Scottish Studies

Volume 19 : 1975

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

19

1975

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
ABERDEEN

Scottish Studies

VOLUME 19

Contributors to this Volume

R. A. DODGSHON BA, PHD
Lecturer, Department of Geography, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

M. L. PARRY BA, MSC, PHD
Lecturer, Department of Geography, University of Birmingham

DAVID STEVENSON MA
Lecturer, Department of History, King's College, University of Aberdeen

JAMES M. LINDSAY MA, PHD
Lecturer, Department of Geography, Polytechnic of North London

IAN D. WHYTE MA, PHD
Lecturer, Department of Geography, University of Glasgow

HANS SPEITEL PHD
Lecturer, Linguistic Survey of Scotland, University of Edinburgh

HERSCHEL GOWER MA, PHD
Professor of English, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, USA

R. D. CANNON BA, DPHIL
Lecturer, School of Chemical Sciences, University of East Anglia, Norwich

PETER COOKE MA
Senior Lecturer, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

MARGARET A. MACKAY BA, PHD
Research Fellow, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

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

DAVID MURISON MA
Editor, Scottish National Dictionary, Edinburgh

Scandinavian 'Solskifte' and the Sunwise Division of Land in Eastern Scotland

R. A. DODGSHON

Solskifte, or 'sun-division', was a method of sharing land within a subdivided or strip-field system found in parts of mediæval Scandinavia. The practice acquired the description of *solskifte* (literally 'sun-shift') from the fact that the division always began with those strips which lay to the east and south of each furlong, and with those furlongs which lay to the east and south of the village. It then worked westwards and northwards across each furlong, and across the 'open' fields of the village as a whole, in a direction which broadly followed the movement of the sun across the sky. At the same time, the allocation of strips, or 'selions', to the various landholders always took place in a strict order. If a person had his selions fixed in the east or south of each sequence of allocation then he was said to have his land 'towards the sun'. If they were fixed in the west or north, then he was said to have his land 'towards the shade'. Although recent work has tended to qualify the relationship (Göransson 1971), the sequence in which selions were allocated reflected the order in which the steadings of the village were arranged. Indeed, the steadings and their associated tofts (enclosures) were often re-organised on a more systematic plan as part of the division process. Where this occurred, not only did the order in which the steadings and tofts were occupied determine the order in which the selions were doled out, but the size of toft held by each person bore some relationship to the size of his holding in the village as a whole, whilst the width of his toft bore a relationship to the width of his selions. Thus the entire village, its steadings, tofts and arable fields took on a precise, regular appearance—with the toft being, in every sense, 'the mother of the acre'. Such villages are, in fact, sometimes called 'regular' villages.

Since *solskifte* was widely practised in central Sweden from the end of the thirteenth to the eighteenth century (Hannerberg 1959 : 245–59), much of our detailed understanding of its nature is based on Swedish examples. However, it was not confined to Sweden. Examples of its use have been found in Finland (where it was introduced from Sweden in the fourteenth century), and also in Denmark where its use was somewhat earlier. Moreover, following on the pioneer work of the American sociologist G. C. Homans (1941 : 83–106), the Swedish geographer Sölve Göransson has argued for the widespread use of a form of sun-division in central and eastern England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Göransson 1961 : 80–104). While earlier opinion

favoured a Scandinavian origin for English sun-division, and saw it as a by-product of the Danish settlements, Göransson has gone so far as to suggest that the practice may have originated in pre-Conquest England, and is in any case not confined to Danish areas.

As yet, no one has commented on the possible existence of 'sun-division' of lands in Scotland. To some extent, this is surprising for, during a survey of published sixteenth- and seventeenth-century land charters, the writer came across numerous references which suggest that something akin to it may have existed in parts of eastern Scotland. Typical of those found is the reference, in a charter of 1595, to '*solarem dimediatatem suarum terrarum et ville Ardowny, vic. Forfar*' (Thomson 1890 : 81); and another, in an Aberdeenshire charter of 1616, to '*totam et integram dimidietatem umbralis dimidietatis dictarum terrarum de Auchterarne*' (Huntly 1894 : 241). In case there were any doubt as to the literal meaning of the terms *solarem* and *umbralem* in such contexts, other charters are more explicit. One of 1598 relating to lands in Angus, for instance, referred to the '*dimidietatem solarem* lie sonnie halff *de Mylntoun de Couen*' (Thomson 1888 : 496), whilst another dated 1534 referred to the '*binas partes umbrales* (the schaddow tua-part) . . . *ville de Jakkistoun* . . . *Aberdene*' (Paul and Thomson 1883 : 306). Of particular interest is a charter of 1631 conveying the 'shadow half of the east third part of the toun and lands of Lytill Bammf [in eastern Perthshire], with the shadow half of the houses and pertinents there to belonging' (Ramsay 1915 : 226).

If one relies solely on the restricted evidence provided by land charters, then the meaning of *solarem* and *umbralem* in terms of farm layout would appear to pose a problem. Two interpretations are possible. The obvious interpretation is that the terms refer to a division of land into north- and south-facing sides, as the *Scottish National Dictionary* in fact suggests (*SND*: VIII. 176; IX. 128–9). Strictly this would still be a kind of sun-division, but not in the same sense as a *solskifte* or its English equivalent. Alternatively, as in a *solskifte*, they might refer to a division of land on the basis of the sun's movement across the sky. The evidence compiled so far gives some support to the latter interpretation for the following reasons. First, although no attempt has been made to visit and inspect all sites systematically, it is clear that the situation of a number of farms for which references are available make it unlikely that one is dealing with a straightforward division into north- and south-facing sides. Two farms near Brechin, for instance, Balrowny (Anderson 1899 : 206) and Petforkie (Thomson 1888 : 695), are both recorded as divided into sunny and shadow halves during the sixteenth century. Yet the contoured Ordnance survey shows that both farms occupy gentle, south-facing slopes with no discernible topographic variation (Balrowny, national grid NO 570643; Petforkie, NO 607611). Secondly, the phrasing of some charters by itself implies something more complex. For example, a charter of 1598 conveyed the '*tertiam partem* (*viz. umbralem binam partem solaris dimedietatis*) *ville et terrarum de Tulligrig* . . . *Abirdene*' (Thomson 1890 : 235); and a reference, dated 1619, to 'One oxgait of the sunny plough [*i.e.* ploughland] of the shadow half' of Pencoak, occurs in the diet books of the

Aberdeenshire sheriff court (Littlejohn 1906 : 77). Even more suggestive of complexity are those charters which link sunny and shadow shares to a runrig layout. Thus, a charter of 1586 referring to land in Kethik Barony, Angus, concluded with the words '*dictarum terrarum &c. dimedietatem per sortem et divisionem, incipiendo ad solem, per lie rinrig*' (Thomson 1888 : 349). A charter of 1595, moreover confirmed one Patrick Langland's possession of

> '*quarteriam suam terrarum de Collace cum loco manerie* (*per quondam Davidem L. patrem dicti. Jo. et ejus tenentes occupat.*), *quarteriam de Lytil Buttergask* (*per dictum Joannem occupat.*), *vic. Perth; quarteriam terrarum de Brydingstoun* (*per Alex. Clark et Jo. Nicol occupat.*), *vic. Forfar; omnes dict. quarterias existentes notificatas ac per se jacentes tanquam secundam* (*aut umbralem*) *quarteriam a solis quarteria per lie rinrig*' (Thomson 1890: 68–9).

Thirdly, the phrasing of most other charter references is little different from that of Swedish and English examples which have been accepted as denoting a sun-division. English charters, for instance, refer to land as being *versus solem, ad solem, ex parte solis, proximus soli, propinquius soli, propinquior soli, versus umbram, ad umbram, ex parte umbrali* and *propinquior umbre* (Göransson 1961 : 83). To the writer's knowledge, no English charter has yet been found which refers unambiguously to the 'sunny' or 'shadow' parts of the *village*. In this sense, the evidence for eastern Scotland seems more explicit than that for England. Certainly, one does not have to go to the lengths to which Homans and Göransson went in order to establish that such phrases as those quoted here meant the sunny and shadow portions of a village field-system. Fourthly, in the few Scottish cases where *solarem* and *umbralem* shares are linked to a point of the compass, the former is associated with the east and the latter with the west. Examples found include 'the lands and barony of Balbedie comprehending the sunny or eastern side of the said toun and lands' (Stevenson 1914 : 154): '*solarem sive orientalem dimidiatem occidentales quarte partis terrarum et ville de Kinclune*' (Thomson 1890 : 286); and 'the west third part of the west or shadow half of the lands and manor-place of Crottie . . . in the regality of Dunfermling' (Ramsay 1915 : 138). Needless to say, this is the sort of relationship which would exist after a sun-division has been made, but is less likely to occur when dealing with a division of farms into north- and south-facing sides.

Any remaining doubt over the meaning of the terms *solarem* and *umbralem* could of course be dispelled if early estate-plans were available showing that shares described as such were intermixed by way of runrig. Unfortunately, although the terms 'sunny' and 'shadow' can be found describing faulds or shots (see, for instance, RHP 2256. 5199/7 and 11) none of the plans so far inspected show them being used to describe a land-holder's runrig share. However, given the scarcity of plans depicting a runrig layout, and given that there is really no reason why a sub-divided field system laid out by means of a sun-division should necessarily preserve this as an on-going fact in its terminology of particular shares, this deficiency cannot be regarded as being in any way significant.

Lastly, what might be regarded as conclusive support for the practice of sun-division

in Scotland is provided by two instances which take us behind the bald allusions to sunny and shadow portions, and enable us to glimpse the actual methods of land division in action. The first relates to a dispute between Melrose Abbey and the Lord of Haliburton over land in Hassington (Berwickshire), which was thus resolved in 1428:

> the said Abbote & the said lorde of Haliburton tuke twa kavallis* & brocht me thaim & I [the Sheriff] kest thaim, to the tane to the sonne [sun], the tothir the schadow & thus it was departit [divided]. (Lib. Melros 1837 : 2.521).

The record expressly states that the disputed ground—the 'two-ploughland' of the West Mains of Hassington—was divided 'ryndale', turn about in four-rig lots, between the parties concerned.

A fuller description of the method appears in Sir Thomas Craig's *Jus Feudale*, completed in 1603, though not printed until 1655. This passage, here translated from the original Latin, refers to the procedure followed during the 'kenning' of a widow's terce'. The terce was simply her right to the life-rent of a third of her deceased husband's estate, the 'kenning' being the process by which it was divided out, or converted to known property:

> And so, having received the verdict of the inquest, the Sheriff casts the lots together into an urn, or used some other method of drawing lots, whether the sunny third or the shadowed third shall be made the wife's portion: because there is no other purpose in the recognition [*cognitione* = 'kenning'] of this third than whether they should begin from the east, which is called the sun side, or from the west, in thus designating this third or terce; and as the lot turns out, they will begin from the sunny part, that is with the rising sun, or from the shady part and the setting sun, and will number off the rigs [*iugera*], the first and second to the owner and the third to the widow, in such a way that out of the whole extent of the land [*agrorum*], every third rig of land [*agri jugerum*] (two having been set aside for the owner) may be left for the widow. And this is the meaning of terce (as it is usually called), or the kenning [*cognitio*] of the widow and the entry to her third share (Craig 1732 : 425).

This passage surely removes any remaining doubt over the practice of a form of sun-division in Scotland. As a piece of evidence though, its importance goes beyond the immediate bounds of Scotland. As far as I am aware, it is the most explicit description yet available for the enactment of a sun-division in Britain, and compares favourably in its detail even with Scandinavian descriptions of *solskifte*.

By its nature, a sun-division had the effect of creating a just and orderly layout of landholding. Indeed, most writers seem agreed that this was the main reason for its use. Where they tend to disagree is over the question why a division was necessary in the first place. In Sweden, a number of possible explanations have been put forward: these range from a reorganisation of landholding designed to facilitate the imposition and collection of a land-tax, to a re-organisation brought about by the Church to enable

**Kavel*: a piece of wood used in casting lots.

it to maintain closer control over its property. Considered in the context of Scotland, the question is a fairly easy one to answer since a widespread and recurrent need to divide land can be found in the nature of early Scottish landholding. As the charter evidence shows, many farms or townships in mediæval and early modern Scotland were held by more than one person, each of whom held a share rather than a specifically defined part of the farm. All the references to *solarem* (sunny) or *umbralem* (shadow) found by the writer involved the holding of farms on a fractional basis. This meant that before a person could begin farming, the various shares of the farm had to be divided out into actual holdings on the ground (Dodgshon 1975 : 27–8; Habbakuk Bisset 1920 : 297–8). Ample opportunity, therefore, existed for the development of a formal procedure, such as sun-division, for dividing land.

To some extent, though, this conflicts with existing opinion on early Scottish landholding, for the holding of farms by more than one person is traditionally associated with a so-called runrig layout or division. Two points need to be borne in mind. No matter how one chooses to define runrig, one has to acknowledge that the manner or procedure by which it was laid out has always been a blind spot in our understanding. Moreover, the layout produced by a sun-division was in many respects similar to that produced by a so-called 'runrig division', each involving the systematic scattering and intermixture of property throughout the farm or township. This is not to imply that all examples of runrig were laid out using a form of sun-division, but merely to suggest that the two were sufficiently compatible for a sun-division to have been one of the ways by which runrig was laid out. Those references to *solarem* and *umbralem* which are linked directly to a runrig layout would appear to endorse this proposed relationship.

Altogether, the writer has located 139 references to *solarem* (sunny) or *umbralem* (shadow) farm shares, most of which relate to land in the eastern counties of Perthshire, Angus, Fife, Kincardineshire, Aberdeenshire and Banffshire (Table 1 and Fig. 1).

TABLE 1

Distribution of references to 'solarem' (sunny) and 'umbralem' (shadow) farm shares[1]

Aberdeenshire	50	Stirlingshire	2
Angus	39	Inverness-shire	1
Perthshire	22	Caithness	1
Fife	13	Renfrewshire	1
Kincardineshire	5	Kirkudbrightshire	1
Banffshire	3	Berwickshire	1

Although this concentration in certain eastern counties must have some meaning, the assumption that the type of sun-division which these references betray was only practised in this area may be misleading. Alongside *solarem* and *umbralem* shares, one finds numerous and much more widespread references to farms which have been arranged or divided into 'east 'and 'west' parts. On the one hand, the terms 'east' and

'west' (like *solarem* and *umbralem*) are used to qualify the shares of a particular farm, *i.e.* 'eister half . . . of Westir Foulis' (Robertson 1862: IV. 360); '*tercias partes orientales terrarum nostrarum Balchery*' (*op cit.*: 462); 'easter half of roume and lands called

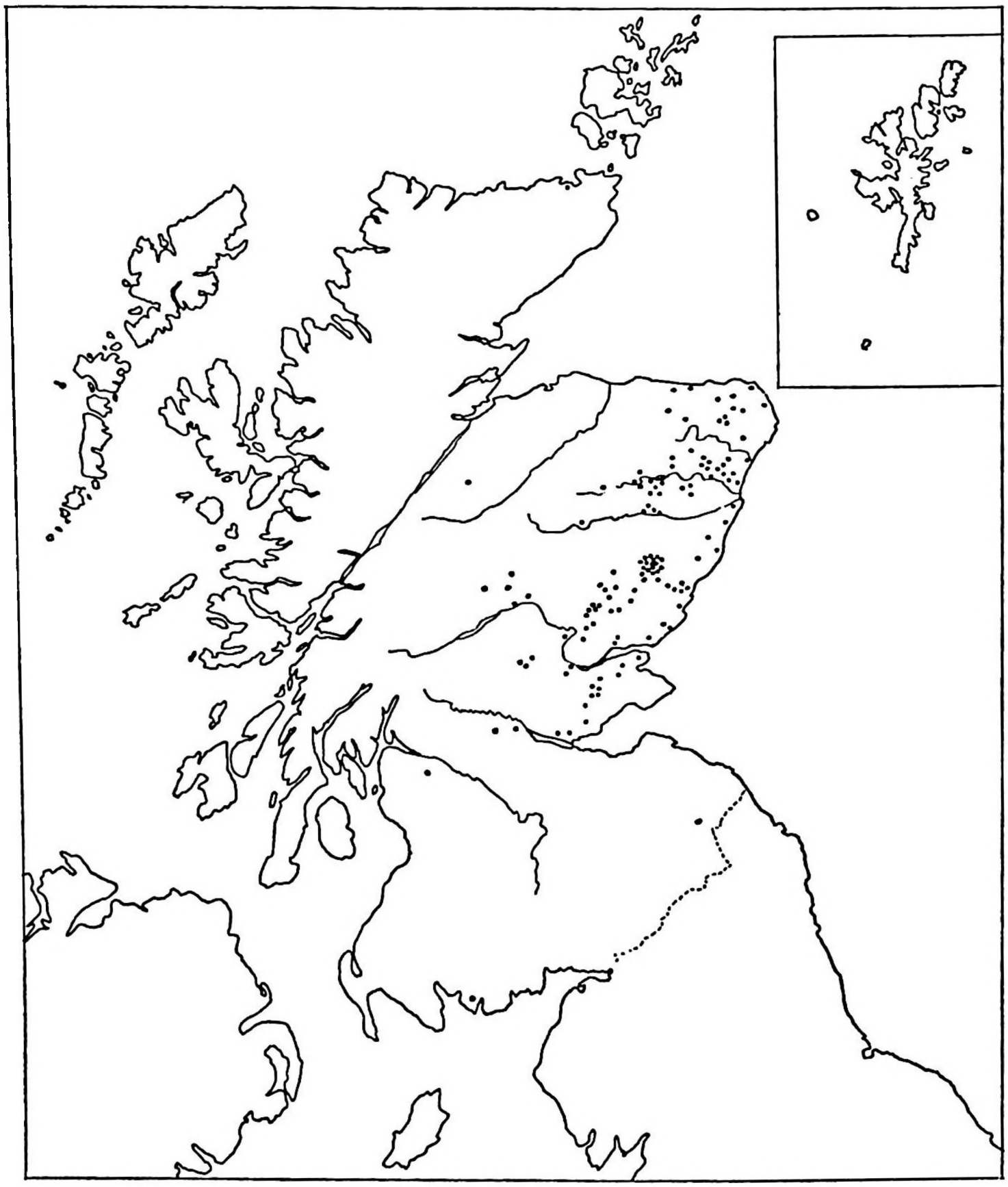


FIG. 1 Distribution in Scotland of references to *solarem* (sunny) and *umbralem* (shadow) farm shares.[1]

Pitconmark' (S.R.O. GD 26 Section 5 No. 58); and the 'wester davach lands of Lothbeg' (S.R.O. Catalogue of Dunrobin Muniments : 174). On the other hand, they are used to qualify the names of the farms themselves, *i.e.* Eister Allancoch and Westir Allancoch, Eister Mecraw and Westir Mecraw. In this latter form, their use as a prefix to farm names makes it possible to arrive at an estimate of their numerical importance by using the indexes compiled for early charter collections. A simple count, using the location index of the *Register of the Great Seal*, 1620–1633 (Thomson 1884), shows that 287 farm- or place-names incorporated the element 'East' ('Eist,' 'Eister', 'Eistir', 'Easter', '*Orientales*'), whilst 316 incorporated 'West' ('Wast', 'Wester', 'Westir', 'Wast', 'Wastir', 'Vestir', '*Occidentalis*'). For comparison only 38 incorporated 'South' ('Sowth', 'Souther', 'Southen', 'Suther', '*Australi*'), and only 35 'North' ('Norther', 'Northen', '*Boreales*'). Clearly, not only are farm or place-names prefixed by 'East' and 'West' fairly common but, at the same time, there appears to be a curious imbalance when the frequency of their use is compared with that of their natural counterparts, 'North' and 'South'.

This imbalance may be explained by linking the more frequent use of the terms 'East' and 'West' to the practice of sun-division. Where 'East' and 'West' were used to qualify the shares of a single farm, it is probable that they represent *solarem* and *umbralem* shares in a different terminological guise. After all, Craig's *Jus Feudale* and several of the charter references make it clear that the terms *solarem/umbralem* and 'east'/'west' were, in effect, synonymous. In the case of farm groups or pairs which used 'East' and 'West' as prefixes to their names, the relationship is probably more indirect because, unlike *solarem* and *umbralem* shares, such farms were not apparently sub-divided and intermixed with each other. Internally, they may each have been held by their tenants in runrig but, relative to each other, they were separate or discrete. It follows that, if such farms were in any way connected with the practice of sun-division, one must assume that a division had taken place converting them from what had previously been intermixed shares into separate, consolidated holdings. A range of evidence, both circumstantial and direct, can be used to strengthen this assumption.

First, it cannot be without some significance for the problem that some farms known to comprise *solarem* and *umbralem* shares in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, later appear divided out into East and West or East, Mid and West holdings. Thus, the farm of Dowald in Perthshire was held in the form of *solarem* and *umbralem* shares during the early seventeenth century (Thomson 1884 : 150). By the mid-eighteenth century, it was organised into three separate holdings called East, Mid and West Dowald. A similar fate befell the farms of Kinclune and Ballintor in Angus. Both provide sixteenth- or seventeenth-century references to *solarem* and *umbralem* shares (Thomson 1890 : 286; Thomson 1886 : 249). Today, the former is divided into Kinclune and East Kinclune, the latter into Ballintor and Westerton.

A second line of approach to the problem can be made by looking at the physical layout of these farms as shown by early estate-plans. In many cases, they have all the

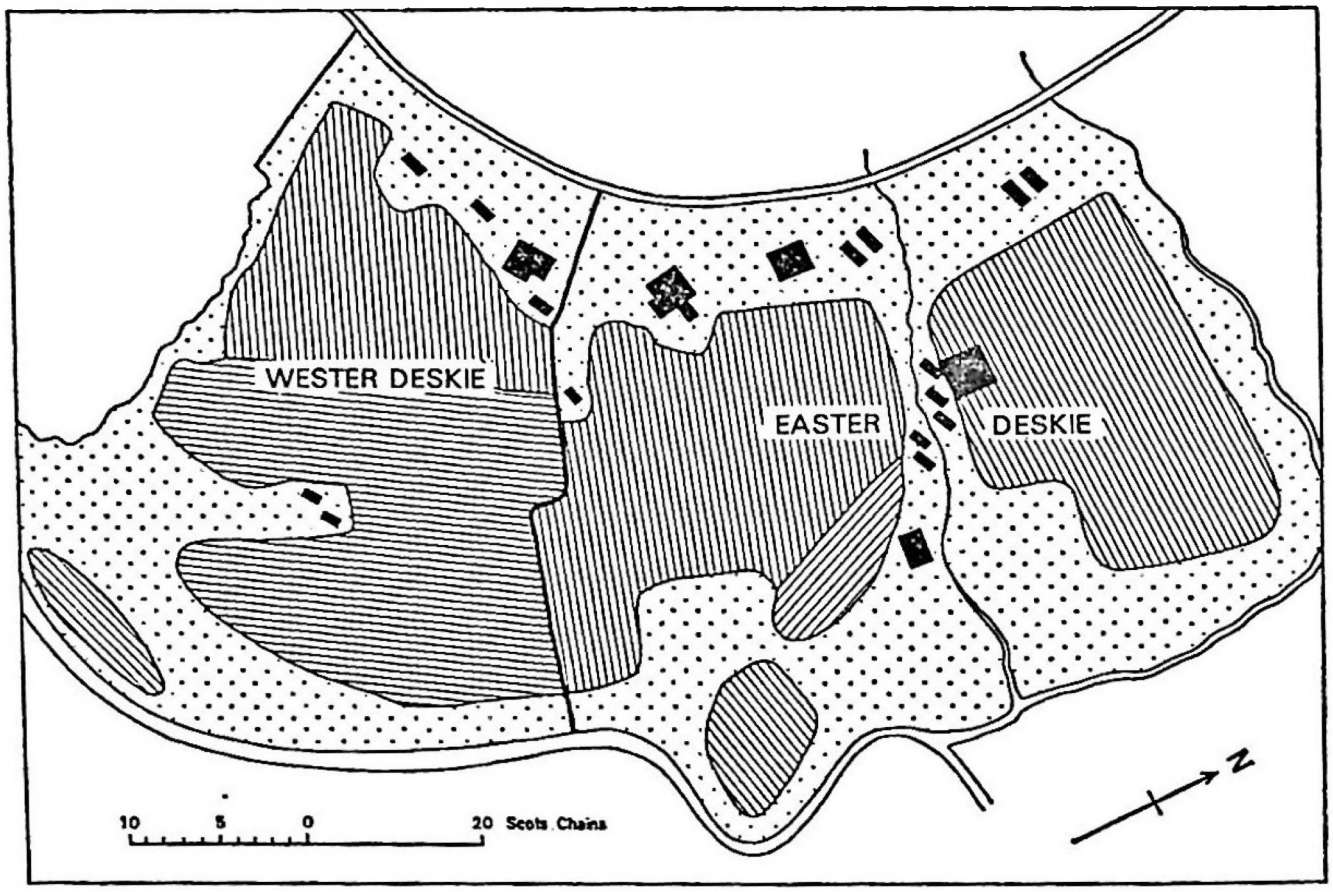


FIG. 2 Wester Deskie and Easter Deskie 1774 (Banffshire), based on RHP 1801. Both Wester and Easter Deskie were reported as held by their respective tenants in runrig.
(Striped area = arable rigs; dotted area = common grazings.)

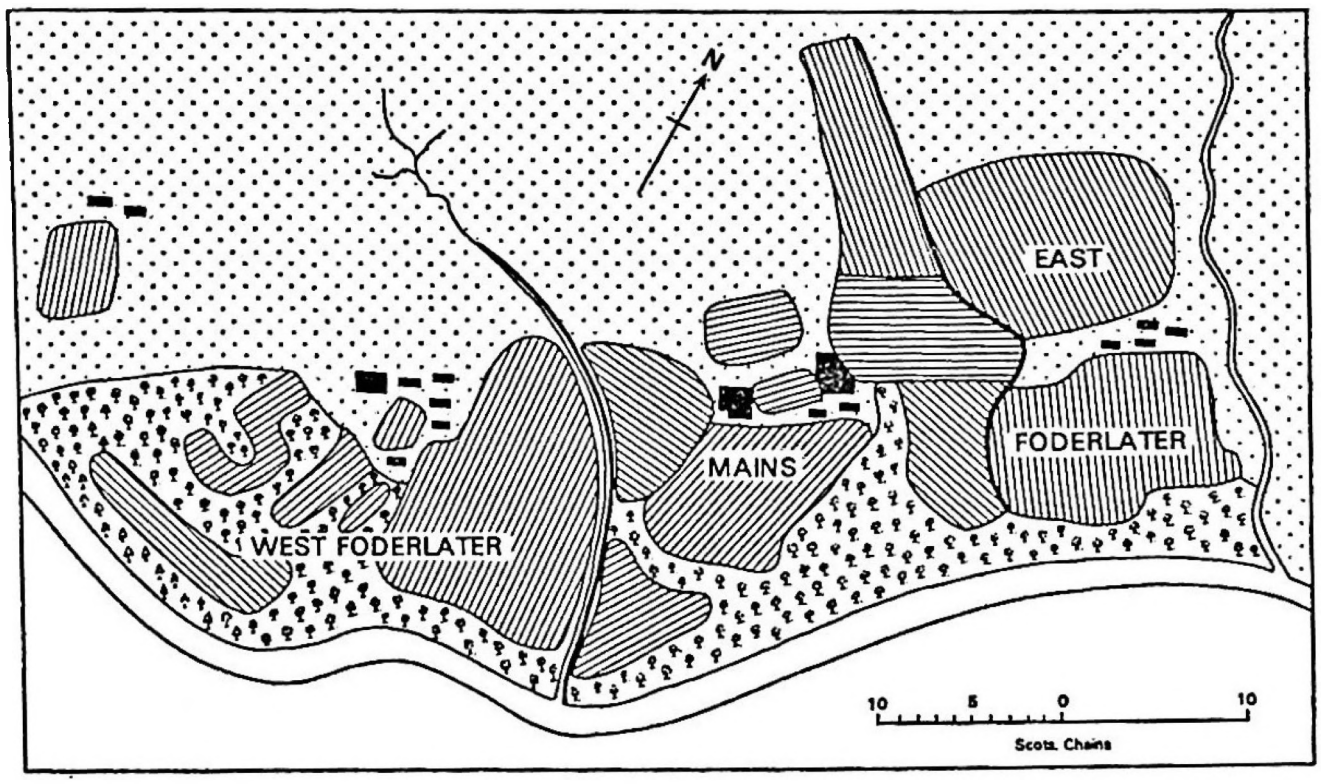


FIG. 3 West Foderlater, Mains and East Foderlater 1762 (Banffshire), based on RHP 2488/3. All three farms, West, Mains and East, were reported as held by their respective tenants in runrig.

appearances of once-whole units which have been split into smaller units (Figs. 2, 3, 4). In some cases, closer inspection of their layout reveals other points of interest. It is not uncommon, for instance, to find so-called 'East' and 'West' farms that are actually

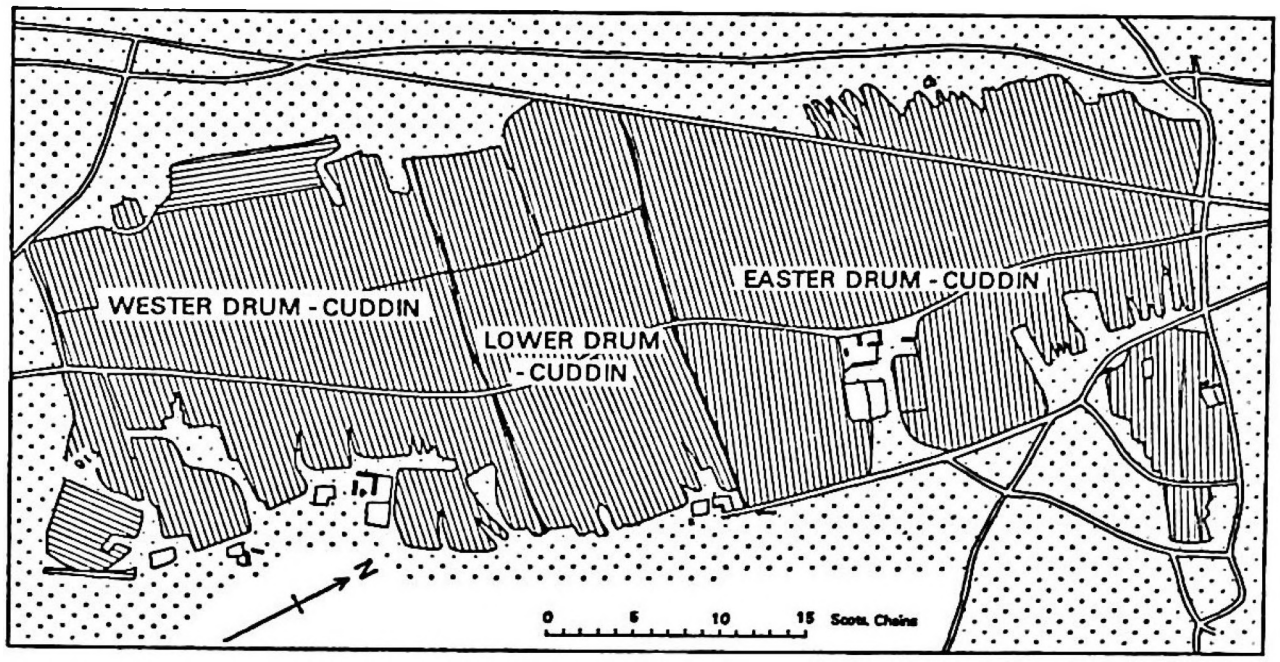


FIG. 4 Wester Drum-Cuddin, Lower Drum-Cuddin and Easter Drum-Cuddin 1796 (Ross and Cromarty), based on RHP 1469.

disposed north and south of each other (see Figs. 3 and 4). At first sight, such a simple discrepancy appears puzzling. It can easily be rationalised, however, if the terms 'East' and 'West' are seen as referring not to the absolute position of farms after their division but to their relative position within an earlier, intermixed layout.

The figures quoted for farm- and place-names prefixed by the terms 'East' and 'West' suggest that such farms were already widespread before the eighteenth century. To some extent, this early appearance of 'split' farms conflicts with the widely-held view that few radical changes occurred in the layout of Scottish farms prior to the improver's movement of the mid-eighteenth century. There can be little doubt that the splitting of farms was in progress long before 1700, and in a small number of cases it can be evidenced directly. For instance, Dr I. F. Grant has shown that a number of changes were taking place in the estate organisation of Coupar Abbey as early as the fifteenth century. The farm of Tullyfergus, some 6-7 miles north of the Abbey itself, after being held in a variety of quarter- and eighth-part shares, was divided in 1474 into two separate parts: the 'east half was apportioned into thirds, the west half into quarters' (Grant 1930 : 260). Similarly, the Grange of Kethyk, a farm lying a few miles south of the Abbey, was required by a lease of 1473 to be 'divided into three or four towns'. Accordingly, 'by 1474, three new holdings appear: Kemphill (the east quarter of the old Kethyk) with seven tenants; Cothill, with four old tenants; and Chapeltown of Kethyk, with six tenants—all old ones. The west town of Kethyk continued to be known under the old name' (Grant 1930 : 261). Elsewhere, a very detailed example of

an early division into East and West farms is provided by evidence for the farm of Easter Moniack in Inverness-shire. Prior to the early seventeenth century, Easter Moniack was held in two 'equall halfs' by two proprietors. To prevent disputes, the two proprietors agreed to have their respective halves disentangled and the farm 'divided into Two separate halfs, by a proper march'. A contract was duly drawn up in 1608 and early in 1609 there followed an *Instrument of Division* whereby one of the portioners, 'John Fraser, in virtue of the Powers given him, Divides in the personal presence of Alexander Fraser the other portioner, the whole Barony, in two equal Halfs, and fixes the Line of March between these distinct Halfs, which are thereby called the *Easter* and *Wester* half, of the Town & Land of Easter Moniack, dated 13th and 14th January 1609' (Mackenzie 1796).

None of these farms—Tullyfergus, Grange of Kethyk or Easter Moniack—yields conclusive proof of its constituent shares having been laid out by means of sun-division prior to its division into separate holdings. All one can say is that adjacent farms to the north of Tullyfergus were at least held in the form of *solarem* and *umbralem* shares during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Ramsay 1915 : 147, 226 and 238); that other farms within the barony of Kethyk are documented as using sun-division during the seventeenth century (Thomson 1888 : 286 and 349); and that, as regards Easter Moniack, there is evidence to show that when, in 1613, one of the portioners gave his son a third of his newly divided holding, he did so by granting to him 'the third part, being the Wester third rigg, of the Easter Half, Town and Lands of Easter Moniack, with the third part of all and sundry the pertinents thereof'—and one can only assume that the son was to have the rig that lay to the west in any one sequence of three rigs. Lack of explicit mention of *solarem* or *umbralem*, when shares were being conveyed, does not exclude the possibility that a sun-division was employed to divide out such shares into known property. Sun-division was only a method of division, and would not need to be specified in a person's land-title. Only in the designation of a widow's terce can one expect terms like *solarem* or *umbralem* to be inserted into the description of shares as a matter of course. In most other instances where land was held in the form of shares, the question of who held the sunny, shadow or mid portions was probably a matter decided between shareholders, not between the shareholder and the grantee.

If farms bearing the terms 'East' and 'West' are connected, albeit indirectly, with the practice of sun-division, then the latter must have been much more widespread than references to *solarem* and *umbralem* would suggest. Although this would extend the scope of the problem considerably, it may still understate its full extent, because—in addition to *solarem*/*umbralem* and east/west farm shares—one also finds the elements 'nether'/'over' and 'fore/'back' being used, 'nether' and 'over' being especially common. They can be found qualifying the shares of a single farm (Robertson 1862 : 2.238; Thomson 1888 : 602 and 610), or the names of the farms themselves (*e.g.* Fig. 5). An indication of how important they were in this latter form can be deduced from the

location index of the *Register of the Great Seal*, 1620–1633. Altogether, 235 farm place-names were prefixed by 'Nether' ('Nethir', 'Nethur', 'Neither', 'Neather', 'Nedder', 'Neddir', 'Nather', 'Nathir', 'Nader' or '*Inferior*'), and 234 by 'Over' ('Ovir', 'Ower' or '*Superior*').

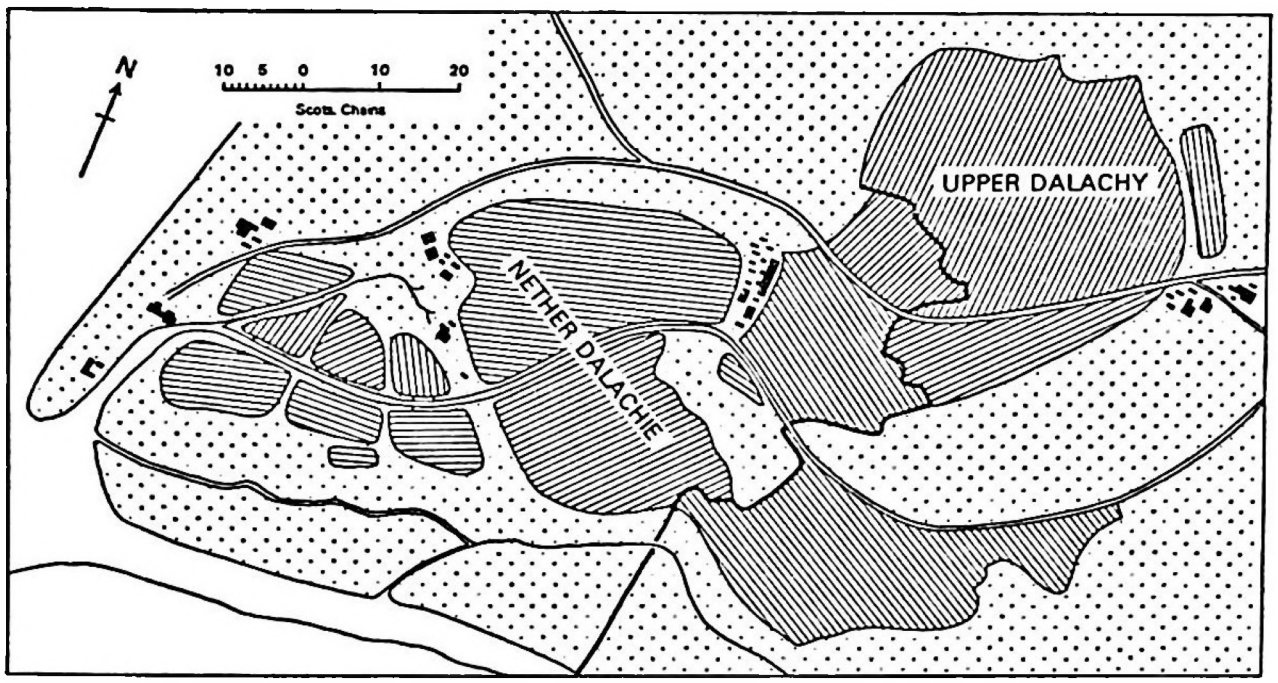


FIG. 5 Nether Dalachie and Upper Dalachy 1763 (Morayshire), based on RHP 2313/1. Both Nether and Upper Dalachy were reported as held by their respective tenants in runrig.

It is here tentatively suggested that, like the prefixes 'East' and 'West', the sheer frequency with which 'Nether' and 'Over' were used, together with the more limited use of 'Fore' and 'Back', may best be explained by linking them to the practice of sun-division as a regular means of dividing land. Although *solarem* and *umbralem* had the meaning of 'east' and 'west', this was not because they were part of a system based on the four cardinal points of the compass. A sun-division fixed the relative position of each landholder's strips by a system based on the cardinal positions occupied by the sun during its movement across the sky. The complement to *solarem* and *umbralem*, therefore, was not north and south, but the situations arising when the sun was *over*head and when it was, presumably, in the *nether* regions: though 'nether' may have been used simply as the natural opposite to 'over'. For comparison, in Celtic mythology the mid position in any scheme of arrangement or division was often divided into two parts, or an upper and lower part (Rees 1961 : 202). Nothing links these various sets of terms closer to a sun-division of land than the fact that not only were they sometimes used in combination with each other to achieve more complex divisions (see Fig. 4) but, in certain situations, they appear to have an equivalence of meaning. This can be illustrated by the passage in Craig's *Jus Feudale* in the alternative translation by J. A. Clyde:

> the sheriff decides by lot drawn from an urn, or in some similar manner, whether the widow shall have her terce from the fore-lying or from the back-lying parts of the estate—which means no more than this that, in the one case, the appropriation of the particular lands will begin from the east end of the estate, while in the other case, it will begin from the west end thereof' (Craig 1934 : 876).

What was translated previously and in other texts (Erskine 1757) as 'sunny'/'east' and 'shadow'/'west' is here translated as 'fore'/'east' and 'back'/'west' (*cf.* Rees 1961 : 381–2). At the same time, *fore*land can also have the meaning of *upper* or *over* land (Barrow 1973 : 269–70), whilst *back*side can also mean *nether*side. However, it is possible that the order in which 'over' and 'nether' shares were allocated, and therefore their precise relationship with the terms 'fore'/'east' and 'back'/'west', was open to interpretation. In the only two references found which qualify 'over' and 'nether' shares, 'over' is linked to the west and 'nether' to the east. Thus, a Berwickshire charter of 1614 mentions the 'half lands of Stenhoup, called the over or wester half of the same' (HMC 1909 : 36); and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscripts in the Roxburgh estate collection can be found referring to 'easter or Nether Hyndhope' (see, for instance, Roxburgh MSS, Computation of the Rent of Easter Hyndhope Feb 1772; Minute and Conditions of Lease of Easter or Nether Hyndhope and Wester Kelsocleugh to Thomas Elliot 1855).

No matter how one defines sun-division, whether one restricts it to *solarem* and *umbralem* references, or whether one extends it to include references to 'east'/'west', 'over'/'nether' and 'fore'/'back', there can be no doubting the broader significance of this Scottish evidence. If the restricted view is taken, one is still left with a remarkably interesting pattern since the sunny and shadow shares of eastern Scotland define the first area unaffected by Scandinavian settlement for which such evidence has been forthcoming. Ostensibly this would seem to support Göransson's thesis of a non-Scandinavian origin for the practice of sun-division. If the practice in eastern Scotland were part of the pre-Norman, Anglican cultural bequest to the area, however, the lack of *solarem* and *umbralem* references in south-east Scotland would pose something of a problem. In fact their distribution might seem to have something of a Pictish bias. The whole matter requires more investigation than is possible here, and the problem would look different if 'East'/'West', 'Over'/'Nether', 'Fore'/'Back' proved to be part of it—for these prefixes are fairly common in western as well as eastern Scotland. Certainly, the Gaelic tradition of going *deiseal*, *i.e.* with the sun, is consistent with the basic principle of a sun-division and its emphasis on a 'sun-wise' approach. Sun-division may well have been one of several methods of dividing land amongst early Scottish cultures. Perhaps what we should be trying to explain is not the existence or non-existence of the practice in certain areas, but why some areas expressed the practice in terms of 'sunny' and 'shadow' shares whilst other areas chose less evocative terms.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The first draft of this paper used Erskine's description (1757) of the 'kenning' of a widow's 'terce' to illustrate the detailed mechanics of a sun-wise division. Subsequently, Mr Basil Megaw pointed out that this was a shortened version of the much fuller Latin description by Craig (*c.* 1603) of which Mr David Murison most kindly provided the translation. Mr Megaw also drew my attention to the Hassington reference of 1428 in *Liber Melros*.

NOTES

1 Sources for Table 1 and Fig. 1: Anderson 1899: 206, 222; S.N.D. 1971: VIII. 152, 176; 1972: IX. 128–9; HMC 1909: 199; Huntly 1894: 121, 171, 185, 241, 245; Littlejohn 1906: 76–7, 79; Paul and Thomson 1883: 7, 306; Ramsay 1915: 114, 136, 138–9, 149, 226, 238, 366; Robertson 1862: III. 33, 387, 419; IV. 37, 55, 141, 143, 308–9, 329, 443, 650, 782; S.R.O. GD 44/10, GD 1/398/34, GD 1/398/44, GD 446/35, GD 446/42; Stevenson 1914: 25, 98, 152–4, 213; Thomson 1884: 41; Thomson 1886: 4, 18, 45, 52, 54, 71, 80, 111, 124, 203, 216, 238, 249, 252, 258, 283, 333, 367, 381, 408; Thomson 1888: 237, 262–3, 286, 291, 349, 402, 429, 496, 503, 549–50, 695; Thomson 1890; 68, 81, 198, 235, 238, 276, 286, 288, 305, 307, 337, 341, 355, 384, 394, 404, 409, 412, 433, 440, 521.

REFERENCES

Manuscripts

S.R.O.

GD 26 Scottish Record Office. Leven and Melville Papers.

ROXBURGH MSS Roxburgh Estate Papers, Floors Castle, Kelso, Roxburghshire.

Printed Sources

ANDERSON, J. (ed.)

1899 *Calendar of the Laing Charters A.D. 854–1837*. Edinburgh.

BARROW, G. W. S.

1973 *The Kingdom of the Scots*. London.

CRAIG, SIR THOMAS

1732 *Jus Feudale*. (Completed 1603; first printed 1655). Edited by James Baillie. Edinburgh.

1934 *Jus Feudale*. Translated by J. A. Clyde. 2 vols. Edinburgh.

DODGSHON, R. A.

1973 'The Nature and Development of Infield-Outfield in Scotland.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 59: 1–23. London.

1975 'Towards an Understanding and Definition of Runrig: the Evidence for Roxburghshire and Berwickshire.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 64: 15–33. London.

ERSKINE, J.

1757 *The Principles of the Law of Scotland*. 2nd edn. Edinburgh.

GÖRANSSON, S.

1961 'Regular Open-Field Pattern in England and Scandinavian Solskifte.' *Geografiska Annaler* XLIII: 80–104. Stockholm.

1971 'Solskifte: A Misinterpreted Concept.' (Mimeographed abstract of lecture given at Queen's University, Belfast, July 1971).

GRANT, I. F.
1930 *The Social and Economic Development of Scotland Before 1603*. Edinburgh.

HABAKKUK BISSET
1920 *Rolment of Courtis*. Edited by Sir Philip J. Hamilton-Grierson for the Scottish Text Society. 3 vols. Edinburgh.

HMC
1909 Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (vol. v). London.

HANNERBERG, D.
1959 'Solskifte and Older Methods of Partitioning Arable Land in Central Sweden during the Middle Ages.' *Annales de L'Est* XXI: 245–59. Nancy.

HOMANS, G. C.
1941 *English Villagers in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.

HUNTLY, CHARLES, XI MARQUIS OF (ed.)
1894 *The Records of Aboyne*. Aberdeen.

LIB. MELROS
1637 *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*. 2 vols. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.

LITTLEJOHN, D.
1906 *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire* (vol. II 1598–1649). Aberdeen.

MACKENZIE, A.
1796 *Inventory of the Title Deeds of the Estate of Easter Moniack Belonging to Edward Satchwell Fraser Esq of Realick*. Bound xeroxed copy in Scottish Record Office (printed books department).

PAUL, J. B. and THOMSON, J. M. (edd.)
1883 *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland 1513–1546*. Edinburgh.

RAMSAY, J. H. (ed.)
1915 *Banmf Charters A.D. 1232–1703*. Oxford.

REES, A. and B.
1961 *Celtic Heritage*. London.

ROBERTS, B. K.
1973 'Village Plans in Country Durham: a Preliminary Statement.' *Medieval Archaeology* 16: 33–56. London.

ROBERTSON, J.
1862 *Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*. 4 vols. Aberdeen.

SND
1931–75 *The Scottish National Dictionary*, edd.W. Grant and D. Murison. 12 vols. Edinburgh.

STEVENSON, J. H. (ed.)
1914 *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland 1660–1668*. Edinburgh.

THOMSON, J. M. (ed.)
1884 *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland 1620–1633*. Edinburgh.
1886 *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland 1546–1580*. Edinburgh.
1888 *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland 1580–1593*. Edinburgh.
1890 *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland 1593–1608*. Edinburgh.

County Maps as Historical Sources

A Sequence of Surveys in South-East Scotland

M. L. PARRY

Chronological sequences of county maps, selected for comprehensiveness, locational accuracy and originality, can provide a means of mapping and dating landscape changes. A sequence of maps of south-east Scotland is evaluated here and its application exemplified by reference to the mapping of deserted settlement sites. The synoptic distribution pattern and its approximate dating can be reconstructed by means of the maps, and generalisation from later studies of a few well-documented sites becomes less hazardous.

Developments in the rural economy of upland Scotland before the nineteenth century are often poorly documented. Thus the historian must sometimes rely on other evidence, for example landscape change, for the study of underlying economic and social change. Such evidence is more frequently extant because physical features of the landscape were more readily mapped in the past and may still be found on surviving estate-surveys and county maps. The latter have a particular advantage over other documents for they enable study of change both in time and in place, and thus permit the observation not only of the chronology of change but also of its spatial pattern. This promises a clearer understanding of its process and its explanation. The aim of this paper is to illustrate the value of county maps for synoptic studies of landscape features.

The questions raised by such studies tend to focus, first, on the extent and distribution of the feature on the landscape, whether it is a form of settlement, of land use or of communication. Secondly, they focus on the date of this distribution pattern; and, finally, on its explanation. There is thus a need both for comprehensive mapping and comprehensive dating. Chronological sequences of county maps in which individual surveys are known to be comprehensive, accurate and original can satisfy this need. The maps enable large numbers of features to be plotted and approximately dated. They provide a synoptic framework of distribution and timing upon which studies of more detailed, but spatially limited, documents will point to particular dates and explanations. The synoptic framework of mapping and dating should make generalisation from a few case studies less hazardous.

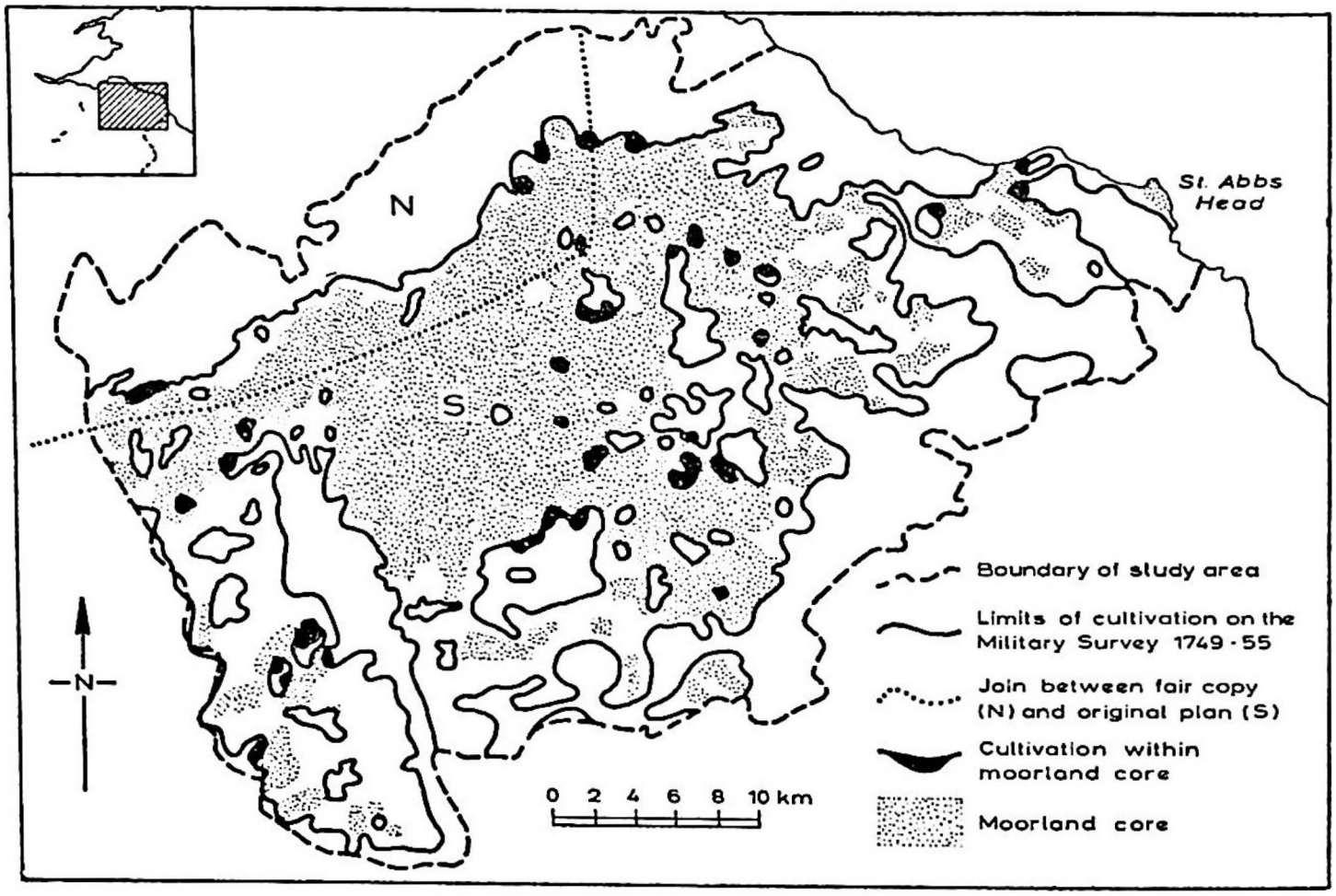


FIG. 1 Locational accuracy of the Military Survey.

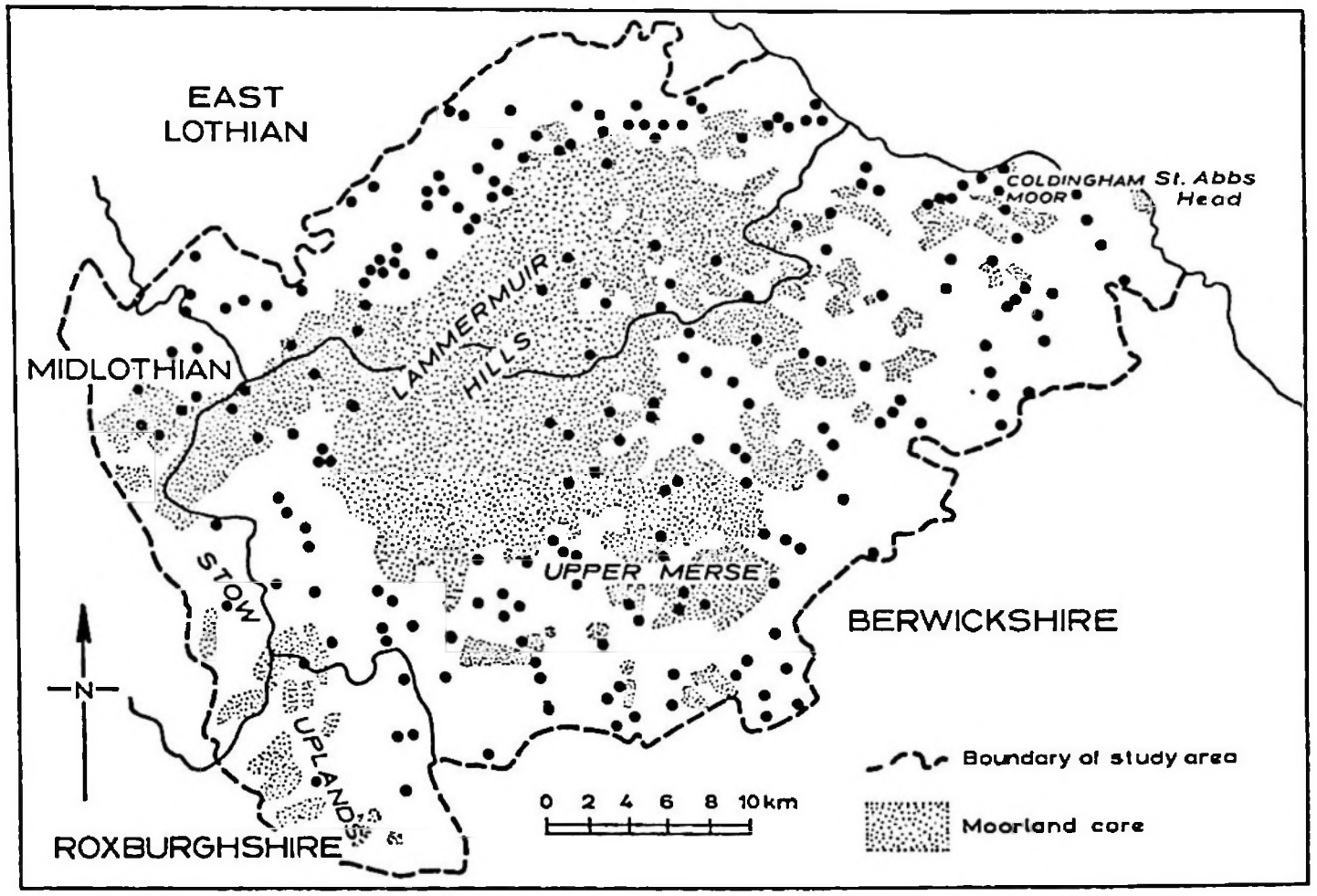


FIG. 2 Settlements abandoned *c.* 1596–1860.

Procedure

This paper outlines the construction of a sequence of county maps for the Lammermuir Hills and Stow Uplands which straddle the borders of four counties in south-east Scotland (Figures 1 and 2). The purpose of the sequence is to provide information on changes in the quantity and pattern of upland cultivation and settlement which occurred between about 1600 and 1860, the date of the first 'detail mapping' by the Ordnance Survey. Changes in the distribution of woodland, roads, enclosures, and other landscape features could, of course, also be studied usefully on such maps.

Each map is first evaluated to ascertain its completeness and locational accuracy and, since the maps will be compared amongst themselves to assess changes in quantity and distribution of settlement, it is necessary to select those which are representative of all stages of the period of study. The surveys are therefore dated and analysed in terms of their originality and the degree of plagiarism of earlier surveys which they may exhibit. This evaluation is based upon a comparison of map content rather than on a study of authorship and survey technique. Following the evaluation, a brief example is presented of the application of the map sequence to settlement studies.

The Early Map Coverage

Twenty-nine printed and three manuscript county maps at scales larger than 1 : 200,000 are extant for the Lammermuir Hills. These are listed in Table 1 (p. 18). Less detailed surveys of a larger scale and of the whole of Scotland, such as those of Dorret (1750), Ainslie (1789) and Arrowsmith (1807), are not included. The Military Survey of Scotland (1747–55) is the only national map of sufficient detail to warrant examination in this context.

Evaluation

The Military Survey of Scotland, 1747–55. In terms of landscape detail the Military Survey is the single most valuable record of eighteenth-century Scotland. The technique of the survey and the history of the maps themselves have been fully discussed (Skelton 1967: 7–11; RSGS 1973: 103–13). There remain, however, the questions of completeness and of locational accuracy.

The accuracy of the survey varies greatly. Most important, the original plan for the south of Scotland, of which no fair copy was made, may be less accurate and less comprehensive than the north, where major alterations, perhaps even involving re-survey, were made of the original plan (B.M. K.Top. XLVIII. 25–1a) for a fair copy (B.M. K.Top. XLVIII. 25–1b, c). Skelton (1967: 11) assumes that the original plan of the south and the fair plan of the north were designed as a single map since they fit together exactly. This fit, however, is achieved through a sharp increase in neatness toward the margin of the original plan. The suggestion is that it was originally designed only as a

TABLE I

County maps of the Lammermuir Hills and Stow Uplands

Those marked thus * are judged as original and accurate

Date of publication	*Approx. date of survey*	*Author/atlas*	*Engraver*	*Title*	*Approx. scale*
* 1610	1583–96	Pont, T.	Hondius, J.	A New Description of the Shyres of Lothian and Linlitquo	1 : 101,376
1631	1583–96	Pont, T.	Hondius, J.	The Shyres of Lothian and Linlitquo	1 : 101,376
1654	1583–96	Pont, T.	Jansson, J.	Provincae Lauden seu Lothien et Linlitquo	1 : 101,376
* MS	1636–48	Gordon, R.	MS	A Description of the Province of Merche (N.L.S. G.58)	1 : 147,480
1654	1636–48	*Atlas Novus*	Blaeu, J.	The Merce or Shirrefdome of Berwick	1 : 84,480
1654	1636–48	*Atlas Novus*	Blaeu, J.	Lauderdalia	1 : 50,688
1654	1583–96	*Atlas Novus*	Blaeu, J.	Lothian and Linlitquo	1 : 152,064
* MS	1682	Adair, J.	MS	East Lothian (N.L.S. A.10)	1 : 76,032
1736	1682	Adair, J.	Cooper, R.	Map of East Lothian	1 : 76,032
1744	1682	Elphinstone, J.	Smith, T.	Map of the Lothians	1 : 126,720
1745	1682	Millar, A.	Kitchin, T.	Complete and Exact Map of the Lothians	1 : 126,720
1745	1682	Adair, J.	Cooper, R.	The Lothians	1 : 50,688
* MS	1749–55	Board of Ordnance	MS	Military Survey of Scotland (B.M. K.Top. XLVIII. 25-lb,c, 38 sheets)	1 : 36,000
1763	1763	Laurie, J.	Baillie, A.	Map of the County of Midlothian	1 : 33,347
* 1770	1770	Stobie, M.	Bayly, J.	Roxburghshire	1 : 63,360
* 1771	1768–70	Armstrong, A. & M. J.	Bell, A.	County of Berwick	1 : 63,360
* 1773	1770–73	Armstrong, A. & M. J.	Kitchin, T.	Map of the Three Lothians	1 : 63,360
1772	1768–70	Armstrong, A. & M. J.	Gavin, H.	Berwickshire	1 : 126,720

TABLE I—*contd.*

Date of publication	*Approx. date of survey*	*Author/atlas*	*Engraver*	*Title*	*Approx. scale*
* 1797	1797	Blackadder, J.	Ainslie, J.	Berwickshire	1 : 63,360
* 1801	1801	Forrest, W.	Kirkwood, J.	Haddingtonshire	1 : 31,680
* 1816	1804–10	Knox, J.	Neele, S. J.	Shire of Edinburgh	1 : 42,240
1821	1797	Thomson's *Atlas*	Neele, S. J.	Berwickshire	1 : 92,160
1821–2	1804–10	Thomson's *Atlas*	Neele, S. J.	Edinburghshire	1 : 42,240
1822	1770	Thomson's *Atlas*	Hewitt, N. R.	Roxburghshire	1 : 101,376
1822	1799	Thomson's *Atlas*	Neele, S. J.	Haddington	1 : 67,584
* 1825	1824	Sharp, T., Greenwood, C. & Fowler, W.	Dower, J.	County of Haddington	1 : 63,360
* 1826	1825	Sharp, T., Greenwood, C. & Fowler, W.	Dower, J.	County of Berwick	1 : 63,360
* 1828	1827–28	Sharp, T., Greenwood, C. & Fowler, W.	Dower, J.	County of Edinburgh	1 : 63,360
* 1838	1838	Tennant, N.	Johnston, W.	County of Roxburgh	1 : 42,240
1842	1827–8	Johnston, W. & A. K.	Dower, J. & Johnston, W. & A. K.	Edinburgh–Midlothian	1 : 63,360
1845	1827–8	Fowler, W.	Johnston, W. & A. K.	County of Edinburgh	1 : 63,360
1845	1824	Fowler, W.	Johnston, W. & A. K.	Plan of the County of East Lothian	1 : 63,360

first draft but that circumstances forced a decision to adapt the draft so that it would stand as a final map. Indeed, there was a need to complete the survey swiftly for several engineers had already been recalled in 1755 to survey fortifications in southern England against a threatening French invasion (Roy 1785). The implication is that differences in accuracy between the north and south sheets may be significant. The junction between the sheets in the study area is therefore shown in Figure 1.

Comprehensiveness, however, is greater than might be expected. In all, 717 settlements are located in the study area, while 846 are recorded on the more detailed maps of the late eighteenth century. Of the difference (129), it is evident from other county maps and from estate documents that only thirty-five were in existence in about 1750 but were overlooked by Roy. The remaining ninety-four seem to have been established on newly-enclosed or reclaimed land toward the end of the century.

The accuracy, but not the comprehensiveness, of cultivation-mapping by the Military Survey can be checked by reference to the relict landscape. Field evidence of mid-eighteenth-century cultivation will, of course, have been obliterated where the cultivation limit has since advanced but, where the limit has retreated, evidence of early

cultivation ridges should exist in presently unimproved moorland. Figure 1 reveals that most of the 1750 cultivation limit now lies below the moorland edge. There are, however, twenty-eight locations, comprising 500 ha (1235 acres), at which cultivation-symbols on the Military Survey almost certainly correspond to areas of abandoned cultivation ridges mapped from aerial photographs.[1] At a further nine locations, comprising 105 ha (260 acres) the correspondence is less certain. Only two areas of tillage marked by the survey lie within the moorland core[2] of the Lammermuirs yet cannot be related to sites of former cultivation in the field.

Correspondence between the Military Survey and the field evidence suggests that, albeit in a limited number of cases, the Survey accurately located the distribution of early cultivation. It seems at least 600 ha (1480 acres), or about 1.5 per cent, of the moorland core of the Lammermuir Hills was cultivated in about 1750 but abandoned before 1860. A study of the content of the Military Survey thus suggests that it is a reasonably comprehensive record. But details of location and quantity may only be confidently accepted where these are confirmed by field evidence.

Pont, Gordon and Blaeu, c. 1583–1648. Since the work of Cash (1901, 1907) some attention has been given to the manuscript surveys which lie behind Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* of 1654 (RSGS 1936; Moir and Skelton 1968; Kinniburgh 1968; Megaw 1969; Stone 1968, 1970, 1971; RSGS 1973). Much of this has attempted to distinguish between the contribution of the surveys of Pont and those of Robert and James Gordon to the published maps. The conclusion is that the pioneer Pont surveys were executed between 1583 and 1601 (RSGS 1936), and probably before 1596 (Stone 1971). There is no indication that the later copies of 'Lothian and Linlitquo' were updated, but it seems that the Pont survey of Berwickshire, which does not survive, was probably supplemented with additional material by Robert and James Gordon over 1636–48 (Stone 1970, 1971). The Blaeu 'Merce' (1654) and 'Lauderdalia' (1654) are based on this Gordon manuscript. Thus the map record for East Lothian and Berwickshire may well refer to entirely separate periods. The absence of detailed earlier maps eliminates the possibility of plagiarism.

The completeness of these early surveys is difficult to assess without sufficient contemporary yardsticks, for there are no estate-plans extant for this period in the study area. The abstract layout of the maps gives an impression of a low level of comprehensiveness. Yet this is misleading, for an analysis of the maps reveals the close attention given to detail. A total of 405 towns, fermetouns, and steadings is located by Pont and Gordon in the study area, while 717 are exhibited by the later Military Survey of much larger scale. If, as analysis of other material suggests,[3] there was no substantial increase in the number of settlements in the intervening century, it seems that the Blaeu maps present about a 70 per cent coverage of then existing settlement. This conclusion is a qualification of Lebon's assertion that the Pont manuscripts are a faithful record of the seventeenth-century landscape (Lebon 1952).

The locational accuracy of the surveys is variable, with some large errors of distance. Yet all but six of the 405 settlements within the study area could be precisely located by association with place-names on later maps or by identification of the former settlement-site on aerial photographs and in the field. Given such corroboration of evidence, these early maps of Pont and Gordon's revision of Pont can be used with confidence in a sequence of landscape surveys.

John Adair, 1682. The 'Map of East Lothian' (1736) is an almost exact copy of a manuscript of 1682 (N.L.S., A.10). Some minor changes were made by the engraver, apparently for the benefit of neater production, for these included the omission of some settlements that continued to exist into the eighteenth century. Certainly none of the changes represents an up-dating of the original work.

Inglis (1918) has noted the precision with which Adair worked. The published maps of the survey by Pont would certainly have been available for reference but there is no indication that Adair borrowed from them. Indeed, he located a third more settlements than did the earlier cartographers for the same area. Three steadings are also omitted on his map which are indicated by Pont and are confirmed by place-name evidence, and since there is no mention of these by later surveyors or in estate documents, the suggestion is that they were abandoned between 1596 and 1682. It thus seems that Adair either did not refer to Pont's survey, or was at pains to check for changes that might have occurred in the preceding ninety years. It would be valid, then, to make comparisons between the Adair manuscript and the Pont maps with respect to changes in settlement.

Elphinstone, Millar and Adair, 1744–5. These are reduced copies of the Cooper engraving of Adair (1736).

Stobie, Armstrong and Laurie, 1763–73. It seems that the Military Survey may not have been made available to any of the county surveyors except Arrowsmith, who was allowed access to it in 1805–6 (Skelton 1967). Moreover, increases in detail and the omission of settlements marked by the Military Survey testify to the originality of later maps.

Matthew Stobie's 'Roxburghshire', surveyed in 1770, is apparently in part a compilation of his own estate surveys. A substantial increase in accuracy over the Military Survey is illustrated by the plotting of 17 per cent more settlements. About 5 per cent of the steadings marked by the Military Survey in the Roxburghshire part of the study area are not indicated by Stobie, and, since he evidently did not plagiarise earlier surveys, it would be valid to make comparisons between Stobie's work and the rolls of the Survey in order to ascertain the number of settlements abandoned in the intervening twenty years.

The surveys of Andrew and Mostyn Armstrong were probably executed over

1768–73. The 'Map of the Lothians' (1773) locates more than twice the number of steadings in the study area than did Adair for 1682, and 20 per cent more than did the Military Survey for 1750–2. The omission of 5 per cent of the Survey's steadings suggests that the Military Survey was never referred to by the Armstrongs. More individual settlements are to be found for the study area on both the 1771 and 1773 maps than on the 1 : 25,000 Ordnance Survey coverage of 1954. This confirms the completeness and originality of the work. The only suggestion of any reference made to earlier surveys is the similarity of some unusual place-names to those marked by Blaeu. It is possible that the Armstrongs used the Pont and Gordon surveys as a partial basis for their maps. The map of Berwickshire (1772) is a reduction of that of 1771.

Blackadder, Forrest and Knox, 1797–1812. The county maps on which John Blackadder and William Forrest were working in 1797 and 1799 were partly the product of their own estate plans. Both were surveying in East Lothian and Berwickshire in the 1790s, and both had established a reputation for their skills (Thomson 1832:v–vi). There is no doubt that they referred to the work of the Armstrongs: there are particular similarities in the spelling of place-names that must be more than coincidental. But it is evident that much information was both added and omitted by the later cartographers. Ten per cent more settlements were recorded by Blackadder and Forrest than by the Armstrongs. Moreover, seventy-one fermetouns and steadings that were located by the Armstrongs in 1768–73 and confirmed by aerial or place-name survey, were not noted on the later surveys. It is clear, then, that there was no wholesale transference of earlier data on to the county maps of the 1790s and that most of the discrepancies between the maps of 1768–73 and those of 1797–9 are due to real changes in settlement rather than to an improved quality of the map-work itself. Thus the conclusion is that, while no firm inferences may be made concerning the establishment of settlements between 1768–73 and 1797–9, the omission from later and more detailed maps of settlements marked on earlier surveys may be indicative of their abandonment over the intervening period.

Knox's 'Shire of Edinburgh' (1816) was surveyed between 1804 and 1810 (Thomson 1832:v). The originality and accuracy of this work is confirmed by a 22 per cent addition and 6 per cent omission of settlements in terms of the Armstrongs' surveys of 1768–73.

Thompson, 1821–2. The maps in Thomson's *Atlas of Scotland (1832)* are, without exception, based on the work of earlier cartographers. In most cases this debt is acknowledged: Neele's engravings of 'Haddington' (1822) and 'Berwickshire' (1821) are copies of Forrest (1799) and Blackadder (1797). 'Edinburghshire' (1821–2) is based on the survey by Knox, and Hewitt's 'Roxburghshire' (1822) is almost a facsimile of Stobie (1770). There is no evidence to suggest that the surveys were up-dated for their re-issue.

Sharp, Greenwood and Fowler, 1824–8. It is probable that the topographic basis of these maps is the work of an Ordnance Survey triangulation team which moved into Scotland in 1820 under the direction of Major-General Thomas Colby and surveyed in the region until 1825, after which it was called to Ireland at the time of the 'land question'. Detailed mapping by the Ordnance Survey did not begin in Scotland until the resumption of the trigonometrical survey in 1838 (Close 1926:89). It seems, therefore, that much of the data on settlement were collected in the field by Greenwood and Fowler for Berwickshire in 1825, for East Lothian in 1824 and for Midlothian in 1827–8. There is little correlation between these data and those on the maps of the 1790s: about 7 per cent of Blackadder's and Forrest's steadings are omitted and a further 8.5 per cent which were previously unrecorded are located.

The maps by Sharp, Greenwood and Fowler thus seem to provide a trustworthy coverage of the study area to bridge the period between the county maps of the late eighteenth century and the publication of the first edition of the Ordnance Survey in the 1850s.

Tennant, 1838. Tennant seems to have referred to the work of Stobie (or, at least, to Hewitt's copy) but made a large number of alterations to the map detail which are confirmed as accurate by contemporary estate documents.

Johnston, Fowler, 1842, 1845. The maps of Midlothian by W. and A. K. Johnston and by Fowler are either facsimiles or compilations of the surveys by Greenwood and Fowler.

Summary. It is evident from this discussion that only fourteen maps (less than half of the total coverage) provide a more or less complete, accurate and original basis for the study of past landscapes in south-east Scotland. These maps are distinguished in Table 1. The dates of surveys fall into five distinct periods: *c.* 1583–1648 (Pont, Gordon); 1749–55 (Military Survey); 1768–73 (Armstrongs, Stobie); 1797–1810 (Blackadder, Forrest, Knox); 1824–38 (Sharp *et al.* and Tennant). Roxburghshire is not represented for the 1790s, and East Lothian has an extra record for 1682 that is not available for the remainder of the study area.

Application of the Source Material

An indication of the value of such a map sequence to the student of economic history may be exemplified by brief reference to the pattern of settlement abandonment in the Lammermuir Hills.

The relative accuracy and originality of maps in the sequence make it unlikely that steadings which continued to function would be overlooked by all later surveyors, particularly when several of them had access to earlier maps. The implication is that

those settlements which disappear from the map record were in fact abandoned and became derelict. In most cases this dereliction is confirmed by field evidence as well as by disappearance from estate maps and from the Register of Sasines.

Comparison of the maps shows that 262 settlements appear at least once in the sequence but are unrecorded on any later map. Of these, the sites of only six, all of which are mapped by Pont or Gordon alone, cannot be located accurately, and it is possible that these were inaccurately recorded by their surveyors. The remaining 256, however, may be located by reference either to their association with place-names on the first edition 1 : 10,560 Ordnance Survey maps, or to relict evidence of their sites in the field or on aerial photographs. The existence of 98 per cent of the settlements may thus be confirmed by place-name or field evidence. Of these, 248 were evidently farmsteads or fermetouns rather than inns or mills.

The distribution of these steadings, illustrated in Figure 2, exhibits a marked concentration at high elevations near the edge of the moorland core. More than one-fifth lie in the moorland or within 0.25 km of it. This suggests that a cause of abandonment may have been those changes affecting the economic status of marginal agriculture in the area. The pattern of abandonment itself may thus point to an explanation.

Moreover, the dating of this abandonment might be interpreted, in an approximate fashion, from the period in the map sequence at which the settlements disappear. Nineteen steadings disappeared before 1750, 27 over 1750–70, 75 over 1770–1800, 54 over 1800–25, and the remaining 73 between 1825 and about 1860.

Conclusion

The evaluation of a coverage of thirty-two maps for south-east Scotland suggests that fourteen surveys executed between about 1596 and 1860 are original and reasonably comprehensive. This sequence of surveys may be useful in mapping and dating changes in several types of landscape feature. An example is that of settlement abandonment. Evidently about 24 per cent of the total number of settlements existing in the study area after *c.* 1596 was deserted before 1860.

Several questions are thus raised: the date, process and cause of this abandonment, the function and life-span of the settlements, the extent of abandonment elsewhere. Some questions, such as the approximate date of abandonment, may be answered by the county-map sequence, others require investigation of more specific sources. Yet it is clear that a sequence of county maps may be used in three ways as a source for the study of economic change. First, it may provide a framework of comprehensive information on quantity and location upon which may be founded subsequent, more specific studies of date, process and explanation. Secondly, it enables the approximate dating of change through the comparison of different surveys. These two applications comprise a synoptic approach which makes less hazardous the generalisation from later studies of a few, well-documented sites. Finally, the sequence of maps may be used to reconstruct spatial patterns of change which may assist in its explanation.

NOTES

1 For details of the mapping from aerial photographs see Parry 1973:43–95.
2 The moorland core defines the area consistently recorded by Ordnance Survey maps since about 1860 as rough pasture.
3 See Parry 1973:213–34. Upland settlement exhibits a pattern of retreat and consolidation over 1600–1750. Evidence for this conclusion is drawn from a variety of estate documents, and from Mitchell (1908) and MacGrigor (1835).

REFERENCES

Manuscripts

B.M.
K. TOP. XLVIII 25–1a; 25–1b,c, IN 38 SHEETS — British Museum. Map Room.
N.L.S.
A.10 — National Library of Scotland.

Printed Sources

CLOSE, SIR CHARLES
1926 *The Early Years of the Ordnance Survey*. London.
INGLIS, H. R. G.
1918 'John Adair: an Early Map-Maker and his Work'. *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 34:60–6.
KINNIBURGH, I. A. G.
1968 'A Note on Timothy Pont's Survey of Scotland'. *Scottish Studies* 12:187–9.
LEBON, J. H. G.
1952 'Old Maps and Rural Change in Ayrshire'. *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 68:104–9.
MACGRIGOR, A.
1835 *Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland (1627)*. Maitland Club, Edinburgh.
MEGAW, B. R. S.
1969 'The Date of Pont's Survey and its Background'. *Scottish Studies* 13:71–4.
MITCHELL, A. (ed.)
1908 'Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland made by Walter MacFarlane (*c.* 1649)'. 3 vols. *Scottish History Society* 53.
MOIR, D. G. and SKELTON, R. A.
1968 'New Light on the First Atlas of Scotland'. *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 84:149–59.
PARRY, M. L.
1973 *Changes in the Upper Limit of Cultivation in South-East Scotland, 1600–1900*. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh.)
ROY, W.
1785 'An Account of the Measurement of a Base on Hounslow Heath' *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 75:335–480.
RSGS
Royal Scottish Geographical Society.
1936 *The Early Maps of Scotland*. 2nd edn. Edinburgh.
1973 *The Early Maps of Scotland*, ed. D. G. Moir. 3rd edn. vol. 1. Edinburgh.
SKELTON, R. A.
1967 'The Military Survey of Scotland, 1747–55'. *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 83:5–16.

STONE, J. C.

1968 'An Evaluation of the "Nidisdaile" Manuscript Map by Timothy Pont'. *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 84:360–71.

1970 'The Preparation of the Blaeu Maps of Scotland: a Further Assessment'. *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 86:16–24.

1971 'Origins and Sources of the Blaeu Atlas of Scotland with particular reference to Extima Scotiae (Atlas Novus, 1654)'. *IVth International Conference of the History of Cartography, Edinburgh.*

THOMSON, J.

1832 *Atlas of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

The Massacre at Dunaverty, 1647

DAVID STEVENSON

In 1647 the garrison of Dunaverty Castle, at the southern end of the Kintyre peninsula in Argyll, was massacred after surrendering to an army of covenanters. The massacre has often been pointed to as an atrocity typical of the covenanters. Andrew McKerral wrote of it as being caused by 'the religious fanaticism of the Covenanters', the result of 'fanaticism pure and simple' (McKerral 1948: 65, 66). J. R. N. Macphail wrote in similar terms of 'one of the most disgraceful incidents in Scots history', attributable to the 'exotic theories' of the covenanters, not 'to any inate savagery of the Scottish nature' (Macphail 1916:248, 254). Such explanations, vaguely blaming everything on covenanting fanaticism and ignoring the other circumstances in which the massacre took place, are hardly convincing. The discovery of new evidence about the massacre (a letter by a man who admits, with regret, having helped to incite it) provides an opportunity for a reassessment, for trying to set the massacre in its context in an effort to understand why it took place. Religious fanaticism was involved, but it was far from the only motive present: inter-clan feuds and the bitterness aroused by a great civil war also played parts.

Central to the massacre was the rivalry of the Campbells and the MacDonalds, which had existed for generations. In the early seventeenth century the Campbells under the earls of Argyll had finally triumphed over the southern branch of the MacDonalds, who were driven from Kintyre in 1607. Ten years later they also lost Islay, their last major possession in Scotland, and many fled to their close kinsmen in Ulster, the MacDonnells of Antrim (Mackenzie 1949:208–10, 214, 219 n. 12; Donaldson 1965: 228–9). The MacDonalds did not reconcile themselves to this defeat. Among the most active of their leaders who sought to restore their fortunes was Col MacGillespeck (Mackenzie 1949:230; Buchan 1947:179; MacLeod and Dewar 1901:143), usually known as Col Ciotach or Col Keitach (meaning Col the left handed, the ambidextrous, or the cunning) who was closely related to the MacDonalds of Dunyveg, the former chiefs of the southern MacDonalds. Sometime after 1615 Col had seized Colonsay. His position was legalised in the 1630s by a lease from the Campbells, but at the first opportunity they got rid of this MacDonald outpost. Taking advantage of the confusion of the First Bishops' War in 1639 Campbells from Islay invaded Colonsay, capturing Col and two of his sons (Stevenson 1973:296).

The old conflict between Campbells and MacDonalds thus now became a minor part of the great struggle between King Charles I and the Covenanters, who by 1639 had seized control of Scotland. For the devious but able 8th Earl of Argyll emerged as the

leading figure among the covenanters, and this brought about a dramatic change in the political situation in the southern Highlands. The Campbell victory over the MacDonalds had been greatly aided by the support of the crown: now the Campbells were in rebellion against the crown. The MacDonalds were quick to take advantage of this situation. Randal MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim, as representative of the southern MacDonalds offered to help the king by invading Argyll's lands at his own expense. Antrim's offer was accepted. It may well be that it was news of this which provoked Argyll into seizing Colonsay to deprive his enemies of a base. If so, the precaution was unnecessary, for Antrim's grandiose invasion plans came to nothing (Stevenson 1973: 99–100, 141, 148, 151).

The situation was further complicated in 1641 by the Irish Catholic rebellion, for the Covenanters felt themselves (and their countrymen who had settled in Ulster) to be threatened by a Catholic régime in Ireland. They therefore sent a large army to Ulster in 1642; this in turn provoked the Irish confederates into giving support to plans for an invasion of Scotland. They agreed to assist the irrepressible Earl of Antrim in an invasion which was to coincide with a royalist rising in Scotland led by the Marquis of Montrose. The leader Antrim appointed for the invasion force was one of Col Keitach's sons, Alexander or Alasdair MacColla or MacDonald (often confused by contemporaries with his father, and therefore called 'Colkitto'—or even 'Colonel Kitto'). Alasdair was well equipped for the job: he had led abortive raids from Ireland to the Isles in 1640 and 1643, as well as having fought for the Irish confederates (Stevenson 1973:270, 273, 280, 296). In July 1644 he landed in Morven with about 1,600 men—Irishmen, not MacDonalds, but nonetheless Gaels sympathetic to their cause (Buchan 1947:162–3, 179–80; O'Danachair 1959–60:61–7).

The exploits of Alasdair MacDonald and his men after they joined Montrose are well known. The Irish troops gave Montrose a trained nucleus for his army, and they contributed greatly to his 'year of victories' (1644–5) in which he defeated six Covenanting armies in turn. The fighting was marked by great bitterness and cruelty on both sides. The Covenanters developed a passionate hatred for Montrose and his men, especially the Irish who were denounced as Catholic invaders, in league with the forces of evil, seeking to overthrow true religion. They were held responsible for the massacres (much exaggerated by rumour) of protestants in Ireland in 1641, and were regarded by most Covenanters as savages, men without civilisation, speaking a foreign language. The Highland allies of the Irish, who included many MacDonalds, were seen as little better. Royalists shared such opinions: it was a royalist who denounced the Marquis of Argyll for using Highland troops 'out of his Africa. . . . The Libians of Africa were not so savage' (Rogers 1877: 45–6); another royalist who denounced the cruelty 'uncleannes and filthy lust' of the Irish troops, who 'killed men ordinarily with no more feeling of compassion, and with the same careless neglect that they kill a hare or capon for their supper' (Gordon 1844: 161 quoted in Buchan 1947: 294). An additional point of bitterness from the Covenanters' point of view was that before Montrose's

rising they had believed themselves to be on the verge of final victory which would enable them to dominate a peace settlement in all three kingdoms. They put much of the blame for the failure of this over-ambitious scheme on Montrose and his men: they had stabbed the Covenanters in the back, forcing them to withdraw troops from England and Ireland at a critical moment, thus depriving them of influence in those kingdoms. With so many causes of hatred it was only to be expected that when the Covenanters finally got the upper hand they would show little mercy to 'these wormes', the 'naked Scots Irishes', the 'worst men in the earth' (Baillie 1841–2: II. 234, 262, 304). At Philiphaugh in September 1645 they defeated Montrose and forced him to flee back to the Highlands. In this and their later successes all Irish and their womenfolk who were captured by the Covenanters were put to death: as Irish and papists they were barely human and needed no trial. Of captured Scottish rebels many were killed but others spared (Buchan 1947: 292–4).

The conduct of Montrose's men was no better. Irish and Highlanders (many of them Catholics) had a hatred of the Covenanters as Presbyterians and as Lowlanders, men alien to them in language, race and culture who were trying to undermine their way of life and bring them under effective central government control. With the Campbells they at least had links of language and culture, but these were more than outweighed by the burning hatreds the Campbells had aroused as the most successful imperialist clan of the day. Moreover the type of warfare Montrose was waging often made brutality unavoidable, mercy a luxury that could not be afforded. His men were fighting a large-scale guerrilla campaign, and were constantly on the move. They could not occupy and hold the enemy areas they passed through, and therefore they systematically devastated them. They could not burden themselves with more than a few prisoners (men important enough to be useful as hostages and in exchanges of prisoners) so they took very few: after Montrose's victories fleeing Covenanters were cut down by the hundred. Most bitter of all was the killing when Montrose invaded Argyll. His Irish and Highland troops saw themselves as engaged primarily in a war of revenge against the Campbells: in the Argyll campaign many old scores were paid off with interest. One of Montrose's Irish officers boasted that 'we left neither house nor hold unburned, nor corn nor cattle, that belonged to the whole name of Campbell' (Carte 1739: I. 75). The historian of Clanranald claimed that in ravaging Argyll 895 men were killed in cold blood, 'without battle or skirmish having taken place' (MacBain and Kennedy 1894: II. 183). These claims may be exaggerated, since such actions were seen as something to be proud of, but they indicate the character of the war. Folk traditions are full of stories of casual and indiscriminate killings (Campbell 1885: 199; Campbell [n.d.]: 218, 224–5, 230–1). 'When they hade waisted Ardgyll' they 'leaft it lyke ane desert' noted a Royalist historian probably writing in the 1660s (Gordon 1844: 98, and preface p. 41).

It is therefore hardly surprising that when the Covenanters, and the Campbells in particular, finally turned to subduing the remnants of Montrose's army they seldom

showed much mercy. Driven back to the Highlands by defeat at Philiphaugh, Montrose disbanded his army on the King's orders in 1646 and went into exile. But Sir Alasdair MacDonald (he had been knighted by Montrose) and most of the Irish and MacDonalds had not shared in Montrose's defeat. They had deserted him before Philiphaugh, insisting on returning to Argyll to re-occupy former MacDonald lands and indulge further their hatred of the Campbells. They refused to rejoin Montrose after his defeat and ignored the King's orders to disband: they were fighting for clan, not for King Charles. They had recently been reinforced by men brought from Ireland by Antrim (Hill 1873:446–8) and were determined to remain in arms until they could negotiate terms allowing them to retain at least some of their conquests. But with Montrose out of the way Alasdair and his men were isolated: the Covenanters could concentrate their forces against them. First to suffer were the Lamonts. They had fought for the Campbells until 1645, but had then changed sides and joined the successful rebels. As their chief later admitted he had proceeded to burn 'all the Campbells, their houses and cornes, and killed all the ffenceible [men capable of bearing arms] and armed men hee could overtake of them', signing a bond with Alasdair MacDonald 'for the ruin of the name of Campbell'. In 1646 the Campbells took revenge on their former allies. The Lamont lands in Cowal were invaded. Thirty-six leading Lamonts and their supporters were hanged, at least thirty-five others (perhaps over a hundred) were shot, hacked and stabbed to death by their captors (McKechnie 1938:168–93; Cobbett 1809:1379–87).

The following year the Covenanters sent an army further west under Lieutenant General David Leslie, a veteran of the continental wars who had led the Covenanters at Philiphaugh. Alasdair had spent the winter in Kintyre with his men: the narrow peninsula should have been defensible but he appears to have made no preparations to resist, though it was obvious attempts would be made to drive him out. Though a brave fighter and an inspired leader in battle he lacked generalship. David Leslie and the Marquis of Argyll (who commanded a regiment under Leslie) were at Inveraray on 21 May with perhaps 2,500 men. Three days later they marched into Kintyre, charging and scattering about 1,300 of the enemy at Rhunahaorine, killing sixty or eighty of them. Alasdair fled almost immediately with his Irish troops and probably most of the MacDonalds to Gigha and thence to Islay, thus deserting many of his Highland allies. Alasdair claimed he would soon return with reinforcements to relieve them, but this was a vague hope rather than a concerted plan: no preparations had been made to enable those left behind to hold out (McKerral 1948:53–6). The tradition which portrays Alasdair hacking off with his sword the fingers of those who clung to the gunwale of his boat as he sailed suggests a panic flight, those who remained being left through shortage of boats (Matheson 1958:43–5, 83).

The position of Alasdair's deserted allies was hopeless. They wrote to Leslie asking for pardon: he replied that had they been genuinely repentant they would not have let Alasdair and the Irish escape. Most of the now-reluctant rebels fled south until they could go no further, shutting themselves up in Dunaverty Castle. A few remained in

the House of Lochead or Lochkilkerran (the present Cambeltown). By 31 May Leslie had accepted their surrender and advanced to Dunaverty (Additional Parliamentary Papers: no. 51, Leslie to Committee of Estates, 31 May 1647). On the garrison refusing his summons to surrender he captured an outer ditch, killing forty defenders and cutting off the castle's water supply. Traditional accounts speak of a long siege, lasting until mid July (*e.g.* Dunaverty 1928:1–13; *NSA* 1845:VII. 425). In fact the castle surrendered within a few days—the massacre (which may not have taken place until several days after the surrender) was over by 6 June (Wodrow MS: folios 179–80).

The surrender and subsequent massacre attracted little attention at the time, being seen merely as incidents in a long and brutal war. Jean de Montereul, a French agent in Edinburgh, heard and believed exaggerated rumours that 400 out of 800 men, women and children in a fort in Kintyre had been treacherously killed after surrendering on promise of quarter, a hundred of those spared being sent to serve in the French army. He wrote of this to Cardinal Mazarin on 15 June (Montereul 1898–9:II. 169). But written accounts of the massacre probably did not circulate widely until after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. The best known and most influential account appeared in the memoirs of Henry Guthry; though not printed until 1702 these circulated in manuscript in and after the 1660s. Guthry had been a Covenanter at the time of the massacre, but wrote his memoirs as a staunch Royalist with a deep hatred of his former colleagues. He claimed that 500 men were massacred after surrendering on the promise that their lives would be spared. David Leslie had been reluctant to allow the massacre, but had been persuaded to order it by Argyll and John Nevoy, a minister who had been appointed to act as chaplain to one of the regiments of the army. Guthry portrays Leslie, Argyll and Nevoy subsequently walking 'over the ancles in blood', and Leslie saying to Nevoy 'Now, Mr John, have you not once got your fill of blood' (Guthry 1747:243).[1] Apart from this last circumstantial touch about walking in blood (which Guthry may have intended only as a figure of speech) there is nothing inherently improbable about Guthry's account. But one must remember his bias: elsewhere he shows little regard for accuracy when heaping abuse on the Covenanters, and we do not know where he got his information about the massacre from. One likely source for some of his points is an account drawn up for the MacDougalls in 1661 (Macphail 1916: 248–60). They had joined the Lamonts in turning on the Campbells in 1645 and suffered heavily in the massacre, but as the only MacDougall present at Dunaverty who survived was a child, the reliability of this source is open to question. It agrees with Guthry that the garrison was promised quarter and that its 500 men were then 'cruellie and inhumanelie butchered in cold blood', many MacDougalls among them. Only the child, John MacDougall younger of Dunolie, was spared (*APS* 1820:VII. 338–9). A surviving list of names of some of those killed, perhaps prepared in connection with this MacDougall account, gives ninety names: forty-nine are leading MacDougalls, the rest probably their followers (Macphail 1916:255–9).

So these two royalist accounts are in agreement as to the circumstances and size of

the massacre, but lack of information as to the sources from which they are drawn leaves them open to question, and it seems likely that one of them is partly based on the other. And a third royalist account, with much greater claims to credibility, contradicts them on important points. In 1661 the Marquis of Argyll was tried for treason, convicted and executed. The charges made against him included an account of events at Dunaverty. Now these charges are clearly inaccurate in many places in that they seek to exaggerate the personal responsibility of Argyll for events, but they are often fairly accurate as to the events themselves and were probably partly based on information supplies by former covenanters. In the case of Dunaverty David Leslie, by 1661 a confirmed Royalist, may have been consulted. According to the account of the massacre in these charges only three to four hundred men were in Lochead House and Dunaverty. The former surrendered on the promise that their lives would be spared, but the castle garrison surrendered 'to be disposed of at the mercy of the kingdom'. Argyll then caused 260 or 300 of them (not all of them) to be killed. The rest were handed over to Captains William Hay and Archibald Campbell for service in the French army. Fifteen or sixteen gentlemen who had been promised quarter at Lochead were also killed (Cobbett 1809:1410, 1461–2).

Now one would surely expect the charges against Argyll, if anything, to over-estimate the size of the massacre and stress the treachery involved. Instead it explicitly states that the garrison surrendered at mercy, not on promise of quarter, that it was much smaller than Guthry claims and that not all the men were killed. The more extreme Royalist claims, it might be surmised, were not included because Argyll would have been able to call witnesses to disprove them. The likelihood of this account being, on the whole, accurate therefore seems high, and it is notable that Argyll in his defence only questioned it over his personal responsibility, claiming that it had been a council of war which decided on the massacre (though without denying that he was a member of that council). He also insisted that Lochead as well as Dunaverty had surrendered without any promise of quarter.

The account of the massacre given at Argyll's trial receives support from the most detailed surviving description of events. Sir James Turner was, like Guthry, a Covenanter turned Royalist. Unlike Guthry he had personal knowledge of events, for he served in Leslie's army as adjutant general. This he justifies in his memoirs on the grounds that since Alasdair MacDonald had deserted Montrose and refused to disband as the King ordered, it was his duty as a Royalist to join the Covenanters against him! According to Turner there were 300 men in Dunaverty. After their water supply was cut off and forty of them killed they desired a parley. Leslie insisted that they surrender 'on discretion or mercy'—not his mercy but that of the kingdom. Turner told the garrison of this, and it then surrendered. After a few days 'they were put to the sword, everie mothers sonne, except one young man, Mackoull, whose life I beg'd' who was sent to France with a hundred countrymen who were smoked out of a cave. Turner says he had got Leslie to say he would spare the garrison, but that after two days

irresolution during which John Nevoy 'never ceasd to tempt him to that bloodshed' Leslie changed his mind and gave orders for the killings. Turner regretted the massacre and Leslie's weakness, but emphasised that he was quite justified in acting as he did by the customs of war (Turner 1829:45–7). This account is in agreement with Guthry's only in giving much of the responsibility for the massacre to Nevoy. In a long list of criticisms of Guthry's memoirs Turner bluntly calls the statement that quarter had been promised 'A fearfull ly', 'A most false calumnie', adding that on first laying siege to Dunaverty Leslie had offered quarter but that it had been refused. The massacre 'was crueltie enough; for to kill men in cold blood, when they have submitted to mercie, hath no generositie at all in it'. Leslie had told Turner he would not have allowed it but for Nevoy 'put on by Argile'. But Leslie had not broken his word, and by the laws of war a garrison which once refused an offer of quarter could subsequently expect no mercy. As for Leslie's walking in blood, he was not even present at the massacre (Turner 1829:240).

Turner's detailed account has been questioned, it being suggested that (since he had been a senior officer with the army) he was concerned to minimise the massacre (*e.g.*, Macphail 1916:249, 251). If this were so one would have thought Turner would have made a much more convincing defence: he makes no attempt to disguise his disgust at what happened, and certainly does not indicate that he felt any personal responsibility for it, which might have led him to play it down. But what gives most support to Turner's account is how closely it agrees with the Argyll trial account, which might almost be called the official Royalist version. To prefer Guthry's and the MacDougall account to these seems to be surrendering critical judgment to preconceived dislike of the Covenanters. Turner, incidently, appeared as a witness at Argyll's trial, and stated that he had never heard Argyll try to persuade Leslie to carry out the killings, though he might have done so in private.

Such are the printed accounts of the massacre. One further fragment of evidence we owe to Turner. In 1662 he signed a statement relating that at the surrender of Dunaverty one of the garrison, Angus MacEachan of Kilellan, gave him a little box of papers concerning his lands. This Turner was to give to Argyll, to uphold the rights of MacEachan's children to the lands. MacEachan gave the papers to Turner since he did not know whether he was going to be killed or sent overseas. Can one suggest that his doubts as to his fate is another indication that the garrison had not been promised quarter? MacEachan was duly killed in the massacre, and Turner carried out his promise by giving the papers to Argyll, who in 1659 restored MacEachan's lands to his son (Macphail 1916:258–60).

Examination of the printed evidence suggests that the Argyll trial account and Turner's are the most reliable, but the facts that all the evidence comes from Royalists (or Covenanters turned Royalist), writing years after the massacre, are drawbacks. These doubts and difficulties are largely removed by a newly discovered, though tantalisingly brief, account. This was written not only by someone involved, but was

written immediately after the massacre by someone willing to take some responsibility for it on himself. Thomas Henderson had been clerk to the committee of estates with the Scottish army in England and in 1647 was David Leslie's secretary (*APS* 1872:VI.ii. 329). On 6 June 1647 he wrote from 'Lochkilcheran' (Campbeltown) to Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, the Lord Advocate. His letter, hastily and untidily written, reads as follows (abbreviations have been extended in italics):

For the right honorable the Lord Advocat

Right honorable,

I wrot to your Lordship by Lieutenant Colonel Strachan, and now I can add but litle to the publict letter which will shew you that wee haue mad great execution upon the rebells, killed thrie hundreth that were in this fort of Dounaverty, Non ['escaped' crossed out] were spared but fourscoir who were permitted to goe to france with Captain Campbell, and Captain Hay; The General Lieutenant [Leslie] had euill will to let execution be done—but the truth is, Mr John Neaue [Nevoy] and I were instrumentall in it. But I will not writ to your lordship more particularly of this busines, wherewith I am not well pleased.

It is strange wee haue not yet heard anything of Captain Lieutenant Dicks ships[.] I know not wherefore they were appointed to attend upon thir coasts or to assist the Army: In my opinion the better part of the Enemy that wes in kintyre at our coming heer, is quit outt of, and the rest so scattered, and euanished that this countrey is wholly delyvered from them, and secured; I shall say no more but that I am

your Lordship's
Most humble
seruant
M Th Henderson

Lochkilcheran
6 of June
1647

(Wodrow MS: folios 179–80².)

Alas, Henderson has nothing to say about the terms of the surrender, and the public letter he refers to is lost: it has, indeed, been suggested that David Leslie's despatch describing the massacre may have been destroyed deliberately (McKerral 1948:67). But what Henderson does say confirms the Turner and the Argyll trial accounts. It agrees with the Argyll account in making those sent to France part of the garrison, and with Turner's as well in putting the number killed about 300. The only part of Guthry's account confirmed by Henderson is Nevoy's unsavoury part in inciting the massacre.

It appears, therefore, that there is little doubt that about 300 men were killed at Dunaverty; and it is almost certain that the garrison had surrendered unconditionally, so that though the massacre was merciless it was not treacherous. The manner of death of those not spared and sent to France is uncertain: Turner's statement that they were put to the sword need not be taken literally. One tradition speaks of the men being thrown over a cliff (Matheson 1958:45; Willcock 1903:204n), another of their being tied in pairs and shot (Campbell 1885:225). According to legend those given the task of carrying out the executions were Campbells related to women and children who

had been herded into a barn and burnt alive on Alasdair MacDonald's orders (Campbell [n.d.]:242). A few individuals were spared, such as the son of MacDougall of Dunolie, and the grandson of MacDonald of Sanda—both Sanda himself and his son being killed (*ibid.*; Dunaverty 1928: 13; *APS* 1820: VII. 340). MacDougall of Kilmun is said to have been saved by Argyll after shouting in five languages 'Is there anyone here at all who will save a good scholar?' (Matheson 1958:45; Campbell [n.d.]:242–3). Apart from the list of the MacDougalls and their supporters, and the names of a few individuals of importance (Campbell 1885:225–6) the identity of those who died is unknown: many of them were probably MacDonalds.

Having disposed of Dunaverty David Leslie crossed to Islay. Alasdair MacDonald fled to Ireland (where he was killed a few months later) leaving a garrison commanded by his father in Dunyveg Castle. This soon surrendered on promise of quarter after Col Keitach himself had been captured (treacherously, some said). The terms granted to the garrison were honoured, but Col was later executed on Argyll's orders. Meanwhile Leslie moved on to Mull to stamp out the last traces of resistance, killing all the Irishmen he captured (McKerral 1948:69–72; Turner 1829:47–9; APP: no. 52, Articles of surrender of Dunyveg, 4 July 1647, and no. 54, Leslie to Committee of Estates, 5 July 1647).

The Dunaverty massacre appears to have aroused little comment at the time: horrible as it was, it was too far from unique to attract much attention. Several motives had contributed to the massacre, as well as to the other cold-blooded killings of the war: the religious fanaticism represented by Nevoy, the hatreds roused by clan feud and civil war, the endless thirst for revenge whereby atrocity breeds atrocity. If David Leslie was reluctant to allow the massacre this certainly was not because he feared censure from his superiors: on the contrary, he evidently expected censure for sparing the garrison of Dunyveg, for he explained in great detail why he had seen fit to grant it terms—'what I did I was forced their to, which was contrar my desyre'. His army lacked food, fuel, ammunition, scaling ladders and all other materials necessary for a siege, Dunyveg was strongly fortified and well manned, and the summer was 'almost spent'; 'so that wherein I have done amisse cannot be impute to me it being none of my fault' (APP: no. 54, Leslie to Committee of Estates, 5 July 1647). The convenanting régime and many of its supporters wanted revenge on those who had defeated them in battle, devastated their lands and massacred hundreds, and Leslie feared (it would seem) that his bloodless victory at Dunyveg would not be popular. Especially bitter was feeling against those like the Lamonts and the MacDougalls who had deserted the Covenanters when Montrose had seemed likely to prevail, turning on the Campbells to try to destroy them. The massacre at Dunaverty is not excusable, but it is understandable.

Nor was such bloodthirstiness anything new in Highland history: it was not introduced into traditional clan warfare by the religious disputes of Catholic and Presbyterian and the wider issue of Covenanter versus Royalist. Neither religious dispute, constitutional conflict, nor 'exotic theories' had played any part in such events as the suffocation

of the MacDonald population of Eigg in a cave by the MacLeods (1570s), the massacre of MacLeod men, women and children in Coigach by other MacLeods from Lewis (1590s) or the burning of a congregation of MacKenzies in a church by MacDonalds of Glengarry (1603). Traditional Highland warfare might be no more brutal than that of the Lowlands, but it was no less brutal either: the massacre at Dunaverty introduced no new brutality to the Highlands.

NOTES

1 The first edition of Guthry's *Memoirs* (1702:199), taken from a different—and usually inferior—manuscript agrees with the second in its account of the massacre.

2 Thomas Henderson's letter has previously been overlooked because of a series of mistakes made by Robert Wodrow. In listing the letter in the list of contents of the volume containing it he misread the signature as that of Alexander Henderson (the famous covenanting minister who died in 1646) and the date as 1641 instead of 1647. Finally, he confused matters further by identifying 'Lochkilcheran' as being in Ireland.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland to publish the transcript of Thomas Henderson's letter is gratefully acknowledged.

REFERENCES

Manuscripts

APP
Additional Parliamentary Papers. PA 7/23/2. Scottish Record Office.

WOODROW MS
Woodrow MS Folio LXVI, Original Letters 1606–42. National Library of Scotland.

Printed Books

APS
1820 *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* vol. VII, 1661–9.
1872 *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* vol. VI. ii., 1648–60.

BAILLIE, R.
1841–2 *Letters and Journals*. 3 vols. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.

BALFOUR, SIR JAMES
1824–5 *Historical Works*. 4 vols. Edinburgh.

BUCHAN, JOHN
1947 *Montrose*. London.

CAMPBELL, LORD ARCHIBALD
1885 *Records of Argyll*. Edinburgh and London.

CAMPBELL, J. D. S., MARQUIS OF LORNE
n.d. *Adventures in Legend. Being the Last Historic Legends of the Western Highlands*. London.

CARTE, T.
1739 *A Collection of Original Letters and Papers*. 2 vols. London.

COBBETT, W.
1809 *State Trials* vol. v. London.
DONALDSON, G.
1965 *Scotland: James V to James VII.* Edinburgh and London.
DUNAVERTY
[1928] *Dunaverty. The Massacre and its surrounding history. Graphic account written about the year 1776.* Campbeltown. (Reprinted from the *Campbeltown Courier.*)
GORDON, P.
1844 *A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper.* Spalding Club, Aberdeen.
GUTHRY, H.
1702 *Memoirs.* 1st edn. London.
1747 *Memoirs.* 2nd edn. Glasgow.
HILL, G.
1873 *An Historical Account of the MacDonnells of Antrim.* Belfast.
MACBAIN, A. and KENNEDY, J.
1894 *Reliquiae Celticae. Texts, Papers and Studies in Gaelic Literature and Philology left by the late Rev. Alexander Cameron.* 3 vols. Inverness.
MCKECHNIE, H.
1938 *The Lamont Clan.* Edinburgh.
MACKENZIE, W. C.
1949 *The Highlands and Isles of Scotland.* Edinburgh and London.
MCKERRAL, A.
1948 *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century.* Edinburgh.
MACLEOD, N. and DEWAR, D.
1901 *A Dictionary of the Gaelic Language.* Edinburgh.
MACPHAIL, J. R. N.
1916 'Documents relating to the Massacre at Dunavertie'. *Highland Papers* vol. II. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.
MATHESON, A.
1958 'Traditions of Alasdair Mac Colla'. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow* vol. v.
MONTEREUL, JEAN DE
1898–9 *Diplomatic Correspondence . . . 1645–8.* 2 vols. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.
NSA
1845 *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* vol. VII. Edinburgh and London.
O'DANACHAIR, C.
1959–60 'Montrose's Irish Regiments'. *Irish Sword* vol. IV.
ROGERS, C. (ed.)
1877 *Historical Notices of St Anthony's Monastery . . . and Rehearsal of events . . . from 1635 to 1645.* Grampian Club, Edinburgh.
STEVENSON, D.
1973 *The Scottish Revolution, 1637–44. The Triumph of the Covenanters.* Newton Abbot.
TURNER, J.
1829 *Memoirs.* Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.
WILLCOCK, J.
1903 *The Great Marquess. Life and Times of Archibald 8th Earl 1st (and only) Marquess of Argyll.* Edinburgh and London.

Some Aspects of the Timber Supply in the Highlands, 1700-1850

JAMES M. LINDSAY

Travelling in the Highlands in the 1720s, Edward Burt was impressed by the way in which timber was made to serve in place of metal. '. . . Almost all their implements for husbandry', he wrote, 'which in other countries are made of iron, or partly of that metal, are in some parts of the highlands entirely made of wood; such as the spade, plough-share, harrow, harness, and bolts; and even locks for doors are made of wood' (Burt 1815:II.122–3).

Timber was important not only as a substitute for iron. It was used for a remarkable range of purposes, and careful use was made of the characteristics of different forms and species of wood. Trees provided material not only for house-building, furnishings, carts, other vehicles, and boats, but for farming and fishing implements, domestic utensils, basket-work, ropes, and harness; bark was employed in dyeing and tanning. Almost all the work involved was done by the intending consumers themselves rather than professional timber workers. The use of tree produce was not conspicuously extravagant. Thus throughout the Highlands, when a building ceased to be in use the main roof timbers were removed and used elsewhere: in some districts landowners thought it necessary to prevent outgoing tenants from taking the timbers of their houses away with them (Burt 1815:I.27; Barron 1892:113, 116; Michie 1901:142; Fairhurst 1967–8:146).

Recent research has added to knowledge of the techniques employed, but little is yet known of the rates at which Highland communities consumed tree produce. In the most general terms, however, consumption *per caput* was probably lower than in the burghs and lowland districts with access to imported timber. In building technique, for example, Highland forms made use of stone and timber in varying proportions for the frame, but timber flooring, boarding, interior panelling, and other such refinements were rare. This contrasts markedly with the burghal style of building around 1700 (Smout 1960:3–4). Recent research also tends to emphasise variation within the Highland zone: there is a clear difference between the massive and even to some extent superfluous framing of buildings at sites in the central and south Highlands (*e.g.* Corrimony, Inverness-shire; Pitcastle, Perthshire) and the evident shortage of suitable timber at Rosal in Sutherland (Dunbar 1960:116; Fairhurst 1967–8:146; Hay 1973:131–2).

This variation reflects the irregular distribution of woodland. Evidence about the position in 1700 is fragmentary, but suggests an uneven and relatively sparse distribution: the Military Survey of 1747–55 corroborates this. The Survey indicates that the Highlands, even if better wooded than the rest of Scotland, had a woodland cover of only about 5 per cent of the total area.[1] Throughout the Highlands woodland survived only at low levels, usually in lines or strips along valley bottoms and on the coast. The massifs of the west and central Highlands were sparsely wooded. At lower levels, Caithness and much of Sutherland was more or less treeless, as were Kintyre and other exposed parts of the west coast. The Survey provides no information about the islands, but they are unlikely to have been well provided with timber.

Bulk overland carriage was notoriously difficult in the Highlands. Even at the end of the eighteenth century there was only a rudimentary network of roads suitable for wheeled vehicles. Particularly in the case of the larger forms of timber, this was a major obstacle to the development of an internal trade in timber which might have rectified the initial imbalance of resources. In coastal districts, as will be seen later, some long-distance movement did take place, but it is evident that elsewhere tenant farmers were for most purposes dependent on the produce of woodland within a few miles of their homes.

If local supplies became depleted, or access to them was restricted, the community therefore faced a certain amount of hardship, the degree of which depended both on the community's requirements and the extent of woodland which remained within accessible range. After 1700 such a problem confronted an increasing number of Highland communities, as proprietors discovered uses for their woodland more profitable than service to the tenants of their lands. It is therefore of some interest to examine the ways in which the development of this alternative demand modified the established uses of woodland resources.

The evolution of land use patterns should not be seen as the result of the interaction of abstract forces. Recent research has emphasised the importance of individuals in the development of landscape (Adams 1968:248–55). Like other innovations in land use, the introduction of commercial forestry depended to a large extent on conscious decisions by landowners and others with executive power. For this reason it would not be inappropriate to pay particular attention to the decision-making aspect of change, the way in which proprietors tried to solve the problems of reconciling the different interests of existing forms of subsistence and new sources of income.

Unfortunately the type of information available puts some obstacles in the way of this aim. The primary evidence consists largely of estate papers, particularly contracts, memoranda, accounts, and other documents concerning wood management. Evidence of this type rarely provides direct illustration of the decision-making process in action, although it does frequently allow the nature of decisions to be inferred from the pattern of subsequent events.

A problem of a different kind relates to the measurement of the amounts of timber

and other materials utilised. The supply of tree produce to tenants (consisting as it did of a large number of very small quantities of different types) is less easily examined systematically than other aspects of wood management. Some sets of estate papers contain detailed records of the supply to tenants, but in too irregular a form to have more than illustrative value. Case studies may not therefore be feasible. Nor do estate papers provide a base for reliable generalisation: this is inevitable in view of the detailed and localised evidence they contain. Finally, by no means all Highland proprietors kept adequate records. As surviving collections relate only to the part of the landowning body enthusiastic enough to do so, they may thus not be truly representative.

In view of these problems, it is intended here only to examine the development of what may be interpreted as a conflict in demands for timber, to outline the range of solutions applied to the problem, and to suggest some effects it may have had upon the Highland rural economy.

The Development of Conflicting Demands for Timber

In Scotland all the woodland of an estate, including any planted by the tenants, was the property of the landowner: this was implicit in conventional leases, and even a lease 'with woods' allowed the lessee only to cut timber for the construction and repair of farm buildings (Bell 1861:517, 825). The use of woodland by tenants and their dependents was thus a privilege rather than a right, and Highland lairds were not unaware of this. Thus the heritors of Dull parish in north Perthshire, as early as 1627, classed woodland with peat bogs, grazings, and other resources bestowed on their tenants as 'benefits and commodities' independent of the lease of land (MacGrigor 1835:155).

Whatever the legal position, it was generally accepted that tenants should have access to woodland. Such evidence as is available about the seventeenth century indicates that this was the case. Apart from the force of tradition, the lack of commercial demand for Highland timber nullified the main incentive which the owners of woods might have had for exercising their right to reserve them for their own use: there was consequently no need for lairds to think seriously of curtailing their tenants' privileges. Use was nevertheless not completely uncontrolled. Some proprietors, particularly on the Highland fringe, directed the use of woodland by means of their baron courts. It is not unlikely that elsewhere use tended to be regulated by an unwritten code of the type which governed most aspects of Highland agriculture (Lindsay 1974:82–8).

Gradually in the seventeenth century and more rapidly after 1700, commercial use of the existing semi-natural woodland of the Highlands increased: felling of pine and the management of deciduous wood as coppice were most significant. Woods of Scots pine survived mainly in the east and central Highlands. Some of these pine woods had been cut for profit before 1700, when the emphasis was on the more westerly woods with good sea access, like those of Ardgour, Loch Leven, and Glen Orchy, and this continued

into the next century. The extensive inland woods of the east and centre became much more important as timber sources in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the peak of production seems to have come in the decades around 1800, although the scale of felling was very small in comparison with modern domestic soft-wood production. In most cases felling had largely ceased by 1850 (Lindsay 1974:215–16).

Mixed deciduous woodland was generally most common. Birch predominated in most areas, but oak was prominent in the west and south Highlands, providing the basis for a system of oak tanbark coppicing. Coppice management utilises the tendency of oak and other deciduous trees to produce repeated crops of shoots from the cut stump or 'stool'. In the case of Highland oak the most valuable part of each crop, cut usually at intervals of 19–25 years, was the bark: oak bark was the main British tanning agent until the late nineteenth century. Coppice oak timber was also saleable, and other deciduous trees were also coppiced for a variety of purposes.

Coppice management made tentative appearances on the Highland margin after 1600, and extended more definitely toward the end of the century. After 1700 the area of coppice continued to expand, and the peak was reached in the 25 years after 1790, during which the prices of bark and other coppice produce rose sharply under wartime conditions. After 1815, however, there was a gradual decline, and by 1850 prices had returned to the levels of 1790. At the height of its importance coppice was cut as far north as Sutherland, but throughout the period the main concentrations were in Argyll, Perthshire, and the Highland parts of Stirlingshire and Dunbartonshire (Lindsay 1975: 88–90).

Large areas were planted with trees. The period between 1750 and 1815 seems to have been the most active phase in the Highlands; there is, however, no reliable information about the acreages involved, and plantations ranged in form from small mixed ornamental woods to extensive monocultural forests like the Atholl estate larchwoods. In some cases, particularly around 1800, hardwood plantation was converted to coppice (Monteath 1824:25–8). More commonly, however, plantation took the form of high forest. Few parts of the Highlands were not affected to some extent, but most of the activity and the greatest individual efforts (*e.g.* the Breadalbane, Argyll, Atholl, Invercauld, and Lovat examples) were in districts which were already quite well wooded. In this way planting tended to reinforce the existing imbalance in woodland distribution.

The impact of commercial demand was plainly not uniform either in time or space. Where such a demand arose, however, proprietors found it necessary to consider the requirements of potential purchasers. In general terms the form of pine most in demand was large straight timber. Even-aged forest of tall straight trees was therefore most valuable, and it was also desirable that it should be compact and readily accessible by road or water. The requirements of those buying planted high forest were broadly similar, and thoughtful proprietors could minimise waste by designing plantations accordingly. In both cases timber sufficient for several years' cutting might be sold under

one contract, and it was necessary that the owner should be able to guarantee its security until the purchaser cut it.

The demands of coppice cutters differed in emphasis. The portability of the produce rather reduced the need for compactness and accessibility, and in some cases at least species diversity was desirable or at least acceptable. Uniformity of age was very important. A few years difference in age could mean a marked difference in the market value of bark and timber. In many cases several more or less equal annual sections or 'haggs' were sold under a single contract: the vulnerability of the shoots during the first few years after each cutting reinforced the need to maintain the quality of the haggs individually and as a group.

Not all of the woodland of an estate might be fit for use in such terms, and continued cutting by tenants could, in a number of ways, reduce the area of valuable wood still further. There is a variety of evidence about this: particularly illuminating is a set of proposals for the management of the regality of Atholl, submitted anonymously to the Duke of Atholl in 1708 (E.U.L. Dc 1.37 1/3). In general wasteful use by tenants was seen to take three main forms. Firstly, local users were often given a degree of choice which was no longer appropriate when woodland was to be conserved for commercial purposes. They might thus be permitted to take timber from any part of the woods which suited them: sometimes this was simply the most accessible, but at other times tenants ensured that they got the best. In Atholl they carefully selected the straightest young coppice shoots as girdstings (hoops) for domestic cooperage (E.U.L. Dc 1.37 1/3, 11).

Secondly, privileges might be abused deliberately or through negligence. In 1760 the Earl of Fife's case in a dispute over servitudes (under which the tenants of others had access to his pinewoods of Mar in Aberdeenshire) alleged that some of the best pines were cut for trivial purposes: the upper bole and branches might thus be taken for roof timbers, and the trunk itself left to rot or 'scandalously applied to improper uses'. As was also the case in Rannoch in Perthshire, large growing pines were damaged by the cutting of 'candle fir' (lighting splints) (S.R.O. E 783/17/1; Michie, 1901:142). The range of deliberate abuses was very wide. Petty damage was not unknown: the author of the Atholl proposals alleged that children, cottars, and the poor, who were allowed to gather dead wood for fuel, took care to damage growing trees in order to maintain the supply (E.U.L. Dc 1.37 1/3, 11). There was a certain amount of theft for profit. Thus timber from the pinewood of Rannoch was stolen by tenants and cottars on the estate in the 1750s, and sold in the neighbouring markets (S.R.O. E 783/17/1, E 783/26/11). In other cases, however, tree produce was stolen simply for domestic use. Thus at a baron court session on the island of Lismore in 1749 tenants and their dependents admitted stealing wood for couples and other house timbers, implements, creels, and fuel (S.R.O. GD 170/348).

Finally, timber consumption was increased by inefficiency in use. According to the Atholl proposals, professional timber-workers would have needed only a third of the

wood used by 'miskillfull and unexpert housbandmen' for house repairs and other purposes. Construction was in any case so poor that the timbers of houses tended to rot quickly (E.U.L. Dc 1.37 1/3, 11–12). The factor in Rannoch gave tenants leave to build three small bridges around 1752; the forester afterwards discovered that they had used twenty saleable pines worth about £10 in all, rather than the almost valueless wood of birch and alder (S.R.O. E 783/26/11).

Lax control, abuse of privileges, and inefficiency in use were all, therefore, obstacles to the effective sale of tree produce to external markets. A variety of solutions were applied to these three aspects of the problem.

Modification of the Use of Woodland

The available information points to a variety of compromises. There is no evident example of a proprietor deliberately spurning all chance of profit for the sake of his tenants' needs, nor is there evidence of tenants being totally excluded from use of an estate's woodland. Many proprietors, particularly those conscious of clan loyalties, may have been motivated by real concern for their tenants' welfare, but the poor quality of much Highland woodland made it intrinsically unlikely in any case that all the wood of an estate would be commercially acceptable.

The nature of the evidence makes it much easier to identify and explain positive changes than to establish which factors were most important among the many tending to maintain the *status quo*. For this reason it is not possible to say how far recognition of the existing needs of the local community restricted the application of commercial felling: many other factors may have played a part. On the other hand, when commercial use was adopted one of the most immediate needs was to ensure that whatever use tenants made of woodland interfered as little as possible with the demands of the purchasers. The privileges of the local community therefore had to be defined clearly and understood by tenants and purchasers.

Such privileges were sometimes recorded in contracts of sale: this was particularly the case if tenants were guaranteed part of the produce of woodland sold for commercial use. Sometimes no restriction was placed on the amount used for particular purposes. Thus in 1728, when Sir James Grant of Grant sold pinewood in Abernethy (Strath Spey) to the York Buildings Company, the purchasers were obliged to allow the cutting of pine timber for the upkeep of tenant houses (S.R.O. GD 248/135/1). The company had agreed to buy a set number of trees, and it was evidently thought that tenant use would not endanger this quota. Some coppice contracts allowed tenants to cut the less valuable material freely. In 1792 Campbell of Glendaruel in Argyll reserved his and his tenants' freedom to cut withies and small posts in coppice sold by him (S.R.O. GD 1/390[54]).

In other instances purchasers were obliged to provide specified quantities for the use of estate tenants. A memorandum of 1777 about the intended sale of mixed coppice at Barcaldine in Argyll recommended reservation of 20 stones of oak bark for the laird

and tenants, as well as birch and alder timber equivalent to three dozens of charcoal for the tenants alone (S.R.O. GD 170/438). Proprietors customarily provided timber for the upkeep of the mills on their lands, and in 1792 Campbell of Glendaruel reserved a specified quantity of oak as mill timber (S.R.O. GD 1/390[54]).

In one case at least tenants received set quantities in exchange for labour. For much of the eighteenth century the inhabitants of certain farms on Loch Rannoch-side cut and carried timber from the pinewood of Rannoch for the lessee of the sawmill in lieu of rent; they were also allowed for their own use a proportion of the poorer pine timber cut (S.R.O. E 783/1/10). In another form of privilege the purchaser was required to supply unlimited quantities of timber for certain purposes, but was reimbursed in proportion to the amounts used. Thus in the few decades after 1744 contracts for the sale of the Montrose estate oak coppices of Menteith in southwest Perthshire obliged the purchaser to supply as much timber as was needed for tenant houses. The estate paid compensation according to a fixed scale of charges (S.R.O. GD 220).[2]

These solutions all interfered to some extent with commercial cutting and required the co-operation of the purchasers, difficulties which could be avoided if specified areas were set aside for use by the tenants. This may indeed have been a more common policy, although assessment of its relative importance is difficult. Evidence is scanty, but this may in part be because surviving estate papers refer relatively little to those woods which for one reason or another were not commercially important.

The allocation of woodland to the local community is made explicit in a few cases. In the 1780s the Argyll estate coppices in Morvern were being cut and sold in haggs. Certain parts were reserved for the tenants and cut in sequence under the supervision of a 'wood ranger' (Cregeen 1964:150). In other instances tenant use may be inferred. After 1760 only the tenants of the barony of Port of Menteith were furnished with house timbers from the Menteith woods in the way described above (S.R.O. GD 220/6/50). The two larger baronies comprising the rest of the estate evidently had other means of supply. They were proportionally better wooded than Port, and their tenants may have been expected to get timbers from woods excluded from the oak coppice rotation.

Negotiating with Macdonald of Clanranald for coppice in 1794, the manager of an ironworks in Argyll suggested that he would be ill-advised to reserve a certain wood for his tenants, as it contained a quantity of oak fit for cutting: black wood (deciduous wood with little or no oak, also called barren wood or timber) would be more suitable (N.L.S. MS 995, 26). It seems likely that many proprietors did not need prompting to realise the advantages of confining tenant use to wood of the less profitable species. If the value of such woodland rose, however, even this privilege might be threatened. In 1758 the Montrose estate tenants of Craigrostan on Loch Lomond were so concerned by reports that their barren wood might be put to commercial use that they submitted a petition outlining its importance to them. This seems to have been successful (S.R.O. GD 220).[3]

Systematic wood management itself provided tenants with a supply of barren timber. For almost 30 years after 1751 the inhabitants of Rannoch were encouraged to cut birch and alder freely, in the belief that the removal of these trees facilitated the regeneration of pine (S.R.O. E 783/17/1; Lindsay 1974:288–9). It was not unknown for barren timber to be removed from mixed coppice. In one relatively early example, the second Earl of Breadalbane ordered in 1741 that his woods by Loch Etive (Argyll) should be cleared of 'common' species where they obstructed the oak. To defray costs the timber was to be sold, and preference was to be given to the people of Nether Lorn (S.R.O. GD 170/348).

In the cases considered so far the inhabitants of an estate or district were in a privileged position in terms of access to certain woods. In other circumstances, however, tenants found it necessary to buy supplies on the open market. Timber and bark merchants could not expect to sell all the produce of a wood to distant markets, and coppice merchants in particular were left with a residue of small timber and waste. The local community provided the most convenient if not always the best market for such material, and this was evidently a common means of sale in the south Highlands by the beginning of the nineteenth century (Robertson 1794:96–7; Whyte and Macfarlan 1811:155).

In Rannoch sales to tenants in fact formed a major part of commercial sales of pine by the late eighteenth century. Figure 1 shows the location and status of purchasers in the period 1779–81.[4] Tenants of the estate received pine timber free only in exceptional circumstances. They accounted for about 20 per cent of sales in the period, and men of tenant status bought 47 per cent in all. Professional timber workers (wrights) bought only 19 per cent; proprietors and others bought 34 per cent. The average tenant purchase (1·16 lots) was small in comparison to the average of six lots bought by the few local wrights, and Figure 1 also suggests that increase in distance from the sawmill had a particularly deterrent effect on tenant purchasers.

The Rannoch woods and sawmill were let to various local men, but some proprietors preferred to sell their timber directly. Thus the Barcaldine estate in Argyll had extensive semi-natural woods and plantations, timber from which was sold locally in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A list of pine timber sold in 1810, for example, shows that the sixty-six lots went largely to tenants on Barcaldine and other estates within a radius of 15 miles (24 km) of the woods (S.R.O. GD 170/587/1).

To summarise, tenants could be allowed restricted use of woodland cut commercially, or the more complete use of other woods; alternatively they might be expected to compete for supplies on the open market. It should of course be emphasised that elements of the different solutions were often combined. A miller in Rannoch in the 1760s, for example, would have unlimited access to birch and alder, a free supply of pine specifically for the mill, and the opportunity of buying any pine needed for other purposes.

Turning briefly to the other ways in which tenant use conflicted with commercial

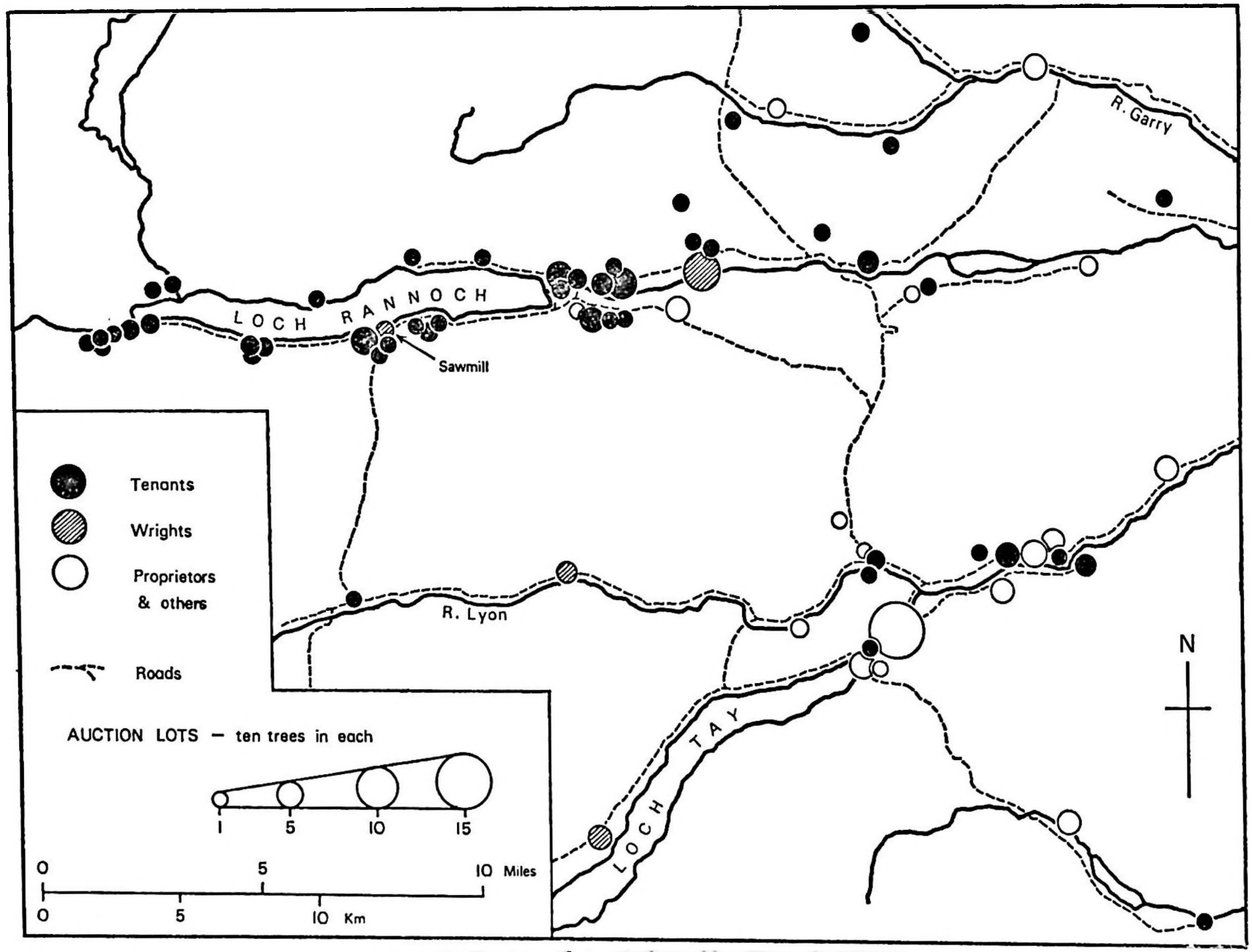


FIG. 1 Destinations of pine timber sold in Rannoch, 1779–81.

requirements, the problem of abuse of privilege remained even if an adequate supply of wood was provided by the means outlined above, and may have become intensified if privileges were greatly reduced. One solution to the problems of negligence and deliberate abuse was to combine strict supervision with exemplary punishment of convicted offenders. Foresters and woodkeepers increased in numbers as the eighteenth century advanced, but it is not possible to assess the general effectiveness of supervision: it cannot, for example, be certain how truly the numbers brought to trial correspond with the number of offences.

Prior to 1747 landowners were able to impose their own standards of justice on their tenants through the medium of the baron court. In that year, however, the competence of baron courts was greatly reduced, and thereafter they were gradually abandoned in favour of trial before a less partial but more effective judiciary. Landowners had to become familiar with different and often more cumbersome ways of proceeding against offenders.[5] This in itself may have made abuse more difficult to check, and theft of timber was still a problem in the Highlands in general as late as the 1820s (Monteath 1827:61).

As for the efficiency with which produce was used, the anonymous author of the Athole proposals foresaw quite correctly in 1708 that no fundamental improvement was possible unless the bulk of local timber-working was done by professional craftsmen (E.U.L. Dc 1.37 1/3 12–13). Figure 1 shows how little progress in this direction had been made in an adjacent part of Perthshire more than 70 years later. By the end of the century traditional self-sufficiency in the use of tree produce could be regarded as a thing of the past on the southern Highland fringe, but the evidence of later travellers indicates that old and relatively inefficient methods survived considerably later to the north (Allardyce 1888:II.198–9).

Effects on the Rural Economy

Population rose in most Highland districts at least into the early nineteenth century, but accessible timber stocks probably decreased: the produce of part of the semi-natural woodland and most of the plantations went to external markets. It might therefore be expected that there would be a recognisable shortage of material for local use, but there is remarkably little evidence of this. In the coppice counties of Argyll and Perthshire, for example, some of the 110 Old Statistical Account reports complained of the poorly wooded state of particular parishes, but only three made unambiguous reference to a shortage of timber (SA:II.187, 280–1; XIX.631).

It is possible to suggest a number of factors contributing to this situation. Consumption may have been lowered by substitution of other materials or techniques, or by concentration of production in the hands of professional timber workers, although it is apparent that the development of craft specialisation in the Highlands was slow and limited. The role of theft in augmenting supplies should not be overlooked. Planting

may have eased the supply situation in some cases, but tenants could expect only an intermittent benefit from high forest plantation, in the form of periodic thinnings and perhaps a chance to buy the poorer material when the plantation was finally felled. Imported timber also became more accessible. Foreign pine was threatening the local dominance of Rannoch timber by the 1770s; imported wood was in use in Argyll by the end of the century (S.R.O. E 783/60/220; SA:8.422–3; Smith 1805:141).

Perhaps the most important single factor was the limited proportion of woodland reserved for commercial use. A certain amount was not considered fit for cutting, and more was eliminated by the pressing need for winter grazing. The more careful landowners managed their woods with the aim of ensuring future productivity; the conflict between woodland management and winter grazing has been more fully described elsewhere (Lindsay 1974:132–83). In brief, almost all Highland districts had winter pasture so much smaller than summer pasture that it greatly limited overall stocking capacity. Woodland, if present, usually lay within the wintering range, and removal of such land from the free grazing area entailed a reduction of stocks and therefore loss of revenue from grazing rent.

On the other hand, protection from grazing animals was vital for the success of regeneration. Permanent enclosure might be necessary for the long-term survival of a pine wood, and in coppice a crop could be completely destroyed if it was not protected for the first few years after each cutting. Proprietors were compelled to balance the needs of the two land uses. The usual result was that much less woodland was protected than might otherwise have been the case. Pinewood was affected: enclosure of the Wood of Rannoch was confined to the compact central part (S.R.O. E 783/76/9). Coppice management tended to be restricted to compact and accessible woods of the more valuable species. A rise in the relative value of grazing, as in the early nineteenth century, could lead to widespread abandonment of coppice throughout the Highlands (Monteath 1827:53).

Management was thus a selective process, and a varying proportion of woodland was excluded from careful supervision. Some proprietors preferred to exploit their woods without regard to sustained yield, and this casual approach is unlikely to have been accompanied by strict control of consumption by tenants. Whichever strategy was adopted, therefore, it is improbable that commercial use would monopolise resources.

Some commercial consumers did, however, use all or most sizes and types of timber, and it is with such uses that the limited evidence of shortage is associated. Foremost among them was the production of charcoal for smelting. The possibility that woods in south Perthshire might be bought by an iron company was enough to cause concern about timber supplies in the 1760s (S.R.O. E 777/133/2). Two charcoal furnaces had already been founded in Argyll in the 1750s: the one at Furnace on Loch Fyne worked until about 1815, and the other at Taynuilt by Loch Etive until 1876. These provided a major demand in the county, especially for the poorer timber. James Inches, a forester,

wrote in 1801 that the sale of barren timber in Argyll '. . . depends entirely upon the coaling & the Tennents in the Vicinity where it grows' (S.R.O. GD 170/587/1).

To some extent the ironworks and local consumers were competing directly for supplies; it was also common in Argyll for an estate's coppice to be cut in one or a few large haggs rather than small sections spread over the whole rotation. Speaking of the Highlands in general but probably drawing mainly on Argyllshire experience, the Reverend John Smith of Campbeltown complained in 1799 that farmers in many parts could not get large timber at any price. Tree produce was available only when woods were cut every 19 or 20 years and the ironworks took most of it, leaving a small and relatively expensive residue (Smith 1799:171–2).

The poorly-wooded parts faced most difficulty, although the relative ease of sea transport could reduce this to some extent. Smith's own district of Kintyre obtained timber from distances of 50 to 100 miles (Smith 1805:141). The Barcaldine estate papers of 1776–9 record the sale of small quantities to tenants in Kintyre, Gigha, Islay, Jura, Skye, Uist, and Harris, all between 20 and 120 miles (32–193 km) linear distance from the woods (S.R.O. GD 170/438). According to the minister of Kilchoman in Islay, timber had to be brought from the 'northern lakes' but was often unavailable because of the demand for charcoal (SA:11.280–1).

Unlike the tenants of timber-producing districts, who were better placed through proximity to bid for the residue left locally by the smelting companies and might also have access to other woods, the inhabitants of the treeless parts were forced to search a wide area for timber without a guarantee of success; additional transport costs were also likely to increase the relative cost of their supply. Smith's statements indicate that the presence of an intensive commercial use of timber created difficulties throughout Argyll, but there seems to have been a severe shortage only where the uneven distribution of timber resources added to the problem.

It is therefore apparent that commercial use did not bring about a widespread timber famine. The examples given earlier testify to the existence of some degree of conflict between established and new demands. That this did not lead to a shortage of material for local use depended partly on the type of demand and partly on the nature of the woodland itself. Another important factor, as indicated earlier, was competition with other activities for the use of wooded land: the importance of grazing in the Highland economy severely restricted the scope of woodland management.

One may therefore ask what effects commercial use did have on local supplies. Restriction on the type of timber available was one. The reservation of pine as well as oak and other valuable timbers like ash compelled tenants to make proportionately greater use of birch, alder, and other barren timbers. The extent to which this caused difficulty is not clear: detailed case studies may cast some light on the problem. It should be noted, however, that the common timbers had intrinsic value for certain purposes. Birch, for example, resists tainting and was thus very suitable for the making of containers of certain kinds (Blaikie 1829:364–6).

Commercial use also put a monetary value on tree produce, and can thus be seen as one of the factors assisting in the slow transformation of the Highland economy. In 1700 cash payment for tree produce was exceptional. As in other aspects of Highland economic life, services of labour played a more important part than money in payment for the use of woodland. Proprietors found it possible to adapt some established forms of service to suit commercial use: tenants might thus be obliged to transport oak bark over specified distances as one of the conditions of tenure (S.R.O. E 783/60/35[3]). Such services had almost disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century, however, and by then it had also become common, in the south Highlands at least, for tenants to pay cash for their supply of timber.

In certain respects knowledge in this field remains far from complete, for the reasons outlined earlier. The preceding study is in one sense a preliminary survey, and while future research might profitably be directed along a variety of paths, quantitative assessment of the use of woodland in the Highlands, and of the effects of commercial use on domestic supplies, would be particularly valuable. Much depends on the evidence available. Assessment may prove feasible on a local scale, but it is possible that the information necessary for a general appreciation no longer exists.

NOTES

1 For a map based on the Military Survey pattern of woodland see A. C. O'Dell and K. Walton, *The Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1962, p. 115. According to the most recent Forestry Commission census 8·5 per cent of Scotland as a whole was under woodland in 1965.

2 See 'Woods of Monteith. Contract betwixt the Duke of Montroses Comm^{rs} and Alex^{r} Stewart & Cau^{rs} 1744' in box of unsorted documents labelled 'Wood Contracts', S.R.O. GD 220.

3 See 'State of the tennants of Craigroston with regard to their barren timber, 1758' in 'Wood Contracts' box, S.R.O. GD 220.

4 Figure 1 is derived from S.R.O. E 783/76/10 and E 783/105/2–5. It shows the destinations of 164 of the lots (88 per cent); of the remainder, 12 cannot be located and the other 10 were sold outside the area depicted.

5 See for example the memoranda and other papers on this topic in S.R.O. GD 170/502 and GD 170/587/1.

REFERENCES

Manuscripts

E.U.L.
DC 1.37 Edinburgh University Library. Athole Papers.

N.L.S.
MS 995 National Library of Scotland. Lorn Furnace Company Papers.

S.R.O.
E 777 Scottish Record Office. Annexed Estate Papers—Perth estate.
E 783 Scottish Record Office. Annexed Estate Papers—Struan estate.
GD 1/390 Scottish Record Office. Campbell of Glendaruel Papers.
GD 170 Scottish Record Office. Barcaldine Muniments.
GD 220 Scottish Record Office. Montrose Muniments.
GD 248 Scottish Record Office. Seafield Papers.

Printed Sources

ADAMS, I. H.
1968 'The Land Surveyor and the Scottish Rural Landscape.' *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 84:248–55.

ALLARDYCE, A. (ed.)
1888 *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, from the MSS of John Ramsay, Esq., of Ochtertyre.* 2 vols. Edinburgh.

BARRON, D. G. (ed.)
1892 *The Court Book of the Barony of Urie in Kincardineshire, 1604–1747.* Scottish History Society 1st series 12, Edinburgh.

BELL, W.
1861 *A Dictionary and Digest of the Law of Scotland.* Revised by G. Ross. Edinburgh. (1st edn. 1838.)

BLAIKIE, J.
1829 'Observations on the uses to which alder, birch, hazel, and other indigenous trees, generally accounted brushwood, may be applied.' *Transactions of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* 7:360–74.

BURT, E.
1815 *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London.* 2 vols. London. (1st edn. 1754.)

CREGEEN, E. R. (ed.)
1964 *Argyll Estate Instructions: Mull, Morvern, Tiree, 1770–1805.* Scottish History Society 4th series 1, Edinburgh.

DUNBAR, J.
1960 'Pitcastle, a Cruck-Framed House in Northern Perthshire.' *Scottish Studies* 4:113–17.

FAIRHURST, H.
1967–8 'Rosal: a Deserted Township in Strath Naver, Sutherland.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 100:135–69.

HAY, G. D.
1973 'The Cruck-building at Corrimony, Inverness-shire.' *Scottish Studies* 17:127–33.

LINDSAY, J. M.
1974 *The Use of Woodland in Argyllshire and Perthshire between 1650 and 1850.* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh.)
1975 'The History of Oak Coppice in Scotland.' *Scottish Forestry* 29:87–93.

MACGRIGOR, A. (ed.)
1835 *Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland.* Maitland Club, Edinburgh.

MICHIE, J. R. (ed.)
1901 *The Records of Invercauld 1547–1828.* New Spalding Club, Aberdeen.

MONTEATH, R.
1824 *The Forester's Guide and Profitable Planter.* 2nd edn. Edinburgh.
1827 *Miscellaneous Reports on Woods and Plantations.* Dundee.

ROBERTSON, J.
1794 *General View of the Agriculture in the Southern Districts of the County of Perth.* London.

SA
1791–9 *A Statistical Account of Scotland,* ed. Sir J. Sinclair. 21 vols. Edinburgh.

SMITH, J.
1799 'On the Advantages of Planting and Raising Timber in the Hebrides, and Other Parts of the West and Northwest Coasts of the Highlands.' *Transactions of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* 1st series 1:168–211.
1805 *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Argyle.* London.
SMOUT, T. C.
1960 'Some Problems of Timber Supply in Later 17th Century Scotland.' *Scottish Forestry* 14:3–13.
WHYTE, A. and MACFARLAN, D.
1811 *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Dumbarton.* Glasgow.

Rural Housing in Lowland Scotland in the Seventeenth Century: The Evidence of Estate Papers

IAN D. WHYTE

Introduction

The study of what has been termed the 'peasant house' (Gailey 1962; Dunbar 1971) has attracted a good deal of attention in recent years. Much of the work has been centred on the Highlands and Islands where the survival of ancient styles of vernacular building was widespread into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hall 1972). The study of rural housing in Lowland Scotland, which is here defined as comprising the whole of Scotland outside the Highlands and Islands, has likewise tended to concentrate on the period from the eve of the Agricultural Revolution, in the later eighteenth century, to the present. Reasons for this are not hard to seek.

The Agricultural Revolution in Lowland Scotland obliterated most traces of the pre-existing agrarian landscape, and survivals of vernacular building from the first half of the eighteenth century are rare. Peasant houses dating from the seventeenth century and earlier are virtually unknown (Fairhurst 1967a). Much of the work which has been done relates to the study of traditional building styles and construction techniques which survived into recent times (Fenton 1968, 1970). Documentary sources concerning rural housing are relatively abundant for this period. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed an unprecedented burst of descriptive writing and commentary on the agricultural scene. The framework provided by two Statistical Accounts, the Board of Agriculture Reports and the writings of various improvers, local historians and travellers can be used to set surviving structures in context. A wealth of estate plans allows the study of rural housing at this time to be integrated with the changing contemporary landscape.

However, little attention has been paid to the study of rural housing in Scotland in periods prior to the eighteenth century. The difficulties facing such studies are clear and have been discussed by Fairhurst (1967a) and Crawford (1967). There are no surviving peasant houses pre-dating the eighteenth century. Remains of settlement sites are few in number owing to destruction by later building and cultivation. In marginal areas, where some sites have survived, the few which have been excavated have proved

PLATE I A seventeenth-century farmsteading (left foreground) and arable rigs: part of a south-west view over Alloa and the Forth, in John Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1693.

difficult to date. The peripheral nature of such sites automatically raises questions regarding the extent to which they are representative of the vanished rural landscape. It is a curious fact that more is definitely known about rural housing and settlement in Scotland during the Iron Age than in the seventeenth century (Crawford 1967:87).

Since there are no surviving examples to study and excavation poses such problems, only documentary sources remain to be considered as a possible means of obtaining information on pre-eighteenth century rural housing. Until recently it appears to have been generally thought that these were too sparse to allow a detailed reconstruction of any aspect of the economy and society of Lowland Scotland during the seventeenth century or earlier.

As a consequence, there has been a tendency to take the relatively abundant evidence for rural housing conditions in the earlier phases of the Agricultural Revolution and to project it back into the past. This has been done on the assumption that the rural economy of Scotland as a whole was stagnant, or even in decline, at the opening of the eighteenth century (Handley 1953; Fairhurst 1967b:196–7). This view is now becoming untenable as an increasing body of evidence points to a substantial degree of development in the agrarian economy of Lowland Scotland during the seventeenth century (Whyte 1974). Moreover, the first half of the eighteenth century was itself a period of accelerating change, and conditions at that time did not necessarily mirror those of past centuries.

Previous work on rural housing has tended, when seeking the origins of building types and construction techniques in the seventeenth century and earlier, to use only a limited number of printed sources. These have mainly consisted of the works of Scottish topographers and English travellers (Brown 1891, 1893). The latter, at least, are uniformly scathing and blatantly biased. Other information has been drawn from scattered references in a few printed court books and sets of estate accounts. One result of the reliance on such a limited and possibly unrepresentative selection of sources is that rural housing conditions have been viewed as being uniformly squalid at all levels of peasant society.

To date, little has been done to assess the value, for the study of the economy and society of Lowland Scotland, of large quantities of seventeenth-century manuscript material. However, one source of great potential value, private estate papers, has recently begun to attract attention (Whyte 1974:21–9). It contains important information on rural housing.

This paper considers the evidence of estate papers relating to rural housing in Lowland Scotland during the seventeenth century. Only collections in the Scottish Record Office and the National Library of Scotland have been studied and no attempt has been made to consult those which remain in private hands. Because of this, the present study is only an introductory survey of some themes which are considered to be significant and it is closely circumscribed by the limitations of the sources. However, the collections which have been used relate to both large and small estates spread fairly evenly through-

out Lowland Scotland. It is considered that the data which have been drawn from them are fairly representative.

The techniques of vernacular building which were in use will be considered, and then an attempt will be made to reconstruct the building types which resulted and to set them, as far as possible, in their social and economic milieu. From this, it is hoped to bring out regional variations and to examine the development of building techniques and house types during the century. Firstly, however, it is germane to consider in greater detail the nature of the manuscript evidence which has been used, as it imposes severe constraints upon the depth of the analysis.

The Source Material

Collections of estate muniments contain a great variety of manuscripts, but information relating to rural housing is mainly contained in three types of document.

Inventories of buildings, whether belonging to tenants or to home farms, are the most valuable source. They were usually drawn up for assessing repairs, or as valuations upon the entry of tenants to particular holdings so that they could be compensated for any improvements made during the course of their tenancy, or penalised for any neglect. Inventories vary greatly in the amount of detail which they contain but generally, by listing the number and function of buildings and giving an indication of their size, they provide a fairly clear picture of the character of a farmstead.

Estate accounts frequently list the quantities of material supplied by proprietors to the houses of their tenants. Additional information is sometimes available concerning the construction and repair of buildings on the home farms managed by landowners.

Tacks or leases of holdings usually contain clauses specifying the tenants' obligations regarding the maintenance of their farm buildings and the proprietors' responsibilities in supplying construction materials and labour.

Most of the data used in this study have been drawn from documents of this type, but valuable information also occurs more sporadically in other types of estate documents, particularly court books.

Building Construction

Timberwork

The sources indicate that cruck framing was the standard method of constructing farm buildings in Lowland Scotland at this time. The only exceptions were some houses constructed with clay whose walls may have been fully load-bearing, and houses which were built with lime mortar. The use of cruck frames, or couples as they were generally known, was widespread from the Solway to Aberdeenshire. The cruck trusses were the most important and valuable part of a tenant's house. By the seventeenth century, Lowland Scotland was in many places almost treeless (Kirk 1892:8–17), and there was a chronic shortage of native timber for construction. Scotland had to import some

90 per cent of her timber requirements, principally in the form of Norwegian softwood (Smout 1960).

The expense of providing imported timber for the construction of tenants' houses was offset in parts of Galloway, the Borders and the fringes of the Highlands, areas which were distant from the sea, by the presence of remnants of natural woodland. These allowed many proprietors to supply their tenants with timber at little cost (S.R.O. GD 157 702). However, such sources of wood appear to have been very much wasting assets by this time. Oak and ash wood was preferred to fir timber for crucks where it was available (S.R.O. GD 188 2; GD 186 12/2), but the use of hardwoods was probably fairly restricted by the seventeenth century.

Owing to the strict management of surviving natural woodland and the difficulty and expense of buying foreign wood, the provision of timber was almost invariably the responsibility of the proprietor. Tacks generally specified that the proprietor was bound to provide the 'great timber', which included the cruck trusses and, in some cases at least, the purlins (pans) and rafters (cabers) (N.L.S. Minto Charters CB 144 11; S.R.O. GD 34 441). Because of this, it was rare for a tenant to be allowed to remove his roof timbers when he left a holding, as appears to have been more common in the Highlands (Grant 1961). The only usual exception to this was where a tenant had constructed a building at his own expense, in which case he normally had the alternative of financial compensation (S.R.O. GD 248 700; GD44 44 30). Examples of tenants being permitted to take away their roof timbers are recorded (Barron 1892), but in general, tenants were bound to leave their houses as they found them, although instances of the illegal removal of roof timbers are not unknown (Littlejohn 1906:II.428, 435).

Because of the expense of providing timber for tenants' houses, landlords tended to be parsimonious by postponing the replacement of unsound cruck trusses for as long as possible. This sometimes resulted in houses which were in a poor state of repair. The situation was probably aggravated by the fact that while proprietors were usually bound to provide the timber, they did not often pay for the expense of having it erected by professional wrights. Some half-dozen instances of craftsmen being employed in the construction of tenants' houses are known, but they are greatly outnumbered by references which indicate that the tenant was his own carpenter.

This niggardly attitude provoked some violent protests from the tenantry. In 1682, the tenants of the baronies of Hailes and Traprain in East Lothian were forced to 'complean exceedingly with the badnes of there houses. [The proprietor] . . . at there entry were oblidged to repare them which was never done' (S.R.O. GD 6 1687). An inventory of buildings in the barony of Thornton, also in East Lothian, records the provision of timber 'to John Murray's stable that fell and almost destroyed his horse', and to Adam Manderston 'for his dwelling house that fell to the ground' (S.R.O. GD 6 1532). Even in such situations, proprietors continued penny-pinching by supplying short pieces of timber to shore up rotten cruck trusses rather than replace them. A survey of repairs needed to houses on the Leven estates in Fife in 1682 contains entries

such as 'John Mitchell in Craigencatt is weak both in the couples timber and walls and some of his couples are broken and therefore will be needfull to be taken down and repaired . . .' (S.R.O. GD 26 631).

If such practices were common then the standard of construction must frequently have been low. This goes a long way towards explaining why no seventeenth-century cruck-framed buildings have survived in Lowland Scotland. It also indicates that cruck blades must have been commonly constructed in more than one piece. Such a practice would have been particularly likely when imported timber was used, for it would presumably have come in straight sections without the natural curves which could have been readily shaped into single cruck blades. The sources do not provide enough information to suggest the types of cruck framing which were in general use, however.

Roofing

Contrary to some suppositions (Smout 1969:139; Handley 1953:76), straw was far from unknown as a roofing material in seventeenth-century Lowland Scotland. Its use is widely recorded in eastern Scotland from Kincardineshire to Roxburghshire, in Central and Southern Ayrshire, and in Dumfries-shire. With the exception of Aberdeenshire and the Moray Firth coast, from where there are as yet no records of its use at this time, the distribution corresponds roughly with those areas which, from their rent structures, are known to have concentrated on arable farming (Whyte 1974:330–4), and which are likely to have had a relative abundance of straw. The accounts of the Buccleuch estates at Dalkeith, Midlothian and the Panmure estates in Angus (S.R.O. GD 224 943 3; GD 45 18 18) indicate that, as in England (Innocent 1916) the straw of wheat and rye was preferred to that of bere and oats. Such straw was longer and stronger than other kinds. As oat straw was generally considered to be superior to wheat or rye as a fodder (Sinclair 1813:1. 391), there was probably little conflict between these uses.

Rye, although grown quite widely in Lowland Scotland at this time (Whyte 1974: 145–6), was seldom produced in any quantity. However, the purposes behind the cultivation of small quantities of rye are uncertain and the possibility that it was deliberately grown for thatching should not be overlooked (Innocent 1916:191). Wheat was grown more widely, and in greater quantity (Whyte 1974:144–5), but the distribution of straw thatch is wider still and it is probable that bere straw was used in many areas, as was the case in the Highlands at a later date (Grant 1961:158).

The nature of the evidence makes it impossible to be certain whether, in any of the recorded instances, straw was the sole roofing material. However, in many cases the references relate specifically to a thatch of turf and straw. Houses with turf roofs occurred in both upland and lowland areas. In pastoral districts, where straw was too precious as a fodder to use for thatching, turf may frequently have been the only roofing material, or may have been used in conjunction with heather. The paring of turf from

arable land in fallow, or the over-intensive stripping of it from the commonty, particularly in arable areas where pasture was in short supply, could be detrimental to the farm or the estate as a whole. The first practice was usually banned and the second carefully regulated. At Raith in Fife, and Penicuik in Midlothian, tenants were restricted in the amount of turf that they could use for roofing and in the latter example were compelled to use straw and turf together rather than turf alone (S.R.O. GD 26 2 2; GD 18 695).

Heather was used as a roofing material in Galloway, Ayrshire and the North-East, but was probably more widespread to judge by the number of references to the regulation of the pulling of heather in court books. In one or two cases heather was used for fuel, but in others it was probably destined for roofing. Later writers considered that it formed a very durable thatch, preferable to straw in some ways, although rather heavy. Bearing in mind the standards of roof construction, this may have restricted its use to some degree.

Slate was rarely used for roofing tenants' houses. It was difficult to obtain and expensive to transport. In addition, it was heavier than thatch and required more closely-spaced roof timbers (Smith 1967:788). Considering the expense of timber, its rarity is not surprising. On some estates tenants were actually forbidden to roof their houses with it (S.R.O. GD 26 2 2). Slate was in widespread use for the houses and outbuildings of home farms at this time, though not invariably. The stables at Cassillis House in Ayrshire and Castle Kennedy in Wigtownshire were thatched with heather in 1650 (S.R.O. GD 25 9 50,64). Even the superior dwelling houses possessed by the tenants of Lasswade, which will be considered below, were roofed with straw and turf (S.R.O. GD 18 695). The only certain examples of slate being used for tenants' houses come from Mangerton in Liddesdale, where there was a quarry close at hand, and from North Berwick (S.R.O. GD 237 4; GD 110 697).

Broom and whin were in general use, with twigs and small branches, as underlays for turf, straw or heather, to secure them to the rafters. These interwoven layers of brushwood were sometimes referred to as 'wattles' (S.R.O. GD 188 2). There was widespread concern to maintain supplies of broom by planting it on dykes and in special 'broom parks' (S.R.O. GD 30 612; GD 28 1648), as well as conserving supplies on commonties. The sources are vague with regard to the ways in which the thatch was finished off and secured. The use of ropes of straw and heather is mentioned (S.R.O. GD 25 9 64), but it is not clear how they were laid out and secured.

Walling

As tenants were rarely compensated for the cost of providing and building the walls of their houses, they constructed them as cheaply as possible from materials occurring on, or in the immediate vicinity of, their farms. The availability of particular materials varied from place to place but the principal ones were stone, clay, turf and wattle.

Stone was expensive and difficult to transport even over short distances, but could be obtained fairly readily from the larger stones removed from cultivated land, or from small quarries on the commonty. It is likely that there would usually have been a supply of stone available around most farmsteads from former buildings and that the entering tenant would have needed to find relatively little new stone unless he was engaged in a major expansion of his farmstead. The use of stone for walling was widespread in Lowland Scotland, generally in combination with turf or clay. However, the fact that the walls of cruck-framed buildings did not have to carry the weight of the roof may have caused many tenants to restrict the use of stone to the foundations and bottom courses on which to rest the cruck trusses, the upper parts of the walls being built of turf which was lighter to transport and handle. Stone and turf construction, whether in alternate courses as described by Fenton (1968), or with a substantial bottom layer of stone, appears to have been a common building technique. It is known from the North-East to the Borders and Ayrshire.

Clay was used for walling in Eastern Scotland from the Moray Firth to Teviotdale, and in the South-West. This distribution is similar to that found by Fenton for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Fenton 1970). In many cases the clay was used as a mortar for stone, allowing chimneys and gables to be constructed, but still in conjunction with cruck-framing (S.R.O. GD 30 1537; GD 16 27 67). In other references to clay alone it is not certain whether it was used as mortar or as the major construction material.

There are no clear instances of the use of wattle for the walls of peasant houses in Lowland Scotland at this time. In every case where the term 'wattle' is used, it appears to relate to a thatch underlay. This evidence, admittedly negative, supports Gailey's theory that the use of wattle for the walls of tenants' houses died out at a comparatively early date in Lowland Scotland compared with the Highlands (Gailey 1962:238). It is possible, however, that it remained in use for the houses of sub-tenants at this time. Such dwellings are rarely accorded the detailed descriptions which are available for tenants' houses. This in itself suggests that they were constructed of impermanent materials like turf and wattle, which were not worth listing in valuations.

Perhaps the most important development in building construction in Lowland Scotland during the seventeenth century was the growing use of lime mortar. Previously it has been assumed that lime mortar was not used for tenants' houses on any scale before the nineteenth century (Dunbar 1966:229). However, estate papers indicate that its use was widespread on the east coast, particularly around the Forth and Tay estuaries, but extending as far north as Aberdeenshire and south into Roxburghshire, Lanarkshire and Galloway.

Lime had been known to tenant farmers over a wide area of Lowland Scotland since the early decades of the century at least. At this time the use of agricultural lime underwent a major expansion in a belt of country which had access to limestone, and to coal for burning it, extending from Fife and East Lothian to Central Ayrshire.

Compared with agriculture, building construction required relatively small quantities of lime. A long distance trade in it by coastal and overland transport existed by the seventeenth century for building and repairing the houses of the gentry (S.R.O. GD 45 18 645; GD 224 943 7). It was only a matter of time before lime mortar became available for tenants' houses in those areas which had immediate access to it. The earliest known instance of its use was on the Aberdour estate in Fife in 1625 (S.R.O. GD 150 2012). However, the bulk of the references relate to the period 1660–1700, and it is likely that the use of lime mortar became more widespread during the period of prosperity which occurred between the Restoration and the onset of the famines of the later 1690s. Although most of the known examples come from areas close to sources of limestone and coal, the use of lime mortar in areas such as Teviotdale, Galloway and Angus indicates that transport costs were sufficiently low to allow its use for tenants' houses in areas outside the immediate vicinity of limestone outcrops. The full implications of the advent of lime mortar will be considered below.

Some of the references in inventories indicate that the houses concerned were gable-ended. Houses with gables are recorded throughout Lowland Scotland and are sometimes specifically associated with clay mortar. The construction of gable ends suggests that the walls of the houses concerned must have been fairly strong and should have been capable of bearing the weight of the roof. Yet many of these buildings were definitely cruck-framed. This may argue a lack of confidence in the load-bearing ability of the walls. However, it could also be a manifestation of the tendency, noted by Gailey in the Highlands at a later date, to continue using crucks despite the presence of walls which were capable of supporting the roof (Gailey 1962:233). If this was the case then the universality of cruck-framing in seventeenth-century Lowland Scotland may be in part a cultural survival, particularly among the houses of the wealthier tenants, although crucks were doubtless still essential in the houses of the majority of smaller tenants.

It is more difficult to distinguish hip-ended buildings from the sources. The only cases where this can be done are where the details of the timber supplied for roofing are sufficient to record the provision of tail-posts, which appear to have been the timbers supporting the hipped end of a building (S.R.O. GD 16 27 41). However, the presence of these is only recorded in a few instances. It is not possible at present to draw any conclusions from the distributions of gables and hip-ended houses in Lowland Scotland at this period.

House Types

The prevailing design of peasant house over much of Lowland Scotland at this time was the long-house. This is suggested by the recurring combination of dwelling (sit-house, fire-house), byre and barn together in inventories of farm buildings. That these were all under one continuous roof is sometimes explicit. In other cases this is implied by reference to one or more of the units being supported by a single cruck truss. The

construction of free-standing buildings with hipped ends, supported by a single cruck frame, seems unlikely and such descriptions probably relate to a two-bay division in a continuous long-house where the end crucks were listed under the adjoining units.

An incidental feature of the long-house plan was its economy in the use of building materials. This may help to explain its survival until a relatively late date in many parts of Scotland. The building of dwelling house, byre and barn together, divided by light internal partitions, would have required less material for walls and roof than the construction of three separate buildings. With a hip-ended structure there would also have been a saving in roof timbers compared with three single units. The long-house design clearly reduced the work of the tenant and the expenditure of the proprietor, though whether this was fortuitous or not cannot be determined.

The size and layout of seventeenth-century long-houses in Lowland Scotland conformed to a general pattern but varied in detail. A layout with the byre between the dwelling and the barn is the most common among surviving inventories. Such buildings may have had a common entrance for human beings and animals by means of a passage which separated the dwelling from the byre but this is impossible to discern from the documents. However, in cases where the barn stood between the byre and the house it must be presumed that each had a separate entrance, although the possibility that the byre could have been entered by internal doors through the barn cannot be discounted.

Many farms, particularly in arable areas, required provision for the work horses which undertook ploughing, harrowing and general carriage duties. The stable was usually placed next to the byre, but in at least one example it was situated next to the dwelling with the byre at the far end, separated from it by the barn.

References to accommodation for sheep are few although it has been generally assumed that, before the introduction of improved breeds into Scotland in the eighteenth century, sheep were normally housed in winter. This practice was certainly recommended by some seventeenth-century improvers (Donaldson 1697:97). However, references seem to indicate that sheep were normally housed in small, partly-covered folds separate from, though adjoining, the main farm buildings.

Inventories and other documents do not measure buildings in terms of bays, the spaces between the cruck frames, as was common in medieval England (Addy 1933:55). In Scotland, the bay was not a unit of taxation. Instead, buildings were measured by the number of cruck frames supporting them. As these were the most expensive items in construction, this method gave an immediate indication of the relative value, as well as the size, of a particular structure. The quantity of timber used in rafters, purlins and roof trees appears to have been regarded as being directly proportional to the number of cruck frames used. This suggests that there was a rough standardisation in the spacing of the crucks. The few instances where the number of couples is given together with internal measurements indicates that the bay width varied between about 7 and 11 feet, the average of about 9 feet agreeing with the figure which Walton suggested as being common among surviving Scottish cruck-framed dwellings (Walton 1956:118).

Information relating to the width of cruck-framed buildings indicates a considerable standardisation between 14 and 16 feet with only a single example reaching 17 feet.

The data show a wide range of sizes for the dwelling part of the long-house, ranging from one couple up to fourteen. The smallest houses must have consisted of a single room and were probably heated by a central open hearth. However, dwellings as primitive as these are relatively uncommon in inventories. Houses of two or three couples, probably large enough to allow some division of the living space, were more frequent. Fifty-five out of the ninety-four examples where the size of the dwelling is known were of two and three couples compared to only fourteen with one couple. Twenty-five were of five or more couples. The houses of cottars and sub-tenants receive less attention in inventories. They appear to have been smaller on the whole. Eighteen of the fifty-four recorded examples were of one, and thirty-one of two couples, although occasional cottar-houses of three and four couples are known.

It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that the house of every tenant farmer in Lowland Scotland at this time was a simple three-unit long house with the family living in the cramped confines of one or two rooms. The variations in the sizes of the dwellings themselves indicate considerable differences in wealth and status among the tenants who inhabited them.

Tenants of larger holdings possessed more substantial houses with more complex internal layouts and more durable structures. A house at Bridgend of Lintrathen in Angus, inventoried in 1656, comprised a hall, back chamber, inner chamber and pantry, extending in all to eight couples. The windows were glazed and the house possessed at least one chimney (S.R.O. GD 16 27 67). This type of house may be considered as an intermediate one where the long-house plan survived but where the house had developed substantially from the smaller one- and two-roomed examples.

The factor's house at Belhelvie, Aberdeenshire, described in 1705, was more sophisticated still. Thomas Innes, the factor, must have been a man of some consequence locally. He was a member of the class of more enterprising and substantial tenants who possessed larger holdings and who branched out into other occupations besides farming. Men of this class were becoming increasingly numerous throughout Lowland Scotland in the second half of the seventeenth century. In this case, Innes received a salary from the Earl of Panmure for acting as his factor, and he also engaged in small-scale trading ventures (S.R.O. GD 45 20 27–37). However, he was primarily a farmer, holding about a ploughgate of land (nominally 104 Scots acres), no more than many others on the estate.

His house, extending to fourteen couples, was gable-ended and built of stone with clay mortar. Parts of the walls, possibly around the doors and windows, were lime-mortared. There were four rooms on the ground floor and four glazed windows. Part of the house at least was lofted with deals, and a timber stair gave access to the upper rooms. The walls were carried high enough to enable four glazed windows to light the first floor. One or more single-storey ranges of outbuildings were attached to the house.

They included a kitchen and pantry, three barns, four byres and a peat house (S.R.O. GD 45 20 214). Considering the number of buildings involved, it is more likely that they were grouped around some sort of courtyard rather than constructed end to end.

It is difficult to estimate how prevalent houses of this size were at this time. This farm was not particularly large: holdings of two, three and even four ploughgates occur frequently in seventeenth-century rentals. There is evidence that the pace of agrarian change quickened during the seventeenth century, particularly after the Restoration, with an increasing trend towards commercialisation in agriculture (Whyte 1974). The muniments of estates throughout Lowland Scotland demonstrate that tenant numbers were being reduced, leading to an increase in mean holding size. This was accompanied by the breaking up of multiple-tenant farms and the consolidation of holdings out of runrig. The organisation and techniques of agriculture were undoubtedly becoming more efficient and there seems to have been an increase in prosperity, particularly on the east coast where the production of grain to supply urban markets at home, and for export, appears to have grown substantially during the later seventeenth century (Whyte 1974). In this sort of climate it is likely that houses of this type were becoming more common.

The increases in holding size due to reductions in tenant numbers would have caused a decline in co-operative husbandry on multiple-tenant farms. As individual holdings became larger, they would have needed to be more self-sufficient. This would have created a need for more and larger outbuildings to house the increased number of draught and carriage animals and equipment which would have been needed, and to store the greater quantities of grain and winter fodder which would have been produced. This appears to have caused the gradual replacement, in arable areas, of the simple long-house plan by the courtyard farmstead where the outbuildings formed two wings adjoining the dwelling house and enclosing a courtyard.

Some indications of this are discernible in one of the earliest estate plans surviving for Scotland. On the Clerk of Penicuik estates in Midlothian, the farm of Over Mosshouses is shown in 1717 as having a main dwelling house flanked by two service wings, with the fourth side enclosed by some sort of boundary, possibly a wall (S.R.O. RHP 3834). A much earlier example, at West Gagie in Angus in 1649, can be reconstructed from the inventory which includes the compass orientations of the various buildings and indicates which ones were under the same roof. Here the dwelling house and some of its offices were laid out round three sides of a courtyard with a wall and gate on the fourth. Adjoining this, the remaining outbuildings, four byres, a stable, three barns and a hen house, formed a separate cluster, possibly enclosing a second yard (S.R.O. GD 188 2).

However, the buildings described above were still cruck-framed and were subject to the limitations of plan, height and width which the use of crucks imposed. Perhaps the most significant development in rural housing in Lowland Scotland at this time was the increasing use of lime mortar. For the first time, tenants' houses with fully load-bearing

walls were constructed without the use of crucks. This made possible the building of houses with two or even three stories, instead of a single storey with, at best, a low, cramped loft. It also switched the emphasis and cost of construction away from the roof timbers and towards the walls. A saving in the quantity of timber used would have partly offset the extra work and expense involved in building a house with lime-mortared walls. However, the introduction of houses of this type appears to have been associated with a new outlook towards agriculture in general which favoured long-term capital investment rather than short-term saving. Despite the high initial cost of such houses, there would have been a long-term saving in the tenants' time and the proprietors' money with a reduction in the constant repairs which were a feature of less durable structures. The concept of permanency in rural housing was changing from a dwelling that would stand for the duration of a short lease to one which might last two generations or more. The spread of such houses may have been encouraged by the growing tendency to grant written leases for periods of up to nineteen years, particularly in arable areas, giving tenants more security and a greater stake in the land they farmed (Whyte 1974: ch. 6). Lime-mortared houses may have reflected the proprietor's desire to increase his rental by encouraging the better tenants with more congenial conditions. It could also indicate a willingness on the part of the tenant to sink more capital into his holding once his tenure was guaranteed.

Although there is widespread evidence for the use of lime mortar for tenants' houses, as has been discussed above, only one inventory gives sufficient detail to allow the full implications of its use to be appreciated. This is a survey of the barony of Lasswade, near Edinburgh, undertaken in 1694 (S.R.O. GD 18 722). It indicates that the houses of the larger tenants, on holdings with 65–130 acres of arable land, were of two, and in one case three, stories, with lime-mortared walls. They had several rooms with up to four on the first floor, and glazed windows. Sketches of the plans of some of the farmsteads accompany the survey. They show that while traces of the long-house plan survived in the layout of the main block, some of the outbuildings were grouped into separate wings forming L-shaped steadings or, in one instance, a Z-plan. It is significant that the best of these houses had been built as recently as 1693. It is also interesting to note that the descriptions of the cottars' houses associated with these farms do not differ materially from those found elsewhere. This suggests that, with the increasing trend towards commercialisation in agriculture, rural society was becoming more distinctly stratified.

This estate was notable for its advanced attitude towards agriculture. The farms associated with these houses were set in long lease and improvements such as liming had been in use for some time (S.R.O. GD 18 695,722). The presence of a large and probably expanding market for grain in the city of Edinburgh, within easy carriage of Lasswade, may have helped both tenants and proprietor to prosper.

However, care must be taken not to view this example out of context. The advanced design of these houses was probably uncommon in Scotland at this time and may have been unique. The combination of advantages enjoyed by the tenants of Lasswade—

fertile soils, a large market nearby, a progressive proprietor, and a supply of coal and limestone close at hand—cannot have occurred widely. In pastoral areas it has been suggested that the economic developments which correspond to the growth of grain production, namely the droving trade in sheep and cattle, were concentrated in the hands of the proprietors and that profits did not filter down to the tenants in the same way (Whyte 1974:269–70). As a result, there was less need for proprietors to grant their tenants longer leases, and consequently, tenants in pastoral areas are likely to have possessed houses of more modest appearance. As there was less need for large clusters of specialised buildings on such farmsteads, the long-house plan probably continued to be standard in pastoral areas after it had been replaced by the courtyard farmstead in arable districts.

Nevertheless, the new types of houses and farmstead layouts which developed in some areas in the latter part of the seventeenth century may be justly considered as the immediate forerunners of the improved farmsteads which became increasingly common in Scotland towards the end of the eighteenth century. The wide cross-section of house-types and standards of construction which have been described, as well as the regional variations in building techniques, indicate that it is misleading to present an over-generalised picture of the peasant house in Lowland Scotland before the eighteenth century. As in most peasant societies, there were richer and poorer husbandmen and this appears to have been closely reflected, in this area, in the character of their dwellings. There were major contrasts in the size and layout of farmsteads between arable and pastoral districts as a result of the storage requirements of different rural economies. Differences in the pace and character of agrarian change between such areas, together with the contrasting roles of the tenantry in increasing the profits of the estate, led to variations in the quality and durability of houses. Superimposed upon this were differences caused by inequalities in the access to building materials. Further work, particularly among estate papers still in private hands, will almost certainly clarify this picture and will establish some of the regional variations much more securely than has been possible in this introductory survey.

REFERENCES

Manuscripts

S.R.O. Scottish Record Office.

N.L.S. National Library of Scotland.

Printed Sources

ADDY, S. O. 1933 *The Evolution of the English House*. London.

BARRON, D. G. 1892 *The Court Book of the Barony of Urie*. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

BROWN, P. H.
1891 *Early Travellers in Scotland*. Edinburgh.
1893 *Scotland Before 1700*. Edinburgh.
CRAWFORD, I. A.
1967 'The Divide Between Medieval and Post-Medieval in Scotland'. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 1: 84–9.
DONALDSON, J.
1697 *Husbandry Anatomised or an Enquiry Into the Present Manner of Teiling and Manuring the Ground in Scotland.*
DUNBAR, J. G.
1966 *The Historic Architecture of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
1971 'The Peasant House' in *Deserted Medieval Villages*, ed. M. Beresford and J. Hunt. London.
FAIRHURST, H.
1967*a* 'The Archaeology of Rural Settlement in Scotland'. *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 15: 139–58.
1967*b* 'The Rural Settlement Pattern of Scotland' in *Liverpool Essays in Geography*, ed. R. A. Steel and R. Lawton. London.
FENTON, A.
1968 'Alternating Turf and Stone; An Obsolete Building Practice'. *Folk Life* 6: 94–103.
1970 'Clay Building and Clay Thatch in Scotland'. *Ulster Folklife* 14: 28–51.
GAILEY, R. A.
1962 'The Peasant House of the South Western Highlands of Scotland'. *Gwerin* 3: 227–242.
GRANT, I. F.
1961 *Highland Folk Ways*. Edinburgh.
HALL, R. DE Z.
1972 *A Bibliography of Vernacular Architecture*. London.
HANDLEY, J. E.
1953 *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century*. Edinburgh.
INNOCENT, C. F.
1916 *The Development of English Building Construction*. London.
KIRK, J.
1892 *Tour in Scotland 1677*, ed. P. H. Brown. Edinburgh.
LITTLEJOHN, D.
1906 *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire*. 2 vols. New Spalding Club, Aberdeen.
SINCLAIR, J.
1813 *An Account of the Husbandry in the More Improved Districts of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
SMITH, P.
1967 'Rural Housing in Wales' in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* vol. IV, ed. J. Thirsk. London. Pp. 767–813.
SMOUT, T. C.
1960 'Some Problems of Timber Supply in Late Seventeenth Century Scotland'. *Scottish Forestry* 14: 3–13.
1969 *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830*. Edinburgh.
WALTON, J.
1956 'Cruck Framed Buildings in Scotland'. *Gwerin* 1: 109–22.
WHYTE, I. D.
1974 *Agrarian Change in Lowland Scotland in the Seventeenth Century*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh).

Notes and Comments

'Caller Ou!'
An Edinburgh fishwives' cry and an old Scottish sound change

HANS SPEITEL

It is often the case that very familiar features in the history and life of an area escape the interest of the scholar. This seems to have happened with regard to the Newhaven fishwives whose cries and unusual dress drew comment from many popular writers on Edinburgh. They even found their way into Charles Reade's novel *Christie Johnson* (1853), but their quaintness was usually attributed to Scandinavian or Dutch and Flemish origin,[1] and after having been thus labelled no further thought was lost about it.

In this paper I should like to concentrate on cries, and in particular on *caller ou!* which is well attested phonetically during the last century. I hope to show that it originates in the Scots area around the Forth.

In his delightful book *Life Jottings*, Sir J. H. A. MacDonald introduced me a long time ago to the now extinct Newhaven fishwives and their ways. Casting back his mind to the middle of the last century, he describes their physical build and their costume and continues

> 'Caller herrin'—'Caller cod' were called sonorously during the forenoon, and 'Caller ow-oo' at night, when the oysters were offered for sale. Must I say for the English reader that 'caller' means fresh and that the vowelled word was the cry of oysters; I despair of expressing the delightful sound of it. The first syllable was as the 'ou' in 'hour', and the last syllable as the 'oo' by which 'you' is sometimes expressed in doting language . . .' (MacDonald 1915:54).

It has always puzzled me what word lay behind the mysterious *ow-oo* or, as it is also spelt, *ou* or *oo*. The present day dialect word for oyster is *ister* [ˈɛɪstər] where the 'i' is pronounced as in 'Christ'. This is in line with other English words with the sound 'oy', like 'boil, point, voice, toil, ointment, boisterous' which appear in (old) Edinburgh and Lothian dialect as *bile, pint, vice, tile, intment, bist(e)rous* [bɛɪl, pɛɪnt, vɛɪs, tɛɪl, ˈɛɪntmənt, ˈbɛɪstrəs]. Obviously this will not explain *ou*.

The *Scottish National Dictionary* (SND 1965:482) lists the word under '*oo*, n.[2] (obsolete). Also *ou*; *oost*, *oyse*. Only in the street cry *Caller Oo!* fresh oysters (Edb. *c.* 1920)'. No further information about its derivation is given. The pronunciation is indicated by [ou] which is a phonetic transcription of the southern English exclamation 'oh'.

Let us return to MacDonald's description. He says that the fishwives produce the cry in two syllables. The first of these is sounded like the vowel in 'hour' (*i.e.* [ʌu] which would rhyme with English 'how'), the second, as I understand it, is a long drawn out *oooo* [u:], which is really a continuation of the preceding diphthong 'ou' and lengthened to produce a more effective cry. This is supported by Cuthbert Bede (Edward Bradley) who describes the call as 'a caallerr owhoo-oo-oo pitched in a high note that ended in a prolonged and smothered howl' (Bede n.d.:308–9). He adduces a London cry *o clo!* (old clothes!), (which, by the way, sounded *ole clo!* in Edinburgh) where the words are shortened for economy of effort, *i.e.* it is easier to shout 'o clo' than the full form. The reverse is true, Bradley says, and this is where I differ from him, of 'caller ou'. A short word (*ou*) is lengthened to give an 'owlish cry' which is a kind of trade-mark which cannot be counterfeited.[3] There is, however, no such word in Scots dialect in this meaning. In my opinion 'ou' is, on the contrary, a shortening from 'oyster'. But how is this to be explained?[4]

The first *Statistical Account* reports on the parish of Kilconquhar, 'the common people in this and the neighbouring parishes, pronounce the diphthong *oi* with a long and broad accent, giving it the sound of *ow*, for instance, they make no distinction of sound, between *boil* and *bowl*' (SA 1793:297). This evidence on its own is not conclusive as *ow* has two values [o] and [ʌu], *cf.* Scottish English *bowl* and *howl*. In present-day Scots dialect pronunciation 'bowl' (a basin) rhymes with English 'howl' and this latter *ow* is meant here, as vol. xv of the same work proves: 'and I have often heard in this part of the country [Dalgety] a sound given to the diphthong *oi*, which is not, I believe, so usual in other places: it is frequently pronounced as if it consisted of the letter ou, as for *bowl*, boil, *pount* for point, *vouce* for voice, etc.' (SA 1795:265).

Now, there is still at least one common word which, in certain dialects of the east coast of Scotland (including Fife and Mid- and East Lothian), shows even today 'ou' [ʌu] for English 'oy' [ɔe], namely 'buoy' [bʌu] (the suspension buoy). It rhymes with English 'how', say in (old-fashioned) Newhaven or Fisherrow. Moreover, an old man from Edinburgh gave me the same vowel in the local place-name 'Royston' [ˈrʌustən]. Sir James Wilson (1926:226–76) reports *bow* [bʌu] for 'buoy' (see above), *bowl* [bʌul] (obsol.) for 'boil', *dowtit* [ˈdʌutɪt] for 'doited' (crazy), all for Fife. *The Scottish National Dictionary* lists *e.g. towl* for toil, *stout* for stoit (bounce), *stouter* for stoiter (slouch), *bousterous* for boisterous, *etc.*, all for Fife and reported obsolescent. (See also SND 1965: 455, 'O', 26.)

On the basis of the foregoing considerations we can now postulate a form *ouster* [ˈʌustər] for 'oyster' and we may assume that the sound change was not restricted to Fife, but also found in Newhaven, and possibly other fishing villages of the Forth. This leaves us to consider how *ouster* became 'ou'. We have already seen that economy of effort is a force which might shorten words (see 'o clo' above) at the cost of intelligibility but at the same time transforming them into more expressive cries. I think that our word 'ou' fits into this pattern and that evidence from an anonymous article on

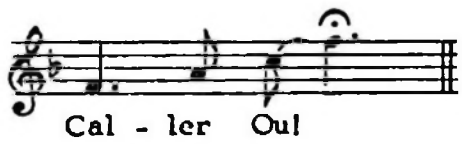
'Edinburgh Cries' in *Blackwood's Magazine* (Anon. 1821:400) might show us a path which this shortening took. The form 'caller oost' is reported there which could be 'ouster' with the loss of final '-er'.

W. McDowall's Poems 1838 (quoted SND 1965:482) has

caller oyse—caller oyse—
Wale o' my caller oyse

which would point to a rival cry 'oyse' from 'oyster' and probably pronounced to rhyme with 'ice'. This is obviously not the precursor of our word but it is further proof of words being changed in cries. Others, also peculiar to Edinburgh, are '(caller) partee'[5] from *partan* (edible crab) and 'peeryorries'[6] from *pitawties* (potatoes). MacDonald (1915:68) tells of his heartless nurse who interpreted a china-mender's cry which was unintelligible to him as a call for naughty children to be taken away and burnt, whereas the shout was 'Cheeyna, cerusstl, and stunwa-e-re to get mendit' (china, chrystal and stoneware to get mended). Some ten years ago a newspaper man at the corner of Hanover Street and Princes Street would shout 'Patch ae Nooze' [ˈpatʃeˈnyz] (Dispatch and News, *i.e. Edinburgh Evening Dispatch* and *Edinburgh Evening News*).

All these examples show that words, often with a dialect pronunciation, can be changed out of all recognition in cries. 'Ou' is just one more case. The earliest mention of it which I have been able to trace so far occurs in a footnote to the letterpress in the first edition of Kay's *Portraits* (1838:338) 'Wha'll o' caller ou!' Kay himself had entitled his original engraving (1812) 'Wha'll o' caller oysters!'[7] It seems then that 'ou' became a fashionable cry only during the middle of the last century. We even know how the syllables were pitched, from an article by J. H. Jamieson (1909:186).



By the 1860s we hear that the business in oysters was waning, the *scaups* (oyster beds) were beginning to be over-exploited, and fish shops started to spring up in the town making many of the fishwives redundant. However, some cries of 'caller ou' were still heard at the beginning of this century in 'fashionable West-end streets and crescents' (Jamieson 1909:187). Selling oysters had become a luxury trade, no longer to be shared by the whole town of Edinburgh. Its trademark 'ou-ooo' has long disappeared.

The author would welcome information from readers about the sound change described in this paper—whether, for example, anyone has heard the vowel in words like 'boil, voice, buoy' etc., *and especially 'oyster', pronounced with 'ou' in Scots dialect. It is essential to obtain as much information as possible on* where *this was heard,* who *used it (age, provenance, sex) and* when *this was observed (recently or quoting from memory).*

NOTES

1 This is repeated as late as 1884 (Groome 1884:109). The development of the dress is described in detail for the first time by K. Michaelson in *Bulletin of the Costume Society of Scotland* v (1970), pp. 8 ff., but no suggestion as to its origin is given.

2 This quotation is slightly adapted.

3 It might be apposite to quote Bradley in full on this (Bede [n.d.]:308–9):

'When Coleridge interrogated an old Jew vendor of still older clothes, why he snuffled "O clo!" instead of saying, "Old clothes!" the Jew is reported to have replied, "Sir, I can say old clothes distinctly when I so please; but, when you consider the labial difficulties that attend upon the full pronunciation of these two words, when repeated many hundred times in a day, I think you will allow that I save my lungs from considerable and unnecessary fatigue by repeating that contracted form of my cry, which is best known to my customers, instead of adopting that pronunciation which I grant you is undoubtedly correct, and which would probably be more agreeable to the refined ears of the scholar. In future, therefore, sir, when you hear my accustomed cry, I trust you will give me credit for a knowledge of correct pronunciation, although, for sufficient and satisfactory reasons, I have preferred to adopt a popular contraction." Upon which the old man passed on, with his cry of "O clo!".

Now, it is just the reverse with the Newhaven fishwomen, as "Caller Ou!" is shorter, and may be quite as readily pronounced as "A Caaller owhoo-oo-oo!". But, there is a trade advantage attending their cry, that it cannot be counterfeited: there is not the slightest danger of an infringement on their patent, and when householders hear the owlish cry, they know from whence it proceeds, and what articles may be purchased.'

4 I see that Christie (1955:40) also suggests that ' "ou" was an abbreviation for "oyster" '. He does not, however, go further into this.

5 See Jamieson 1909:186:

'caller parte-e-e . . . the fishwife delights to prolong the last syllable not only for the purpose of rendering her cry more effective, but to save herself the necessity of calling too frequently.'

6 See Jamieson 1909:193:

'Buy my fine peeryorries, saxpence a peck and awa they go.'

7 See Kay 1838: plate no. 113 and p. 338 n.: 'In calling oysters the cry now is "Wha'll o' caller *ou*!" '. The reference in the letterpress is to 'Edinburgh Fishwomen' in *Chambers Edinburgh Journal* VI (1837), pp. 258–9.

REFERENCES

ANON.
1821 'The Voyages and Travels of Columbus Secundus, 4: The Cries of Edinburgh'. *Blackwoods Magazine* 9:399–402.

BEDE, CUTHBERT
[n.d. ?1869] [*pseud, i.e.* Edward Bradley] *A Holiday Ramble in the Land of Scott*. London.

CHRISTIE, GUY
1955 *Harbours of the Forth*. London.

GROOME, F. H. (ed.)
1884 *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* vol. v. Edinburgh.

JAMIESON, J. H.
1909 'Edinburgh Street Traders and their Cries'. *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 2:177–222.

KAY, JOHN
1838 *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings* vol. II. Edinburgh.

MACDONALD, SIR J. H. A.
1915 *Life Jottings of an Edinburgh Citizen.* Edinburgh.
SA
1793, 1795 *Statistical Account of Scotland* vols. IX, XV. Edinburgh.
SND
1965 *The Scottish National Dictionary* vol. VI, ed. D. Murison. Edinburgh.
WILSON, SIR JAMES
1926 *The Dialects of Central Scotland.* London. Pp. 226–76 (Dictionary).

Jeannie Robertson: an appreciation

HERSCHEL GOWER

It was my great fortune to know Jeannie for the last twenty years of her life.[1] I began listening to the tapes Hamish Henderson had collected from her when I came to the School of Scottish Studies in the autumn of 1954. Each one got better as I sat there day after day, strung up with earphones and sometimes literally caught up in the tape itself, and listened to that miraculous voice. Although I had just come from Nashville and had lived all my life in Tennessee—behind me seven generations of Scottish forbears in North America—I had never heard anybody sing like Jeannie. No voice as rich as hers, no style as commanding, no story as heroic in the telling as the ballads she sang. For six months I sat and listened and longed for an occasion when the real Jeannie might come down to the School or put in an appearance at a festival. Neither occasion was forthcoming that year, but already I admired the singer and what she represented out of all proportion to any casual meeting that might take place now or later.

Hamish saw what was going on and suggested that I transcribe some of Jeannie's texts and work on them for the sake of scholarship and Mr Fulbright, who had arranged for me to come in the first place. It was not until the next year and the renewal of the grant that I was able to go up to Aberdeen for a visit with Jeannie, her husband Donald and his brother Isaac. At the time they were living at 21 Causewayend in the Gallowgate. Not only was I welcomed by the three of them for a long session that first night, I was told to come back the next for a ceilidh they would put on with kinsfolk and traveller friends. So I not only heard Jeannie in her prime those two evenings, I heard so many other fine singers and pipers that the great Lowland music has rung in my ears ever since. I still remember Jeannie with a half-filled teacup, standing at the mantel, singing one of the big ballads to me and me alone for I had come further than the others and would have farther to go.

Over the years I went back again and again, in the summer. Not as a collector—Hamish was doing that with the greatest skill and success. I went back to the houses Jeannie, Donald and Isaac lived in in Montgomery Road and Hilton Road as a friend and admirer and also as a fellow traveller in the old ways; I met Lizzie[2] too and we were bound by the same themes in art and song that Yeats wrote about. Between meetings I kept in touch by letter and returning Americans who had come home enraptured with Jeannie. I urged her to accept some of the invitations she was receiving every year to sing in America. I promised her in one letter, I recall, that I would personally cool down the concert hall in Chicago, bring it down to Aberdeen norms so

she would run no risk of being stymied by central heat. Not even that gesture would bring her here; the money failed, too; the pace away from home was really not hers.

We did put one formal programme together—Jeannie singing, I introducing her songs—at Gladstone's Land during the Edinburgh Festival in 1967. Once she got started she did extremely well before an audience of international faces in the small crowded hall; I know she tried very hard for my sake. But, bless her, Jeannie was never meant to go commercial. I got to understand that fact and face it at long last, and I got to appreciate it more and more every time I saw Jeannie. For each time I did I was coming from Nashville, called Music City, U.S.A., where half the commercial records in America are cut, where traditional singers are all going the other way, playing to bigger audiences in front of louder microphones, piling up higher hair-dos, riding in shinier Cadillacs, and grinding out the chaff that has somehow made them rich and famous.

All this will surely pass if indeed it is done for money and fame and there is no heart in it. Jeannie was the real artist and towered above all the others because she plumbed depths they could not hope to reach. Not only the pathos, but also the tragedy in human life she knew, and felt, and memorialised in her songs. She knew the difference between tragedy and its hollow pretensions, between the real thing and a popular bathos. One Sunday afternoon in Edinburgh she sat with my wife Dona and me in Princes Street Gardens waiting for a concert in the bandshell. A newspaper left on the bench in front of us screamed out the lurid headlines: MANAGER OF SINGING GROUP DIES BY OWN HAND. We had all heard the group on the radio and seen them on television and knew about the great wealth accumulated by the manager. It was incredible to hear the trivial reasons that the paper gave for his death. Jeannie thought for a moment without changing the expression on her broad, leonine face. Then the dark eyes flashed and she said to us in one perfect sentence: 'Aye, and I'd like ye to tell me whit he might hae done if he'd had the real trouble.'

Bless you, Jeannie, for keeping us in touch with the real thing.

NOTES

1 Jeannie Robertson Higgins died 13th March 1975.

A series of articles on her and her style of singing have appeared at intervals in Scottish Studies:
I 'Portrait of a Traditional Singer,' vol. 12 (1968) pp. 113–26
II 'Jeannie Robertson: The Child Ballads,' vol. 14 (1970) pp. 35–58
III 'Jeannie Robertson: The 'Other' Ballads,' vol. 16 (1972) pp. 139–59
IV 'Jeannie Robertson: The Lyric Songs' (being prepared for a forthcoming issue)
(I is by Herschel Gower; II, III and IV by Herschel Gower and James Porter.)

2 A study of the singing style of Jeannie's daughter, Lizzie Higgins, has been made by Ailie Munro: Scottish Studies vol. 14 (1970), pp. 155–88.

Book and Record Reviews

The Bagpipe—the History of a Musical Instrument by Francis Collinson. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London and Boston 1975. Pp. xx+257. £7.50.

A new full-length book on the bagpipe is a notable event by any standards, and this one deserves to be welcomed by all lovers of the pipes and pipe music, as well as by the more academic students of Scottish music and tradition. And yet it makes curiously unsatisfactory reading, for reasons which the author himself quite frankly confesses. His original intention was to write a book on the Scottish Highland bagpipe, with only a minimum of early historical introduction. But as is the way with introductions, this part of the work grew out of all proportion to the rest. The result is a book which though excellent in many places, ultimately lacks any clear sense of direction. The topics treated in detail are the reed pipes—not bagpipes—of antiquity; the rather thinly scattered historical evidences of bagpiping in the British Isles; and the history of the Highland bagpipe from its first appearance to the early part of the nineteenth century. The general development of bagpipes in relation to other instruments, and the place of the Highland bagpipe as a member of a wide and diverse family of instruments, are implied but never brought out into the foreground. There is little discussion of music and no actual examples of tunes; and technical details of pipe construction are confined to an appendix. Another appendix is a list of bagpipes in different countries, with some historical references. This is drawn mainly from the well-known monograph by Anthony Baines, and from earlier compilations: the later works of Marcuse (1964) and van der Meer (1964) seem to have been overlooked.

Chapter 1, 'Antiquity', is undoubtedly too long for its purpose, but it is not irrelevant to the story of the bagpipe. The points which are rightly stressed are that the pipes of antiquity, typified by the Greek *aulos*, were reed pipes, not flutes as translators persist in calling them, and that their sound must have had much in common with the wild and colourful tones of the later bagpipes. Moreover they were blown with continuous nasal inhalation, the player using his own cheeks as air reservoir while snatching a breath. But more could have been made of these facts by showing how this kind of playing still persists among horn-pipe players in many parts of the world and by discussing the character of their music. For as Baines observed 'the historical implication is that wind music no different from the more primitive kinds of bagpiping may have been familiar . . . two thousand years before the bag idea is first recorded'. It is this, rather than the occasional far-fetched comparison between ancient Greek and modern Scottish customs, which justifies any claim for continuity in the tradition of pipe-

playing. A curious omission in this chapter is the clearest known depiction of a bagpipe in antiquity, to which the author himself has called attention elsewhere (Collinson 1969; see also his note in the *Piping Times* Dec. 1970).

In Chapter 2, 'Britain after the Romans', Collinson follows the sensible plan of chronicling the appearance of the bagpipe in all four countries—England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland—in a single sequence, beginning with the first references to 'pipes' in Irish and Welsh texts and working through to the decline and disappearance of the bagpipe in England (outside Northumberland), with brief mentions of the appearance of two new forms, the Irish and Northumbrian bellows-blown pipes. An admitted problem is the use of the undifferentiated term 'pipe'—in the texts cited it is certainly not always a bagpipe and could just as well be a flute or shawm. But in one case Collinson has found irrefutable proof in the excellent picture, drawn from life *c.* 1770, of the town piper of Haddington marching with his bagpipe, the town drummer following after.

In the Irish section Collinson has been led sadly astray by his reliance on that most unreliable scholar, W. H. Grattan Flood. Without entering here into a dissertation on the subject, it is sufficient to say here that no-one has yet produced evidence of the term 'uillean pipes' being used before Flood himself introduced it in the early 1900s; and there is no trace of the instrument itself earlier than the eighteenth century.

The early history of the Scottish Highlands is of course shadowy in the extreme, and it must be said that the clarity of Chapter 3, 'The Great Highland Bagpipe', is not enhanced by the author's method, with its extensive quotation of secondary sources and of traditions for which there can be little foundation. For example, the 'Glen' bagpipes dated 1409 are described fully, and only afterwards admitted to be spurious; the 'tradition' of bagpipes being played at the Battle of the North Inch of Perth is introduced with a lengthy quotation from Scott and no word of his possible sources, and only afterwards is it acknowledged that early chronicles contain no such reference. The use of traditional material is indeed surprisingly uncritical. When for example we have numerous stories of the origin of the MacCrimmon family, it is not good enough simply to complain that none of them is 'verifiable'. What is required is some assessment of their relative value: Who told this story? When, and to whom? Has it been retold since? By no means all the assertions which have gathered around the bagpipe can justly be assigned the status of 'tradition'. The aim of the historian in this area should be to distinguish the original data (for what they are worth) from the romantic fiction of later writers.

But while one can easily find fault, one must also appreciate the difficulties confronting a writer grappling with such a peculiar subject—the first time it has been done for over seventy years. Considering the interest in bagpipes and pipe music which has existed now for some two centuries, the lack of really sound research on detailed aspects of the subject is extraordinary. Writing on bagpipes has been almost exclusively the province of the enthusiastic amateur and the results have been sometimes first-rate,

sometimes fair, and only too often deplorable. The pipers with practical, traditional knowledge who could have recorded their experience in writing, have been strangely reluctant to do so, and the academics who could have explored the relationships between piping and other musical traditions have not, until recently, shown any interest at all.

And against the criticisms one must also set the abundance of new material and exact references. Some of the most persistent errors in the older literature are cleared up, one hopes for the last time. The ghosts of the 'Roman' bagpipers at Richborough and Stanwix are laid to rest; and the peculiar tale of the Italian origin of the MacCrimmons is dealt with as well as could be expected in view of the exceptionally poor source material. In addition, we have confirmation of the existence of an Irish *piob mòr*, now unfortunately lost but formerly in the Musée de Cluny, Paris; an early reference by Edward Lhuyd to official pipers in the Highlands; citations of an old bagpipe-maker's account book; of a manuscript with two more piobaireachd in Gesto canntaireachd notation; and many other data hitherto buried in libraries and generally unknown.

So if this is not a perfect book, it is timely and relevant. It consolidates such research as is available, and it is essential reading for every student of the bagpipe and its music.

R. D. CANNON

REFERENCES

COLLINSON, F.
1969 'Syrinx and Bagpipe, a Romano-British Representation?' *Antiquity* vol. 43, no. 172, pp. 305–8.

MARCUSE, S.
1964 *Musical Instruments, a comprehensive dictionary*. New York.

VAN DER MEER, J. H.
1964 'Typologie der Sackpfeife'. *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, pp. 123–46.

Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology volume 11, no. 1, general editor: Mantle Hood; special editor: P. Crossley-Holland. University of California, Los Angeles 1974. Pp. viii+175. $4.75.

This is part of a multi-volume work planned by Mantle Hood when he was director of the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles and now available from the Department of Music, U.C.L.A. into which the Institute has recently been absorbed. During the 1960s and early 1970s the Institute was one of the foremost centres of ethnomusicological research and training in the world with a large and distinguished staff and an emphasis in its teaching on practical performance of non-western music (in particular oriental music). The Reports themselves were intended to be 'progress reports of unusual depth and breadth on ethnomusicological theory,

methods, world areas and comparative analyses': volume II, no. 2 (in the press) will feature studies in different musics of south-east Asia.

The present volume is devoted to the Melograph Model C, a sophisticated piece of electronic machinery designed by Charles Seeger as an aid to musical analysis. The Melograph is a sound analyser that produces from live or tape-recorded material a graphic record of the three elements of sound, *i.e.* pitch, amplitude and spectrum (tone quality) and combines them with a time base on to 16 mm film which can then be viewed on a microfilm reader, projected on a screen, or processed further for reproduction in a variety of forms. This we are told and much more about the workings of the Melograph in an excellent opening article by Michael Moore, one of the recording technicians in the institute. The rest of the volume, lavishly illustrated with diagrams, musical transcriptions and melograms contains a series of short articles by eleven different scholars who have used the Melograph to throw light on aspects of vocal or instrumental music. Its usefulness is impressively demonstrated.

Two approaches are evident. One is that of the researcher who resorts to the Melograph in an attempt to solve a specific problem which cannot be solved by means of subjective transcriptions or less sophisticated machinery. For example, Morton's problem with a Thai lament was to establish the pitches sung by the voice—despite the fact that the pitch graph produced by the Model C Melograph is often the hardest of the three lines to read, because it consists of a series of dots which are sometimes rather diffusely scattered. For his pitch reference lines (horizontal lines running along that part of the melogram where pitch is graphed) he used the pitches of an equiheptatonic Thai xylophone and compared his vocal pitches with them. Morton knew that 'In the Thai lament style, then, the ear can perceive that pitches other than those of the fixed pitch system are used by the vocalist. The ear cannot judge accurately exactly where these pitches lie in regard to the fixed pitches or to the details of the vocal tone. Melograms show these clearly . . . '. Alice Moyle used the Melograph to examine relationships between pitch and loudness in the 'tumbling strains' (Sachs) of North Australian aboriginal songs: Walcott used it to make a spectral analysis of a peculiar style of overtone singing practised in Mongolia: Giles hoped to get spectral information on the acoustics of Javanese gongs and in particular the phenomenon of amplitude vibrato known to the Javanese as *ombak*.

The second approach is exemplified by Owens's application of the Melograph (to an alto saxophone jazz solo) more or less in the spirit of open enquiry: 'what can the Melograph tell me that I don't already know?' This is a perfectly valid approach if made with caution. For Owens the result was 'simultaneously a revelation and a frustration. It reveals much about complexities of time-values, deviations in pitch from the theoretical norm of equal temperament, subtleties of phrasing, variations in vibrato width and speed, and fluctuations in tempo that either elude the ear completely or defy precise aural conceptualization. On the other hand, it leaves many questions unanswered . . . Some of these questions may not even have been imagined prior to

studying the melogram'. The wealth of detail presented in a melogram is, it seems, both an advantage and a disadvantage. Unlike the human ear, the machine is not selective and one of the problems in interpreting the resulting melograms is to separate out those details which have significance for the performer, and his audience within the culture concerned, from those which do not.

None of the contributors attempted to use the Melograph purely as a substitute for more conventional European notation, though it was a search for a substitute which led Seeger at an early date to experiment with hand graphs and, in the 1950s, to invent his 'instantaneous music notator'. At the same time Olav Gurvin was working on a rather similar means of automatic transcription in Norway. This volume has, in fact, a Norwegian precursor in Dahlback's *New Methods of Vocal Folk Music Research* (Oslo 1958) where machine transcriptions were also used in a study of the singing style of 125 Norwegian folk singers. Both books are powerful testimonies to the usefulness of machine transcription in musical analysis.

PETER COOKE

Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation by John J. Mannion. University of Toronto Department of Geography Research Publications No. 12. University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1974. Pp. xii+219. $5.00.

In *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada* Dr Mannion approaches the subject of the modification of European culture traits in the New World through the analysis of data from three widely separated pockets of nineteenth-century Irish settlement in Canada: communities in the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland, in the Miramichi district of north-eastern New Brunswick, and near Peterborough in south-central Ontario. The three study areas were largely settled in the period 1810–35 by a culturally homogeneous group of emigrants from the far south and south-east of Ireland, and the work describes and assesses the extent to which aspects of Irish material folk culture and settlement morphology were maintained, modified, or lost in each area, focusing on settlement patterns, field systems, farm tools and technology, farm outbuildings, and dwelling houses.

While it may be said that in general the Atlantic migration of the Irish resulted in the rapid loss of culture traits, the three areas studied here provide evidence of varying rates of attrition. Dr Mannion shows that these variations depended not on the social and economic conditions of the migration, but on the contrasting conditions encountered by the settlers in the separate areas—differences in physical features, economic potential, already-established patterns of settlement, land measurement and organisation, and proximity to settlers of other cultures. The survival and non-survival of the Irish system of joint farming and the openfield provides a good example of this. In the main, the emigrant groups were composed of nuclear families and unmarried

individuals rather than of extended families, and in most of the communities studied a pattern of dispersed farmsteads evolved, single family farmsteads in contrast to the farm clusters of the homeland tradition. In Miramichi and Peterborough the land had been surveyed for purposes of taxation and was divided into hundred acre lots. Here there was no necessity for the subdivision of farms into equal shares for the male heirs, for in Miramichi the possibility of employment in lumbering reduced the demands made on the land by growing families and in Peterborough the dominating grain economy encouraged extensive farming. The lands in the Avalon had not been subjected to cadastral survey, and the farms were smaller than in the other study areas. In the Avalon settlements near St John's, however, sons for whom the land could not provide a livelihood could find work in town. But in the more remote Avalon settlements on the Cape Shore of Placentia Bay, the soil varied in quality and fishing came to be combined with subsistence farming. It was here, on the Cape Shore, that the custom of subdividing the ancestral land was maintained, and as time went on and families intermarried, kin group settlement clusters did emerge.

The tasks of clearing the land and bringing it under cultivation posed problems for the Irish settlers never encountered at home, and necessitated the adaptation of homeland techniques and the adoption of new ones. In the country they had left, land pressure had made intensive farming essential; in the New World, resources were abundant. Techniques of land clearing, especially in the Miramichi and Peterborough study areas, where the forest was more dense than in the Avalon, were learned from men engaged in lumbering, or from earlier settlers who had mastered the skills. Fences were constructed of the materials removed from the land—logs, tree stumps, stones, and while some of the fences built by the Irish settlers were constructed from New World models, others may have called into use aspects of Old World technology. The 'stake and longer' fences of the Avalon, built of horizontal poles tied to upright posts by means of withes or *gads*, and the wattled or 'wave' fences of the same study area, may show the adaptation of homeland techniques to the demands and materials of the new environment.

In the Avalon too certain homeland methods of ensuring soil fertility, such as the application of the burned refuse from land-clearing operations, were carried on. The Irish settlement on the Cape Shore of Placentia Bay was the most ethnically isolated of the communities studied. Dr Mannion reports that the *grafán*, or mattock, used in all the study areas, is still the main tool of cultivation there. Similarly, potato ridges or 'lazy beds', used for growing root crops in the Miramichi and Avalon, are still to be found on the Cape Shore. The one-sided southern Irish spade was brought to all the study areas, and was used in the Avalon and Miramichi, but in the area near Peterborough it was replaced by the two-sided spade of the Ulster Scots, Scots and English settled in the vicinity.

Few elements of the arrangement of the south-east Irish farmyard were transferred, but some traditional methods of tying cattle in their stalls continued to be used. On the

other hand, the most uniformly transferable of Irish trait complexes to all the study areas appears to have been the interior layout and furnishing of the dwelling house.

The data presented in *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada* has been assembled through both archival and field investigation, the latter including the collection of individual farm histories and the recollections and oral traditions of descendants of the original settlers. There are as well references to the transfer of certain beliefs and customs traditionally associated with seasonal activities and work practices. The text is accompanied by numerous helpful maps, plans, charts and illustrations, a glossary of relevant dialect terms used in the study areas or referred to in the volume is provided, and there is in addition a selected bibliography on European ethnic settlement in rural North America.

The great value of Dr Mannion's work lies, however, not simply in the presentation of a detailed analysis of the manifestation of Irish material culture traditions in the three New World study areas, but in the method which he follows consistently throughout the study of introducing the discussion of each trait or trait complex with a description of its appearance in the Old World setting known to the emigrants, commenting on changes in those traditions in the period leading up to the migration. By offering a quantitative analysis of aspects of the culture of emigrants from the same ethnic group and homeland region as found in separate settlements, by comparing a range of data from both homeland and New World communities, and by making use of the evidence provided by the oral record as well as by the written sources, Dr Mannion provides a sound basis on which to attempt an assessment of the nature of cultural transfer. This approach and methodology is currently being employed in research undertaken by the School of Scottish Studies in a number of communities in Canada settled in the nineteenth century by emigrants from the Hebrides. In the past, studies of European ethnic settlement in the New World have frequently been too general in their approach, or have lacked the important dimension of comparison with the pre-emigration Old World culture. In contrast, *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada* offers a model for future studies in the field of Euro-American ethnology.

MARGARET A. MACKAY

The Folklore of Ireland by Sean O'Sullivan. B. T. Batsford, London 1974. Pp. 189. £3.

Seán Ó Súilleabháin (as he generally prefers to be spelt), for nearly 40 years Archivist and lynch-pin of the Irish Folklore Commission, is the obvious choice to edit a book on the folklore of Ireland. The fact that it does not really fit into the publishers' series is the fault of the publishers, who have evidently decided to cover Ireland in one volume, Scotland rather more generously in three, and England almost county by county—at least, their first two volumes are on Sussex and East Anglia. This may be in proportion to population, or bookshops, but it is in inverse proportion to the availability of what

most people think of as folklore—though urban lore might well play a part in such a series. The English volumes deal largely with calendar customs and local festivals, haunted manors, place-name legends and all the picturesque details beloved by guide-books, and inevitably such literature has been their main source, though Enid Porter's East Anglian volume does have a little from recent oral tradition. Seán has quite reasonably bypassed all this and devoted the volume entirely to newly-collected folk literature, merely remarking that 'folk belief, which forms a very important part of oral tradition in Ireland, will be illustrated to a certain extent in the legends which follow the main folktales'. As Venetia Newall, the series editor, says in her Foreword, 'the fact that [this volume] varies slightly from its predecessors arises from the importance of making this wonderful material available to a wider public'.

It is a pity, all the same, for Seán himself has written an excellent short guide to *Irish Folk Custom and Belief*, and could easily have expanded it, or some of the index headings of his comprehensive *Handbook of Irish Folklore*, into a fine book which would have fitted better into the series. The Folklore Commission (now the Department of Folklore, University College, Dublin) could have supplied the material for that too; but their emphasis has always been on folktales, and this is really a book of folktales. The interesting dozen pages of folk prayers, charms, triads and riddles (translated mostly from published collections), and the half-dozen Anglo-Irish songs which end the book are merely a sop to the wider plan suggested by the title. It was sensible to use Anglo-Irish songs rather than attempt to translate Gaelic ones—everything else but a few riddles is translated from Gaelic—but the selection is a curious one. The songs are all recent compositions connected with actual events or localities, sent in to the Commission from schools in different parts of Ireland—not untypical of the Anglo-Irish song tradition as a whole, but hardly a fair sample, especially since the pedestrian words have to be printed without the tunes which carry them.

It is best to forget the title, then, and enjoy the book for what it is—a collection of fine Irish Gaelic folktales in translation, and an excellent complement to the author's *Folktales of Ireland* (Chicago 1966). Four tales from the latter reappear in this collection, two from different storytellers, one (*The Fairy Frog*) from different recordings of the same storyteller, and one (*Cromwell and O'Donnell*) from the same source. Both the tales in the brief section of 'Historical Tradition' are among these four, which may illustrate the surprising poverty of Irish tradition as against Scottish Gaelic in this field. *Folklore* relies more than *Folktales* on a few well-tried storytellers. Over half the twenty-six tales are from three sources, one from each Western province: Éamonn a Búrc from Connemara—also well represented in the other book—Peig Sayers from Kerry, and Micí Sheáin Néill Ó Baoill from Donegal. But this in no way detracts from the quality and variety of the selection, which is rich in the most characteristically Irish types of story—native hero tales, religious and supernatural traditions. International folktale types are almost entirely absent from *Folklore*, and relatively few in *Folktales*: this does not mean that they have not been collected in their thousands in Ireland, and often with

a characteristic Irish flavour to the telling, but the editor's decision has been to select tales that are even more typical of the country, and it is quite justified. The translations are readable, with the mingled colloquialism and formality which a Gaelic speaker's English speech might have in it, and the notes at the heads of the tales are informative without being too dauntingly learned. Notes with more details of manuscripts and motifs are given at the end. The proof-reading here could have been better: a stranger could not be sure that Micí (Sheáin) Ó Baoill and Micí (Sheáin Néill) Ó Baoighill, or the Éamonn a Búrc who was at Aird Mhór in 1933 and the one at Aill na Brón in 1942, are the same person. The note on page 171 that 'The application of the title "King" to the Deity in connection with the days of the week is usual in Irish poetry and religious tales, *e.g.*, the Irish name for Sunday is *Dia Domhnaigh* (the day of the Lord)' has surely lost a line after '*e.g.*'. But many books have misprints: few manage to be so enjoyable and informative at the same time. To have such an interesting collection available in English will make it easier for both folklorists and ordinary readers to appreciate the riches of Irish tradition.

ALAN BRUFORD

Scots Songs and Music: recorded at the Kinross Festival of Traditional Music and Song. Springthyme Records SPR 1001. 1974. £2.11.

This brave example of private enterprise (published from Woodmill, Auchtermuchty) deserves a welcome from everyone interested in keeping Scottish music alive. Its faults are largely those of the Traditional Music and Song Association of Scotland's Kinross Festival which it represents: the laid-down categories for instrumental competitions which mean that the piano-accordion, too new to be traditional in any real sense, is represented and the Jews' harp is not. (To be fair, the record wisely omits mouth organ and concertina, for which competitions exist, but also, alas, diddling.) The recordings were necessarily made at the concerts where guest performers and competition winners appeared, not at the informal gatherings where, at Kinross as at the Irish *fleadhanna ceóil* from which it was imitated, the best music is to be heard. Easily the best playing I heard at the 1973 Festival, on which the record is based, was at such a chance gathering of Scottish, Irish and Shetland fiddlers in a hotel lounge after Sunday afternoon's concert—impossible to foresee and capture on record, of course.

The Irish origins of the Festival concept seem to be reflected in the contents and presentation of the record. Aly Bain, the Shetland fiddler, and Jim Bainbridge, the Northumbrian melodeon champion, both play only Irish tunes; Cameron Turriff's hilarious 'Hame drunk cam I' is hailed on the sleeve as a Scottish version of the Dubliners' hit 'Seven drunken nights', not as Child 274, 'Hame cam oor guidman', still common in Scotland; The Clutha open their selection with a beautiful slow air best known from Ireland and played in an Irish style. A protest should be entered too against another

ill-considered Irish borrowing: the labelling of the competition won by The Clutha as 'for ceilidh band'. The Irish céilí band is just a dance band—*céilí* is used in modern Ireland for a dance, which will probably include step-dancing in the Irish style through the evening, but is nothing like the informal (not necessarily musical) visiting which *céilidh* used to mean in Scotland, or even the compèred concert which it has unfortunately come to mean. In any case the style in which The Clutha play is not that of the average céilí band, I am glad to say, but derives really from the brave and partly successful attempts of the late Seán Ó Riada to make chamber music out of the playing of the same tune on different instruments which seems to come more naturally to Irish traditional players than to Scottish. Hence their use of miniature Scottish bagpipes to get an effect very close to the Irish union pipes. Their combination of pipes, fiddles, concertina and guitar is neither Scottish nor traditional, but, except where the concertina tends to hold back the other instruments in the reels, it sounds splendid.

On balance the instrumental parts of this record are disappointing. The Clutha and the equally untraditional combination of tin whistle and guitar, played in a sprightly and not at all Irish manner by Alex Green from Aberdeenshire and Jack Robertson from Shetland, come out best. The most interesting fiddling is Angus Grant's playing of the slow pipe air 'Crò Chinn t-Sàile' (both misspelt and wrongly described as 'Kintail lullaby' on the sleeve); his 'Crossing the Minch' (surely a march rather than a hornpipe) is more uneven, and Aly Bain and Tom Anderson's party from the Shetland 'Forty Fiddlers' play nothing but reel after reel. The three tracks of the Shetland fiddlers are frankly below their usual standard, partly because ten unaccompanied fiddles lack the power of the bigger band without gaining the freedom of a single player, but partly because the playing is ragged. They were probably dog-tired when the recordings were made, but it is hardly fair to expose this again and again. Alan Clark does his best to get a swing into the marches he plays on the piano-accordion, but the instrument defeats him, and almost totally drowns the guitar accompaniment: the result is no better than Jimmy Shand—a good rhythm to dance to, but no character. And if Jim Bainbridge keeps winning the melodeon competitions, it says nothing for the Scottish competitors.

Fortunately, though the sometimes barely literate sleeve notes refer to the instrumental items as 'the musical aspect of the record', there is plenty of musicianship in the singing. All the four Scots songs are in North-Eastern styles, but they represent two different schools. Stanley Robertson sings in the dramatic traveller style of his aunt Jeannie Robertson, and so basically does the young Ayrshire singer Heather Heywood: though neither of them can match the rich depth of Jeannie's voice, it is good to know that her technique will be so well carried on after her death. The songs they sing are good too: Stanley's is a version of 'Clyde's Water' (Child 216), and Heather's 'Bonnie laddie ye gang by me' is a beautiful jilted song whose tune and last verse seem to be derived from 'The trees they are so high' ('Still growing', or 'The College boy'). In contrast, Cameron Turriff, another singer who will be sorely missed, and Charlie Murray represent the more straightforward, cheerful style of the bothies, though it is

odd to hear Charlie singing a woman's song, 'When I wis just but sweet sixteen'. It is a pity that the Gaelic tradition and Flora MacNeil are represented by only one song, and that the brisk, not to say breathless waulking song best known as 'Cha téid mise, cha téid mi', to which the audience stamp their feet with enthusiasm: one of her lovely slow laments would have balanced the selection better. But the singers go a long way further than the instrumentalists towards justifying the claim that 'this record presents a selection of the best of this genuine traditional music'. Which brings us back to the Irish origins, for it is in song that Scottish traditional music is stronger than Irish, and in instrumental music that it is weaker or at least less varied, especially if, as this selection does, you leave out the more 'literary' side of the fiddle and pipe traditions. At any rate the record gives a fair enough picture of the sort of music which the T.M.S.A. is helping to keep alive, and it is an encouraging picture for the future of Scottish music.

ALAN BRUFORD

Andrew Crawfurd's Collection of Ballads and Songs by E. B. Lyle. Vol. I. Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh 1975.

This is the first of two volumes containing the songs and ballads collected in and around Lochwinnoch in Renfrewshire for William Motherwell's *Minstrelsy* (1827) by his friend Andrew Crawfurd, a doctor there, who had been permanently crippled by fever as a young man and devoted most of his time as a semi-invalid to amassing a very large amount of local lore—genealogical, antiquarian, literary, musical, philological, proverbial, *etc.*—in manuscript books of which some are in the National Library, but the large majority, which he called the 'Cairn', came to rest in Paisley Public Library. Of the latter, three volumes contain the ballads and songs.

There was at this time a literary group in the West, based chiefly on Paisley, which in its own westland manner set up as a small-town rival to the metropolitan coteries of Blackwood and the Edinburgh Review, of which Motherwell was the leading light, with J. D. Carrick, the editor of *Whistle-Binkie* and *The Laird of Logan*, the best selling anthologies of comic and pathetic verse and the pawky prose anecdote till Dean Ramsay came along, Andrew Henderson, the proverb collector, and in so far as his physical condition permitted his participation in its activities, Andrew Crawfurd. They were all of them rather quizzes, the last two being the most eccentric.

Crawfurd was an avid hunter of miscellanea, a snapper-up of unconsidered trifles, and though frequently his notions and judgment seem a bit off beam, he is usually pretty accurate on facts, of which he had a very considerable accumulation. He was the very man to collect local variants of ballads and folk-song and his notes on his informants, most assiduously followed up by Dr Lyle, must be about the fullest and most helpful of any ballad collection in dating the tradition and assessing its authenticity.

It is interesting to note even at that relatively early date that his best singer, Mary

MacQueen, was of 'a travelling or tinklar family' and that another, John Smith, was 'a very thirsty man'. Obviously the ballad traditions are still very much alive today! Crawfurd took down most of the songs at first hand though sometimes an intermediary acted as amanuensis and the ostensible purpose was to help Motherwell, though in the event Motherwell had most of his *Minstrelsy* published before Crawfurd got his material into a usable state. Motherwell received it in time only to incorporate some portions of it into the end of his text and into his notes and introduction, although he preserved other sizeable portions in MSS which have never been printed except where Child made use of them. Thus *Crawfurd's Collection* represents another Renfrewshire tradition more or less independent of Motherwell and for that reason is important in itself. It is incidentally instructive to compare the five or so ballads they have in common as an object lesson in how texts fluctuate and corruptions creep in. Out of 81 items in Crawfurd in volume 1, 35 are variant texts of ballads in Child; most of the remainder have been traced indefatigably by Dr Lyle to some broadside or chapbook, generally of Scottish provenance; one is a fifteenth-century ballad which had sunk without trace till it re-emerges here; only one or two have eluded her eagle eye; one was practically produced for Crawfurd's occasion by a poetic relative of the singer. Most of the latter are of course songs, not ballads, Nos. 27, 56 and 81 are English; No. 75 which came via the thirsty John Smith from an Irishman is somewhat anglicised, or perhaps more correctly is an English version, slightly scotticised. No. 62 reads as if it had been copied from a book from the outset.

The general literary quality of the *Collection* naturally varies; some are as flat-footed and pedestrian as many a ballad. No. 53, a version of *Lizzie Lindsay*, has not been well remembered by the singer and halts considerably. One or two of William Gemmell's contributions are on the scabrous side and lack the saving grace of humour but no doubt they will be hailed as masterpieces by the 'rantin rovin' school of critics. But *The Widow's Dochter*, well enough known from broadsides, and *The Wooer came to the Widow's Door* are amusing and witty, and *The Mailin* has some charm. Among the ballads themselves, the versions of Child's *Gill Brenton*, *Child Maurice* and *Lord Derwentwater* are all lively and singable. *The Mason's Dochter* is grim even for a ballad; for sheer dramatic power and directness *Lamkin* and *Lady Jean* are among the best of them.

The editing of the collection must have presented some fairly formidable problems, especially in the matter of the text. Crawfurd was an enthusiast for Scots and he even writes a kind of Lallans prose at times (as he had already done in that quaint little periodical *The Scotchman* of 1813–4). He did not hesitate therefore on taking down the words verbatim from the singers, to go over them again and put them into their Scots form, at times even substituting a Scots word for its English equivalent where he thought it more effective. And he did the same with the texts supplied by his collaborator, William Orr. On top of this, probably because of his semi-paralysed condition, he frequently missed out words or repeated words and made his texts

even more intractable. A diplomatic text therefore would have been of little use and Dr Lyle has superimposed her own ideas on Crawfurd's with a general tendency to consistency, clarity and tidiness. This seems perfectly legitimate, especially as Dr Lyle is most scrupulous and meticulous in recording everything that both Crawfurd and she have done with the text.

The chief criticism one would offer is that all this *apparatus criticus* is scattered about the book and not easy to piece together from the two or three or even four places where it occurs. It would have helped comprehension to have provided an *apparatus* with each poem where all these changes have been gathered together in their appropriate place. The same stricture applies to the notes on parallel versions which the editress has hunted out, Crawfurd's own notes on local background to the ballad stories and on his sources, and other miscellanea. The first are rather cluttered up in the introduction and would have been much more assimilable attached with the rest of the annotation to each several ballad or song, pretty much as Child sets his information out.

A few trifling points remain as to the language. At 17.10.1. 'gown' is presumably a mistake for 'grown'; at 48.15.2. 'tweed' is certainly surprising and can hardly be right. 'Weed' seems the simplest emendation; at 51.8.1. 'fil' seems to have given trouble, and Dr Lyle says it might simply be H, which is in fact Crawfurd's way of writing 'aitch', an adze, and which gives complete sense in the context; at 71.6.7. it might be noted that if 'sadly' is right, it is a very rare survival of the medieval usage of 'bunched together'; in the notes to 22.5.1. 'clever' might be better glossed as 'nimble, agile'; and to 63.4.3. 'rug' is somewhat more emphatic than 'portion', having additional connotations of getting more than one needs or deserves, a 'haul, a glutton's share', or the like. In the final appendix on actual or possible tunes for the songs, for No. 51 *The Faughhill Shearing*, surely the appropriate air is "The Rock and the Wee Pickle Tow."

The whole volume is an able and workmanlike piece of scholarship and bodes well for Volume II which it is to be hoped will follow next year.

DAVID MURISON

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

Beyond the Sunset: A Study of James Leslie Mitchell (Lewis Grassic Gibbon) by Douglas F. Young. Impulse Books, Aberdeen 1973. Pp. viii+162.

Between them, these two works cover the writings of the two greatest Scottish novelists of the last half-century, the only two who are likely to be of permanent and international significance. They are besides the first and to date the only far-ranging

and thorough critiques of their subjects and for that reason are important in themselves; their value is enhanced by the fact that they bring out, incidentally to their main purpose but in a striking manner, the remarkable similarities and equally profound differences between the philosophies of Gunn and Gibbon as historians, sociologists and anthropologists, for in the case of both their novels were merely the vehicles for their wider speculations on man and society.

The first is a collection of essays on Gunn written in honour of his eightieth birthday by some twenty contributors from almost every aspect, but the bulk of them are skilfully arranged to deal chronologically with the thematic groups into which his novels fell and hence with the development of his thought.

At the best of times Gunn is not an easy writer and there is a good deal of diffusiveness and obscurity in his commentary (as contrasted with his narrative style which is usually most vivid and limpid), and some of the essayists have only too truly succeeded in reproducing it in their own analysis. The best essays are those towards the end which take a general look at Gunn: that by J. B. Pick is perhaps the most understanding and the best interpretative one though it tails off rather incoherently. Alexander Reid's contribution on the mysticism of Gunn is in fact conspicuous for its comprehension and clarity and one will learn a very great deal about Gunn from it. That his novels are all part of 'a Scottish Mystic's Search for the Conditions of Human Fulfilment' is Reid's neat and pretty accurate way of putting it, but the other contributors all concur in saying the same thing in their several ways.

It is this aspect of Gunn rather than the purely literary one of novel-writing that most concerns us here. He was essentially a primitivist in the Rousseau tradition, a believer in nature unspoilt by the meretricious values of so-called civilisation, especially modern civilisation with its technology, its computerised statistical outlook which dehumanises and imprisons the spirit of freedom which is every man's birthright. Not that Gunn was naïve enough to think that all this could be undone by going native, but he had seen with his own eyes the fishing and crofting communities broken and ruined by the havoc of war, the 'system' and 'progress', all the human ties binding man to man in a small self-dependent society torn apart, and of course the cultural emanations of such, the folk-song and tale, the ballad, the dance, the traditional wisdom of the past swept away, and it stirred him with resentment to his depths. There is indeed much more suppressed volcanic anger in the gentle Gunn than is popularly supposed.

When it comes to the problem of what is to be done about it, it is not so easy. Gunn has to deal with this by means of allegory and psychology. Hence the constantly recurring figure of the river of life which we must all trace back to its source in our introspection, all this being mingled with Celtic folk-lore concepts of sun-circles, the salmon of wisdom, the hazel nuts of knowledge and so on. In the end the individual and the community are as one in having shared experience from the immemorial past and it is in this unity that a man finds his own wholeness as in *Highland River* and

the *Silver Darlings*. When a man gets cut off in some way from this folk-wisdom, he becomes rootless and a source of dispeace to himself and trouble to others.

It is on this philosophical level that Gunn's work ties up with Gibbon's, and Alex. Scott and Douglas Gifford make the point effectively and repeatedly, and Dr Douglas Young corroborates from his side in his study of Gibbon, quoting interestingly from an article by Gunn on Gibbon to much the same effect. Both in fact hark back to the notion of a Golden Age of human innocence, and to the Diffusionist theories which Dr Young traces in Gibbon in the most painstaking detail throughout all his stories, and which affected Gunn too although he does not explicitly profess allegiance to Diffusionism.

Both writers however are at one in their bird's-eye view of Scottish history and in using it allegorically as well as literally in expounding their views. Gibbon with his Diffusionism and his Marxism is more categorical in his approach, as Dr Young points out, but in the end his conclusions are more relativist and agnostic than Gunn's. To put it in very simple and more concrete terms, Gibbon ends up in a dilemma at the parting of the ways between Chris Guthrie and Ewan, her son, and at this point Gunn would have followed Chris. With Ewan he would have had little in common.

Dr Young's book examines all this clearly and methodically, though he does not deal with the *Scots Quair* as allegory, which, as the present reviewer has already argued in *Scottish Studies*, volume 11 page 109, is one of the main aspects of the book. He is particularly good in his analysis of *Cloud Howe;* he is a little too patient with Oliver Brown's notions about Gibbon's debt to Frenssen's *Jörn Uhl*.

The two books complement one another in reinforcing the importance of both novelists not only in Scottish literature but in Scottish social and political thought and in their imaginative interpretation of aspects of Scottish history about which our conventional historians are often singularly clueless and which are the chief business of the School of Scottish Studies.

DAVID MURISON

Books Received

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

A History of the Old Icelandic Commonweaith: Íslendinga Saga, by Jón Jóhannesson translated by Haraldur Bessason. University of Manitoba 1974. Pp. 407 (13 plates+map).

A Forgotten Heritage: original Folk Tales of Lowland Scotland, edited by Hannah Aitken. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh and London 1974. Pp. 168. £2.50.

The Hugh MacDiarmid Anthology: Poems in Scots and English, edited by Michael Grieve and Alexander Scott. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1975. Pp. xxiii+115. £2.75.

Scottish Literary Journal: A Review of Studies in Scottish Language and Literature vol. 1 no. 1 1974, edited by Thomas Crawford. Association for Scottish Literary Studies, University of Aberdeen. Pp. 80.

Critical Essays on Robert Burns, edited by Donald A. Low. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1975. Pp. 192. £4.25.

The Standard of Living in Britain in the Industrial Revolution, by Arthur J. Taylor. (*Debates in Economic History*, edited by Peter Mathias) Methuen, London 1975. Pp. lv+216. £5.40 (paperback £2.90).

The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities c. 1740–90, by T. M. Devine. John Donald, Edinburgh 1975. Pp. 209+7 plates. £8.

Gypsies, Tinkers and Other Travellers, edited by F. Rehfisch. Academic Press, London, New York, San Francisco 1975. Pp. 303. £5.80.

The Days That We Have Seen, by George Ewart Evans. Faber & Faber, London 1975. Pp. 224+16 plates. £4.95.

Hume and the Enlightenment: Essays presented to Ernest Campbell Mossner, edited by William B. Todd. Edinburgh University Press, 1975. Pp. 216. £5.50.

John Knox: A Quatercentenary Reappraisal, edited by Duncan Shaw. The Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh 1975. Pp. 79. £1.75.

The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843–1874, by Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch. The Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh 1975. Pp. 368. £5.75.

Ayrshire: The Story of a County, by John Strawhorn. Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Ayr 1975. Pp. 244. £3 (paperback £2).

Dae Ye Min' Langsyne? A Pot-pourri of Games, Rhymes and Ploys of Scottish Childhood, collected and edited by Amy Stewart Fraser. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1975. Pp. 210+line illustrations. £4.50.

The Manchline Account Books of Melrose Abbey 1527–1528, by Margaret H. B. Sanderson (Ayrshire Collections vol. 11 no. 5). Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1975. Pp. 87–107. 25p.

Orkney: Kirkwall and St. Ola 1793 (reprinted from *The Statistical Account of Scotland* by Sir John Sinclair Bart. vol. 7 pp. 529–69). The Pentland Press, Thurso 1975. Pp. 42. 60p.

The Scots Language in Education, Association for Scottish Literary Studies: Occasional Papers No. 3. Papers presented during an in-service course organised jointly by Aberdeen College of Education and the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1975. Pp. 70. 60p.

Oor Yird and other Poems, by Norman Halkett (author and publisher). Aberdeen 1975. Pp. 16.

The Confederates and Hen-Thorir: Two Icelandic Sagas, translated by Hermann Pálsson. Southside, Edinburgh 1975. Pp. 139. £1.95 (hardback £2.95).

Two Men and a Blanket: A Prisoner of War's Story, by Robert Garioch. Southside, Edinburgh 1975. Pp. 183. £4.50.

Index

Volume 19, 1975

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