *Tour* (Low 1879:163). Of the people of Unst Archibald wrote:

> Diversions obtain only in winter, and consist in dancing on some stated days about and after Christmas, when they meet in considerable numbers. . . . There is one species of dance which seems peculiar to themselves, in which they do not proceed from one end of the floor to the other in a figure [*i.e.* as in a Country Dance], nor is it after the manner of a Scotch reel, but a dozen or so form themselves into a circle, and taking each other by the hand, perform a sort of circular dance, one of the company all the while singing a Norn Visick. This was formerly their only dance, but has now given entire way to the reel.

The ring dance described by Archibald survived in Unst up to about 1860 (Saxby 1932), and similar dances still survive in the Faroe Islands. However, what is relevant here is the assertion, implicit in Archibald's statement, that the Reel is not native to Unst, and that it had been brought into the island not too long before 1774, possibly shortly after 1700.

We have already remarked in Part I of this paper that the beginning of the eighteenth century saw a revival of social dancing in Scotland, following the religious prohibitions of the preceding century, and this is obviously the period at which we should expect Reels to have spread into regions where they had hitherto been unknown. However,

the form of Reel most likely to have come to Shetland in this way would have been the Threesome Reel, for in the first half of the eighteenth century the Threesome Reel seems to have been the principal Reel in those parts of the mainland of Scotland having closest links with Shetland. A possible relic of such an importation is a dance for three people called The Little Maltman, which was performed in Esha Ness on the Mainland of Shetland about 1875, though unfortunately our information about this dance is fragmentary (Mouat 1959). The Sixsome Reel might well be a Shetland development of the Threesome Reel obtained by 'doubling up' the participants[12] to obtain a more even matching of the sexes. From Shetland the Sixsome Reel could then easily have been exported to Orkney and North-east Scotland, and also to the Yorkshire coast, by the crews of the fishing vessels who used Shetland as a base during the summer months.

We must mention here the 'Auld Reels' of Shetland. These too existed in various forms, for three or four couples, and consist of a 'reel of three' or a 'reel of four' which is repeated over and over without pause, each couple dancing as a single unit, with partners either side by side or one behind the other. The Auld Reels are thus essentially similar to a three-couple or four-couple Shetland Reel from which the setting steps are omitted. However, the similarity of the Auld Reels to the Shetland Reels does not extend to the music, for the surviving Auld Reel tunes are strongly Scandinavian in character: in particular, one of them has exactly the same form as a type of Norwegian dance-tune known as a Halling, while another, if not of exactly the same form as the Halling tunes, has at least close affinities with them (see TDS Chs. 4, 8; Flett 1971, and references given there).[13]

The Auld Reels are first referred to in 1813, but no details of the form of the dance are given (see Flett 1971).[14] As the 'Bride's or Bridegroom's Reels' the Auld Reels were once performed as the closing dances (or dance) of a Shetland wedding, just prior to the bedding of the bride (TDS Ch. 4), and a version for eight dancers under the title of the 'Brides Reels' is mentioned in *Shetland Fireside Tales* (Stewart 1877).

The undoubted antiquity of the Auld Reel tunes, and their equally undoubted Scandinavian origin, make it certain that the Auld Reels, as dances, existed in Shetland prior to the introduction of the true Reels. However, they may not originally have employed the 'reel of three' or the 'reel of four'. The Halling dance, as known in Norway today, is a couple dance involving feats of athleticism by the male partner, and it is possible that the Auld Reels were originally couple dances in which the couples simply circled the floor. After the introduction of true Reels, this circling could easily have given way to a reeling figure, which makes a more interesting use of the space available. It is also possible that the existence of a couple dance in Shetland at that time might have accelerated the 'doubling up' of the participants in Reels.

So far, we have said little about the Orkney and Shetland Reels for four couples. Those which involve a 'reel of four' performed in pairs seem to us to be developments from the Sixsome Reel, and are not very successful. Within living memory they were distinctly uncommon, and their reeling figures do not fit the music particularly well.

On the other hand, the interesting Eightsome or Axum Reel from the Orkney island of North Ronaldshay, which has the most complicated travelling figure of all Scottish Reels, is a well-constructed dance which deserves to be better known.

The figure of the Axum Reel, which is illustrated in Fig. 1(c) in Part I, consists essentially of two 'reels of four' arranged in the form of a cross, but, in contrast to the Double Foursome, here each dancer passes from one 'reel of four' to the other on entering the central loop. The dance commences with alternate setting and reeling, performed to a strathspey, and in this part each dancer covers half the travelling figure in each reeling period. Following the call 'Run it oot', the music gradually becomes faster and faster, and the dancers thereupon continuously traverse the travelling figure, without setting, until the fiddler brings the dance to an end.

The continuous reeling of the last part has obvious features in common with the Shetland Auld Reels, and, like the Auld Reels in Shetland, the Axum Reel was once the closing dance in North Ronaldshay weddings.

In spite of its unusual nature, the Axum Reel was unknown outside Orkney until recently. A detailed description was first given by one of us in a series of articles in the *Orkney Herald* in 1956, and is reproduced in TDS, Chapter 7. An inaccurate description is given in *Scottish Country Dance Book 18* (R.S.C.D.S. 1955): this is based on correspondence with the same sources from whom we recorded the dance.

Conclusion

It is interesting to note the extent to which we have had to rely on information collected recently from oral tradition for our knowledge of Scottish Reels. An historian of the dance, writing in 1948 (when we began our research) and employing only printed and manuscript sources, would have had available detailed information of only eleven of the twenty-one Reels described in this paper [15] (and there would have been some doubt whether one of these, the Shetland Eightsome Reel, really existed). In addition, he would have known that there once existed Reels in Orkney for three and four couples, but would not have known any details of these dances. He would also have known that there once existed dances with the titles Cath nan Coileach and Ruidhleadh nan Coileach Dubha, but would not have known that these were Reels. As we have remarked in Part I, he would have been entirely unaware of the existence of the circular Reel and the allied Ruidhleadh Mòr and The Eight Men of Moidart. He would also have been unaware of the existence of the Axum Reel from North Ronaldshay, the Shetland Foursome Reel and the Shetland Auld Reels. Perhaps more important, he would also have been largely unaware of the extent to which Reels once dominated local dance repertoires in Scotland outside the Lowlands and the immediately adjacent Highlands. Indeed, without the evidence from oral tradition concerning this last point, he might well have given Reels less than their due as the most universal and the most national dance-form in Scotland.[16]

NOTES

1 The Gaelic verses given by Shaw were recorded from 'an old Highlander' who was born *c.* 1760. The song is also given in Sinclair's *An t-Oranaiche*, Glasgow, 1879.

K. N. MacDonald, in his *Puirt-a-beul*, Glasgow, 1901, gives a similar tradition concerning Black John M'Gregor, and says that this was first recorded by a Dr Benjamin Taylor in an article in *Atlanta*. The date of this is said to be *c.* 1840.

2 It should be noted that the Duke of Perth's MS and the McFarlan MS were compiled by the same person, David Young (see Part I).

3 The material in *The Ballroom Annual* also appears in *Etiquette for Ladies and Gentlemen; . . . to which is added the Ball-Room Manual*, London, n.d. In this, the part of the instructions for 'The Duchess of Sutherland's New Highland Reel' between the asterisks marked in the text is omitted, probably by a compositor's error.

An abbreviated version of *The Ballroom Annual*, including 'The Duchess of Sutherland's New Highland Reel', again with the omission of the part between the asterisks, was published under the title *The Art of Dancing*, London, n.d., and in this form seems to have had a fairly wide circulation in Scotland.

4 Further details of the various forms of the Reel of Tulloch known within living memory are given in TDS, Chapter 6.

5 There was also another Reel of Six, the 'Scotch Reel for Six', which was used by the Dundee dancing-master David Anderson as an exhibition dance *c.* 1895–1910 (see Flett 1966–7: parts I, IV). In this dance the dancers performed their setting steps in a line of six, and to begin the travelling figure they faced in pairs. The pattern of the travelling figure was similar to that of the 'reel of four', but with an additional loop at each end, and each dancer performed exactly half this figure in the reeling period.

6 According to Dennison (1905: 34) the dances performed at an Orkney wedding 'were generally "Reels". There were the "twasome", that was the two-couple reel; the "treesome", the three-couple reel; and the "aichtsome", the four-couple reel.' Dennison was born in 1826, and was a native of the island of Sanday, where he resided for most of his life. His account presumably refers to the period *c.* 1840.

The same three Reels are mentioned in almost the same words by John Firth in 1910 (see TDS: 50), referring to the district of Finstown on the mainland of Orkney.

7 There was considerable variation in tempo between one fiddler and another, and we have recorded speeds varying from 62 to 48 bars per minute (we have also met one fiddler who played as slowly as 40 bars per minute, but he was completely exceptional).

8 The issue of the *Shetland Journal* for 1 July 1837 was the mourning issue announcing the death of William IV on June 20, and two editions were printed. The article 'A Shetland Country Wedding' quoted in the text occurs only in the earlier edition, which was apparently sent to subscribers outside Shetland (a copy is in the Orkney County Library in Kirkwall). In the later edition (copies of which are in the Shetland County Library in Lerwick), the article is replaced by an editorial on Queen Victoria's accession and other material on the life of William IV. We are indebted for this information to Mr D. M. N. Tinch, Deputy County Librarian of Orkney, and Mr G. W. Longmuir, County Librarian of Shetland.

The article is reprinted in *Peace's Almanac and County Directory for 1903*, Kirkwall 1902, with a reference to the *Shetland Journal* of the above date. (We first found the article in Peace's reprint some years ago, but at that time we were unable to trace the original of the reprint, for we consulted the Lerwick copies of the *Shetland Journal*, which we now know to be of the wrong edition. The existence of the earlier 'overseas' edition was discovered recently by Mr Tinch when we wrote to him with the faint hope that Peace's original source might be somewhere in the Kirkwall library.)

9 This description is reprinted in *The Orkney and Shetland American* (published in Chicago) vol. 3, Nos. 10, 11, April, May 1890, and also in *Anderson's Orkney and Shetland Guide, Directory and Almanac for 1891*, Kirkwall 1890. An abbreviated version is given in Ursula Venables, *Life in Shetland*, Edinburgh, 1956, p. 34, and a short extract is also given in TDS, p. 65.

In all these works the original source of the description is not specified.

We are indebted to Mr G. W. Longmuir for much bibliographical assistance in relation to these and other references.

10 Stewart was born in 1825.

11 Mr Peter Cooke has kindly pointed out to us that it is not quite accurate to say that strathspeys were absent from Shetland. In fact a small number of tunes that were played by Shetland fiddlers as tunes for the Shetland Reel (at the appropriate reel tempo) can be traced back to Scottish strathspey tunes, and it seems that Shetlanders pressed into service any tune that was to hand and that could be made suitable for the Shetland Reel. However, with the exception of the one fiddler mentioned in note 7, it is true that strathspey tempo was not used for Reels in Shetland, and our remarks should be interpreted as referring to strathspey *tempo*.

12 We have seen such a 'doubling up' of a 'reel of three' take place extemporaneously in the modern Eightsome Reel during the last twenty years.

13 Some of the Auld Reel tunes have features in common with the tune for the Papa Stour Sword Dance.

14 The first (partial) descriptions of the Auld Reels are given by Shuldham-Shaw (1949). Complete details can be found in TDS, Chapter 8.

15 This total does not distinguish between the various forms of the Shetland Sixsome Reel, and similarly for the other Reels.

16 *Cf.* the albums of the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society, which contain only four true Reels.

REFERENCES

As in Part I, the following list does not include manuscript or printed collections of music or dances whose titles are given in full in the text. The abbreviation TDS in the text denotes our book *Traditional Dancing in Scotland*, London 1964.

ALLEN, W. E.

c. 1870 *New Reference Guide to the Ball-Room*. Glasgow.

c. 1880 A revised edition of the above.

c. 1890 *Allan's Reference Guide to the Ball-Room* (published by Mozart Allan). Glasgow.

ANDERSON, DAVID

c. 1886–1902 *D. Anderson's Ball-Room Guide. With full tuition in the art of dancing without the use of French terms*. Dundee, c. 1886. Revised editions c. 1891 and c. 1894. Also *The Universal Ball-Room and Solo-Dance Guide*. Dundee c. 1899, a revised and much enlarged version of the *Ball-Room Guide*. Also further editions of *The Universal . . . Guide* c. 1900 and 1902.

ATKINSON, J. GRAHAMSLEY

1900 *Scottish National Dances*. Edinburgh.

BOSWELL, JAMES

1936 *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, Ll.D. Now first published from the original MS*. London.

CHAMBERS JOURNAL

1859 'Shetland Marriages', *Chambers Journal* 12:383–4.

DENNISON, WALTER TRAILL

1905 *Orkney weddings and wedding customs*. Kirkwall.

FLETT, J. F. and FLETT, T. M.

1956 'Some early Highland Dancing Competitions'. *Aberdeen University Review* 36: 345–58.

1965 'The Bumpkin'. *Scottish Studies* 9:85–90.

1966–7 'David Anderson of Dundee and his Ballroom Guides, I–IV'. *The Thistle*, Nos. 29–37 (1966–7). Also in *The Reel*, Nos. 93–4, 96–8.

1967 'The Scottish Country Dance: its origins and development, II.' *Scottish Studies* 11: 125–47.

FLETT, T. M.

1971 'The Auld Reel, The Foula Reel, and The Shaalds of Foula.' *Shetland Folk Book* 5: 22–31.

GRANT, JOHN

1836 *The Penny Wedding*. London.

1861 *Legends of the Braes o' Mar*. Aberdeen.

GREGOR, WALTER

1881 *Notes on the Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland*. London.

GUTCH, MRS (ed.)

1901 *County Folk-Lore, Vol. II. Examples of printed folk-lore concerning the North Riding of Yorkshire, York, and the Ainsty*. London.

LOW, GEORGE

1879 *A Tour through the Islands of Orkney and Schetland*. Kirkwall.

LOWE, J., R., J., and J. S.

c. 1830 *Lowe's Ball-Conductor and Assembly Guide*, 3rd edition. Edinburgh.

MACLENNAN, D. G.

1950 *Highland and Traditional Scottish Dances*. Edinburgh.

MCLEOD, JOHN N.

1897 *Pocket Companion to the Ball-Room*. Kirkcaldy.

MOUAT, MALCOLM

1959 Information obtained at an interview with Mr Mouat at Hillend, Hillswick, Shetland, September 1959.

NORTH, C. N. MCINTYRE

1881 *Book of the Club of True Highlanders*. Vol. II. London.

ROYAL SCOTTISH COUNTRY DANCE SOCIETY

1930 *The Scottish Country Dance Book*. Book 6.

1955 *The Scottish Country Dance Book*, Book 18.

SAXBY, JESSIE M. E.

1932 *Shetland Traditional Lore*. Edinburgh.

SCOTTISH COUNTRY DANCE CLUB

1936 *The Border Dance Book*. London.

[SHAW, DONALD]

1859 *Highland Legends and Fugitive Pieces of Original Poetry*. Edinburgh.

SHULDHAM-SHAW, P.

1949 'Folk Music and Dance in Shetland'. *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 6 (1948–51):74–80.

SMYTHE, W.

1830 *A pocket companion containing the directions for the performance of Quadrilles, Scotch, English, Irish, French and Spanish Country Dances, Reels, etc.* London.

[STEWART, GEORGE]
1877 *Shetland Fireside Tales.* Edinburgh.
STEWART, WILLIAM GRANT
1822 *The Popular superstitions and the Festive Amusements of the Highlanders.* Edinburgh.
WALLACE, J. F.
c. 1872 *The Excelsior Manual of Dancing.* Glasgow.
c. 1881 *People's Edition of the Excelsior . . . Dancing.* Glasgow.
WILLOCK, H. D.
1865 *Manual of Dancing.* Glasgow.
WILSON, THOMAS
1808 *An Analysis of Country Dancing.* 1st edn. 1808, 2nd edn. 1811. London.

The Earliest Campbells—Norman, Briton or Gael?

W. D. H. SELLAR

Our peerage writers and family historians have given many and varying accounts of the origins of the Campbells, accounts which derive that family sometimes from Norman, sometimes from British and sometimes from Gaelic ancestors, and not infrequently from all three at the same time. George Crawfurd wrote in 1716 in his *Peerage*:

> This noble antient Family is deriv'd from a series of illustrious Ancestors, who possess'd Lochow in Argyle-shire, according to the traditional Accounts by the Bards and Sanachies, as early as the Time of King Fergus II who restor'd our Monarchy (Anno Christi 404).
>
> The first Appellation they us'd was Odwbin [O'Duibne], which, according to an early Custom they assum'd from Diarmid Odwbin, one of their Ancestors, a brave and warlike Man, . . .
>
> From this Diarmid Odwbin, the Bards have recorded a long series of the Barons of Lochow whose Actions they tell us, were very renown'd both for valor and courage.

Crawfurd derives the descent of the later Campbells from one of Diarmaid's successors, 'Paul Odwbin . . . call'd Paul in Spuran, so denominate from his being the King's Treasurer', from the marriage of whose daughter Eva with one 'Gilespick Odwbin, a Relation of her own' he traces the later family (Crawfurd 1716:13).

Wood's edition of Douglas' *Peerage*, published in 1813, while not ignoring Diarmaid O'Duibne, concentrates on Eva's husband, described as 'Gillespick Campbell, a gentleman of Anglo-Norman lineage' (Douglas 1813:85). Another believer in the Norman ancestry of the Campbells was John Pinkerton whose views were repeated with general approval in Anderson's *Scottish Nation* in 1866 (Anderson 1866:1.543). The name 'Campbell', according to those in favour of the Norman theory, derives from 'de Campo Bello'.

However, co-existing beside these claims to descend from Norman knights and Fenian heroes (for Diarmaid O'Duibne was a companion of Finn), there has also been a claim to descend from King Arthur. So late as 1871 the anonymous author of *The House of Argyll* opted for this theory: 'Various conjectures', he wrote, 'have been formed with respect to the origins of these ancient barons, and the most probable and prevalent is, that they descended from Arthur, Prince of the Silures whose heroic valour sustained the declining state of his country in the invasions of the Saxons, and who is so much

celebrated by the songs of Thaleissin [*sic*]; . . . he is said to have married Elizabeth, daughter of the King of France, which behoved to be Childobert, the fifth in descent from Pharamond . . .' (Argyll 1871:4).

Most nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians, however, have been more cautious in their approach, taking to heart no doubt the strictures of Buchanan of Auchmar (1723) on 'the fondness of people's having the origin of their most famous men screwed up to as great a pitch of antiquity as possible, yea, sometimes above measure' (Buchanan 1820:5). The balance of modern opinion seems to be in favour of a Gaelic, although non-Fenian, origin. Skene, in his *Highlanders of Scotland* (1837), repudiated the 'de Campo Bello' story, saying that there was no early authority whatsoever for it, and suggesting that Campbell ancestors might have formed part of the ancient inhabitants of the district of Garmoran (Macbain 1902:356). Skene's later opinion, in *Celtic Scotland*, was that the original seat of the Campbells was the district of Lochow and Ardskeodnish, that is, Lochawe and Kilmartin Glassary (Skene 1886–90:3.330–1). A more recent historian of the clan, Andrew McKerral, describes the traditional genealogical material as being 'surrounded by the usual nimbus of myth and fable, or at best uncertain tradition' and goes on to quote with approval the opinion of the 8th Duke of Argyll who described the Campbells as 'the purely Celtic family from which I am descended—a family of Scots—that is to say belonging to that Celtic colony from Ireland which founded the Dalriadic kingdom, and to whom the name of Scots originally and exclusively belonged' (McKerral 1953:6).

However, the tradition of a British origin has not been entirely without support, albeit rather muted. Alexander Macbain, while not denying the strength of the Lochawe claim, commented significantly, 'If the Campbells did not originally belong to Argyle, we must not go further than Dumbartonshire for their habitat. The old genealogies trace them back to the British King Arthur, a tradition which may indicate that the Campbells originally lived on the borderland of the Strathclyde Briton and the Gael. The name Arthur is common among them' (Macbain 1902:421). Sir Iain Moncreiffe follows the same tack in his *Highland Clans* (1967:110). Finally, Professor Barrow has written in his *Robert Bruce* : 'The precise origin of the Campbells is not known. There is no doubt that their greatness as territorial lords dates from King Robert's reign. But they were certainly not landless adventurers' (Barrow 1965:406). The aim of this paper is to investigate the 'nimbus of myth and fable' and uncertain tradition, to try to separate the original Campbell tradition as to origins from the genealogical chaff which later surrounded it and to assess, if possible, the authenticity of this original tradition.[1]

The first step is to establish a foundation of fact by considering the accepted record evidence for the earliest Campbells. (Useful secondary sources here are Balfour Paul's *Scots Peerage* and Barrow's *Robert Bruce*.) The earliest Campbell of whose existence contemporary record survives is one Gillespic Campbell, whose name appears in 1263 in connection with the lands of Menstrie and Sauchie in Clackmannanshire, and again in 1266 as witness to a charter granted at Stirling by King Alexander III (Exch. Rolls:

1.24; Lindores Liber 1841:8). Next on record appears Gillespic's son Colin (otherwise Nicholas) who witnesses a charter *c.* 1281 and thereafter figures quite prominently in Scottish affairs for some 15 years—for example, in 1291 he acted as one of the auditors of Bruce the Competitor (Lennox Cartularium 1833:21; Barrow 1965:406). Next named in point of time is Colin's son Neill (otherwise Nigellus) who witnesses, in 1282, during his father's lifetime, a grant of land to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, by Stirling (Cambuskenneth 1872:70). This is the Neill Campbell who later became one of King Robert Bruce's most constant supporters and intimate companions and who is described by Barrow as 'one of that small band of noblemen without whose help in 1306 and 1307 Robert Bruce would hardly have survived, let alone recovered the kingdom' (Barrow 1965:406–7). He died about 1315. The relationship of these three men, Gillespic, Colin and Neill to each other is well vouched by the record evidence, and the descent of the later family of Argyll from them undoubted. Colin is usually taken to be—I believe rightly—the original Cailean Mór, from whom the style 'MacCailein Mór' derives.

It is worth noting at this point that most secondary sources from Crawfurd onwards have confused the careers of Colin and Neill owing to a failure to appreciate that the latinised form 'Nicholas' normally represents the name 'Colin' and not the name 'Neill'; 'Neill' is generally rendered 'Nigellus' in Latin.[2] Thus, for example, it is Colin and not Neill who appears as baillie of Lochawe and Ardskeodnish in 1296, and who figures in the *Ragman Roll* in the same year as 'Nicol Cambel' (Barrow 1965:406). In Barron's *Scottish War of Independence* this confusion over nomenclature is worse confounded because of a failure to realise that 'Neill' and 'Nigel' are synonymous.

Others of the surname Campbell begin to appear on record with increasing frequency from about 1290 onwards. Donald Campbell, Dugald Campbell, Duncan Campbell and Arthur Campbell all figure, and are taken by *The Scots Peerage* to be brothers of Neill (Scots Peerage:1.321–2). A strict construction of the record evidence, however, will only admit Dugald, and perhaps also Donald to that relationship (*infra*, p. 10). However, it is clear enough that the later Campbells of Loudoun descend from Donald, and the Campbells of Strachur, the designation of whose chief is 'MacArthur' from Arthur. Also on record are Thomas Campbell in 1293 and 1309, and a clerical Master Neill Campbell who figures *inter alia* as an envoy of the Earl of Carrick in 1293 (APS:1.447, 289; Cal. Docs. Scot. 2. no. 675).

Apart from the early record evidence for individuals named Campbell, it may also, I think, be accepted that the earlier and original name of the family was O'Duibne or O'Dhuibne. It would appear, in fact, that the appellation 'O'Duibne' survived in popular speech until at least the eighteenth century. Thus Duncan Forbes of Culloden refers to the Campbells as 'Clan Guin', while the author of the Craignish family history *c.* 1720 says that the Campbells are 'also to this Day called Clan Oduine, or Clan O'Guine', adding later that although the surname Campbell had been used for 650 years or more (an exaggeration) 'yet the ancient Surname of Oduine so far prevails, that the other is

scarce ever mentioned in the paternal tongue of the ancient Highlanders, but always as above Clan O'Guine' (Skene 1886–90:3.339, *n.* 13; Campbell 1926:194).

Other instances of the use of the name O'Duibne could be multiplied, but three more should suffice. John Carswell in the dedication to his Gaelic prayer book in 1567 addresses Archibald, Earl of Argyll as 'O'Duibhne': 'Do Ghiolla Easbuig Ua nDuibhne Iarrla Earra Gaoidheal' (Thomson 1970:3). The sixteenth-century *Book of the Dean of Lismore* also uses the form Ua Duibhne ['*oy d(o)wne*'] (Watson 1937:116). The last and oldest example occurs in the well known charter granted in 1369 by David II to Gillespic (Archibald) Campbell. There Gillespic is granted various lands 'with all the liberties of the said land as freely as Duncan M'Duine, progenitor of the said Archibald Campbell did enjoy in the barony of Lochow or any other lands belonging to him' (Hist. MSS Comm:4.477). This charter shows clearly that in 1369 the Campbell connection with Lochawe was believed to date back at least to the time of one Duncan—of whom there is no contemporary record, but who must have lived earlier than the Gillespic of 1263 and 1266—and that this Duncan was believed to be the descendant of one Duibne. Like Skene in *Celtic Scotland*, I am inclined to believe that Duibne, the eponym of the clan, was a historical character. Indeed, with the possible exception of Diarmaid, who it will be argued below is a special case, I doubt if it can be shown that the eponym of any highland family is a fictitious character.

I should like to consider next the traditional accounts of the bards and the seanachies mentioned by Crawfurd, the accounts, that is, on which ultimately Crawfurd, Douglas, Pinkerton and others based their own. The writing of manuscript histories of the Campbells appears to have been a considerable growth industry in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and of these accounts quite a number still survive. The fullest and most readily accessible in print is *Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells*, edited for the Scottish History Society by Sheriff J. R. N. MacPhail. Other printed sources are Buchanan of Auchmar's *Genealogy and Present State of Ancient Scottish Surnames*; the manuscript history of the Campbells of Craignish written by Alexander Campbell about 1720, and edited by Herbert Campbell for the Scottish History Society; and the anonymous *History of the House of Argyll*, to which reference has already been made, published in 1871. These accounts, most of which make both interesting and entertaining reading, all tell roughly the same story, a story which might be termed the later approved Campbell tradition.

All these accounts derive, as they usually acknowledge explicitly, from two earlier, seventeenth-century manuscript histories, the one compiled by Neill MacEwan, the last of the hereditary seanachies of the family of Argyll,[3] and the other by Alexander Colville or Colvin, a strong and bloody man who sat as Justice Depute in Edinburgh for the best part of fifty-seven years from 1607 until 1664.[4] Let the Craignish history tell the tale:

> It's well known to any that have the least smatterings of the Old Scottish affairs that every considerable Family in the Highlands had their Bards and Shenachies. The Bard was a

> Family Poet, and the Shenachie their prose writer, but very oft the Bard supply'd the place of both. These Offices were heretable, and had a pension, commonly a piece of land annexed to that Office. Their work was to hand down to posterity the valorous actions, Conquests, batles, skirmishes, marriages and relations of the predicessors by repeating and singing the same at births, baptisms, marriages, feasts and funeralls, so that no people since the Curse of the Almighty dissipated the Jews took such care to keep their Tribes, Cadets and branches, so well and so distinctly separate. Aarne, or Saturn McEune, who lived in Earl Archibald Gruamach's time and had for pension the Lands of Kilchoan in Netherlorne, and his son Niel mach Aarne vic Eune were the heretable Genealogists of the Family of Argyll. This Niell dyed about the year 1650, and was the last of them. Printing of Hystorie becoming then more frequent, the necessity of maintaining these Annalists began to wear off.
>
> Mr Alexr. Colvin, I doe believe Laird of Blair in Fife, who was much with the Late Marquis of Argyle, revised these Genealogies as the McEunes left them betwixt the years 1650 and 1660 and his Second Edition of them is it that goes by the name of Colvin's Genealogy of the Campbells (Campbell 1926:190–1).

The Craignish history mentions that the ninth Earl of Argyll 'who suffered for the pure Religion and Liberties of this Countrey in the year 1685, sett about this work by the help of Mr Robert Duncansone, who dy'd minister of Campbelltoun, assisted by several other good Shenachies betwixt the year 1670 and 1676, and is it, that goes by the name of Duncansone's Genealogie'. A copy of Duncanson's genealogy is still preserved at Inverary, and it is clear from this that Duncanson's genealogy and *Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells*, the author of which was unknown to Sheriff MacPhail, are identical.[5] However, when Craignish continues that 'all of them [the genealogies] are lame in the matter of Chronologie which is the life of History and want much to be mended in that and other parts' it is not far wide of the mark. Boece, Holinshed and Geoffrey of Monmouth were clearly no strangers to Mr Colville. Yet, critically handled, I believe that the MacEwan/Colville tradition can tell us much.

The most convenient account to take is Duncanson's *Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells*. 'Although' it begins 'the common and ordinary account of the genealogie of the name of Campbell or Clann oduibhn doth commence from Arthur of the round table, King of the Britons as a very famous and great person yet wee shall commence it some ages before him' (MacPhail 1916:75). For our purposes, however, it will suffice to begin with Arthur. Arthur is given a son Smerevie or Merevie [called Mervin by Buchanan], described as 'a great and famous person of whom diverse and strange things are spoken in the Irish traditions; it is said that he was born in Dumbarton on the south syde thereof, in a place called the redd hall or in Irish Tour in Talla Dherig that is Tower of the redd hall or redd house, he was called to his agnomen or by-name the fool of the forrest because he was a wild undauntoned person'. The pedigree continues with a series of clearly fictitious persons of whom nothing of interest is related (Fig. 1): after Smerevie, Ferrither, after Ferrither, Duibne Mor, then Arthur Og and another Ferrither. 'Some reckons', says *Ane Accompt*, 'this fferrither to have married a daughter of Diarmid oduibhn who was a great man in Ireland and to have had of her

his son Duiblnie falt dhearg, to which,' says our author, 'I cannot so readily agree.' One reason why this alternative tradition is rejected, reasonably enough, is that if it were true it would mean that the Campbells' descent from Diarmaid would not be in the direct male line, but through a female. Another reason given is 'Because thereby diverse generations contained in the genealogicall tree which generally passes for current will fall to be unmentioned as lost or as never to have been' (MacPhail 1916: 77–8).

'Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells'

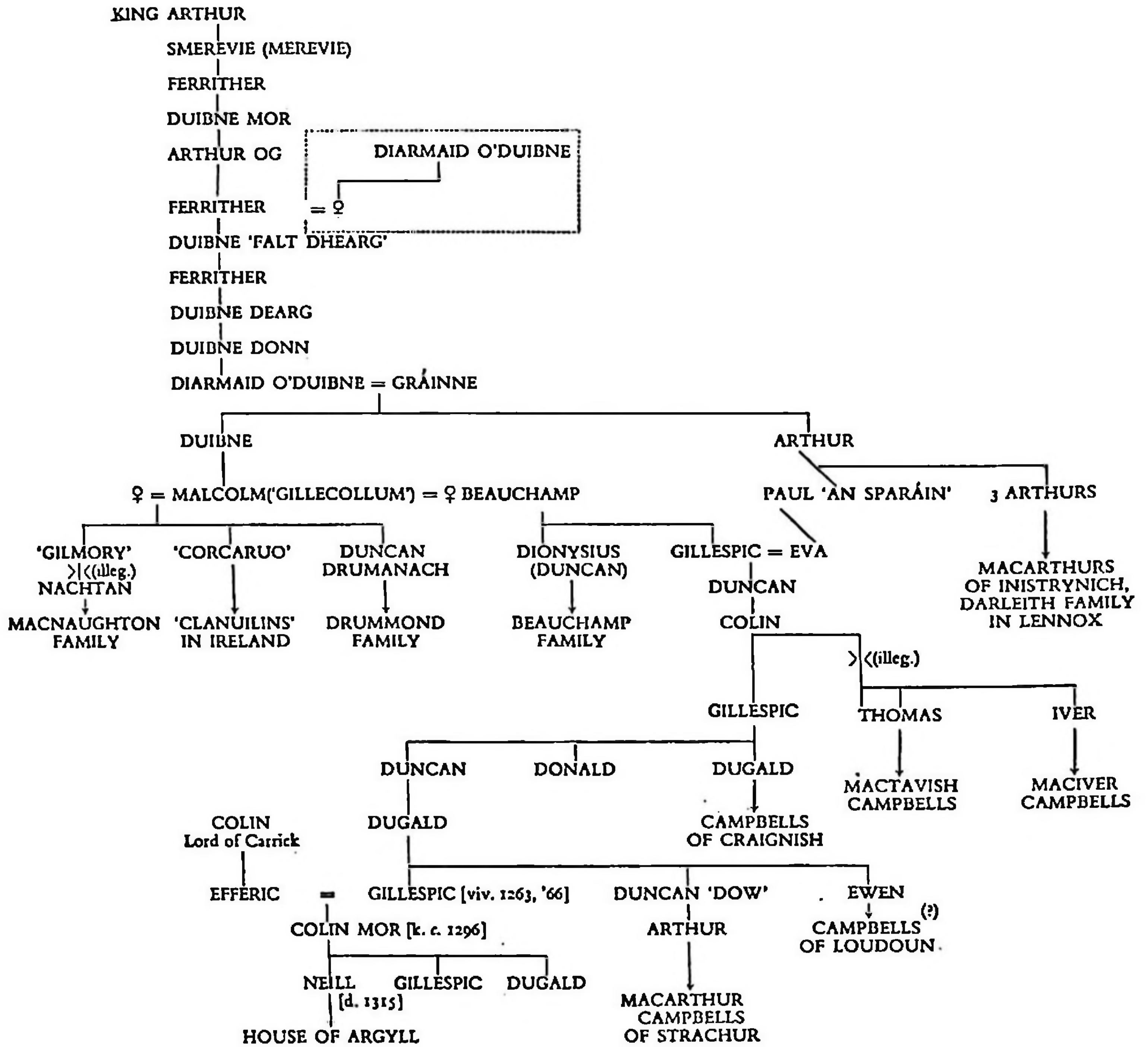


FIG. 1 The Campbell Pedigree according to *Ane Accompt*. (Note: Some attempt has been made to standardise the spellings of the original.)

After Ferrither, comes Duibne, then another Ferrither followed by two more Duibnes and then, at last, ten generations below Arthur, Diarmaid O'Duibne. *Ane Accompt*

explains that this is the famous Diarmaid who married Gráinne, and thus identifies him with that legendary follower of Finn MacCool the story of whose love affair with Gráinne is well known in Gaelic tradition and has so imprinted itself on the Irish folk memory that to this day every second dolmen in Ireland is known as the 'Bed of Diarmaid and Gráinne'.[6]

After Diarmaid follows anothei Duibne whose son Malcolm travels to France where he 'took in marriage the heretrix of Beochamps (that is to say Campus Bellus or pleasant field) being sister daughter of William the Conqueror'. Malcom's eldest son Dionysius or Duncan stays in France and founds the family of Beauchamp, but his second son Gillespic returns to Scotland where he marries his cousin Eva, called heiress of Lochawe and daughter of one Paul O'Duibne alias Paul an Sparáin. Paul himself is made a grandson of Diarmaid O'Duibne and is given three brothers all called Arthur from whom, it is said, descend the MacArthurs of Inistrynich on Lochawe, and the family of Darleith in the Lennox. Paul an Sparáin is so named because he was 'Purse-master or Treasurer to the Kings for the tyme'.

So far *Ane Accompt* has valiantly attempted to incorporate the British, the Gaelic and the Norman traditions of ancestry into one direct male line descent. Included too, is the popular etymology of the surname Campbell from 'de Campo Bello', transmogrified by way of 'Campus Bellus' and 'Bellus Campus' to Beauchamp. In fact, the name 'Cambel'—the intrusive 'p' does not appear until the latter half of the fifteenth century—almost certainly originated as a nickname meaning simply, in Gaelic, 'twisted mouth': according to MacFirbis (*infra*, p. 117) the first' Caimbél' was Dugald, grandfather of Colin Mor. Again, the tradition that Lochawe came originally to the Campbells by an heiress is incorporated but that heiress too is made an O'Duibne in the male line.

Malcolm, father of Gillespic is given three other sons, 'Gilmory, Corcaruo and Duncan Drumanach' by a different wife. From these sons, we are informed, descend respectively the MacNaughtons, 'the Clanuilins in Ireland' and the Drummonds (MacPhail 1916:81). Gillespic and Eva's son Duncan also marries a Lochawe heiress, with issue Colin. Colin is given two illegitimate sons, Thomas and Iver, as well as his legitimate successor Gillespic. Thomas is said to have conquered Cowal from the Lamonts 'being a man of great valor and couradge', and to have founded the MacTavish Campbells, while from Iver, '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', descend the MacIver Campbells.[7] Gillespic has three sons: Duncan his successor, Donald and Dugald *a quo* the Campbells alias MacDougals of Craignish. Duncan's son Dugald marries a MacNaughton kinswoman and also has three sons: Gillespic—and here at last we are on firm ground for this is the Gillespic of 1263 and 1266—Duncan Dow and Ewen. Duncan Dow, is represented as the father of Arthur Campbell *a quo* the Campbells of Strachur, this Arthur being Bruce's contemporary, while Ewen with rather less certainty is made ancestor of the family of Loudoun. Gillespic's wife is named as Efferic, daughter to Colin Lord of Carrick, and their son is Colin Mór. Colin, for

what it is worth, is given three sons, Sir Neill, Gillespic and Dugald the parson. There let us pause and take stock.

Firstly, and briefly, how reliable is *Ane Accompt* regarding the collaterals and descendants of Gillespic of 1266? In making Arthur Campbell a cousin and not a brother of Colin Mór (*pace* Scots Peerage: 1.321), I believe *Ane Accompt* to be correct. At any rate, there is some record evidence for the existence of Arthur's reputed father, Duncan Dow: thus, it seems, Duncan 'Dow' (*i.e.* 'Dubh'), ancestor of Strachur, is to be identified with the 'Duncan Duf' who appears in 1293 as a landowner in Balliol's newly-created sheriffdom of Kintyre (APS:1.447). Loudoun's descent from Ewen, however, is more doubtful; rather it seems probable the Loudoun's ancestor Donald was indeed a brother of Sir Neill as *The Scots Peerage* suggests, although the evidence is admittedly tenuous.[8]

More interesting is the account of Gillespic's marriage with 'Efferic', daughter of Colin of Carrick. This has been generally disbelieved, the reason being, in the words of *The Scots Peerage* 'there was no Colin of Carrick known to history' (Scots Peerage: 1.319). A record of Colin of Carrick under that name there may not be, but a Nicholas of Carrick appears on record more than once, and this Nicholas, there can be no doubt, was a son of Duncan, Earl of Carrick: for example, 'Nicholaus filius Dunecani de Carric' confirms his father's grant of the church of Maybole to the Priory of North Berwick, *c.* 1250 (North Berwick Carte 1847:14). Chronologically Nicholas fits. Unfortunately, as in the case of Colin Mór Campbell and his son Neill, a mistaken assimilation of the names Nicholas and Neill has led to confusion. Duncan of Carrick was succeeded in his earldom by his son Neill, and this Neill, Earl of Carrick, and his brother Colin, otherwise Nicholas, have been taken (*e.g.* Scots Peerage: 2.426) to be one and the same. The story of Gillespic's marriage then is feasible. More than that, it is probable. Colin Mór is the first Campbell to bear that christian name (the earlier Colin appearing in the pedigree being discounted, *infra* p. 119). It is quite probable he took his name from his mother's father. Similarly, the clerical Master Neill Campbell, appears to be the first Campbell to bear that christian name. He must, I think, be a brother of Colin Mór and a grand nephew of Neill, the last Celtic Earl of Carrick. When one discovers that both Master Neill and Colin Mór have associations with the County of Ayr the case is virtually complete: as mentioned above (p. 111) Master Neill Campbell was an envoy of the Earl of Carrick in 1293, while he appears in the Ragman Roll in 1296 as 'Mestre Neel Cambel . . . del counte de Arc' (*Cal. Docs. Scot.*: 2.199); Colin Mór was involved in 1293 in a transaction concerning the lands of Symington in Ayrshire (*Newbattle Registrum* 1849:137–42). I would suggest, then, that the christian names 'Colin' and 'Neill' came into the Campbell family from the family of the Celtic Earls of Carrick by way of a marriage contracted about the middle of the thirteenth century. If this conjecture is correct, then the mother of King Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and the mother of Colin Mór were first cousins, and the strong and consistent support given to Bruce by the family of Campbell is partly explicable on a kinship basis.[9]

What credence is to be given to the earlier part of the pedigree, to the generations

before Gillespic of 1263? I believe that an examination of the later approved Campbell tradition, based as it is on MacEwan and Colville, viewed in the light of some older, shorter and altogether less corrupt genealogies leads inescapably to the conclusion that the original Campbell tradition of ancestry was neither Gaelic nor Norman, but British.

The older, shorter, and less corrupt genealogies relied on are three in number, the same three in fact relied on by Skene in Appendix VIII to *Celtic Scotland*, 3. The first is the early genealogical account of various Scottish clans known usually as 'MS 1467',

MS 1467	*Kilbride MS*	*MacFirbis*
?IUBUR	AMBROSIUS	IOBHAR
ARTHUR	ARTHUR	ARTHUR
MEIRBI	SMERBI	SMEIRBE
?EIRENAIA	FERADOIG	FERADOIGH
DUIBNE	DUIBNE	DUIBNE
MALCOLM	MALCOLM	MALCOLM
GILLESPIC	DUNCAN	DUNCAN
DUNCAN	GILLESPIC	EOGHAN
DUGALD	DUGALD	DUGALD
GILLESPIC	GILLESPIC	GILLESPIC
COLIN	COLIN	COLIN

FIG. 2 The Ten Generations above Colin Mór.

after its supposed date, but which, it now appears was probably written rather earlier in the fifteenth century.[10] The second is the Kilbride MS *c.* 1550, edited in *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* in 1847, but now lost (Mackinnon 1912:217–19). A further garbled genealogy still extant (Maclagan MS 196) and dating from *c.* 1700 appears to be based on the Kilbride MS. Thirdly there is the Campbell pedigree given by the great seventeenth-century Irish genealogist Duald MacFirbis but certainly dating from before his time. Fig. 2 sets out the ten generations before Colin Mór given in each of these pedigrees. The 1467 MS only gives ten generations but that is enough to take the pedigree back to King Arthur, whose father's name, difficult to read, is probably intended to be 'Uther'. The Kilbride MS also goes back to Arthur, giving him as the son of Ambrosius (*i.e.* Ambrosius Aurelianus) and grandson of Constantine. Beyond that it carries back

through a succession of Arthurs, Beinne the Britons and others to 'Briotain', the eponym of the British race. MacFirbis' account is more interesting: it is not clear that the Arthur in this pedigree is in fact King Arthur, and beyond him appear a string of curious names like 'Coiel' and 'Catogain', which have an archaic Welsh or British look about them.[11]

Now there are some obvious points to be made about these pedigrees. In the first place, they do give substantially the same account of the eight generations or so before Colin Mór. Secondly, there is no hint of a Norman descent. Third, and more surprising, no Diarmaid O'Duibne appears, indeed no Diarmaid at all appears. A Duibne appears, however, and all the accounts give this Duibne a grandson or great grandson called Duncan, who corresponds well enough with the Duncan of the 1369 charter (*supra*, p. 112). Fourth, and most significant, each of these pedigrees unquestionably claims a British ancestry for the Campbells, although the particular descent from King Arthur is, of course, incredible.

How then should one interpret the extended MacEwan/Colville account? Clearly the British tradition appears there too, and I would suggest that the references to Diarmaid O'Duibne and a Norman descent bear all the appearance of later additions to original material. The juggling with various heiresses, the appearance of Diarmaid O'Duibne, somewhat disembodied, at an uncertain point in the pedigree, the trip to Normandy and back, are simply not convincing. Nor for that matter are the extra Duibnes, Ferrithers, *etc.*, who were clearly included to pad out the glaring chronological gap between the historical Campbells and King Arthur. The Norman claim is barely worth refuting: its artificial nature is manifest, and there is the clearest record evidence, already mentioned, that the intrusive letter 'p' was not added to the surname until the fifteenth century.

The appearance of Diarmaid O'Duibne in the Campbell pedigree is more difficult to account for. Clearly the name Duibne occurred in the original pedigree. It seems clear also from an examination of the older genealogies that this Duibne figured as the father of one 'Malcolm', rather than as father or ancestor of Diarmaid. Why then Diarmaid O'Duibne? It could be argued that the mere presence of the unusual name Duibne was in itself enough to stimulate the seanachies to introduce Finn's famous companion. However, I think it more likely that the answer is to be found in the name of Duibne's father in the original tradition. In the later MacEwan/Colville tradition Duibne's father is given as Diarmaid, this being curiously at variance with the older genealogies: MacFirbis gives 'Feradoigh', MS Kilbride gives 'Feradoig', while MS 1467 gives a strange and almost illegible name read by Skene as 'Eirenaid'—although 'Eirenaia' would be equally possible. Now just as 'Norman' has become a recognised equivalent for 'Tormod' and 'Hector' for 'Eachunn' so too the equivalent for 'Diarmaid' is 'Jeremy' or 'Jeremiah'. I would suggest, albeit tentatively, that it was the name 'Jeremiah' (written as 'Ieremaia'), which originally appeared in the Campbell genealogy as the father of Duibne and that this name rapidly became corrupted or mistranscribed in manuscripts, giving the Eirenaia of MS 1467, and, at several removes, the Feradoig

of the other accounts. Meanwhile the MacEwan oral tradition had preserved Jeremiah in its equivalent form of Diarmaid: 'Ane Accompt' indeed derives the Campbells 'From the famous knights and champions the oduibns, and especially from Diarmad (*or Jeremie*) oduibnes famous in the Irish genealogies' (MacPhail 1916:72). The step from a Duibne son of Jeremiah (otherwise Diarmaid) to the inclusion of Diarmaid O'Duibne was an easy one. Later, I would argue, the position was further complicated by the MacEwan/Colville attempt to allow for the 'Feradoig' variation of the other tradition by incorporating numerous 'Ferrithers' in the padded out genealogy. At some stage too antiquarians began to refer occasionally to the Campbells as 'Siol Diarmaid' on the strength of the inclusion of Diarmaid O'Duibne, although this designation never superseded the older family name of O'Duibne. There are admittedly some difficulties in supporting this theory of a Campbell ancestor named Jeremiah, not least the rarity of the name, but the theory does have the merit of interpreting the curious name in the 1467 MS, of explaining the discrepancy between the 'Diarmaid' of Campbell tradition and the 'Feradoig' of MacFirbis and the Kilbride MS, and of explaining the intrusion of the story of Diarmaid and Gráinne into the Campbell pedigree.

Once the MacEwan/Colville account has been purged of Diarmaid O'Duibne, of the Norman descent, of the numerous extra Duibnes and Ferrithers, and also of the Colin, Gillespic and Duncan below Duibne, and who (I would argue) are mere doublets of Malcolm, Gillespic and Duncan above them,[12] we are left with a basic pedigree remarkably like that in the 1467 MS. However, some additional information remains: the information that Smerevie or Merevie figured in various tales and was born at a place called the Red Hall in Dumbarton; and the belief that the MacNaughtons, 'the Clanuilins', and the Drummonds, were of the same stock as the Campbells. These traditions are helpful in the attempt to assess the likelihood of a British descent for the Campbells. Again there is the tradition that Lochawe came to the Campbells through the heiress of one Paul an Sparáin, and there are the accounts of the descent of the MacTavish Campbells, the MacIver Campbells and the Campbells of Craignish. On these last, for the purpose of this paper, I would only affirm without elaboration my belief that the MacEwan/Colville account is substantially correct.[13]

In testing the tradition of British origin I would follow Alexander Macbain and Sir Iain Moncreiffe in looking to the Lennox, that part of the ancient Kingdom of Strathclyde lying to the north of the Forth/Clyde axis, and contiguous with the district of Argyll. In fact, once one begins to look in this quarter, evidence supporting a British descent for the Campbells is not difficult to find. No detailed study has yet been made of the possibility of a late British survival in some shape or form in the Lennox, yet one of the leading families of the area, the Galbraiths, already prominent at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and married even then into the family of the Earls of Lennox, has consistently claimed a British ancestry. In Gaelic to this day they are known as 'Clann a Bhreatannaich'—'children of the Briton'; in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* a Galbraith is termed 'Mac an Bhreatnaigh' (Watson 1937:14–15). Further, the suggestive

christian name 'Arthur' was used by the thirteenth-century Galbraiths, as it was by the thirteenth-century Campbells.

The record evidence for the Campbells before 1300, sparse though it is, also discloses a connection with the Lennox. Thus the first appearance of Colin Mór, *c.* 1281, is as a witness to a charter by the Earl of Lennox; in 1289 Dugald Campbell together with William Fleming, a burgess of Dumbarton, gives the Exchequer returns for the sheriffdom of Dumbarton on behalf of the sheriff; in 1294, a third member of the family, Donald, *inter alia*, is warned by the Bishop of Glasgow not to take the part of the Earl of Lennox in the longstanding dispute between the Lennox family and the Church over the lands of Old Kilpatrick, (Lennox Cartularium 1833:21; Exch. Rolls: I.38; Paisley Registrum: 203*).[14]

There is further evidence of a more circumstantial nature pointing to Britons and the Lennox. A witness of the name 'Duibne' appears in the *Book of Deer*, *c.* 1131/1132. On him Professor Jackson comments that the name 'Duibne' is almost unique (Jackson 1972:68). Curiously, Jackson makes no mention of the Clan O'Duibne *alias* the Campbells. In fact, another Duibne appears on the Scottish record at the beginning of the thirteenth century. This is Duibne ('Duvene', 'Dufne') who witnesses various Lennox writs and was the chamberlain of the Earl of Lennox (Glasgow Registrum 1843: I. 87, 88; Kelso Liber 1846: I. 181; Lennox Cartularium 1833:25, 26). He cannot be the same man as the Campbell ancestor, but given the rarity of the name the Lennox example is at least worthy of mention.

Then there is the account of Smerevie or Merevie, the fool of the forest, born in An Talla Dearg, the Red Hall. The Galbraiths too are associated with An Talla Dearg in the Gaelic saying,

Bhreatunnach o'n Talla Dheirg
Uaisle 'shliochd Albann do shloinne

—'Britons from the Red Hall, the noblest race in Scotland' (Black 1946:285). In fact, the name 'the Red Hall' occurs in Gaelic folk tales associated with the Arthurian cycle as the name of Arthur's capital: 'King Arthur's capital is not Camelot but "Dúnadh an Halla Dheirg", the fortress of the Red Hall, using the English word "halla", though no English source for the name has been established' (Bruford 1966:22). Thus the British descent of the Campbells is further emphasised.[15]

Finally, there are the claims that the MacNaughtons, the Drummonds and 'the Clanuilins' branched off early from the Campbell stem, claims which have not, I think, been investigated in recent times. Of the early MacNaughtons little in fact is known; it is, however, clear that they had close and early ties with the Campbells. Thus Alexander III granted Gilchrist MacNaughton the keeping of the castle of Fraoch Eilean in Loch Awe, while various thirteenth- and fourteenth-century writs connect the MacNaughtons with the burial island of Inishail, also in Loch Awe (Inchaffray

Charters 1908:xlii; Campbell, 1885:76). Again the 1467 MS pedigree of the MacNaughtons does include among their reputed progenitors one named 'Arthur'.[16]

The Drummonds, like many other Scottish families, claim a Hungarian descent, alleging that their ancestor came from Hungary to Anglo-Saxon England with St Margaret and afterwards to Scotland. Whatever may be the case as regards other families—an interesting topic for further research—there appears to be not a word of truth in the Drummond claim. The earliest ancestor whom the Drummonds can point to with any degree of conviction is one Malcom Beg, an early thirteenth-century character who was steward to the Earls of Lennox and figures largely as a witness to their charters (*e.g.* Lennox Cartularium: *passim*).

'Of Corcaruo descended the Clanuilins in Ireland' says *Ane Accompt.* The name 'Corcaruo', that is 'Corc Ruadh', or 'Corc the red', immediately establishes another Lennox connection, for the Celtic Earls of Lennox claimed descent from the Irish Conall Corc, reputed ancestor of the Dark Age Eoganacht Kings of Munster (Chadwick 1949:97–8; Byrne 1973:176–99). The christian name 'Corc' was used by the family of the earls of Lennox in the thirteenth century (Scots Peerage: 8.330). But who are the Clanuilins? I would suggest that they are the MacQuillans of the Route, in County Antrim, prominent in Ulster politics in the sixteenth century: the Inveraray copy of Duncanson's MS, indeed, gives 'Clanquillans' rather than 'Clanuilins' (Duncanson MS *c.* 1675: fo. 4). What is known of their descent? Earlier this century Edmund Curtis attempted to prove that the MacQuillans were Gaelicised de Mandevilles, but the proofs which he adduces are far from convincing and have in any case recently been rejected in Ireland (Curtis 1937–8:99–113; Nicholls 1972:134). In fact, as Curtis's article itself makes clear, the MacQuillans' own tradition was that they were of Welsh, or British descent, deriving themselves according to one account from King Arthur son of Ambrosius, an interesting parallel to the Campbell genealogy in the Kilbride MS. In 1542 there is a reference in the *State Papers of Henry VIII* to MacQuillan 'which is an Englisheman', his ancestor having 'cam oute of Waales'—an excellent early example, incidentally, of unconscious English nationalism (S.P.H. VIII: 3.357, 381).[17]

To sum up, the object of this paper has been to elucidate the Campbells' own earliest tradition as to their origins, and to attempt to assess the veracity of that tradition. It is submitted that the original tradition of the Campbells derived them quite clearly from British stock and that there exists considerable circumstantial evidence to support this claim. It is submitted further that the origins of the family are to be looked for within the confines of the old Kingdom of Strathclyde in the district of the Lennox. The archaic names in the MacFirbis pedigree may reflect an older particularised descent including a North Briton named Arthur who could have flourished in the tenth century. A more general British descent was later claimed and traced, with scant regard for chronology, back to the famed King Arthur. Later the story of Diarmaid O'Duibne was woven into the Campbell pedigree, either because of a confusion over the name

Jeremiah, or simply on the strength of the name Duibne. Later still a wholly fictitious Norman descent was also superimposed. The persistent tradition that the Campbells acquired the lands of Lochawe through the marriage of two ancestors of Colin Mór with heiresses, one of them the daughter of one Paul an Sparáin, is, I believe, entirely credible, even if not susceptible of proof.

This paper has also touched on, but only so far as relevant to the main theme, the origins of septs such as the Campbells of Craignish, the MacIver Campbells and the MacTavish Campbells, and of families such as the MacNaughtons, the Drummonds and the MacQuillans. Each of these families deserves fuller treatment based on further research. On a wider scale, the thesis put forward in this paper underlines the need for a closer study of the early medieval Lennox in all its aspects, a study for which, on the record side at least, abundant evidence still exists in the shape of the charters issued by the thirteenth-century Earls of Lennox. How far can the transition, north of the Clyde, from Briton to Gael, from the Kingdom of Strathclyde to the Earldom of Lennox, be traced? This paper also raises the question of the standing of the Campbells before Robert Bruce's reign. As Professor Barrow remarks, in the quotation already cited, 'they were certainly not landless adventurers'. As holders through several branches of the family of large tracts of land in Argyll (*cf.* note 13), as landowners also in Clackmannanshire and, one presumes, Dumbartonshire and Ayrshire, allied by marriage to the Earls of Carrick, were they not already great territorial lords?

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This paper is based on a talk given in the School of Scottish Studies in May 1973, and I have benefited greatly from the comments made by many who were present on that occasion. In particular I should like to thank Dr John Bannerman for his advice.

NOTES

1 The seventeenth-century Irish antiquaries such as Roderick O'Flaherty, mistaking the origin of the name M'Duibne or O'Duibne, invented yet another ancestry for the Campbells, deriving them from the mythical king Lugaid Mac Con.

2 The forms 'Col' and 'Colin' are well recognised diminutives of Nicholas and therefore it was natural that Nicholas should be regarded as the equivalent of the Gaelic name 'Cailean'. The forms 'Colin' and 'Neill' have been used in the text on account of their familiarity, instead of the more correct 'Cailean' and 'Niall'.

3 The MacEwan seanachies of the Campbells are discussed by Professor Angus Matheson in his article on Bishop Carswell in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 42 (1953–9), 200–1; see also, Thomson (1970: App. II).

4 For Colville's career see, *inter alia*, Stair Gillon's introduction to *Selected Justiciary Cases* 1 (1953), Stair Society, p. 5 and J. Irvine Smith's introduction to *Selected Justiciary Cases* 2 (1972), Stair Society, p. xxvi.

5 I am indebted to Eric Cregeen, School of Scottish Studies, for bringing the existence of the Inveraray MS to my attention and allowing me to study a copy, and to the Duke of Argyll for permission to cite it.

6 There is a recent attractive account of the tale of Diarmaid and Gráinne by R. A. Breatnach—'Tóraigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne', in *Irish Sagas* (1968), ed. Myles Dillon, Cork. See also, Bruford (1966).

7 For Suibhne Ruadh ('Swineruo') and his kin, see W. D. H. Sellar 'Family Origins in Cowal and Knapdale', *Scottish Studies* 15 (1971):21–37.

8 The best evidence for this relationship appears to be the seal tag attached to 'Responsum Magnatum Scocie ad Dominum Regem Francie' in 1309 reading 'Douenaldi et Nigelli Cambel Fratrum' (APS:I. 289).

9 The Carrick connection may also explain the early Campbell acquisition of the lands of Loudoun in Ayrshire.

10 I am indebted for this information to Dr John Bannerman, Department of Scottish History, Edinburgh, who has made a close study of MS 1467.

11 In MacFirbis the pedigree above Arthur reads '*m Iobhair m Lidir m Bearnaird m Muiris m Magoth m Coiel m Catogain m Caidimoir m Catogain m Bende m Mebrec m Grifin m Briotain m Fergusa lethderg m Nemidh.*'

12 Apart from the duplication of names—Malcolm (Calum) and Colin being used sometimes as equivalents—there is the telling fact that no wives are given for Gillespic or Duncan while Colin's lawful wife is rather lamely said to be 'King Alexander's niece'. The exclusion of the three names also makes the story of a marriage with a daughter of Suibhne Ruadh (*supra*, p. 115, and *n.* 7) more feasible chronologically.

13 Principal P. C. Campbell in his *An Account of the Clan Iver* in 1873 was of the view that the MacIvers were not originally Campbells. The proofs he adduces, however, are quite unconvincing. There can be no doubt that by the fourteenth century the MacIvers were already closely associated with the family of Argyll. The Malcolm MacIver who appears in Balliol's sheriffdom of Lorne in 1293 may be of this family. Also appearing on the same record, in Lorne, are Dugald of Craignish and Colin Campbell; and, in Kintyre, Duncan Dubh (*supra*, p. 116) and Thomas Campbell, conceivably the MacTavish eponym (APS:I. 447).

14 For an account of the Kilpatrick Church litigations see Lord Cooper's *Select Scottish Cases of the Thirteenth Century*, Edinburgh, 1944, Nos 22–7.

15 The curious name Smerevie is rendered 'Mervin' by Buchanan, 'Meirbi' in MS 1467, 'Smerbi' in Kilbride, and 'Smeirbe' by MacFirbis: perhaps these are all variants of 'Myrddin' as there seems to be a connection between Smerevie 'the fool of the forest', the tale 'Eachtra an Amadain Mhóir'—'the Adventures of the Great Fool'— for which see Bruford (1966: 147–9), and the various 'Wild Man of the Woods' tales considered by Professor Jackson in 'The Motive of the Threefold Death in the story of Suibne Geilt' (Feil-sgríbinn Eóin Mic Néill, Dublin 1940, 535–550).
I am most grateful to Dr Bruford, School of Scottish Studies, for bringing this use of 'An Talla Dearg' to my attention.

16 For a traditional MacNaughton account of the family's origins see, *inter alia*, 'MacNaughton of that Ilk', *Highland Papers, I* (1914), ed. J. R. N. MacPhail (Scottish History Society).

17 Another tenuous Lennox family connection is provided by *Ane Accompt's* claim that the Family of Darleith in the Lennox descended from a brother of Paul an Sparáin (*supra*, p. 115). It is hoped that an account of the Darleiths, tracing them back to the thirteenth century and emphasising the frequency of the christian name 'Arthur' among them, may shortly appear in *The Scottish Genealogist.*

REFERENCES

ANDERSON, WILLIAM
1866 *The Scottish Nation.* Edinburgh and London.

APS
1814–75 *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, edd. T. Thomson and C. Innes. Edinburgh.

ARGYLL
1871 *The History of the House of Argyll.* [Anonymous.] Glasgow.

BARRON, EVAN M.
1934 *The Scottish War of Independence.* 2nd edn. Inverness.

BARROW, G. W. S.
1965 *Robert Bruce.* London.

BLACK, G. F.
1946 *The Surnames of Scotland.* New York.

BUCHANAN, WILLIAM
1820 'Genealogy and Present State of Ancient Scottish Surnames' (1723), in *Miscellanea Scotica*, IV. Edinburgh.

BRUFORD, A. J.
1966 'Gaelic Folk Tales and Mediaeval Romances.' *Béaloideas* 34.

BYRNE, F. J.
1973 *Irish Kings and High Kings.* London.

CAL. DOCS. SCOT.
1881–8 *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain. Edinburgh.

CAMBUSKENNETH
1872 *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth.* Grampian Club.

CAMPBELL, LORD ARCHIBALD
1885 *The Records of Argyll.* Edinburgh.

CAMPBELL, HERBERT (ed.)
1926 'The Manuscript History of Craignish.' *Miscellany* IV: 175–299. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

CHADWICK, H. M.
1949 *Early Scotland.* Cambridge.

COLL. DE REBUS ALBAN
1847 *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis.* Iona Club.

CRAWFURD, GEORGE
1716 *The Peerage of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

CURTIS, E.
1937–8 'The MacQuillan or Mandeville Lords of the Route.' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* XLIV:99–113.

DOUGLAS, SIR ROBERT
1813 *The Peerage of Scotland.* 2nd edn., ed. J. P. Wood. Edinburgh.

DUNCANSON MS
c. 1675 Copy of MS attributed to Rev. Robert Duncanson. Inveraray Castle.

EXCH. ROLLS
1878–1908 *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, edd. J. Stuart and others. Edinburgh.

GLASGOW REGISTRUM
1843 *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis.* Bannatyne and Maitland Club.

HIST. MSS COMM.
1870– *Reports of the Royal Commision on Historical Manuscripts.* London.

INCHAFFRAY CHARTERS
1908 *Charters, Bulls and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray.* Scottish History Society. Edinburgh.

JACKSON, KENNETH (ed.)
1972 *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer.* Cambridge.

KELSO LIBER
1846 *Liber S. Marie de Calchou.* Bannatyne Club.

LENNOX CARTULARIUM
1833 *Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax.* Maitland Club.

LINDORES LIBER
1841 *Liber Sancte Marie de Lundoris.* Abbotsford Club.

MACBAIN, A. (ed.)
1902 *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland.* Stirling.

MACFIRBIS, DUALD
The Genealogies of Duald MacFirbis. Royal Irish Academy MS 23 P. I. fo. 42.

MCKERRAL, ANDREW
1953 *The Clan Campbell.* Edinburgh and London.

MACKINNON, D.
1912 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts.* Edinburgh.

MACLAGAN MS
Maclagan MS 196. Glasgow University Library, Special Collections.

MACPHAIL, J. R. N. (ed.)
1916 'Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells.' *Highland Papers* II:69–111. Scottish History Society. Edinburgh.

MONCREIFFE, SIR IAIN
1967 *The Highland Clans.* London.

MS. 1467
'MS. 1467.' National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 72.1.1.

NEWBATTLE REGISTRUM
1849 *Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle.* Bannatyne Club.

NICHOLLS, KENNETH
1972 *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages.* Dublin.

NORTH BERWICK CARTE
1847 *Carte Monialium de Northberwic.* Bannatyne Club.

PAISLEY REGISTRUM
1832 *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet.* Maitland Club.

SCOTS PEERAGE
1904–14 *The Scots Peerage.* Ed. Sir. J. Balfour Paul. 9 vols. Edinburgh.

SKENE, W. F.
1886–90 *Celtic Scotland.* 2nd edn. 3 vols. Edinburgh.

S.P.H. VIII
1834 *The State Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. III. London.

WATSON, W. J. (ed.)
1937 *Scottish Verse From the Book of the Dean of Lismore.* Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh.

THOMSON, R. L. (ed.)
1970 *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh.* Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh.

The Cruck-Building at Corrimony, Inverness-shire

GEOFFREY D. HAY

As it stands today, the cruck-building at Corrimony[1] presents little of external interest and consists simply of rubble walls with plain openings, and a hipped roof of corrugated iron. The walling, which is no more than 8 feet in height and 2 feet in thickness, is bonded in mud-mortar and pointed with lime, and to judge from the existing openings, does not appear to be earlier than the nineteenth century. It has evidently been reconstructed as a barn, and as recently as 1972 it was in the process of being converted into a modern byre. Only the rough stone footings, and a drainage trench along the NW wall, could conceivably be older: these features may be associated with the remarkable range of cruck-frames still preserved within its walls and the later roof structure. The following study of the cruck-trusses in association with the drawings and photographs (Pls. IV, V, VI, VII) shows the workmanship to be of an unusually high quality and casts some interesting light on the possible general form of the building for which they once afforded a framework.[2]

The internal length of the building is 65 feet and is divided transversely into six approximately equal bays by five cruck-frames which span widths varying from 18 feet 8 inches to 19 feet. A hip-cruck formerly spanned the end bays, of which only the NE one survives. The base of each cruck is set within the enclosing walls, and in most instances stops short of the footings which average 2 feet 6 inches in thickness and are no more than a few courses in height. The crucks have evidently been taken down and re-erected (the two nearest the SW end having been placed in the opposite direction from the rest), presumably when the enclosing walls were built.

Each cruck-frame is composed of a pair of self-blades, slightly curved in section. They do not meet at the apex, their upper extremities being spaced apart and bridged by a curved yoke. A collar, crossing the two limbs at about the upper third, and short projecting members—spurs—some 3 feet lower down, complete the main components of the cruck. In profile each truss resembles a parabolic curve and acts structurally as a rigid frame, which was probably reinforced originally by a system of cross-bracing. The frames as they now stand have an effective clear span of 18 feet 6 inches, and average 14 feet 3 inches in their overall heights. The lower ends of the blades, however, appear to have been shortened as much as 15 inches in certain cases, and the overall height of the frames may formerly have been in the region of 15 feet.[3]

The blades are notably flat in sectional area[4] and contrary to usual cruck-practice, the shallow section is in line with the critical bending stress. The curvature of the blades (expressed as a chord from the extremities) is about 10½ inches and is slightly elbowed at about spur level. It then straightens out with a slight taper towards the top, in some instances tending almost to the reflex at the collar point, an impression accentuated by a notch cut on the back of the blade immediately above the collar joint. What is truly remarkable, however, is that the blades do not appear to have been selected from a tree of natural curvature, but rather have been shaped from straight trunks of Scots fir. The work has been executed with an adze, used with the utmost precision to obtain squared edges and an immaculately dressed surface on the sides and soffit. The base of each blade, including the hip-blade, has been pierced through the flat section with a circular hole, drilled at right angles to the curve and therefore slanting slightly upwards to the back face. In most cases the hole survives at heights from the base varying from 15 inches to as little as 1 inch. The blades are gently tapered towards the top, and terminate with the butt ends neatly bevelled off. In addition, the uppermost 18 inches or so of the blades are more sharply tapered on the back to form a flat area contiguous with the yoke member beneath.

Unlike the cruck-blades, the yokes have been carefully selected from branches of the tree exactly following the grain, in order to provide a sound structural link between the two main members. With the exception of cruck V, where the yoke is knee-shaped and of slightly lighter section, the yokes, aided by their natural form, are pared and shaped to a rounded profile. They are thicker in section at the crown, where the carpenter evidently recognised the need for it to be the strongest, and are tapered towards their extremities. The back surface (extrados) of the extremities has been dressed meticulously flat in order to correspond with the adjacent surface of the blade, with which it overlaps in lengths ranging from 18 inches to 36 inches and forms a neat scarfed joint. The two members are fixed together by five stout pegs (excepting cruck IV which has six) which are disposed domino-fashion to take full advantage of the available bearing area and to minimise any splitting. They are not the normal dowels of uniform thickness used for mortice-and-tenon joints, but are larger and wedge-shaped over their length, and are roughly squared or octagonal in section, with knob-like heads to avoid splintering when being hammered home. Passing loosely through the first member, they have been forcibly driven through the second, and the protruding ends are hammered flat. virtually forming a rivet. This locking effect is further improved by the technique of driving the outer pairs of pegs through in the opposite direction from the centre one, the former being driven in from the underside of the yoke. The crown of each yoke is pierced with a vertical mortice, cut to receive a stout wedge driven in from above, with the long dimension in line with the yoke. Two wedges (crucks II and III) remain *in situ*. An auger appears to have been used as a first stage in cutting the mortice, of which the shoulders in some cases retain the turning marks. In the case of cruck II a peg has subsequently been driven through the SE side of the wedge, evidently as a

tightening device. The yokes are also pierced with a peg-hole at right angles to the curve and about 3 inches above the butt end of the cruck-blade. They evidently carried three-horizontal members: a ridge-tree secured by the wedge-mortice, and on either side, a ridge purlin, held in position by a peg and the angle formed between the butt end of the blade and the back of the yoke.

The other important transverse member is the collar, the ends of which are extravagantly half-lapped through the blade sections thereby reducing the structural strength of both members by half. The ends project beyond the outer face of the crucks by about 16 inches to provide support for roof purlins. The flat rectangular section of the collars corresponds with that of the blades with which they are neatly jointed on the outer face. The joint between the two members is secured by a dowel-pin through the side and by another driven slant-wise through the back of the blade into the continuous portion of the collar. The projecting ends are neatly bevelled off, and the bearing surface is normally pierced with two peg-holes (but occasionally three or four) for the purpose of securing the horizontal members. A shallow notch cut in the backs of the blades 6 inches above the collars allowed a closer junction with the purlins which were probably of rectangular section. A dowel-hole of about 1⅛ inch diameter also occurs on the sides of each collar near the centre.

About 3 feet lower than the collars, spurs, or short projecting pieces, are notched into one side of the blades. They project rather more than the collars and as well as being set flush in the side of the blade with a pinned dovetail joint, they are tapered longitudinally in order to attain further a tight lock. The spurs which survive have at least two vertical peg-holes spaced along their length and in one or two instances the holes are doubled up to provide a group of three or four. Compared with the collars, the holes tend to be spaced wider apart along their lengths, conceivably because there were two lighter longitudinal members at this level, set in parallel. Two of the spurs retain small levelling chocks pegged on to the top surface. A significant point about the spurs is that notwithstanding their considerably cantilevered ends, they stop appreciably short of a vertical line extended upwards from the base of the back of the blades.

On the face of the cruck-blade on which the spur and collar-joints occur there is also a system of peg-holes, consistently spaced about 30 inches (measured along the cruck-blade) above and below the centre line of the collar. They do not penetrate right through the blade, and in general the drilling operation appears to have been preceded by indentations 1¼ inch square by ⅛ inch deep cut with a chisel. If these holes are joined together diagonally from blade to blade, their intersection coincides approximately with the dowel-hole in the centre of the collar. The five points would therefore appear to be related and perhaps imply a system of superficial cross-bracing on this side of the blade.

The last member to be noted of the surviving framework is the cruck-blade forming a hip-roof at the NE end. In shape and profile this is similar to the coupled blades, and

it likewise has a spur affixed to its side at the same level as the others and the remains of a peg-hole at its base. The upper extremity has been cut at an angle in order to form a plane parallel with that of the yoke-soffit of the adjacent cruck-frame, against which it leans, and to which it was evidently intended to be secured by a single peg driven up vertically into the collar. This does not appear to have proved an adequate fixing and, subsequently, perhaps when the frames were re-erected, a cross-bar has been slotted through the blade about 18 inches from the top, so that the ends lean on the adjoining cruck-frame.

All the timberwork, including such small components as the pegs and dowels, appears to have been executed in Scots fir or pine.

From the above evidence it seems apparent that the cruck-frames were the primary agents for transmitting the roof load to the ground and, as will be seen, they probably supported the walls as well. The carpenter's design was presumably influenced by the need to obtain the considerable span, and to some extent he solved this problem by resorting to the laborious task of shaping the blades from the solid tree, in order to obtain members of sufficient length and curvature for the purpose. The other expedient was to adopt the curved yoke—virtually a small 'monolithic' cruck in itself—in order to space the blades further apart. Evidently he also saw the need for keeping the frame entirely rigid, if, in addition to the efficient joint between blades and yoke, it may be assumed that there was cross-bracing. The result, in effect, was to produce a strong, triangulated frame, capable of withstanding superimposed loads and any lateral movement.[5]

Such structural properties would also be of importance if, in common with traditional cruck-frame practice, the framework was assembled on the ground and then reared as a rigid unit.[6] Assuming this to be so, the cross-bracing (whether temporary or permanent) and the firm pegging between yoke and blades would be essential for resisting torsion. The side of the blades which receives the collar, the cross-bracing and the spurs, would represent the direction of assembly; and it may further be supposed that the frames were erected in succession from one end, with a hip-cruck serving conveniently as a prop for maintaining the first frame in position. Thereafter, the ridge pole and purlins would be utilised as distance-pieces and steadying members in the process of erecting consecutive frames (see drawing).

Before the feet of the blades were foreshortened they were probably set on padstones or possibly on the existing footings. The through-holes believed formerly to have been situated about 18 inches above the base of each cruck, probably testify to the existence of a sill-beam pegged to the back of the blade (see drawing).

No horizontal members survive, and, like the suggested sill-beam, their nature and disposition can only be deduced from an examination of the bearing points situated at the crown and the sides of the yoke, the projecting ends of the collar and spurs, and the

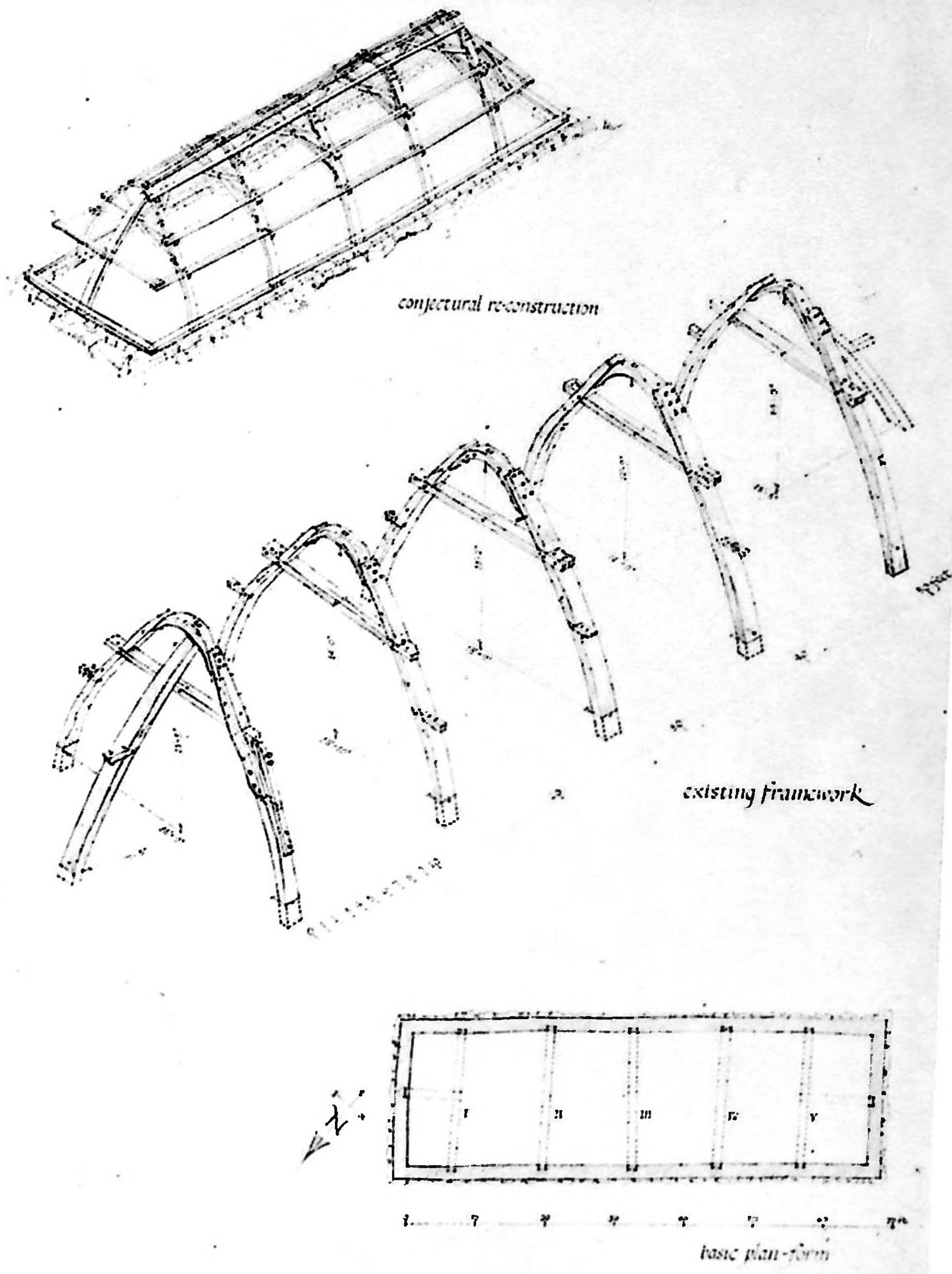


PLATE IV Cruck-building, Corrimony, Inverness-shire: survey and reconstruction drawings.

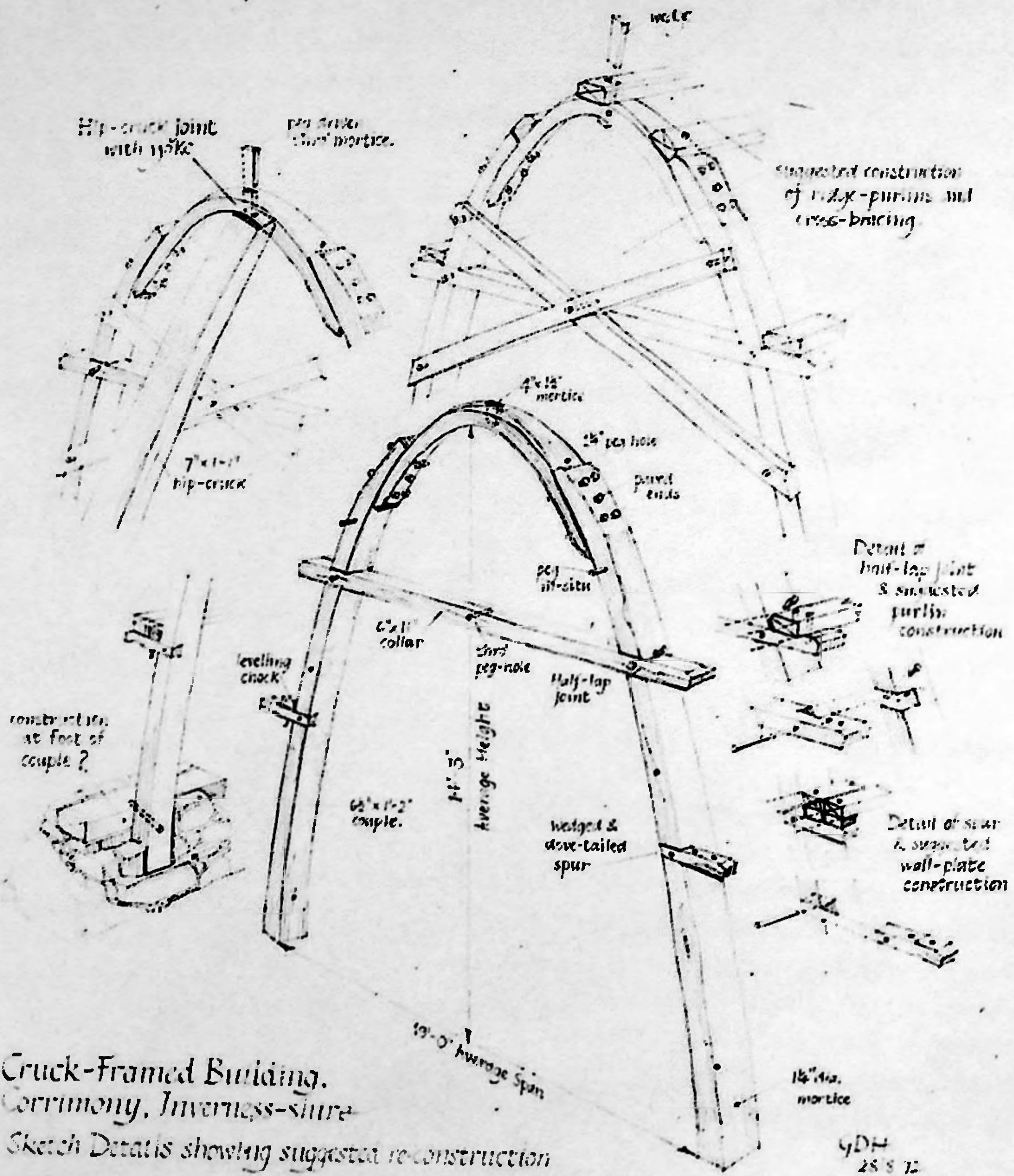
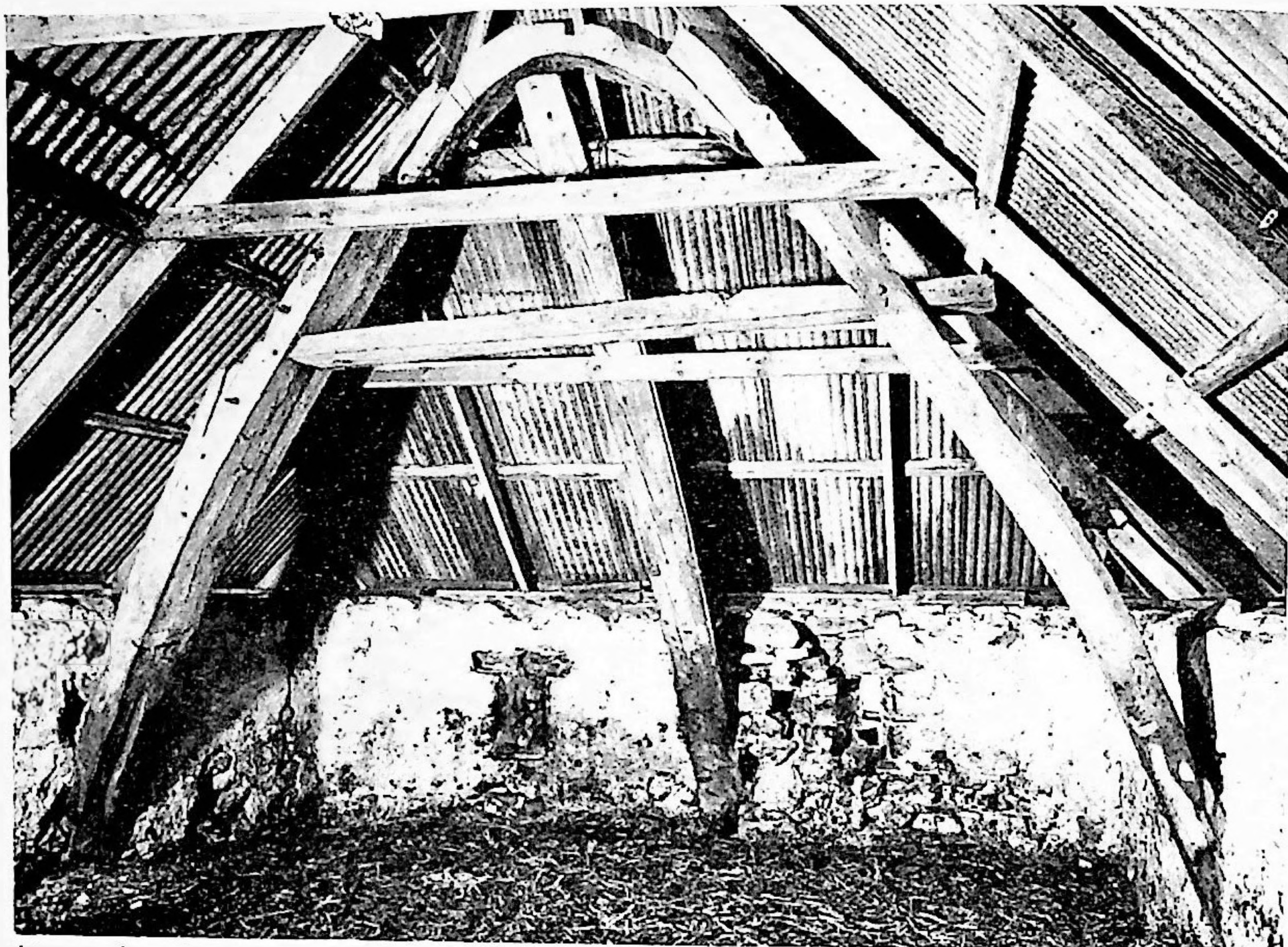


PLATE V Cruck-building, Corrimony, Inverness-shire: survey and reconstruction drawings.

PLATE VI Cruck-building, Corrimony, Inverness-shire: interior from NE.



hip-cruck and junction with cruck I

(above) cruck base and mortice-hole (NW blade, cruck V)
(left) collar-joint and bracing peg (NW blade, cruck III)

PLATE VII Cruck-building, Corrimony, Inverness-shire.

associated peg-holes for holding them in position. But from this evidence it may be assumed that the longitudinal members consisted of a ridge pole, and side purlins mounted on the yoke and the butt of the blade: lower down, purlins are mounted on the collar projections, and on the cruck-spurs. These members, which facilitated the initial erection of the frames, had the more permanent function of providing structural stability, hence the strong pegging, and, of course, the important function of carrying the roof itself.

On the present evidence it is only possible to speculate on the nature of the external covering to walls and roof, but certain features give important clues to its general form. The curved yokes and the disposition of associated ridge pole and purlins indicate that the ridge had a rounded profile, and that likewise, the roof continued down over the lower purlins in the form of a convex curve. Beyond this point, if it may be assumed that the spurs carried the wall plates, the roof would give way to some form of walling. However, as already noted, the spurs do not project sufficiently outward to engage with any vertical wall built up from the sill-course, and therefore if they were an integral part of the wall construction it must have leaned inwards with a considerable batter. On this hypothesis, there would have been little visual distinction between the profile of walls and roof, and combined with the hipped ends, the general shape of the building must have been hog-backed almost down to ground level.

The roof would presumably have been thatched with turf or straw, bedded on a groundwork of roughly shaped rafters or branches, with a counter-layer on top. It is perhaps of more interest to speculate on the nature of the walling.

Since it has been demonstrated that a solid vertical wall, of mud, turf or stone, would not connect with the spurs, it seems reasonable to suppose that the walls were of a lighter material in the form of external cladding attached to the cruck-framework. Conceivably, they were of wattle and daub, or, having regard to their incline, wattle as a groundwork with turf divots laid in overlapping courses in the manner of slates.

The date and purpose of the building, as it formerly existed, is not known, and these notes and drawings mainly serve to place the surviving structure on record. What cannot be disputed, however, is that the cruck-frames at Corrimony are superior both in the size and span of their timbers, and the quality of their carpentry compared to other surviving examples in Scotland.[7] A feature of special interest is the yoke, which, by reason of the careful attention given to its span, curvature and jointing, appears to have been designed as a structural extension of the main cruck profile rather than as a bridging-member of the short-yoke or saddle type. The disposition of the cruck-blades, with their shallow sections in the direction of critical stress would appear to be quite unorthodox, but it probably derives simply from the carpenter's need to extract a long, curved blade from a relatively straight trunk within the limits of its girth. The lengths and nature of the timbers available do, of course, raise other important considerations, which may well have influenced the design and workmanship of the cruck-frames at Corrimony.[8] For in a region traditionally endowed with rich supplies of oak and pine,[9]

the local carpenter would certainly be allowed far more scope with regard to the liberal applications of timber to buildings and in the advancement of his craft.

The Editor of the Journal is indebted to the Civil Service Department for a grant towards the cost of publishing this paper.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Messrs S. Scott and J. Keggie in the work of surveying the building; the respective preliminary assessments of the structure made by J. G. Dunbar and G. Stell; and the kind co-operation of Mr and Mrs Girvan and their family of Corrimony Grange in the course of the survey. He is particularly indebted to Basil Megaw for seeing the need to prepare a detailed record of the building in the light of his researches on the primitive types of peasant house in Scotland.
All material is Crown copyright, Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, Scotland.

NOTES

1 Now part of a later farm complex, whose buildings range in date from early nineteenth century onwards, it is situated about 130 yards SW of the farmhouse known as the Grange, and about 100 yards south of Corrimony House (NGR NH 376305).

2 The research was conducted on behalf of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, and this account is published by courtesy of the Commissioners. Photographs, original survey drawings (of which a selection is illustrated here at a reduced scale), and a detailed technical specification, are available for reference in the archive of the National Monuments Record, Edinburgh.

3 This calculation is based on the evidence of cruck II, whose SE blade extends at least 15 inches into the wall below a mortice-hole, one of a series formerly penetrating all the cruck-bases at a common level.

4 The dimensions of the blades and other components subsequently referred to in this article may be summarised as follows:
Blades: The sections range respectively in width and depth, from 12½ inches by 7 inches to 15 inches by 8 inches at base, and 10½ inches by 7 inches to 14 inches by 7 inches at top. The through-holes near the base range in diameter from 1 inch to 1⅜ inch.
Yoke: The section at the crown averages 12 inches in width by 6 inches in depth. The crown mortices average 4 inches in length by 1½ inches in width.
Collars: The sections range respectively in width and depth from 9½ inches by 5½ inches to 12 inches by 5½ inches. The collar-ends project about 15 inches.
Spurs: These are cut from a 6 inch wide by 4½ inch deep section; their length ranges from 19 inches to 26 inches and the ends project from 15 inches to 18 inches.

5 Drawings in NMRS archive: two diagrams illustrate respectively the true structural behaviour of the stresses on the cruck-frame and that probably envisaged by the carpenter.

6 F. W. B. Charles in *Medieval cruck building and its derivatives* (Society for Mediaeval Archaeology, Monograph Series No. 2, London 1967), discussed the methods of assembling and rearing crucks in England.

7 *C.f.* R.C.A.H.M.S., *Inventory of Stirlingshire* (Edinburgh 1963) II:384–5; J. G. Dunbar, 'Pitcastle, a cruck-framed house in Northern Perthshire', *Scottish Studies* 4:113–17; G. Stell, 'Two cruck-framed buildings in Dumfriesshire', *Dumfriesshire Transactions* (in course of preparation).

8 The trusses of a small cruck-framed cottage at Morile Mor, Tomatin, Inverness-shire (now demolished) had a maximum, clear internal span of 14 feet 9 inches. In this case the cruck-blades were abbreviated above an upper collar and supported a rafter superstructure in which the principal rafters were crossed at the ridge. The peculiarity of this form of base-cruck construction and the internal clear span, considerable for a cottage of this type, may perhaps be explained by the nature of the local materials used, Scots pine being more readily available of course in straight rather than curved lengths. Measured drawings, photographs and a description of this building are in the NMRS Archive.

9 See William MacKay, *Urquhart and Glenmoriston, Olden Times in a Highland Parish* (1893: 448–9).

'Annat' in Scotland: A Provisional Review

AIDAN MACDONALD

As a Gaelic term denoting an early church-site, 'Annat' seems to occur in Scotland more frequently than any other, apart from the classic element 'Kil-'. It is, of course, a very poor second, and in fact its precise connotation has never been satisfactorily demonstrated (Watson 1926:250–1). The subject has recently been briefly reconsidered by Thomas (1971:89, 137, 224), but the complete anonymity of almost all Annat sites (apart from other considerations noticed below) hardly supports his suggestion that Gaelic *annaid* is likely to be the equivalent of *merthyr*, *merther* in Wales and Cornwall.

My purpose here is to provide a list of all the certain, probable, or possible, occurrences of 'Annat' known to me at present; and to outline some observations and ideas which have occurred to me during the provisional study that I have so far made of the phenomenon. I have as yet examined no individual case in depth, either as a place-name or as an archaeological feature; and what I have to say here is based entirely upon general considerations and the apparent extent of the geographical distribution.

Early Irish *andóit*, *annóit* is usually held to denote the church in which the patron saint (presumably of a monastic confederacy, or *paruchia*) was educated, or in which his relics were kept (Macbain 1922:283–5; Watson 1926:250). Whatever the precise significance of this in terms of strict legal and ecclesiastical status and historical relationship to other churches, in practice it seems to refer, at least sometimes, to the mother church (*matrix ecclesia*) of a monastic *paruchia*. But I have not yet studied the early documentary occurrences[1] in detail. Its etymology[2] is in doubt, though the proposed derivation is from the late Latin *antitas*, apparently a contraction of *antiquitas*. It does not occur in a British context at all, but is specifically Gaelic (Greene 1968:82).

In modern Scots Gaelic the form is *annaid*. As a place-name, either by itself or in compounds, the word occurs widely in Scotland, now usually anglicised Annat, or Annet. The various forms in which it appears (or probably appears) are listed below, and the accompanying map (Fig. 1) shows the distribution of the listed sites. Outside Scotland, it may occur to the south of the Solway Firth: two possible instances are known to me at present in Cumberland, and one in Westmorland.[3] There seems to be no good reason why it should not appear in this area, as it does in Dumfries-shire and Galloway. It does not occur in the Isle of Man. I have no definite information to hand as to whether or not it occurs as a place-name in Ireland: if it does, it would seem to be rare. It is unattested as an initial element in townland names. (Flanagan 1972:385-6.)

Certain general observations may be made tentatively at this stage. It seems likely

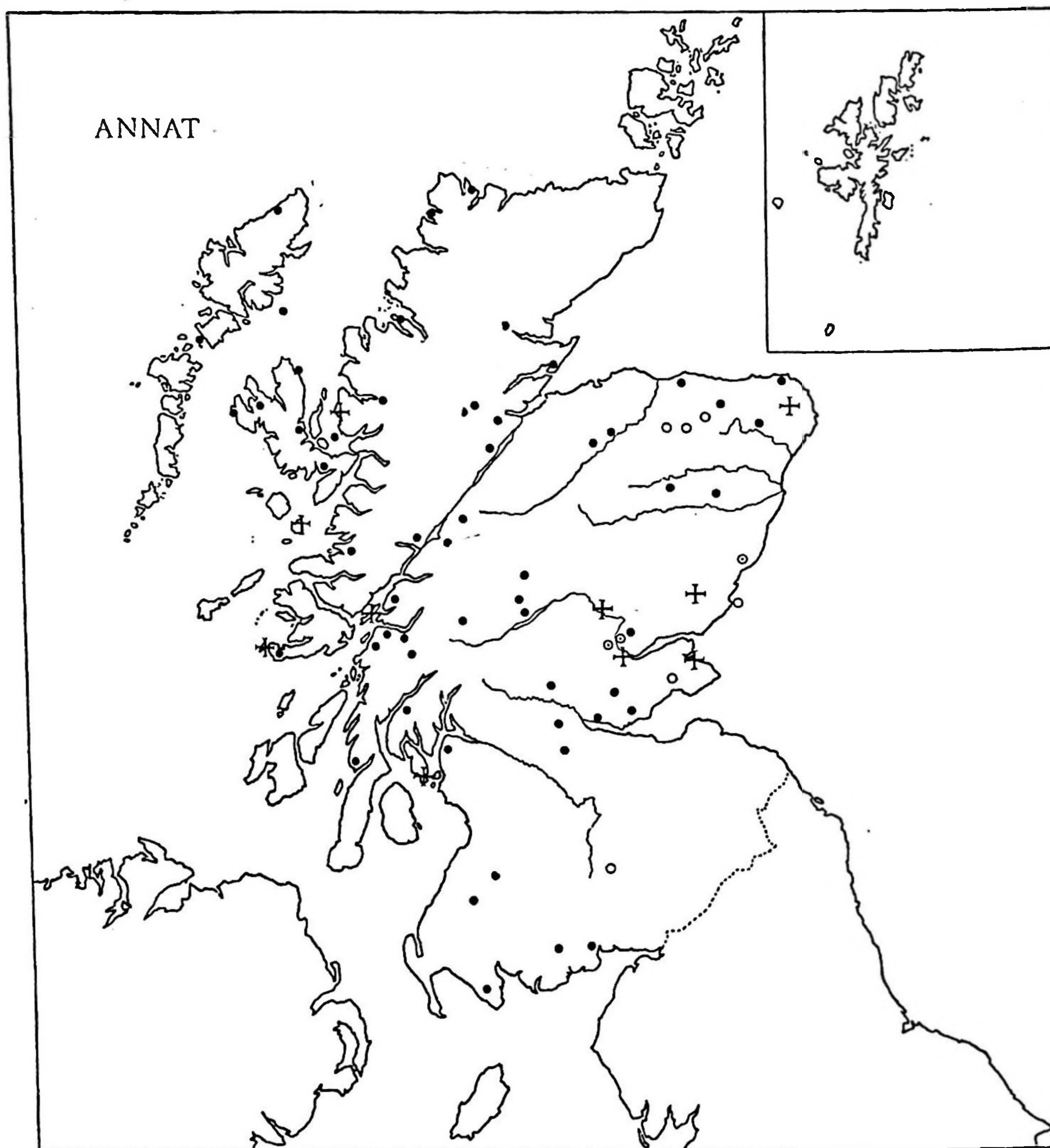


FIG. 1 Map showing the distribution of the place-name 'Annat' in Scotland.

- ● name of fairly certain derivation
- ○ name of uncertain derivation
- ⊙ name obsolete; place only approximately located
- ✝ major monasteries of Irish type (8th–10th century)

that the Scottish Annats are too numerous for the term to denote here anything like as important a church as *andóit* clearly does in early Irish sources. The number of *andóit* churches with such significance must always have been relatively small. Further, where the remains of an ecclesiastical site exist at all in close association with an Annat name (frequently there is nothing but the name, *pace* Watson), those remains do not suggest more than a small and probably comparatively unimportant settlement in origin, though such a judgment from surviving remains must be made with due caution. Usually a surviving site now seems to be a small and long-abandoned graveyard, more often than otherwise with no apparent trace of a building. Only three instances known to me were possibly, on surviving evidence, monasteries: Annait (no. 45 in list) in Skye, where the surface remains suggest a small eremitical monastery within an earlier promontory fort (R.C.A.M.S. 1928:149–50; Thomas 1971:46); Ennets (no. 19), in Aberdeenshire, with the nearby place-name Balmannocks, probably *Baile nam Manach*, 'monks' town'; and Ennot (no. 48), also in Aberdeenshire, with the associated place-name Burn of Badaglerack,—*Bad*, 'thicket', *nan Cléireach*, 'of the clerics' (Alexander 1952:271, 164). Even if earlier forms of the associated names can be produced, however, I would not press the last two, as such names may refer only to later monastic properties. As a place-name, or place-name element, Annat is not found in demonstrably direct association with any known major monastic site that could itself have been an *andóit* church. With very few possible exceptions (*e.g.* nos. 13 and 19, in list), the Annats are anonymous both as to dedication and any other associated traditions.

More interesting, I think, is the apparent fact that most Annat names are near, but not actually at, less anonymous church-sites, some of which, on the grounds of name or finds of early sculptured or incised stones or relics, are possibly themselves Early Christian in origin. This may be simply name-transference, but it is the rule, not the exception. Some of the uncompounded, therefore probably more narrowly located, names afford the best illustration of this. Thus Annat (no. 12) is $\frac{1}{3}$ mile from Rait old church across the Rait Burn; Andet (no. 18) is nearly a mile from the site of St. Ninian's Chapel; Annat (no. 26) is over $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Kilmallie church; Annat (no. 37) is just under $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Kilchrenan church; Cladh na h-Annaide (no. 38) is just over a mile from Kilespikeral old church; Annet (no. 13) is just under 2 miles from Kilmadock old church and just over $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north of a chapel site, also on the Annet Burn, at NN 699048 (O.S. 6 in. sheet); Cladh na h-Annaide (no. 51) is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Kilmaronag; Cairn Ennit (no. 55) is $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the site of St Eunon's chapel. In each case, the second site or sites seem to be the nearest known to the Annat name. Some Annat names are not obviously near any (other) church site. It is possibly relevant to note here, too, some uncompounded instances of the term which are, now at any rate, attached to an apparently featureless piece of ground (*e.g.* nos. 30, 41 and 50).

Despite the superficially rather haphazard distribution, certain provisional observations may be made here too. Watson gives no instance in the south-east counties, south of the Forth; nor in Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and eastern and central Sutherland.

My own search of the manuscript *Original Name Books* of the Ordnance Survey for Berwickshire, East Lothian, and Caithness, confirms this negative aspect of distribution to some extent. The term occurs otherwise as frequently in eastern as in western Scotland (possibly more frequently, though the suggestion is premature). There are nine instances known to me in the northern Hebrides (including that on the island of Crowlin, off Applecross, no. 33), as opposed to one (no. 52) in the southern Hebrides. The present distribution generally in Argyll is odd: a concentration in Lorne, between Loch Etive and Loch Awe (nos. 37, 38, 39 and 51); only one in Knapdale (no. 50); one in Cowal (no. 53); and none in Kintyre and the large islands of Islay and Jura.

Where they are not on or readily accessible from the sea, the Annats are in major river valleys and/or what must have been, in most cases, well used through-routes (again, *pace* Watson). Thus there are six on or near the route through the Great Glen (nos. 36, 26, 25, 24, 23 and 22, reading from south-west to north-east); two in Strathconon (nos. 29 and 30), which links with Strathcarron and thence the west coast; one in Glenlyon (no. 15), which links, by a hill-pass on which is the outlying Argyll Annat (no. 40), with Glenorchy and thence Loch Awe; one on Loch Rannoch (no. 16), linking, by way of Rannoch Moor, with Glen Etive and Loch Etive; three in or accessible from Strathspey (nos. 20, 21 and 57); three on the Deveron (Banffshire and Aberdeenshire: nos. 56, 46 and 55); one on the Ythan (Aberdeenshire: no. 18); one on the Stinchar (Ayrshire: no. 4); one overlooking both the headwaters of the Clyde and upper Annandale (no. 59).

I have no reason at present for thinking that *annaid* does not have the same meaning wherever it occurs. Direct association, by ownership (for example), with an attested monastic church, itself an *andóit* church in the early technical sense, and name transference by colloquial usage in this way (particularly, perhaps, in the case of names such as Balnahannet, Achnahannet, Cladh na h-Annaide), would probably be impossible to prove or disprove, because of the anonymity of most Annats. Conversely, it would be equally undemonstrable—and highly unlikely, in any case—that a large number of early *andóit* churches, strictly so called, had vanished practically without trace. The fact that a number of Annats are near known or probable monastic sites, *e.g.* those near Applecross (nos. 33 and 31), and that on the road from Bunessan to the Iona Ferry in Mull (no. 52), is as likely to be due coincidentally to their numbers as to any other cause. It is possible that the place-names were originally used, again colloquially—and without regard to their actual status within the hierarchical framework—to denote the church or churches of a particular district traditionally and locally regarded as senior, either in age or status or both; or because an Annat contained some locally important corporeal relic: *andóit* seems to have had all these connotations. But the consistent anonymity of most Annat sites, and their frequent total disappearance in the physical sense, has then to be satisfactorily accounted for.

My present working hypothesis, however, is that *annaid* in place-names means something more straightforward. I think that *andóit*, whatever its etymology, and whatever

the niceties of its precise technical meaning, or meanings, had often, at least in practice, the connotation 'old church', simply because the most important churches—especially the mother churches and, if not the same, those containing the relics of the relevant founder saint—would usually be older than dependent churches: the original foundations, in fact. Even where such was not the case historically (as with Iona), the 'old church' idea may have extended, in colloquial usage, as an integral part of the meaning of *andóit*. I think that it is with this meaning alone that the term came into use as a place-name, divorced from its original, narrower context and stripped of its other legal and technical qualifications. In other words, this aspect of the meaning of *andóit* percolated from ecclesiastical circles to the secular population, where it was adopted and extended in application. Place-names are usually simple, straightforward and descriptive, and specialist technicalities would tend to be forgotten, if ever properly appreciated, by a non-specialist population—especially if the organisation which had formulated those technicalities were itself breaking down (see below, where the possible date-range of Annat names is considered). The Annat names denote, I suggest, churches of any kind which were abandoned and subsequently replaced, but not, for probably a variety of reasons, at the same site. In the case of fairly close replacements (possibly in other cases also) dedication and other traditions simply shifted to the new sites—hence the anonymity of most Annats. *An annaid* means, therefore, 'the old church (-site)'.[4]

The abandonment, on any scale, of ritual sites should indicate either a major break in religious belief and ritual or a serious, if temporary, dislocation of existing population patterns and therefore of social institutions. Medieval churches were sometimes abandoned after the sixteenth-century reformation, but a break of this nature and magnitude at an earlier date is highly improbable. I think that the second cause is relevant here. The ninth century saw not only the settlement of the Scandinavians on a large scale, but also the eastward movement, after *c.* 843, of the Scots into Pictland. Very considerable disturbance may therefore have occurred from this time on, particularly along and near the sea-ways and major land-routes. Further, Norse settlement was apparently heavier in the northern Hebrides than in the southern; *cf.* the present distribution of Annats in the Hebrides. That the term, as an effective place-name-forming element, was obsolete by the end of the tenth century, is suggested by its apparent absence south of the Forth, whither the Gaelic-speaking Scots were probably penetrating in considerable numbers from the late tenth or early eleventh century (Watson 1926:133). The disruption of the existing ecclesiastical structure and the extinction of many minor foundations is a well-attested phenomenon in Ireland during this immediate 'post-Viking' period.

Annaid is therefore a ninth- to tenth-century term (although perhaps not the only one) for a church-site of any kind abandoned during that period, and not subsequently reused as the site of a focal church. The fact that several Annats at least apparently survived as burial-grounds of some kind, or became the sites of farms and crofts is relevant to the long survival of the place-names. Those burial-grounds still

or recently called *Cladh na h-Annaide* are examples, of which no. 29 was said in 1875 to have been used for unbaptised children (O.N.B., Ross, no. 44:13).

I must emphasise that all of this is at best provisional, and much of it speculative. Factors may well emerge which will alter much of the picture here presented. For instance, even if my main thesis holds good, I would not exclude the possibility of an eighth-century date for some Annat sites, both in the east and in the west. The expulsion of the Columban clergy from Pictland in 717 and the Pictish attacks on Dalriata in the 730s and 740s, together with the apparent internal chaos of Dalriata in the eighth century, may eventually be seen as an equally feasible background for some sites. Border warfare and raiding in either the eighth or the ninth century must also be taken into consideration. But *andóit* in the original technical sense would have been in full use in the eighth century. And Pictish-Scottish relations would not, of course, account for the Annats of the south-west, which arise presumably from the Norse-Irish settlement of the Solway Firth area from the early tenth century on. On balance so far, I favour a ninth- to tenth-century date.

All possible Annat names in Scotland known to me at July 1973, are listed below in two series. Numbers 1–46 are taken from Watson (1926), and appear in the order given by him. Additional instances, numbers 47–65, are noted with their sources in the second list, arranged by counties alphabetically, as in the Ordnance Survey Name-books. The form of the name given is that of the Ordnance Survey 6-inch sheet, where it is shown; explanation of a name follows, where necessary.

A. Annat names noted by W. J. Watson, 1926

WIGTOWNSHIRE

1 Annat Hill (NX 385465). A hill.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT (STEWARTRY of)

2 Annatland (NX 966659). O.S. 25 in. 1965 (not on 6 in., 1971). A house. Near Sweetheart Abbey.

3 Ernanity (NX 773667). Ernanity Cottage, 1st edn. O.S. 6 in. Kirkcudbright sheet 32 (not on O.S. 6 in. 1957). A house. 'Ardnannaty' (Pont, *c.* 1600), interpreted as *Earrann* (or *Ard*) *na h-Annaide*, 'share (or height) of the Annat' (Watson 1926:170).

AYRSHIRE

4 Pinannot (NX 295958). A farm. 'Pinhannet' (Watson 1926:190), interpreted as *Peighinn na h-Annaide*, 'Pennyland of the Annat'.

5 Annatyard (NS 195671). O.S. 1 in., sheet 59. Unnamed on O.S. 6 in., 1969 edn. (house demolished), but: Annetyard Road, Drive. A farm.

LANARKSHIRE

6 Annathill (NS 726704). A village.

STIRLINGSHIRE

7 Craigannet Hill (NS 714849). Also Craigannet Craig, Craigannet and Easter Craigannet. The two latter are farms.

FIFE

8 Longannet Point (NS 946854). Possibly *Lann na h-Annaide* (Watson 1926:251).

KINROSS

9 Gouderannet (NO 119004). Meaning of first element unknown toWatson (1926:251). A farm.

PERTHSHIRE

10 Annaty Burn (NO 118252). (Map reference here given for junction of burn with R. Tay, as presumed Annat is unlocated). 'For *Allt* (or *Glais*) *na h-Annaide*' (Watson 1926: 251). Near Scone Abbey.

11 Annatland—obsolete? (near NO 052233?). 'Annatland with the acres of Tibbermure in the barony of Ruthven,' later of Huntingtower, 1602. (Map reference here given for Tibbermore church.)

12 Annat Cottage (NO 223264). O.S. 1 in. sheet 55. Now roofless, not named on 6 in. 1970.

13 Annet (NN 696054). A farm. Also Annet Burn. Loch Mahaick (Gael. *Loch Mo-Thatháig*), east of Annet Burn, may recall a dedication to St Mo-Thatha (Watson 1926:298); though the church at the junction of Annet Burn with the river Teith is Kilmadock.

14 Balnahanaid (NN 669380). A farm.

15 Balnahanaid (NN 623472). A farm.

16 Annet (NN 635594). A farm. Also depopulated village; also Annet Burn.

KINCARDINESHIRE

17 Pethannot (obsolete) *c.* 1195. 'In the south of the county, near the sea-shore; it means "portion of (the) Annat" and . . . goes with Pethergus . . . possibly St Fergus' (Watson 1926:252).

ABERDEENSHIRE

18 Andet (NJ 842352). Also South Andet. Farms. 'Had a chapel dedicated to St Ninian, . . . plainly a secondary dedication' (Watson 1926:252). For possible earlier associations *op. cit.* 318–20.

19 Ennets (NJ 613061). A farm. Also Burnside, Mill, Milton of E. Perhaps originally a township.

MORAY

20 Auchnahannet (NJ 059334). A farm.

INVERNESS-SHIRE (mainland)

21 Auchnahannet (NH 973273). Houses, perhaps originally a township. Also Auchnahannet Burn.

22 Annat (NH 506438). O.S. 6 in. 1959 (not so named on 6 in. 1971). Also Groam of Annat: *grom*, 'bog' (Watson 1926:379–81). Houses, probably a farm.

23 Achnahannet (NH 512262). Small group of buildings, probably a farm.

24 Annat (NN 352920). Small group of buildings, probably a farm.

25 Auchnahanate (NN 201811). Small group of buildings, probably a farm. Site of township. A chapel 'called Achnahannat' was recalled (17th cent.) as an ancient 'sanctuarie', with a fair: *cf.* O.S. Unachan (*Aonachán*), 'market place' (Watson 1926:252), the adjoining township.

26 Annat (NN 081771). A house, probably a farm. Also site of township. Also Annat Point, Mill; Blàr na h-Annait.

ROSS AND CROMARTY (mainland)

27 An Annaid, Loch na h-Annaide, Nigg parish. Not on O.S. 6 in. The unnamed loch centred at NH 825709 is probably the 'Loch Annat' which appears on a map of the Hill of Nigg, dated 1763. An Annaid (Annot, 1611) was a holding on the farm of Castlecraig (W. J. Watson 1904: 52–3). Not yet followed up.

28 Achnahanat, Wester and Easter (NH 512982, 518985). Groups of cottages, originally a township. Also Achnahanat Burn.

29 Clach na h-Annaid (NH 339547). Also Carn na h-Annaite, Mór and Beag; Allt na h-Annaite. Old burial-ground at NH 340548.

30 An Annaid (NH 291532?). Not on O.S. 6 in. 'Opposite Innermany [Glenmeanie], . . . and west of Baile na Creige [Balnacraig], . . . is *An Annaid*, . . . a triangular piece of ground' (Watson 1904: 154). Not located by O.S. in 1966. Map reference suggested here is for a triangular enclosure immediately west of Balnacraig.

31 Annat (NG 895544). A group of crofts.

32 Annat (NH 019972). A house, part of depopulated township of Achmore. Also Talladh na h-Annait, a small, rocky point; Annat Bay.

33 Camas na h-Annait. Probable site of chapel, above and a little to SW of bay, is at NG 696347.

SUTHERLAND

34 Ach' na h-Anaite (NC 385656). Cnoc Ach' na h-Anaite, a tract of rough pasture land (O.N.B.).

35 An Annait (NC 208509). Described as a rock in O.N.B., but 6 in. 1962 shows a group of buildings, probably a farm, at the name. Also Bàgh an Annaite.

ARGYLL

36 Annat in Appin, 1595 (?near NM 943461). Not on O.S., but perhaps still locally known. 'Annat in Appin appears to have been near the site of the present parish church' (Watson 1926: 253). *Cf.* O.P.S. 1851–5: 2(1).167–8. The 'rivulet of Annat' named in 1595 may be the unnamed stream flowing out of Coire na h-Anaid (O.S. 6 in.).

37 Annat (NN 033221). A group of houses.

38 Cladh na h-Annait (NN 001291). Also Achadh na h-Annait (NM 999293), a croft.

39 Cladh na h-Annaide (NM 909282?). Not on O.S. 6 in. But O.S. records suggest that 'Cleigh na h-Annait' is the remains of a chapel (?) and burial-ground at NM 909282.

40 Allt na h-Annait. Burial-ground beside burn is at NN 346380. Also Coire na h-Annait.

THE ISLES

41 Na h-Annaidean, Lewis. Not on O.S. 6 in. Name (meaning 'The Annats') given to 'a stretch of green pasture extending inland about 200 yards from the shore, about ½ mile NE of Teampull Pheadair. . . . Near the top is Tobar Aindreas ("St Andrew's Well") now filled up,' but quite defined in the 1890s (R.C.A.M.S. 1928: 10). Tobar Aindreas is at NB 381552, but not on O.S.

42 Àiridhean na h-Annaid, Shiant Isles (NG 411982).

43 Teampull na h-Annaide, Isle of Killegray. Not on O.S. 6 in., but see R.C.A.M.S. (1928: 37). Probable site is Burial Ground (Disused) at NF 975846. Also Tobar na h-Annaide (also not on O.S.). Antiquarian tampering with the name seems likely, since both elements mean, basically, 'church'. The Royal Commission's authority was an eighteenth-century

minister of Harris, who describes it as 'the temple of Annat, a goddess mentioned by mythologists' (O.S.A. 1794:10.375), clearly influenced by Pennant and Boswell. *Annaid*, either by itself or in some compound, must have pre-existed here.

44 Tobar na h-Annait, Skye (NG 589202). Also Clach na h-Annait. This is the only instance that I know of an apparent coincidence between an *annat* name and a named church-site (Kilbride). Clach na h-Annait and the siting-symbol for St Bridget's Chapel are practically alongside each other on the O.S. 6 in. But the exact site of St Bridget's church is unknown; and the suggestion as to its position may have been influenced to some extent by the position of Clach na h-Annait. Tobar na h-Annait is apparently over 100 yards S of this; and Kilbride House about the same distance to the WNW. Information from O.S. records: *cf.* R.C.A.M.S. 1928:214).

45 Annait, Skye (NG 272527).

46 Watson also suggests Annetswell, in Aberdeenshire, NJ 556423, as an example of *annat*, but later qualifies the suggestion (Watson 1926:324, 519). A farm.

B. Names additional to Watson (1926)

ABERDEENSHIRE

47 Hill of Hannet (NJ 967643). O.N.B. Possibly for *Cnoc na h-Annaide*, with H-retained from gen. sg. of Gaelic definite article. A hill.

48 Ennet Hillocks (NJ 383085). O.N.B., which has Ennot Hillock; also Ennot Mill.

ANGUS

49 Annat Bank (NO 728571). O.N.B. Not on O.S. 6 in. 1970, but map reference deduced from Admiralty Chart. This is a sandbank on the N side of the mouth of the R. South Esk, possibly due to coastal erosion. Perhaps a doubtful instance of 'Annat'.

ARGYLL

50 Annaid (NR 710629). O.N.B. Name collected accidentally, and therefore not shown on O.S. 6 in. Part of a field.

51 Cladh na h-Anaid (NM 958329). O.N.B.

52 Tórr na h-Annaid (NM 365217). O.N.B.

53 Tobar na h-Annait (Anon. 1904:18–19), upper Glendaruel. Not on O.S. 6 in. Apparently near Kilbridemore, which is at NS 030908. The name is unlikely to have been invented. I am indebted to Mrs Rona Barr, Colintraive, Argyll, for drawing my attention to this site.

AYRSHIRE

54 Knockannot (NS 423085). O.N.B. A small hill.

BANFFSHIRE

55 Cairn Ennit (NJ 678504). O.N.B. Apparently a Bronze Age tumulus.

56 Auchenhandock (NJ 425368). O.N.B. A farm. Now in Aberdeenshire. *Cf.* no. 57. There is a chapel-site nearby. But *cf.* Alexander 1952:153: the second element is perhaps *ceannachd*, 'buying', 'marketing'.

57 Auchenhandock (NJ 333379). O.N.B. A farm. Perhaps the place named 'Auchnannat' in 1546 (Aberdeen Reg. 1845:1.432; *cf.* 424, 444). There is a chapel-site nearby. I am indebted to Mrs M. O. Anderson for this reference.

58 Fordannet Bridge (NJ 547649). O.N.B. On the Burn of Rannes. Possibly a part-translation of Gaelic *Àth na h-Annaide*, with Gaelic word order retained.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

59 Annant Hill (NS 994043). O.N.B. Original local authorities gave Annats Hill, altered to fit preconceived antiquarian etymology in O.N.B. Also Annant Scar Cleuch: original local authorities gave Annat Scar Cleuch, similarly altered in O.N.B.

FIFE AND KINROSS

60 Annets Hill (NO 343043). O.N.B. 'A small hill in a plantation.'

61 Craiganet (NT 155865). O.N.B. A plantation of mixed wood. Also Craiganet Burn.

INVERNESS-SHIRE

62 Annaid, Staffin Island (centred at NG 493692). Not on O.S. 6 in. Name reported to be known there (R.C.A.M.S. 1928: xlvi).

63 Achnahannait, Skye (NG 509376). O.N.B. O.S. 1 in., sheet 25. 'A small district of arable and rough pasture with a . . . cottage or two . . .' (O.N.B.).

64 Camas na h-Annait, Skye (NG 131473). Shown me by O.S. Archaeology Division, Edinburgh.

65 Annat Burn. Flows into Loch Shiel at NM 792719. The farm of 'Annat', marked beside this stream on the Roy Map (12.5) of *c.* 1750, was defined as 'the half penny Land of Annat' (Clanranald Rental 1748: 102). Mr B. R. S. Megaw drew my attention to these references.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to the staff of the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey, Rose Street, Edinburgh, for permission to consult and quote from their records; and for their help and discussion. Without their co-operation, and unrestricted access to the outstanding documentation of the field archaeology of Scotland, this exercise could hardly have been undertaken.

I am also greatly indebted to Professor K. H. Jackson, Head of the Department of Celtic, University of Edinburgh, for his helpful and constructive comments on my original draft. I must also thank Mr W. Gillies, of the same Department, for much help and discussion concerning the early documentary references to *andóit*, and for his comments on my first draft. Mr Ian Fraser of the Scottish Place-Name Survey, School of Scottish Studies, has kindly checked most of the additional names, and I am much indebted to him for this and other practical help.

Individual acknowledgements have been made where relevant.

NOTES

1 Early meanings of the term *andóit*, *annóit*, are noticed in R.I.A. Contributions (1967: 334–5); *Ancient Laws of Ireland* (1873: 74 [*cf.* Hughes (1966: 160–1)]; also 298); *cf. Ancient Laws of Ireland* (1873: 65, *n.* 3).

2 The etymology of *andóit*, *annóit*, is discussed in Stokes (1887: 2.640), and Stokes (1891–4: 42); and Greene (1966: 82), referring to Vendryes (1959: *s.v.* '*andóit*'); *cf.* also MacBain (1922: 283–5), and note 1, *above.*

3 Possible instances of Annat in Northern England include: *In Cumberland*: Annottewell (1540), Annattwell (1686), *etc.*, now Annetwell (Street), in Carlisle, referring to a well there (Armstrong, *etc.* 1950–2: 1.46).

Annattwalles, *etc.* (1631), in Alston parish, now Annat Walls (*op. cit.*: 1.176).

In Westmorland: Annet-well (*c.* 1690), a 'sike' in Kirkbythore parish: mentioned, *op. cit.* (1.46), but not apparently in the Westmorland volumes of the English Place-Name Society.

These names have, however, been tentatively explained (*op. cit.*) as possibly containing the diminutive of the female name Ann (hence perhaps '(St) Ann's well'). *Cf.* Watson's afterthought concerning the Aberdeenshire Anatswell (no. 46, in list above).

4 The word used of the old, original monasteries in a supposedly ninth-century Irish treatise is *senchill* (Gwynn and Purton 1911: 177), apparently the church of the patron saint, *cf. andóit*. The latter word, as Mrs M. O. Anderson informs me, is used in the Prose Rule of the Céli Dé, attributed to the ninth century (Kenny 1968: 472), and disapproval by the reforming Céli Dé of the old 'establishment' foundations might have contributed to an apparent change in terminology about this time.

REFERENCES

ABERDEEN REG.

1845 *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* [ed. Cosmo Innes] Spalding and Maitland Clubs. 2 vols. Edinburgh.

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM M.

1952 *The Place-Names of Aberdeenshire.* Aberdeen.

ANCIENT LAWS OF IRELAND

1873 *Ancient Laws of Ireland,* 3. (*Corus Bescna* and *The Book of Aicill,* edd. T. O'Mahony and A. G. Richey). Dublin and London.

ARMSTRONG, A. M., *et alii*

1950–2 *The Place-Names of Cumberland.* By A. M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and Bruce Dickins. (English Place-Name Society, 20–2). 3 vols ('parts') Cambridge.

ANON.

1904 *The Kyles of Bute and Glendaruel in History, Poetry and Folklore.* Oban.

CLANRANALD RENTAL

1748 MS judicial rental, Clanranald estate. Forfeited Estates Papers, Scottish Record Office.

FLANAGAN, DEIRDRE

1972 'Ecclesiastical Nomenclature in Irish Texts and Place-Names: a Comparison'. *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences,* ed. H. H. Hornung. Vienna.

GREENE, D.

1968 'Some Linguistic Evidence Relating to the British Church.' *Christianity in Britain, 300–700,* edd. M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson, pp. 75–86. Leicester.

GWYNN and PURTON (edd.)

1911 'The Monastery of Tallaght.' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 29C, pp. 64–87. Dublin.

HUGHES, KATHLEEN

1966 *The Church in Early Irish Society.* London.

KENNY, J. F.

1968 *Sources for the Early History of Ireland, I: Ecclesiastical.* Reprint, Irish University Press. (First published 1929, New York.)

MACBAIN, ALEXANDER

1922 *Place-Names: Highlands and Islands of Scotland,* ed. W. J. Watson. Stirling.

O.N.B.

MS Original Name Books, Ordnance Survey, 19th century. O.S. Regional Office, 43 Rose Street, Edinburgh. (Microfilm copies, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.)

O.P.S.
1851–5 *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*. Bannatyne Club. 3 vols. Edinburgh.

O.S.
Ordnance Survey.

O.S.A.
1794 *The [Old] Statistical Account of Scotland* 10, ed. Sir John Sinclair. Edinburgh.

R.C.A.M.S.
1928 *Inventory for the Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles*. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Edinburgh.

R.I.A. CONTRIBUTIONS
1967 *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language: A*. (Fasciculus 2), edd. Anne O' Sullivan and E. G. Quin. Royal Irish Academy. Dublin.

ROY MAP
c. 1750 MS map of Scotland: the military survey of 1747–55 (associated with General Roy). Royal Library, British Museum. Reference is to the sheets of photostat copies, N.L.S. and E.U.L.

STOKES, WHITLEY (ed.)
1887 *Tripartite Life of Patrick*. Rolls Series. 2 vols. London.
1891–4 'On the Metrical Glossaries of the Mediaeval Irish.' *Transactions of the Philosophical Society*.

THOMAS, CHARLES
1971 *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*. London, Glasgow, New York.

VENDRYES, J.
1959 *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien: A*. Dublin and Paris.

WATSON, WILLIAM J.
1904 *The Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*. Inverness.
1926 *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*. Edinburgh.

Notes and Comments

'The King's Questions' (AT 922) in Scotland

ALAN BRUFORD

This note is the result of class-work with students in Oral Literature and Popular Tradition I during the sessions 1971–2 and 1972–3, and I am grateful to those who filled in questionnaires. The late Professor Walter Anderson's classic study of AT 922, *Kaiser und Abt* (Anderson 1923) is an obvious example of the best work of the 'Finnish school' on the folktale to use in such a course, and we applied his methods to available versions printed in English from Scotland, England and America. It soon emerged that there were definite Scots and Gaelic oecotypes or redactions of the story, and subsequent work on versions only available in Scottish and Irish Gaelic confirms this. Anderson's study included only one Scots version of the story and the two from Gaelic given by Campbell of Islay (CS 1 and 2 below),[1] so it seems worth while to add the results of our investigation on fifteen more versions, together with some English, Irish and American parallels collected since Anderson's time.

The story is best known in English through the ballad of *King John and the Bishop* (Child 45), whose popularity in broadsides is no doubt the reason for a dearth of independent versions in England. In the ballad the king is jealous of the (Arch)bishop (or Abbot) of Canterbury for 'keeping a better house than he', and sets him three questions to be answered, on pain of death, in some days' time: 'What am I worth?' 'How soon may I ride round the world?' 'What do I think?' The bishop's shepherd volunteers to take his master's place, disguised as him, and answers them: 'Twenty-nine pence' (since Christ was sold for thirty, and He was better than you) 'Go with the sun, and you will do it in twenty-four hours', and 'You think I am the bishop, but I am his shepherd.'

There is a clearly defined Gaelic oecotype of this story, from which only five versions (CS 1, 2, 7, 9, 15) out of fifteen depart at all significantly, and that in little more than one question and the names of the characters. Anderson might have described it as a 'Brother Redaction', for the person who is set the question is in regular forms described as a priest (*sagart*—in versions from Protestant as well as Catholic areas, which may provide an indication of the age of the story) and the one who answers them is his brother, a simpleton (*amadan*), who remarks in most cases that if he is killed it will be less of a tragedy than the death of the priest. Exactly the same pattern is followed in three of the six Irish versions available to me in print, all from Munster (*Béaloideas* 2:

196, 6:251, both from Co. Waterford; Ó Duilearga 1948:159, from Co. Kerry). Moreover we shall see later that another redaction of Irish or Scots origin makes these two characters brothers, though only 11 of the 410 oral versions and three of the 62 original literary versions studied by Anderson do so: it may perhaps be significant that three of the four versions of Child 45 which Anderson treats as original (the Percy Folio and the two broadsides which Child omitted as 'in a far less popular style') make them brothers or half-brothers. The third character, the questioner, is sometimes the usual king (emperor, CS8) in Gaelic versions, but a special sub-type has developed in South Uist and Benbecula (CS 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12) where he is just a landowner who wants rid of the priest, because he is anti-clerical or more probably anti-Catholic. This is presumably a fairly recent development, but similar to the Irish version (Ó Duilearga 1948) where the questioner is the 'ministir' or Anglican vicar of the parish: he has the power to have the priest killed, as in some South Uist versions, but this is probably something carried on from older versions where he was a king, rather than a memory of penal times.

In the standard version the questions asked are Anderson's G, N, and Q: 'Where is the centre of the world?' 'What am I worth?' and 'What am I thinking?' This corresponds to the pattern in Anderson's 'Old French redaction', established by 1500 or so, and the oldest redaction regularly including the final question Q which is standard in most modern European versions of the story. The two last questions are answered as in the ballad (apart from differences in the figure under thirty pence which is chosen) and the first is answered 'Here!'—the fool normally thumps the floor with his staff to indicate the exact spot, and challenges the king to doubt him, or maintains that as the Earth is round any point is in the middle. Sometimes the third question in the ballad, 'How long does it take to go round the world?' (F) is substituted for G (CS 2, 7, 9, 15) but these versions also differ from the standard type in lacking the brother relationship and we may well suspect English influence. CS 7, from a well-known Lochaber storyteller, the late John MacDonald, retains the priest but makes his saviour George Buchanan, whose role as a wise fool, if not in this story, derives from a once popular series of chapbooks (*cf.* Briggs 1970 2:95–102). In CS 9 priest and fool are replaced by a Jew and an Irishman, again suggesting an outside influence, possibly even American.

CS 1 and 2, retold from memory by Campbell of Islay, offer between them five questions, A: 'How many ladders would reach the sky?', F, G, N and Q. There is a curious change of roles here: the questioner is a master who is testing his pupil (compare the Fife version and the 'Pat and Mike redaction' below) but the questions are answered by the *master's* brother, a miller as in the Fife version. The MacCraw brothers from North Uist who told Campbell the variant versions were drovers who would no doubt often have been in the Lowlands on business, and it may be reasonable to suggest that they were conflating Scots and Gaelic versions which they knew. Unfortunately I have been unable to get access to some versions of the story recently recorded in North Uist by Mr A. J. MacDonald, which might throw light on the MacCraws' versions, in time

for this note. Finally, CS 15 (a version from Barra) has replaced George Buchanan by a native Gaelic figure, Gilleasbuig Aotrom, a character popularised by Dr Norman MacLeod but based, I am told by the Rev. William Matheson, on a historical person from Skye: this version is reprinted below (p. 150). The moralised introduction with a speaking skull may be borrowed from the international type AT 470A (see *Scottish Studies* 1:65–9), but has been well, perhaps deliberately, integrated into AT 922.

The Scots version from Fife known to Anderson, now most accessible in Simpkins (1914:251–2), where the king is named as James V, corresponds closely to the 'Old French redaction' both in the characters (king, priest and miller) and the questions (F, G, N, Q—F added perhaps under the influence of the ballad). But the two Scots versions in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies belong to a different family. Both were recorded in Blairgowrie from members of the Stewart tinker clan whose roots were further North: Andrew Stewart (recorded by Hamish Henderson on SA 1955/152 B9, printed in Briggs 1970: 2:485–7) a well-known storyteller: and John Stewart (recorded by Maurice Fleming, SA 1955/37 A1), father of another noted storyteller, Mrs Bella Higgins. The characters in both versions correspond to Anderson's 'German servant redaction' (*Deutsche Knechtsredaktion*): a king, a miller and a young man who is rewarded with the hand of the miller's daughter—not actually the miller's servant as in Germany, but 'Silly Jack' in Andrew Stewart's version, a shepherd in the other. The latter in fact corresponds to what Anderson (1923:265) considers the form from which the 'servant redaction' arose. The questions, however, are not typical of these German forms, though known in Germany: they are H, J, Q. H, 'How many stars are in the sky?' answered here with a nonsense figure and a challenge to dispute it, appears in Germany but is commonest in Eastern Europe; J, 'How heavy is the Moon?' 'A hundredweight, because there are four quarters to it', is a relatively uncommon question according to Anderson, chiefly found in France and Germany, though recent American versions may swell the numbers somewhat. The same combination occurs in an Anglo-American version with an Irish hero, Anderson's *Am* GE 4 (*Journal of American Folklore* 21:58); and even more interestingly, with the characters a landowner, a miller and a young priest, in a version in Irish from Tuam, Co. Galway (*Béaloideas* 16:88). There seems some reason to suspect, therefore, that our two versions from the north-east of Scotland are survivals of a redaction once widely known in these islands.

This account covers all the Scottish versions known to me: but there is reason to think that one more redaction was known in Scotland, perhaps in the south-west. E. C. Kirkland (1961) has described the American versions, mainly collected by himself and his students, where the questions are asked by a teacher of a little Irish boy, who will be thrashed unless he answers them, and answered by his twin brother. Among the questions, Q ('What am I thinking?') may be taken for granted; B, 'How deep is the ocean?', answered, 'A stone's throw', is common; the third varies. In this 'Pat and Mike redaction', as it might be called, the boys are always Irish (presumably living in the United States); but this may perhaps indicate, not that the story comes from Ireland,

but that it developed in a country with a substantial immigrant Irish population. The evidence that this country may have been Scotland rests on the source of three versions: the version learned by Mr Kirkland from his father, one other version collected by him, and the only British version of this redaction known to me (Wilson 1938:182–3). The source of the first two was a South Carolina evangelist called MacLendon, known as 'Cyclone Mac' and later described as 'Scotch', who used the story in his sermons in the 1920s. The third was collected in Westmorland from a woman who had heard it from 'a travelling Scotchman' about 1924, and the twins are there 'two little Scotch boys' called Bobby and Tommy. Here the teacher sets the questions in the hope of finding an excuse not to make Bobby top of the class over the head of his own son. Incidentally, in this redaction, as in the Scots recordings and the ballad, the questions are always set in advance: in Gaelic versions they are never revealed until the substitute appears to answer them. The questions are J, 'How heavy is the Moon?', B, 'How deep is the sea?' as in the American versions, and Q. Again one may ask whether a Scotsman would have told a story about the cleverness of 'two little Scotch boys'—how much of the telling is due to the English narrator?—but at least there is evidence to suggest that this version of the story was recently known in Scotland, and may yet be collected there.

The following version is CS 15, mentioned on page 149: it was recorded from Donald John MacKinnon, Horve, Barra, by Peter Cooke and Morag MacLeod in February 1972. The text has been transcribed and translated by Morag MacLeod.

Domhall Ruadh agus an Claban

Am bodach a bha seo, bha a coiseachd troimhn' choillidh—Domhall Ruadh a bheireadh iad ris. 'S dé thachair ris a's a' choillidh ach claban (ceann duine, fhios agad—cnàimh, claban mar a bheir iad). Thug e breab dha le 'bhròig mar siod. "Dé," os esan, "a chuir thus' a seo?" 's fhreagair an ceann e, "Chuir bruidhinn a seo mi," os esan. Ghabh am bodach an t-eagal, ach 's ann thuirt e ris fhéin, "Innsidh mi dha'n rìg he, gun do bhruidhinn an claban a bha seo rium." Chaidh e dh'ionnsaigh a' rìgh. "Nach do thachair claban rium 's a' choillidh 's bhruidh . . ."

"Bhruidhinn e?" os a' rìgh, "Dé thuirt e riut?"

"Dh'fhaighneachd mi dha, 'Dé chuir thus' a seo?' 'Chuir bruidhinn a seo . . .'."

"Chan'eil mise 'gad chreidsinn," os a' rìgh, "ach cuiridh mi air falbh còmh riut dithisd dha na geàrd bhios aige (*sic*) air a' gheata, agus feuch am bruidhinn an ceann tha sin ruibh. Nisd mara bruidhinn e ruibh," os esan, "tha mi dol a chur a' chinn dhiotsa, ma bhios tu 'g innse bhreugan dhòmh-sa."

"O bhruidhinn e ceart gu leòr," osa Domhall Ruadh, " 's esan a rinn sin," 's dh'fhalbh e fhéin 's na marcraichean a bha sin. Chaidh iad d'an choillidh, Domhall Ruadh 's na feadhainn a chuir a' rìgh a mach còmh ris. Fhuair iad an ceann 's thuirt Domhall Ruadh,

chuir e sròn a bhròige ris, "Dé chuir thus' a seo?" Cha d'thuirt an claban guth. "Dé chuir thus' a seo?" Cha d'thuirt a guth. "Seadh," os àsan—rug iad air—"Feumaidh tu dhol còmh ruinn. Feumaidh sinn an ceann a chur dhiot airson 'ith 'g innse bhreug." Thug iad air beulaibh a' rìgh e, fhios agad. Bha 'm bodach bochd air chrith, agus, "Carson a bha thu 'g innse bhreugan?" os a' rìgh.

"O chan e breugan. . . ."

" 'Se breugan a bh'agad, agus feumaidh sinn an ceann a chur dhiot fhéin son 'ith 'g innse bhreug ma tha. Ach leigidh mi dhut ao' chothrom eile," os esan. "Cuiridh mi trì ceistean ort," os esan, " 's ma fhreagras tu mi gheibh thu air falbh. Bheir mi dhut trì latha," os esan, "son a' freagairt. Thig thu—tha'n diugh Di-Màirt 's thig thu ann a sheo Di-Haoine agus cuiridh mi ort na ceistean 's mar a freagair thu mi, theid a' chroich ma d' cheann."

Dh'fhalbh Domhall Ruadh 's e air chrith 's cha robh fhios aige bho Dhia gu dé dhèanadh e. Có bha spealladh air an taobh shuas ach Gilleasbuig Aotrom. Chaidh e suas go Gilleasbuig 's thuirt e, "A Dhia, Ghilleasbuig, nach cuidicheadh tusa mise, mar a tha mi, 's feumaidh mi na ceistean tha seo a fhreagairt dha'n rìgh Di-Haoine 's chan'eil fhios agamsa, tha'n ceann a' dol. . . ."

"Had," os esan, Gilleasbuig, "leig thusa mise ann," os esan, "agus bheir dhomh do cheap, do sheacaid 's do bhriogais 's do bhrògan 's d' aodach air fad." Thàinig Di-Haoine 's, "Thugainn fhéin còmh rium 's falaich thu fhéin a muigh ann a shin."

Chaidh Gilleasbuig a staigh 's aodach Dhomhaill Ruaidh air 's thuirt a' rìgh—cha do dh'aithnich e e—"Sheadh, tha thu air tighinn. Bheil thu deiseil son nan ceistean agamsa fhreagairt?"

"Tha."

"Nisd, mar a freagair thu iad," os esan, "bidh 'n ceann dhiot. Seadh. 'Se cheud cheist," os esan, "dé 'n ùine bhios mise dol m'an cuairt an t-saoghail?"

"Bheir a' ghrian," os esan, "ceithir uaire fichead 's cha deanadh sibhse cho luath sin e."

"Seadh, glé mhath," os esan. "Shin agad a' cheud thé. 'N dala ceisd," os esan, "gu dé as t-fhiach mise?" os a' rìgh.

"O," os esan, "reic iad ar Slànuighear air deich ar fhichead 's tha mi diabhalta cinnteach nach t-fhiach sibhse sin," os esan.

"Glé mhath," os esan, "ach tha mi dol a bhreith ort ann a seo," os esan. "Co air tha mise smaointinn an dràsda?" os a' rìgh.

"Tha sibh smaoineachainn gur e Domhall Ruadh a th'agaibh a seo, ach sìbh tha fada ceàrr; 's ann a th'agaibh ach Gilleasbuig Aotrom," os esan.

Fhuair e dheth màr sin, 's bha a fhéin 's am bodach Domhall Ruadh a' dol dhachaigh 's bha 'n claban cionnan 's a' choille romhpa, 's thug am bodach breab air. "Dé chuir thus' a seo a chuir ann an crois mi?"

"Chuir bruidhinn a seo mi," os an claigeann.

Sin mar a chuala mise.

TRANSLATION

Donald and the Skull

This old man. he was walking through the wood—Red-haired Donald he was called. And what did he come across in the wood but a skull (a man's head, you know—bone, a skull as they called it). He kicked it with his shoe like that. "What," said he, "sent you here?" and the head answered him, "Speaking sent me here," it said. The old man got a fright, but he said to himself, "I'll tell it to the king, that this skull spoke to me." He went to the king. "Did I not come across this skull in the wood and it spoke. . . ."

"It spoke?" said the king. "What did it say to you?"

"I asked it, 'What sent you here?' 'Speaking sent me here.' "

"I don't believe you," said the king, "but I'll send two of the guards whom I have at the gate with you, to see if that head will speak to you. Now if it doesn't speak to you," said he, "I'll take your head off, if you're telling me lies."

"Oh, it spoke right enough," said Donald, "so it did," and he went off with those riders. They went to the wood, Donald and the men that the king sent with him. They found the head and Donald said, pointing to it with the toe of his shoe, "What sent you here?" The skull said nothing. "What sent you here?" Not a word. "Well," said they—they grabbed him—"You'll have to go with us. We'll have to chop your head off for telling lies." They brought him before the king, you know. The poor man was trembling, and "Why were you telling lies?" said the king.

"Oh it wasn't lies. . . ."

"It was lies and we'll have to chop your head off for telling lies. But I'll give you another chance," said he. "I'll put three questions to you and if you answer me you'll get off. I'll give you three days," said he, "to answer them. You'll come—today's Tuesday and you'll come here on Friday, and I'll give you the questions and if you don't answer me, the noose will go over your head."

Donald went away trembling and he didn't know what on earth to do. Who should be scything further up the way but Gilleasbuig Aotrom. He went up to him and said, "For God's sake, Gilleasbuig, won't you help me, in my great need, when I've got to answer these questions for the king on Friday and I don't know, my head is going to. . . ."

"Huh!" said Gilleasbuig, "you let me go there," said he, "and give me your cap, your jacket, your trousers and your shoes, and all your clothes." Friday came, and, "You will come with me and hide outside there."

Gilleasbuig went inside, wearing Donald's clothes, and the king—he didn't recognise him—said, 'Well, you've come. Are you ready to answer my questions?"

"Yes."

"Now, if you don't answer them," said he, "it's off with your head. Right, the first question," said he, "is, how long will I take to go round the world?"

"The sun takes twenty-four hours," he said, "and you couldn't do it that fast."

"Yes, very good," said he. "That's the first one. The second question," said he, "what am I worth?" said the king.

"O," he said, "they sold our Saviour for thirty [pieces] and I'm mighty sure you're not worth that," said he.

"Very good," said he, "but I'll catch you here," he said. "What am I thinking about right now?" said the king.

"You're thinking that this is red-haired Donald, but you're very far wrong; it's Gilleasbuig Aotrom," said he.

He got off in this way, and he and the old man, Donald, were going home and the self-same skull was in the wood in front of them, and the old man kicked it. "What sent you here, getting me into trouble?"

"Speaking sent me here," said the skull.

That's how I heard it.

NOTE

1 The Gaelic versions studied are as follows: the prefix CS for Scottish Gaelic (Celtic, Scottish) is that used by Anderson and the Finnish School in general.

CS1	Campbell 1890 2:406	Brothers MacCraw, North Uist
CS2	Campbell 1890 2:407	Brothers MacCraw, North Uist
CS3	Campbell 1939:35-8; Shaw 1955:62-3	Seonaidh Caimbeul, South Uist
CS4	IFC MS 1303:178-83	James MacKinnon, Barra
CS5	IFC MS 1154:53-7	Angus MacMillan, Benbecula
CS6	IFC MS? [I have been unable to locate this version, but have used the summary given by the collector, Dr Calum MacLean]	Angus John MacLellan, Benbecula
CS7	SSS MS 1:87-8	John MacDonald, Highbridge, Lochaber
CS8	SSS MS 11:1031	Ewen MacPherson, Banavie, Lochaber (learned from an Appin man)
CS9	SA 1953/168/4	Mrs Catriona MacKinnon, Skye
CS10	DJM MS 68:6345-54	Mary Ann MacInnes, South Uist
CS11	SA 1958/29 A2; SA 1960/7 A3	Angus MacLellan, South Uist
CS12	SA 1960/8 A2	John MacMillan, South Uist
CS13	SA 1960/106 B2	Nan MacKinnon, Vatersay
CS14	SA 1967/1 A3; *Tocher* 5:156-9	Angus Henderson, Tobermory, Mull
CS15	SA 1972/32/6; *Tocher* 5:152-5 [reprinted above]	Donald John MacKinnon, Barra

I have not attempted to give numbers to Scots and English versions, since the practice in regard to versions in English (GE) is confusing. Thus Anderson's GE 1 is from Fife (but retold in standard English) but the following numbers are *Am*GE 2-4, from the United States, of which 2 and 3 are in fact variants of the ballad, which being regarded as a literary version is listed differently. On the other hand Kirkland uses GE 1 for the Westmorland text (which he treats as Scottish) and disregards both Anderson's GE 1 and at least one prose text from England with a claim to priority (Briggs 1970: 2. 410-11, from Leather 1913:177-8).

REFERENCES

ANDERSON, WALTER
1923 *Kaiser und Abt: die Geschichte eines Schwanks. FF Communications* No. 42. Helsinki.

BÉALOIDEAS
1927– *The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society.* Dublin.

BRIGGS, K. M.
1970 *A Dictionary of British Folktales in the English Language.* Part A: Folk Narratives. Two vols. London.

CAMPBELL, J. F.
1890 *Popular Tales of the West Highlands.* 2nd ed. 4 vols. Paisley.

CAMPBELL, J. L.
1939 *Sia Sgialachdan.* Edinburgh.

DJM MS.
MS notebooks relating to South Uist, compiled for the School of Scottish Studies by Mr Donald John MacDonald, Peninerine.

IFC MS.
MS collections in the Department of Irish Folklore, University College, Dublin (formerly Irish Folklore Commission): Scottish material collected by the late Dr Calum I. Maclean.

KIRKLAND, EDWIN C.
1961 'The American Redaction of Tale Type 922.' *Fabula* 4:248–59. Berlin.

LEATHER, E. M.
1913 *Folk-lore of Herefordshire.* London.

Ó DUILEARGA, SÉAMUS
1948 *Leabhar Sheáin Í Chonaill.* Dublin.

SA
Main chronological series of recorded tapes in the School of Scottish Studies.

SHAW, MARGARET FAY
1955 *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist.* London.

SIMPKINS, J. E.
1914 *County Folk-Lore,* vol. VII, . . . *Fife* . . . Folklore Society publications, vol. 71. London.

SSS MS
MS collection in the School of Scottish Studies, taken down in 1951–2 by the late Dr Calum I. Maclean.

TOCHER
1971– Tales, songs and traditions selected from the archives of the School of Scottish Studies. Edinburgh.

WILSON, E. M.
1938 'Some Humorous English Folk Tales. Part One.' *Folklore* 49:182–92. London.

The Place-Names of Illeray

IAN FRASER

The island of Baleshare is on the south-west side of North Uist, separated from it by extensive tidal sands which afforded crossings at selected points during low tide. Now, a causeway provides a road link with the mainland of North Uist. It is only in comparatively recent times, however, that the name Baleshare (Gaelic *Baile Sear*, east township/farm) came to be applied to the whole island, which was, in fact, originally called Illeray (Gaelic *Iolaraigh*, the -ay/ -aigh suffix indeed denoting 'island'). Baleshare was a township in Illeray. This is confirmed by seventeenth-century documents which refer to 'Eastertoune in Iyllaray' (RMS 1657) and 'Castertoun[1] in Illaray' (Retours 1644). In the early sixteenth century, Illeray had the status of *tir-unga*,[2] 'ounceland' (Scots 'davoch'), and earlier, in 1389, the Charters of the Abbey of Inchaffray refer to it as *quatuor denariatas terre in Ylara*. Baleshare, in contrast, was a merkland in the *Retours* of 1644. Now the name Illeray is confined to the northern part of the island—a striking case of the whole and the part exchanging names. It is this northern area that is the subject of the present note.

A recording of Illeray place-names was made by the writer in June 1973 (SSS PN 1973 34, 35): these are listed at the end of this note. Like all township place-names in the Hebrides, they vary a good deal, ranging from personal names like *Gearraidh Dhughaill* (7) and *Tobhta Uisdein* (16) to purely descriptive terms like *Struthan Bàn* (11) and *Cuidhe Caol* (81). There are, however, a number of important minor names which provide pointers to various aspects of former settlement, a number of local customs and techniques, and not least, a number of precise locations of cattle- and sheep-folds, now mostly disused, but once important in the local economy. Unfortunately, as with many minor place-names, especially those gathered from oral tradition, the accurate dating of most of them is well-nigh impossible. The only exceptions are those which include personal names, and even there certainty is rare.

One of the most important of the minor names in the list is *Abhainn Husabost* (2). This seems to derive from Old Norse *húsbolstadr*, house-stead. Beveridge (1911:79) noted the existence of *Sgeir Husabost*, a skerry on the western shore of Illeray. This evidence suggests that Husabost was located approximately on the present site of Teanamachar (*q.v.*), although the removal of arable ground by sea erosion is a factor which may have to be taken into account. There seem to be no historical references, either in maps or documents, to Husabost, so we must assume that it occupied a position somewhere on the western machair. *Sgeir nan Laogh* (29) was pointed out as a place where a cattle fold had been, evidently when much of the present *Traigh Leathann*

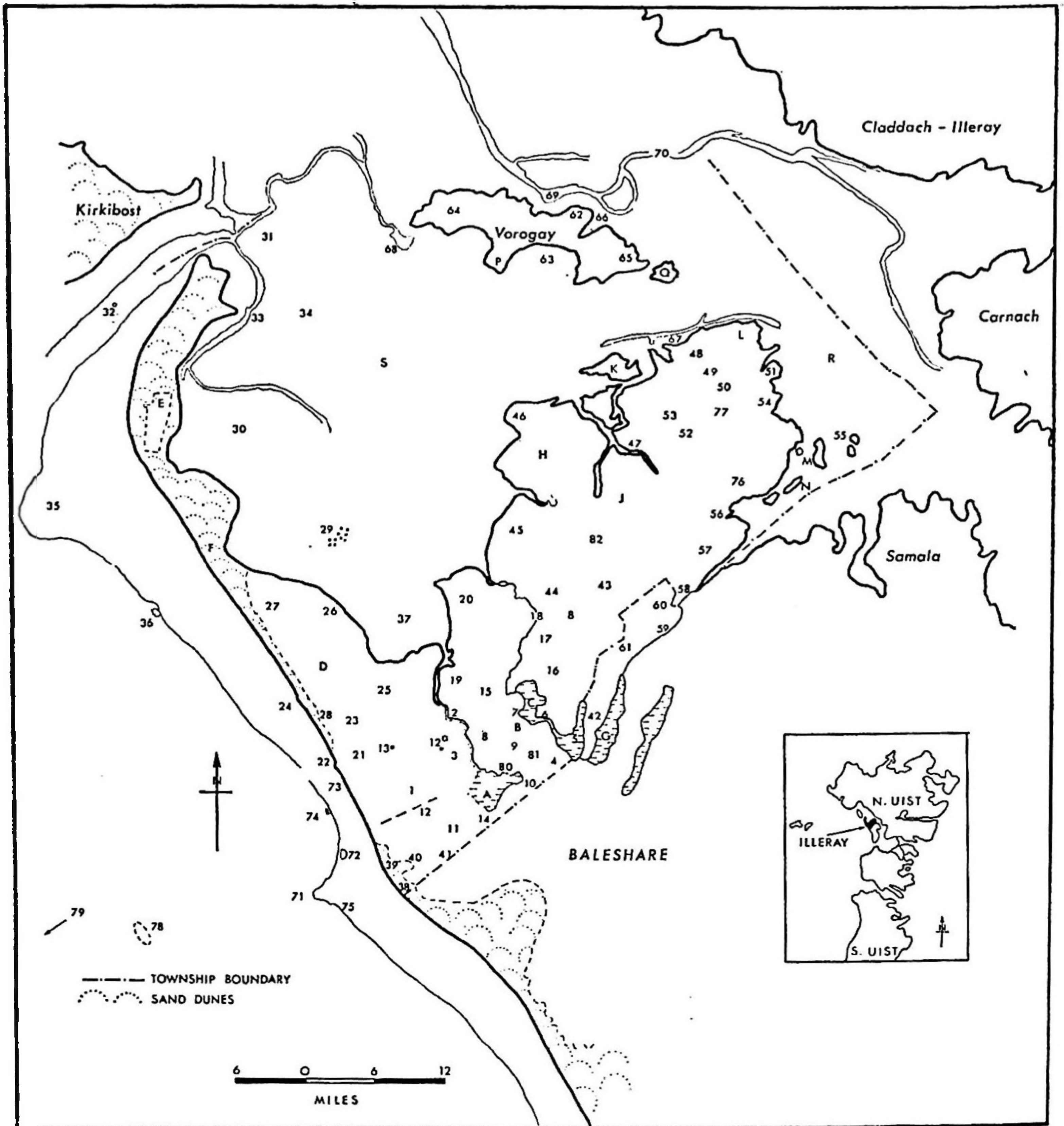


FIG. 1 Map of Illeray, Island of Baleshare, North Uist. (Numbers and letters refer to the lists of place names.)

was cultivable. According to tradition, the sea broke through the *Mol Greannach* (F) and eroded much arable land, so that all that remains of the fold today is a rough pile of boulders on an otherwise featureless strand.

Illeray is in many ways typical of the crofting townships of the west side of North Uist. It has flat, sandy machair soils, rich in lime, and, by today's crofting standards, is fertile and prosperous. Clearly the emphasis was, and still is, on agriculture, especially on animal husbandry. The sea was less exploited, there being few suitable deep-water 'ports', and an extremely exposed coast on the west. This is borne out by an examination of the place-names. *Gearraidh*, pasture-land, is by far the most common term used in the naming of fields, although *leaba*, bed, and *talamh*, ground or land, are both used on three and two occasions respectively. *Cuidhe* is used for small folds where cattle and especially calves were penned. For lambs the enclosure was known as *cotan*, which like *stalla*, occurs in a single instance. The low incidence of topographic terms like *cnoc*, hillock (four examples) and *lag*, hollow, (three examples) testifies to the flat nature of the landscape. The hillocks in question are all very slight rises in the ground. The term for water-courses are *abhainn*, river (three examples), and in one instance *sruthan*, little stream. *Allt* is rare on the west side of Uist. Many coastal names predictably contain the word *sgeir*, rock or skerry, twelve being recorded in Illeray. On a sandy coastline, individual rocks, many of them quite small, achieve significance as landmarks, and are consequently named. *Rubha*, point, is likewise common (five examples). *Oitir*, shoals, and *Faodhail*, sands, are also used. The relative scarcity of the term *port*, boat-port (two examples) is a good indication of the lack of sea-faring activity in the economy of Illeray.

In the lists that follow, letters A to T denote names already in use on the 6 inch Ordnance Survey map, while numbered names have been collected from the Illeray informant.

Names Included on the Six-inch Ordnance Survey Map (1903)

A	*Loch Mhic Coain*	Cowan's Loch
B	*Dùn Mór*	Big Dùn
C	*Loch an Duin Mhoir*	Loch of the Big Dùn
D	*Lag Gorm*	Green Hollow
E	*Slugan*	The Gullet
F	*Mol Greannach*	Rough or Crabbed Beach
G	*Loch nan Teang*	Loch of the Tongues (of land)
H	*Rosamul*	O.N. *hross-muli*, horse-ridge. Since this is a point of land, Gaelic *ros*, point, may be more correct.
K	*Glas-Eilean*	Grey Island
L	*Carnan nan Long*	The Little Cairn of the Ships
M	*Eilean nan Carnan*	Island of Cairns
N	*Eilean na Mòine*	Peat Island
P	*Rubha Bàn*	White Point

Q	*Glas Eilean Beag*	Little Grey Island
R	*Faodhail nan Caorach*	Sheep Sands
S	*Traigh Leathann*	Broad Shore
T	*Teanamachar*	(Not in use in this form. See no. 1 on *List of Place Names from The Informant's Repertoire* below).

List of Place-Names from the Informant's Repertoire

1 *Teanamachar* (O.S. spelling).* Locally called 'An t-Seana Mhachair', the Old Machair. Also known as 'Machair' and used as such in the postal address.

2 *Abhainn Husabost* O.N. *hús-bolstadr*, house-stead. Gaelic *abhainn*, river. This is a short stream which joins Loch an Dùin Mhóir and Loch Cuidhe nan Laogh (6).

3 *Leaba Dhubh*, The Black Bed or Couch.

4 *Rubha Geugannach*, Point full of little Branches (usual word is *geugagach*).

5 *Loch Cuidhe nan Laogh*, Loch of the Calves' Fold.

6 *Abhainn an Duin Mhóir*, River of the Big Dun.

7 *Gearraidh Dhùghaill*, Dugald's Pasture-land. This term *gearraidh* is often used to describe the out-bye land in Uist, *i.e.* the area between the common-grazing and the arable. It is usually enclosed by a fence or dyke.

8 *Guala a' Choinnich. Guala* is the local form for *gualann*, shoulder or corner. *Còinneach* is 'moss'.

9 *Dun Beag*, Little Dùn.

10 *Gearraidh nan Clach Loisgte*, Pasture-land of the Burnt Stones.

11 *Struthan Bàn*, Little White Burn.

12 *Gàradh a' Mhadaidh*. The Dog's Dyke. This was the line of an old march dyke a few hundred yards west of the present boundary with Baleshare. Dykes in the island were originally made of turves, stone being somewhat scarce, and less easily dismantled. According to tradition, the men of the village were pulling down the dyke, which was a fairly unpopular job, when one man shouted 'Leagaibh gàradh a' mhadaidh'! (Pull down the dog's dyke!) The name has remained for the site ever since.

13 *Tobar Mór*, The Big Well. The most reliable source of water in the area. Others existed, but were not named.

14 *Gearraidh nan Curran*, Pasture-land of the Carrots.

15 *Gearraidh Chrò*, Pasture-land of the Fold.

16 *Tobhta Uisdein*, Hugh's Ruined House.

17 *Cuidhe nan Laogh*, Calves' Enclosure.

18 *Abhainn Ghearraidh nan Ceap*, River of the Pasture-land of the Turves. A place which supplied turf for thatching, dykes, *etc.*

19 *Gearraidh nam Feannag*, Hooded Crow's Pasture-land.

20 *Rudha Bàn*, White Point.

21 *Talamh na Sgeir Fhaoiteig*, The Ground of the Cowrie Skerry. *Faoiteag* is a small univalve shellfish, *concha veneris*, and was often carried in the pocket for luck (Macdonald 1972: 119). On being asked the meaning of this word by the writer, the informant produced

* the only name in this list that appears on the O.S. map.

one from his own pocket, stating that he had heard that these shells were used as currency in olden times.

22 *Sgeir Fhaoiteag* (see 21).

23 *Leabaidh nan Carn*, The Bed of the Cairns.

24 *Sgeir Ghorm*, Blue Skerry.

25 *Talamh nan Treineachan*, The Ground of the Drains. Some drainage had been carried out here in the late nineteenth century. Little remains visible.

26 *Reidhlean*, The Green or Meadow. No article is used.

27 *Bruthach an t-Samsain*, Samson's Brae. A very strong man lived on this site in the past.

28 *Tobhta Mhic Idheagain*, MacKiegan's Ruined House.[3]

29 *Sgeir nan Laogh*, The Calves' Rock.

30 *Clach Dubh an t-Slugain*, The Black Stone of the Gullet.

31 *Sgeir Liath*, Grey Skerry.

32 *Sgeir 'Ic Caoilte*, MacCaoilte's Skerry.[4]

33 *Faodhail an t-Slugain*, The Gullet Sands.

34 *Oitir an t-Slugain*, The Gullet Shoals.

35 *Oitir Fhiadhaich*, The Wild Shoals. This name also occurs a mile to the north on the west side of Kirkibost Island.

36 *Sgeir na h-Aona Chloiche*, One Stone Skerry.

37 *Bàgh an Rubha Bhàin*, White Point Bay.

38 *Bruthach a' Ghuail*, Coal Brae. So called after a ship laden with coal foundered here, some time in the eighteenth century.

39 *Ceardach Ruadh*, The Red Smithy. The soil is red sand. The informant states that sherds of ancient pottery are frequently unearthed here.

40 *Lag nam Bòcan*, Hobgoblin or Apparition Hollow. According to tradition, a ghostly place. There are the remains of an old cemetery here, of unknown date.

41 *A' Choileag Loisgte*, The Burnt Sand-Dune.

42 *An Teang*, The Tongue (signifying a narrow strip of land between two lochs).

43 *Tobhta a' Bhuachaille*, The Shepherd's Ruined House. This may well have been where the township shepherd lived.

44 *Balilleray*, now called *A'Bhuaile*, The Fold.

45 *Raona Mhór*, Big Meadow.

46 *Dùnan Mór*, Big Little Dun. It contains a cattle-fold, now long disused, and is apparently another place with supernatural associations (Beveridge 1911:185).

47 *Lòn Bàn*, White Bog or Marsh. Also called *Na Fidean*. *Fidean* is a term for a green islet or tidal flat, usually covered by the sea at high tide.

48 *Baile na Creige*, Rock-town. This is the name given to a small group of houses in the extreme north of the island.

49 *Lag Beag*, Little Hollow.

50 *Cnoc a' Pheursa*, Signal-pole Hillock. *Peursa* is a term locally used to describe a signal of some kind which is hoisted on a pole. In this instance, it signified that the men of the community should gather there to arrange the distribution of seaweed. However, according to tradition in Tigharry, further north, *Cnoc a' Phearsa* was where the men met for any assembly of importance, *e.g.* to discuss township business, or in time of emergency such as war or invasion.

51 *Rubha Chaluim Fhidhir*, Calum Fidhir's Point.
52 *Leaba Mhór*, Big Bed or Hollow.
53 This was the site of the birthplace of Roderick MacKay, the Uist Bard.
54 *An Cnoc Loisgte*, The Burnt Hillock.
55 *Eilean Seonaid*, Janet's Island.
56 *An t-Oban Uaine*, The Green Pool.
57 *An Gearraidh Buidhe*, Yellow Pasture-land.
58 *Cùl Burdaig—cùl*, nook. *Burdag* is a minnow or shrimp.
59 *An Gearraidh Leathann*, Broad Pasture-land.
60 *Cnoc Mannaig—cnoc*, hillock. *Mannaig* is obscure.
61 *A' Chuidhe Ghorm*, The Blue Fold.
62 *Rubha a' Bhodaich*, The Old Man's Point (on Vorogay).
63 *Traigh a' Rubha Bhàin*, The Shore of the White Point.
64 *Ceann Iochdrach*, Lower End.
65 *Ceann Uachdrach*, Upper End.
66 *Port a' Bhàta*, The Boat Port.
67 *Port na Luing*, The Ship Port.
68 *Linne a' Cheann Iochdraich*, Lower End Pool.
69 *Sgeir Ruadh*, Red Skerry.
70 *Faodhail a' Chinn Aird*, High End Sands.
71 *Sgeir a' Chàise*, Cheese Skerry.
72 *Sgeir Husabost*, Husabost Skerry.
73 *Sgeir nan Cnapach*, Young Lads' Skerry. Two boys walked out to this rock, were cut off by the ebb and were in danger of drowning. The local schoolmaster, who was apparently the only swimmer in the place, swam out and rescued them both. The term *cnapach* here describes a growing boy, aged about ten.
74 *Sgeir a' Bhuachaille*, Shepherd's Skerry.
75 *Linne Dubh*, Black Pool.
76 *Cùl na Ceardaich*, The Smithy Corner.
77 *Stalla Bheag*, *Stalla* usually means an overhanging rock or crag, but in this case is derived from the English *stall* and the name really means 'little fold or pen'.
78 *Sgeir a' Ghailcein*. A submerged rock off Sgeir a' Chàise.
79 *Aird a' Mhachair*, Height of the Machair. A fishing mark which uses the houses at An t-Seana Mhachair as a landmark.
80 *Rubha an Nighidearachd*, Washing Point. Women used to wash clothes in Loch Mhic Coain at this point.
81 *Cuidhe Caol*, Narrow Fold.
82 *Cotan nan Uan*, The Lambs' Little Cot.
83 *Cnoc an t-Sagairt*, The Priest's Hillock. This is locally regarded as having been a religious site, a not unlikely supposition when one considers the proximity of Teampull Chriosd in Baleshare.

NOTES

1 A mis-spelling for Eastertoun.
2 'le Terung de Yllera' (RMS 1505).
3 MacKiegan or McKiggan were an old Uist family, some of whom still survive. They also settled in Lewis, where they changed their name to MacKenzie.
4 'Clann Mhic Caoilte were an old race in North Uist. There are none of them now,' (Carmichael MSS No. 116, p. 97). A number of place-names in North Uist commemorate this family, including Aird Mhic Caoilt on the south side of Vallay (O.S. Grid Ref. NF784755) and Eilean Mhic Caoilte, an island in the North Ford, about a mile north of Gramisdale in Benbecula (NF818571).

REFERENCES

BEVERIDGE, ERSKINE
1911 *North Uist: Its Archaeology and Topography*. Edinburgh.
MCDONALD, FR. ALLAN
1972 *Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist and Eriskay*, ed. J. L. Campbell. Oxford.
ORDNANCE SURVEY MAP
1903 *Hebrides (Inverness-shire)*. Six-inch, County Series, No. 39.
RETOURS
1811 *Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum* vol. 1 (1545–1700).
RMS
1882 *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. (*Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*.)
SSS
School of Scottish Studies (Archives).

An Eighteenth-Century Record of 'The Laird o Logie'

E. B. LYLE

The Reverend James Scott, minister of the East Church of Perth from 1771 to 1807 (Scott 1923:232), had at one time in his possession a traditional text of the ballad *The Laird o Logie* (Child No. 182), and, although the text itself may not be extant, two accounts of it have fortunately been preserved. These accounts provide a record of this ballad which is of particular interest as it is the first contemporary evidence that the 'Laird of Logie' form was being sung in the eighteenth century as well as the 'Laird of Ochiltree' form printed by David Herd (Herd 1769:240–2).

Events like those in the ballad took place in the reign of James VI, and the hero was John Wemyss of Logie, in Fife (Child 1882–98:3.449–51), but the ballad had evidently become attached locally to Logie, or Logiealmond, in Perthshire, and so Scott did not associate it with the Fife family. Instead, he linked it tentatively with the John of Logie who was executed by Robert Bruce in 1320 (Dalrymple 1779:96; Barrow 1965:430), thinking that this actual execution might have been converted in the ballad narrative into a sentence of death which was not carried out. Of the two paragraphs from Scott's writings quoted below, (*a*) is from a letter to Lord Hailes dated 3 December 1781,[1] and (*b*) is from notes to Perth charters, where the account of the ballad is introduced in connection with a Richard Broun who suffered execution along with John of Logie (James Scott:430):

(*a*)

I see you have taken Notice of the Charter to the Blackfriars which mentions Sir John of Logy.[2] I had some years ago, tho' I have now lost it, a Copy of a traditionary Ballad which is sung by severals [*sic*] of the poor People on the Estate of Logie – It's story is of a young Laird of Logy who having used some Familiarity with a Court Lady, called in the Ballad "the Queen's Mary", which I take to be a common Designation given to the Queen's Gentlewomen or Maids of Honour, was imprisoned & sentenced to Death by the King; But the Queen by counterfeiting the King's Mandate deceived "Clerk Michael", & "the ranting Laird the young Logy" being thereby set at Liberty made his Escape beyond Sea. I recollected the Ballad upon observing a Note about "Matildis",[3] & will again procure a Copy of it. And yet it cannot relate to a Laird of Logy in the Time of Robert Bruce, unless the People on the Estate thought it more honourable to give a happy Turn to the Adventure.

(*b*)

A young Woman, a Native of the Estate of Logy, was lately singing an old historical Song concerning one of the Lairds of Logy; & I procured a Copy of it to be obtained from

> her. It contains a Story of Logy having greatly offended the King by being in too great Favour with a Lady called in the Ballad "the Queen's Mary": That a "Lady Margaret" also took it much amiss; & that the King passed Sentence of Death upon him. According to the Ballad however the Queen by counterfeiting the King's Handwriting, & by sending the King's Glove as a Token to Michael the Justice Clerk, obtained his Releasement. Whether the Story of this Song was founded on some traditionary Remembrance of what happened in Robert Bruce's Time to the Laird of Logy Sir John Logy, may appear uncertain; but if it was so founded it may point out one Cause why he & some others with him suffered Death, different from any of the Causes now generally mentioned.

All the elements in the ballad narrative outlined by Scott can be traced in other variants except for the note in (*b*) 'That a "Lady Margaret" also took it much amiss'. Possibly Scott misapplied a stanza of lament and, failing to realise that 'Lady Margaret' was 'the Queen's Mary', thought she was a rival. The only printed text to use the expression 'the queen's marie' is the Perthshire one taken from the Harris MS (Child D 2.4). This text is also among those variants that include the order forged by the queen and the king's glove sent as a token (D 9):

> She counterfieted the king's hand-write,
> An stole frae him his richt hand gloe,
> An sent them to Pitcairn's wa's,
> A' to let Young Logie free.

The 'Clerk Michael' to whom the false message and the token are sent is reminiscent of the historical Carmichael mentioned at this point in Child A (Child 1882–98:4.515, unrevised form of A, 7.3–4):

> And she has sent it to Carmichaell,
> To cause Young Logie come by life.

The equivalent of the line 'the ranting Laird the young Logy' quoted in (*a*) occurs in the Harris text as 'The rantin young laird o Logie' (D 13.4). The shape of the line as given by Scott may well lie behind the odd form found in a number of variants where the adjective 'young' is applied to the place and not the man, as in 'The wanton laird of Young Logie' and 'The winsom laird of Young Logie' (Child 1882–98:4.516). The escape beyond sea referred to in (*a*) is not present in the Harris text, but does occur in other variants, *e.g.* the one printed by Herd where both of the lovers leave the country (B 17.1–2):

> The tane was schippit at the pier of Leith,
> The ither at the Queen's Ferrie.

NOTES

1 Newhailes MSS 472 (see NRA(S) Survey No. 909, p. 37). I am very grateful to Dr Rosalind K. Marshall for drawing my attention to this letter, and to the trustees of Sir Mark Dalrymple for granting

me permission to publish this extract from it. For permission to print paragraph (*b*) I am indebted to the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

2 'Litera Concessionis Roberti Regis petarum de Logy' (Milne 1893:10). The 'Logy' of this document is also called 'Logyalmond' (Milne 1893:274, No. 27).

3 Perhaps Matilda, daughter of Robert Bruce, who is called 'Matildis' by Lord Hailes in his *Annals* (Dalrymple 1779:132–3).

REFERENCES

BARROW, G. W. S.
1965 *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland.* London.

CHILD, FRANCIS J.
1882–98 *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads.* 5 vols. Boston and New York.

DALRYMPLE, SIR DAVID (LORD HAILES)
1779 *Annals of Scotland.* Vol. 2. Edinburgh.

HERD, DAVID
1769 *The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs.* Edinburgh.

MILNE, ROBERT
1893 *The Blackfriars of Perth.* Edinburgh.

SCOTT, HEW
1923 *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ.* New edn. Vol. 4. Edinburgh.

SCOTT, JAMES
Perth Ecclesiastical Records: Charters to Chapels Etc. N.L.S. Adv. MS 13.1.7.

The Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group

ALEXANDER FENTON

For two years the Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group has had an informal existence. It has held two meetings, one on rural architecture (Edinburgh 1972), the other on village and urban architecture (Dundee 1973). At the Dundee meeting it was unanimously resolved that the Group should be established on a more formal basis, to unite lay and professional interest in the common purpose of stimulating and encouraging the systematic study and recording of vernacular buildings in Scotland.

In recent years there has been a remarkable increase in the amount of attention paid to vernacular buildings, unfortunately more than matched by the rate of their disappearance. The National Monuments Record for Scotland, though sorely stretched for time and manpower, has carried out high-quality surveys of single buildings and groups of buildings in several parts of the country. This body of data—when set alongside the Scottish Development Department's Statutory and Provisional Lists of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest, and the survey or background data in the archives of the Scottish Country Life Section of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, and of the School of Scottish Studies—already provides a basis for growth. The *Bibliography on Vernacular Architecture* (Newton Abbot 1972), edited by Sir Robert de Zouche Hall for the Vernacular Architecture Group (founded in England in 1954), also includes Scottish sources, though their smaller proportion in relation to those for England shows how far Scotland has been lagging behind.

Some academic growth is possible on the basis of existing knowledge, but there is a real degree of urgency about extending the range. In the course of a short bus-trip around Dundee, the Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group was astonished to see the number of hitherto almost unrecorded building types, ranging from farmhouses with walls built of patches or lengths of clay, bricks and stone as a result of repair or extension, to the village of Erroll, unique in Scotland as a village of two-storey clay-walled houses. These are being surveyed and recorded by the staff and students of the Dundee College of Art; but there is a rapid rate of disappearance, and even in Erroll, some centrally-placed buildings have been vacated prior to demolition for road-widening. Should this happen, the layout of a Carse village of more than ordinary interest will be needlessly spoiled. With every building demolished a little more of the social and cultural history of Scotland is lost, and it should never be forgotten that the human history of the country is indexed better by her buildings than by any other artifact.

At the moment there is no formal study of vernacular buildings in the universities and architectural colleges. There are no Government departments with a positive remit to concern themselves with farms, cottar houses, croft workshops, tradesmen's houses and the like. The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland has no mandate for a general survey of structures of this type. Buildings of this relatively lowly, 'vernacular' kind have scarcely been thought worthy of architectural study. Yet they have value, which is greater than their individual merits, for architectural, and social and economic history: their form, structure and groupings reflect the history and resources of a district and establish its regional character and identity. They demand study not only by architects, but by historians as well, if their full significance is to be appreciated.

In a recent issue of *The Scotsman*, it was announced that the Secretary of State had turned down a move by the South Side Association and the Cockburn Association to save a group of 49 houses in West Nicolson Street, Edinburgh. The objectors to the demolition order argued that the buildings formed an urban group of architectural and historic interest, which should be maintained as residential accommodation. The Secretary of State turned this down, however, on the grounds that the buildings were of local rather than national interest. Such an opinion betrays a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of vernacular architecture and perpetuates the older attitude that has led to the thoughtless destruction in the past of so much of the heritage. Because few extensive studies of vernacular buildings exist in print, there is as yet no body of informed knowledge that can demonstrate beyond any shadow of contradiction that it is just as much in the national interest to preserve or adapt buildings of local interest. National history is a tight amalgam of the history of the regions, and regional identity is itself part of the national picture. No building, therefore, should be dismissed as being of merely local significance. As with historical studies in general, it should never be forgotten that people live in parishes and small units, and that this fact of 'regionality' is basic to the history of the country.

The formation of the Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group marks a step in the attempt to remedy the persistent neglect of an important subject. To do this, it has set itself four main aims—to provide a meeting point for all individuals and institutions concerned with the subject; to meet at regular intervals in different places to discuss specific topics; to diffuse knowledge of the subject through discussion and publication; to stimulate and encourage more systematic activity in the surveying and recording of vernacular buildings. As far as the Group is concerned, it will concentrate on rousing interest, helping to add to the body of available data, and urging the adoption of the subject as an element in university and college teaching.

But this can only be a beginning. The aim of surveying and recording is, ultimately, preservation. Requests for official assistance in preserving interesting examples of vernacular buildings have rarely been successful in the past, largely because information on the size and nature of the problem has been lacking. No doubt the authorities,

understandably enough, have had a fear of an open-ended commitment. Obviously, therefore, before any degree of official protection can be sought for such buildings, there should be a body of evidence based on acceptably wide surveying. This would show whether or not a building being considered for preservation was sufficiently characteristic of a regional type for a real effort to be justified. Equally, it would permit the application of a principle of *selective* preservation, very different from the current kind of approach that often advocates preservation in ignorance of what other, possibly better, examples are available. It is a simple matter of long term economics, to survey first, then to select; and if preservation, as often happens, is confined to the façade or structure of a building, then every effort should be made to survey and record the internal fittings and furnishings as an essential and integral part of the history of the building and of the generations who lived in it. There is the further advantage that by working in this way, samples of buildings of various types can eventually be preserved on the spot, or in open-air museums, in a way better calculated than anything else to demonstrate the cultural, historical, and geographical heritage and identity of the regions of Scotland.

Book Reviews

Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages (The Gill History of Ireland, 4) by Kenneth Nicholls. Gill and Macmillan, Dublin 1972. Pp. 197. 80p.

The subject of this book has never been seriously tackled before, and Mr Nicholls is to be congratulated not just on undertaking a study which leaves him open to an unusually large number of critics, but on producing a general work to serve as a framework for students of the Middle Ages in the greater part of Ireland. The book, like the rest of the series, is intended for the general public, and is therefore almost entirely free of notes and references. It would be difficult for anyone, but especially for the non-historian, in the absence of such supporting evidence, to give a competent criticism of the conclusions drawn. 'The popular work has in this case come before the learned monograph', says the author: if the conclusions in this book can be argued for successfully, then a great service will have been done for the history of the Gaelic world.

The book is in two sections, headed *Society and Institutions* and *Historical.* The first gives a general account of politics, the legal system, social life, the Church and what little is known of economic life. The second deals in turn with the four provinces, tracing quickly the leadership and vicissitudes of the principal families in each during the period of the book (1169–*c.* 1600), and is followed by a critical bibliography which shows how sparse is the reliable material already available on Mr Nicholls' subject.

It becomes clear that the laws and customs of the Gaelic and Gaelicised areas varied widely both geographically and chronologically—as one might expect. It is probably unavoidable that the larger part of the material quoted deals with Gaelicised Norman families, and we cannot always be sure that what applied to them also applied to those, especially in the north, who had never had much to do with the Normans. Mr Nicholls acknowledges cases where these differences occur or may be expected to occur.

The position in the Scottish Highlands is not dealt with, although they were, says the author, 'an integral part of the Gaelic Irish world'—a generalisation which will need considerable qualification. Some snippets of interest for Scotland do slip through, however: a 'Rory Mac Betha', physician, is on record in County Cork in 1473 and is presumably connected with the Beaton family, and the O Conchuir medical family (see *Scottish Studies* 12:64) is said to have originated in County Laois (p. 81; no substantiation for the latter statement is given). Mr Nicholls also detects in sixteenth-century Munster a class of 'bondmen' who seem to be remarkably similar to the Scottish tacksmen (p. 69). While the Index adds greatly to the book's value as a reference

work, entries under 'Scotland' are not exhaustive: the following page-numbers may be added: 74–5, 87–8, 98–9, 134–8.

In undertaking to break this new ground Mr Nicholls forces us to recognise the necessity for a parallel work on the Scottish Highlands over a similar period. So much of our 'knowledge' of this period is based on inference from other periods, or indeed on prejudice, that even a complete list of available reliable sources would be a great step forward. However, the dichotomy between Celtic studies and historical studies complained of by Mr Nicholls exists just as strongly in Scotland, alas, as it does in Ireland, and the scholar who undertakes this work will be, like Mr Nicholls, a pioneer.

COLM Ó BAOILL

A Hundred Years in the Highlands by Osgood Mackenzie. Geoffrey Bles, London 1972 (10th impression). Pp. 222+illus. £1.75.

This new impression of what has become a classic volume on the subject of the Highlands in the nineteenth century suggests that Osgood Mackenzie's attraction as a writer has in no way lost its appeal since the book was first published in 1921. Because of this, it is a familiar volume on Scottish bookshelves, but nevertheless, it is highly relevant that, today, we should pause to examine its content and approach, as well as to look at Mackenzie's life and times in the light of history.

There are three distinct facets to *A Hundred Years*: firstly, Mackenzie's reminiscences of family life on a Highland estate from 1850 onwards; secondly, his vivid descriptions of the sporting life of the times, including fishing, fowling and stalking; and finally, an account of what must be regarded as his most enduring achievement—the origins and development of the sub-tropical gardens at Inverewe. This occupies a large part of the book, and includes a chapter by the author's daughter, the late Mrs Mairi T. Sawyer, who gave the gardens to the National Trust for Scotland in 1952.

Osgood Mackenzie was born in Brittany in 1842: his upbringing was in Gairloch and must have been extremely pleasant. His family seems to have been close-knit and affectionate, and his early years saw his initiation not only into the sporting side of the laird's son's education, but also in the practical side of the daily work of the estate. We get the impression of an enthusiastic and hard-working young man, in a privileged position in society, enjoying the benefits of his social position, and his natural environment, to the full.

One of the most valuable features of this book is the writer's regard for tradition in his surroundings. The earlier chapters abound with details of now-forgotten Highland techniques, like the making of peat charcoal (p. 46), snippets of traditional beliefs and customs, and in general terms, the more unusual aspects of daily life in the Wester Ross of the time. One is struck, also, by his accounts of the way of life enjoyed by his

family in the 'Tigh Dige', the great moat house of the Mackenzies in Gairloch, which still stands. The domestic affairs of the household, and the daily activities of the estate and its workers are described with much detail, and with an obviously keen interest in their execution. Certainly, Mackenzie's pre-occupation with his immediate physical surroundings is well expressed in his writing despite the fact that at this time, and later in the century, lairds were beginning to devote less and less time to the maintenance of their estates, and becoming, increasingly, absentee landlords.

Not surprisingly, Mackenzie's sporting activities on his estate take up a good deal of space. He dwells at length on his (and his father's) prowess with the gun, giving detailed accounts of the enormous amount of game which the sportsmen of those days exterminated. Scarcely any wild animal or bird seems to have been safe from his gun, or those of his gamekeepers, least of all the golden eagle, which in those days of 'unprotected' birds, was a prime target. It was regarded, even up till 1930 and later, as vermin, and with the subsequent attention paid to it by keepers in Wester Ross, its numbers decreased, so that by the 1950s, it was virtually extinct in the area. Mackenzie was a keen collector of birds' eggs, and describes his attempts to obtain those of the sea-eagle, extremely rare in the middle of the last century, and now gone from the Scottish mainland. This account of the rapacious process of game-shooting and egg-collecting comes naturally from the writer's pen, and he seems to have regarded his pursuit of rare birds and animals as legitimate and entirely innocent. Yet he laments the passing of the hare and ptarmigan, dunlin and grouse from the moors of Wester Ross (p. 132) as if the sporting gentry were in no way to blame for it. Significantly, though, Mackenzie notes the gradual change in climate which since 1850 has partly affected the growth of various trees and plants in the Highlands. As a careful observer of wild life, his contribution in these chapters provides much valuable information.

The middle of the nineteenth century was a time when social change in the Highlands was lagging behind that of other parts of the country. Despite the fact that the Gairloch area was spared the worst of the evictions, it was by no means uncommon for tenants to be turned out, and the writer makes several references to the eviction of local people for sheep-stealing, poaching, and suchlike crimes. But on the whole, this subject is avoided, and the book gives the impression, rightly or wrongly, that the laird's relationship to his tenants was that of a father-figure and worthy at all times of their unswerving devotion. Certainly, there is little evidence to the contrary either in this book or in local tradition in the Gairloch area. Osgood Mackenzie is still held in high esteem by the older members of the population, as indeed are many of the Mackenzies of Gairloch. This is partly due to the fact that as a boy Osgood Mackenzie was taught Gaelic and spoke the language fluently. His English mother learned it on settling in Gairloch, despite having *blas na beurla* (the taste of the English) all her life. Indeed, Gaelic was the only language spoken in the Tigh Dige in the 1850s, and as Mackenzie writes, 'No servant on the place, inside or outside, was allowed ever to speak English to the young gentlemen under pain of being dismissed' (p. 41).

One gains the impression, on reading this book, that the writer has been much influenced by the personalities of two people. Although his father died when Osgood was only a year old, his uncle, Dr John Mackenzie of Eileanach became the factor of Gairloch Estate. The doctor was a keen antiquary, and amassed a great collection of notes and reminiscences of his own early days, and Osgood obviously drew on this wealth of information for background material. His mother, Mary Hanbury Mackenzie must have been a very accomplished and energetic woman. She personally superintended the building of the new road along the western shore of Loch Maree, which was financed partly by Government grant for famine relief. She founded several new schools in the Gairloch parish, insisting that children should be able to read Gaelic before they should be taught in English. Under her supervision, the old runrig system was abolished, and a start was made on laying out crofting townships under the present system.

The picture which Osgood Mackenzie has painted in his book is obviously only one viewpoint of his times. It would be naive to suggest that we are given a balanced and unbiased account of the parish of Gairloch over the period in question. There is no doubt that the other side of the coin, poverty, eviction and emigration, made their mark on the parish during this time, that the ingredients which went into the make-up of Highland society were often bitterly unacceptable to the mass of the population. Undoubtedly, their loyalty to the chiefs was often misguided and given because of tradition rather than anything else. There are many accounts in the Gairloch area of families being evicted for 'stepping out of line'. One story concerns an old crofter-fisherman whose sons went out cod-fishing in the Minch, their father being ill. On making a good haul, they decided to sell the catch to an 'east-coast' buyer rather than accept the lower price offered by the estate factor, whom they were bound to deal with, on pain of eviction. When served with notice of eviction, their father rose from his sick-bed, walked to the Tigh Dige and begged forgiveness for his sons' rashness. He was given another chance, but was made to promise that such a breach of loyalty to the laird would not occur again.

It is necessary, then, to try to see beyond Osgood Mackenzie's account of his times in order to gain a true perspective of the social situation. With this in mind, this book must be accepted for what it is—the experience of one man and his view of his environment in a period of intense interest both to scholarship and the reading public. In its own inimitable way, *A Hundred Years in the Highlands* seems destined to remain a minor classic.

IAN FRASER

Books Received

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

The Scottish Revolution 1637–44. The Triumph of the Covenanters, by David Stevenson. David and Charles, Newton Abbot 1973. Pp. 416 (incl. 16 plates). £7.50.

The Scottish Church 1688–1843. The Age of the Moderates, by Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch. Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh 1973. Pp. 282. £4.

Beyond the Sunset: A Study of James Leslie Mitchell (Lewis Grassic Gibbon) by Douglas Young. Impulse Books, Aberdeen 1973. Pp. 162. £3.50.

An Introduction to English Folk Song by Maud Karpeles. Oxford University Press, London 1973. Pp. 120. £1.15.

The Battle of Mauchline Moor 1648 by David Stevenson. (Ayrshire Collections vol. 11 no. 1). Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1973. Pp. 44. 25p.

So Fast to Ruin: The Ayr Bank Crash (The personal element in the collapse of Douglas, Heron and Company) by Frank Brady. (*Ayrshire Collections* vol. 11 no. 2). Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1973. Pp. 44. 25p.

A Scottish Ballad Book, edited by David Buchan. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London and Boston 1973. Pp. 232. £3.50.

The Organic Resources of Scotland: Their Nature and Evaluation, edited by Joy Tivy. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh 1973. Pp. 227. £5.

Come Day, Go Day, God send Sunday. The songs and life story, told in his own words, of John Maguire, traditional singer and farmer from Co. Fermanagh, collated by Robin Morton. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1973. Pp. 188. £2.95.

The Tweedmakers. A History of the Scottish Fancy Woollen Industry 1600–1914 by Clifford Gulvin. (Library of Textile History Series) David and Charles, Newton Abbot 1973. Pp. 240+9 plates. £4.50.

Lowland Scots. Papers presented to an Edinburgh Conference. Association for Scottish Literary Studies Occasional Papers No. 2, Edinburgh 1973. Pp. 72. 50p.

Index

Volume 17, 1973

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

Adams, I. H. (editor of *Directory of Former Scottish Commonties*, reviewed) 87
àirigh (in Galloway place-names) 31
Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells (18th c.) 112–22 *passim*
'Annat' in Scotland: A Provisional Review 136–146
Arthur, King 109, 110, 113, 114, 120

baile (in Galloway place-names) 30
Baleshare, island of (N. Uist) 158–61
Battle of the Braes (1882) 36, 44–6
Bibliography of Vernacular Architecture, A (review) 88–9
Blind Harper, The (An Clarsair Dall): The Songs of Roderick Morrison and his Music (review) 81–4
Book Reviews 81–9, 168–71
Books Received 90, 172
Bruce, King Robert 110, 111, 116, 162, 163
Bruford, Alan 147–54
Burnett of Leys, marriage patterns of the Family of 52, 54
(table), 55

CAIRD, JAMES B. 88
Campbell, Colin (Cailean Mór) 111, 115–18, 120, 122
Campbells, The Earliest—Norman, Briton or Gael? 109–125
Cape Wrath and its Various Names 61–9
Carrick, Celtic Earls of 116, 122
Carrick place-names (see Galloway)
CARTER, IAN 51
Clan MacDonald, marriage patterns of 52–7
(table) 54
Clarsair Dall, An 81–4
Clearances, How Tame were the Highlanders during the? 35–50
Clearances
and ministers of the Church 40–1
and women 38–9, 40, 45
Corrimony (Inverness-shire), cruck-building at 127–33
Craig-Fishing in the Northern Isles of Scotland and Notes on the Poke-Net 71–80
craig-fishing techniques and equipment 72–6
craig seats 71–2
Crofters' war (1882) 44–6, 47
Cruck-Building at Corrimony, Inverness-shire, The 127–33
Culrain uprising (1820) 38–9
cup-holes (craig-fishing) 74–5

Diarmaid O'Duibne 109, 113–15, 118–19, 121
Directory of Former Scottish Commonties (review) 87–8
Domhnall Ruadh agus an Claban (Gaelic tale, text) 150–1
'Donald and the Skull' (translation of Gaelic text) 152–3
Drummonds 121

Earliest Campbells, The—Norman, Briton or Gael? 109–25
Eighteenth-century Record of 'The Laird of Logie', An 162–4
Emmerson, G. S. (author of *Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String*, reviewed) 85

FENTON, ALEXANDER 89, 165
fishing 'wand' (craig-fishing) 73
FLETT, J. F. and T. M. 91
'fool of the forest' (see Smerevie)
FRASER, IAN 155, 171
Fraser of Lovat, marriage patterns of clan 51, 52, 55–7
(table) 56
Fraser of Lovat, marriage patterns of Lowland cadet families of clan 57, 59
(table) 57
Frasers of Philorth, marriage patterns of the family of 52, 54, 57
(table) 56

Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages (review) 168–9
Gaelic place-names in Galloway and Carrick 17–32 (and see Galloway)
Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick, The 17–33
Gairloch (Wester Ross) 169–71
Galbraiths 119
Gall-ghàidhil 26–28, 32
Galloway and Carrick, The Gaelic Speakers of 7–33

Galloway, Gaelic place-names in 17–32
 and '*àirigh*' 31
 and '*baile*' 30
 and land-division 31–2
 and pilgrims 28–9
 in commemoration of saints 18–26
  (Carrick) 22–3
  (Dumfries) 24
  (Stewartry of Kirkcudbright) 21–2
  (Wigtownshire) 19–21
Genealogie of the Campbells, Ane Account of the (18th c.) 112–122 *passim*
genealogies (see **Earliest Campbells, The**)

Hall, R. de Z. (editor of *A Bibliography of Vernacular Architecture*, reviewed) 88
Halling (Norwegian dance) 102
HAY, GEOFFREY D. 127
Highland protest, tradition of 36–49
History of the Scottish Reel as a Dance-Form II, The 91–107
How Tame were the Highlanders during the Clearances? 35–50
Hrafns Saga 62
Hundred Years in the Highlands, A (review) 169–71
Hvarf (ON) 61–3, 64, 66, 67–8

Illeray, The Place-Names of 155–61

Kilbride MS (16th *c.* genealogy) 117–19
Kildonan affair (1813) 37–9
King Orphius 1–16
 (text) 4–8
 and 'Sir Orfeo' 8–15
King's Questions (AT 922) in Scotland, The 147–54

'Laird o Logie, The': An Eighteenth-Century Record of 162–4
Lennox, Earls of 119, 120, 122
limpet bait (craig-fishing) 73–5
Lindsay's *Rutter* (17th c.) 64, 66
LYLE, E. R.

MACDONALD, AIDAN 136
MacFerbis (17th c. genealogist) 117–19, 121
MacKenzie, marriage patterns of Clan 52–6
 (table) 55
Mackenzie, Osgood (author of *A Hundred Years in the Highlands*, reviewed) 169
MacKinnon, Donald John (Barra story-teller) 150
MacNaughtons 120
MACQUEEN, J. 17
Marriage Patterns and Social Sectors in Scotland before the 18th century 51–60
Matheson, W. (editor of *The Blind Harper*, reviewed) 81
Morison, Roderick (see *Blind Harper, The*)
'MS 1467' (genealogy) 117–19
MUNRO, AILIE 87

Nicolls, K. (author of *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages*, reviewed) 168
North Uist (see Illeray)
Notes and Comments 147–67

Ó BAOILL, COLM 84, 169
O'Duibne 111–22 *passim*
Orkney and Shetland reels 91, 97–103
'Orpheo, Sir' 2–4, 8–14
Orpheus, legend of 1–15
'Orphius, King' 1–16
 and 'Sir Orfeo' (comparison) 8–15
 (text) 4–8

Parph, Am 61, 63, 64, 67–8
piltock (craig-fishing) 72
Place-Names of Illeray, The 155–61
poke-net, notes on the 76–8
Pont, Timothy (17th c.) 63, 65

Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String: A History of Scottish Dance Music (review) 85–7
Red Hall, the (*an Talla Dearg*) 113, 120
Reel as a Dance-Form II, The History of the Scottish 91–107
Reel
 'Auld' (Shetland) 102
 Axum (Orkney) 103
 Double Threesome and Foursome 91, 95–7
 Foursome 93, 95, 100
 of Five 95
 Hankies 91, 96–7
 of Nine 91, 96
 'Shaimit' 99–100
 of Six 95–6
 Sixsome 99–102
 of Tulloch (*Ruidhleadh Thulachain*) 91–5
RICHARDS, ERIC 35

St. Ninian 17, 26, 28–9
Scott, Rev. James (18th c.) 162
Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group, The 165–7
Sellar, Patrick 42, 43–4

SELLAR, W. D. H. 109
Shetland Reels 91, 97–103
sillock (craig-fishing) 72
'Sir Orfeo' and 'King Orphius' compared 2–4, 8–14
Smerevic ('fool of the forest') 113, 120
Speed, John (17th c.) 65
'steepa-dorro' (craig-fishing) 75–6
Stewart, Andrew (Scots story-teller) 149
Stewart, John (Scots story-teller) 149
STEWART, MARION 1

TAYLOR, A. B. 61

Vernacular Architecture, A Bibliography of (review)
Vernacular Buildings Working Group, The Scottish 105–7

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

17

1973

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Editorial Advisory Board

K. H. Jackson
K. L. Little
A. McIntosh
J. MacQueen
B. R. S. Megaw
S. Piggott
J. W. Watson

Editor

J. MacQueen

Associate Editor

B. R. S. Megaw

Assistant Editor

D. J. Hamilton

Material quoted from the archives of the School of Scottish Studies is copyright and may not be reproduced in any form without the permission of the Director.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
ABERDEEN

Contents

VOLUME 17 1973

BRUFORD, A.

147 'The King's Questions' (AT 922) in Scotland

CAIRD, J.

87 *Review:* I. H. Adams (ed.), *Directory of Former Scottish Commonties*

CARTER, I.

51 Marriage Patterns and Social Sectors in Scotland before the 18th Century

FENTON, A.

71 Craig-Fishing in the Northern Isles of Scotland

165 The Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group

88 *Review:* R. de Z. Hall (ed.), *A Bibliography on Vernacular Architecture*

FLETT, J. and T.

91 The History of the Scottish Reel as a Dance-Form: II

FRASER, I.

155 The Place-Names of Illeray

169 *Review:* Osgood Mackenzie, *A Hundred Years in the Highlands*

HAY, G.

127 The Cruck-Building at Corrimony, Inverness-shire

LYLE, E.

162 An Eighteenth-century Record of 'The Laird o Logie'

MACDONALD, A.

135 'Annat' in Scotland: A Provisional Review

MACQUEEN, J.

17 The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick

CONTENTS

MUNRO, A.

85 *Review:* G. Emmerson, *Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String*

Ó BAOILL, C.

81 *Review:* W. Matheson (ed.), *The Blind Harper (An Clarsair Dall)*

168 *Review:* K. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages*

RICHARDS, E.

35 How Tame were the Highlanders during the Clearances?

SELLAR, D.

109 The Earliest Campbells—Norman, British or Gael?

STEWART, M.

1 'King Orphius'

TAYLOR, A. B.

61 Cape Wrath and its Various Names

Plates

opposite page	*plate*	
72	I	Peter Scott, Setter, Papa Stour, with his 'piltock waand' and home-made 'docken büdie'.
72	II	A fish 'büdie 'and a limpet 'cuddie'
73	III	A Shetlander fishing with a 'poke-net' and boys fishing with rods for coalfish.
between pages		
128–9	IV	Cruck-building, Corrimony, Inverness-shire: survey and reconstruction drawings.
	V	Cruck-building, Corrimony, Inverness-shire: survey and reconstruction drawings.
	VI	Cruck-building, Corrimony: interior from NE.
	VII	Cruck-building, Corrimony: hip cruck; cruck-base and mortice hole; collar-joint and bracing peg.