Scottish Studies

Volume 21 : 1977

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

21

1977

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
ABERDEEN

Scottish Studies

VOLUME 21

Notes and Comments

Plates

Contributors to this Volume

JOHN BANNERMAN MA, BA, PHD
Lecturer, Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh

WILLIAM GILLIES MA, BA
Lecturer, Department of Celtic, University of Edinburgh

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

JAMES PORTER MA, BMUS
Assistant Professor, Folk and Mythology Group, University of California, Los Angeles

WILLIAM MATHESON MA
Reader, Department of Celtic, University of Edinburgh

EMILY LYLE MA, PHD
Honorary Fellow, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

*The MacLachlans of Kilbride and their Manuscripts**

JOHN BANNERMAN

The publication in 1760 of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* by James MacPherson had many repercussions, not least of which was a greater awareness in Scotland of the existence of mediæval Gaelic manuscripts, leading eventually to the preservation of some of them for posterity. The Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland appointed in 1797 under the convenorship of Henry MacKenzie to inquire into the 'nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian' prefaced their Report published in 1805 with an expression of gratitude to their contributors and correspondents, and among those named was Major MacLachlan of Kilbride (MacKenzie 1805:iii). This, as is made clear later, was Major John MacLachlan, the possessor of a number of Gaelic manuscripts. A letter, apparently written shortly after Major MacLachlan's death *c.* 1803 by Lord William MacLeod Bannatyne, reveals that the latter was responsible for drawing the attention of the Highland Society to the Kilbride manuscripts. He also gave the Society a manuscript which he had obtained in Cowal and which, he was told, once formed part of the Kilbride Collection. At his prompting the Committee appointed Donald MacIntosh to inspect the Collection (MacKenzie 1805:app. 280–4). His catalogue (N.L.S. 73. 2. 24, no. 15), dated 4 May 1801, lists twenty-two items, the first five of which were lent to the Society by Major MacLachlan, initially for a period of three months only (Ingliston Archs., A. iv. 16, p. 7).[1] A more detailed description of the contents of these five manuscripts and an account of the one gifted by Lord Bannatyne were made for the Highland Society by Dr Donald Smith (MacKenzie 1805:app. 285–99).

In his letter Lord Bannatyne goes on to suggest that the manuscripts which had remained in Major MacLachlan's hands were 'not unlikely to be obtained from Capt. Sime of Stuckgarvan [*sic*], his nephew and heir'. A letter dated 4 October 1804 from Dr Donald Smith to Sir John Sinclair reported that 'Captain Sim, the possessor of the Kilbride MSS lives at his mother's, Mrs Sim, Stockwell, Glasgow' (N.L.S. 73. 2. 24, no. 47). His mother, widow of George Sime of Stuckgowan, Loch Lomond, was Elizabeth MacLachlan who was served heir to her brother, Major John MacLachlan, in 1804. Between the years 1816 and 1821 Christian Sime, daughter of Elizabeth

* This paper was written as a contribution to an unpublished collection of papers by former pupils and colleagues presented to Professor K. H. Jackson in June 1976 to mark his completion of 25 years as Professor of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh (1950–75).

MacLachlan and widow of William Marshall, made a number of attempts to recover the five Kilbride manuscripts on loan to the Highland Society. It is clear that she wanted them for their monetary value and she eventually succeeded in obtaining four of them (Ingliston Archs., A. i. 11, nos. 6–7; A. i. 18, nos. 23, 26; A. i. 19, nos. 33–6; A. iv. 16). The fifth remained with the Society simply because it was not identified as a Kilbride manuscript at the time (Ingliston Archs., A. i. 3, no. 68). It was probably the case that both John Sime and his mother had died by 1816 and that Christian was now the owner of the Kilbride Collection. The next we hear of the whereabouts of these manuscripts comes in a letter signed 'Charles Edward', from internal evidence almost certainly Charles Edward Sobieski-Stuart (N.L.S. 50. 2. 1, no. 250). He wrote that he saw them in 1839 or 1840 'in the hands of a man of the law in Glasgow who was the "adviser" of an old lady, the last of the Kilbride family', apparently Christian Sime. In 1844 John MacKenzie, writing in Gaelic, reported that twenty-one Kilbride manuscripts were 'still to be seen in the library of the Royal Faculty of Procurators, Glasgow' (MacChoinnich 1844:244)[2]; presumably as itemised by Donald MacIntosh in 1801 minus the one that had remained with the Highland Society. An inventory of these manuscripts was made by the Glasgow law firm of Gordon and Meeks in 1851 (N.L.S. 73. 2. 10, no. 15).

W. F. Skene had already begun to acquire Gaelic manuscripts for the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh and his scroll catalogue of 1861 shows the acquisition of the Kilbride Collection 'found in the respositories [*sic*] of a deceast man of business in Glasgow who had been agent for the family' (FR 192:6). Sobieski-Stuart's 'man of the law' and Skene's 'deceast man of business' were no doubt one and the same, probably Hugh Kerr whose signature and initials appear frequently in the margins of these manuscripts and who acted for Christian Sime (Ingliston Archs., A. i. 19, no. 36) when she was negotiating for the return of the five manuscripts that her uncle had lent to the Highland Society. Hugh Kerr was doubtless associated with the firm of Gordon and Meeks and it is not unlikely that the inventory of 1851 was drawn up on his death.[3] Meanwhile in 1850, at Skene's prompting, the Highland Society had deposited all their mediæval Gaelic manuscripts in the Advocates' Library (FR 123), including, of course, the Kilbride manuscript that Christian Sime had failed to retrieve and the one that Lord Bannatyne had presented to the Society. The manuscripts that remained in Major MacLachlan's possession after 1801 are now catalogued MSS v–xxxi (N.L.S. 72. 1. 5–31). Those that he lent to the Highland Society are MSS xxxii–xxxvi (N.L.S. 72. 1. 32–6),[4] MS xxxiv being the one that they retained until 1850. Lord Bannatyne's Kilbride manuscript is MS liii (N.L.S. 72. 2. 3).

In the course of his search for Gaelic manuscripts, Lord Bannatyne tells us that he was directed to James MacIntyre of Glenoe, a well known Gaelic scholar and antiquarian of the time, who showed him a manuscript

> which he mentioned as received from Major M'Lachlan of Kilbride, one of whose predecessors he stated to have been a dignified Ecclesiastic, I think one of the Deans of Argyle

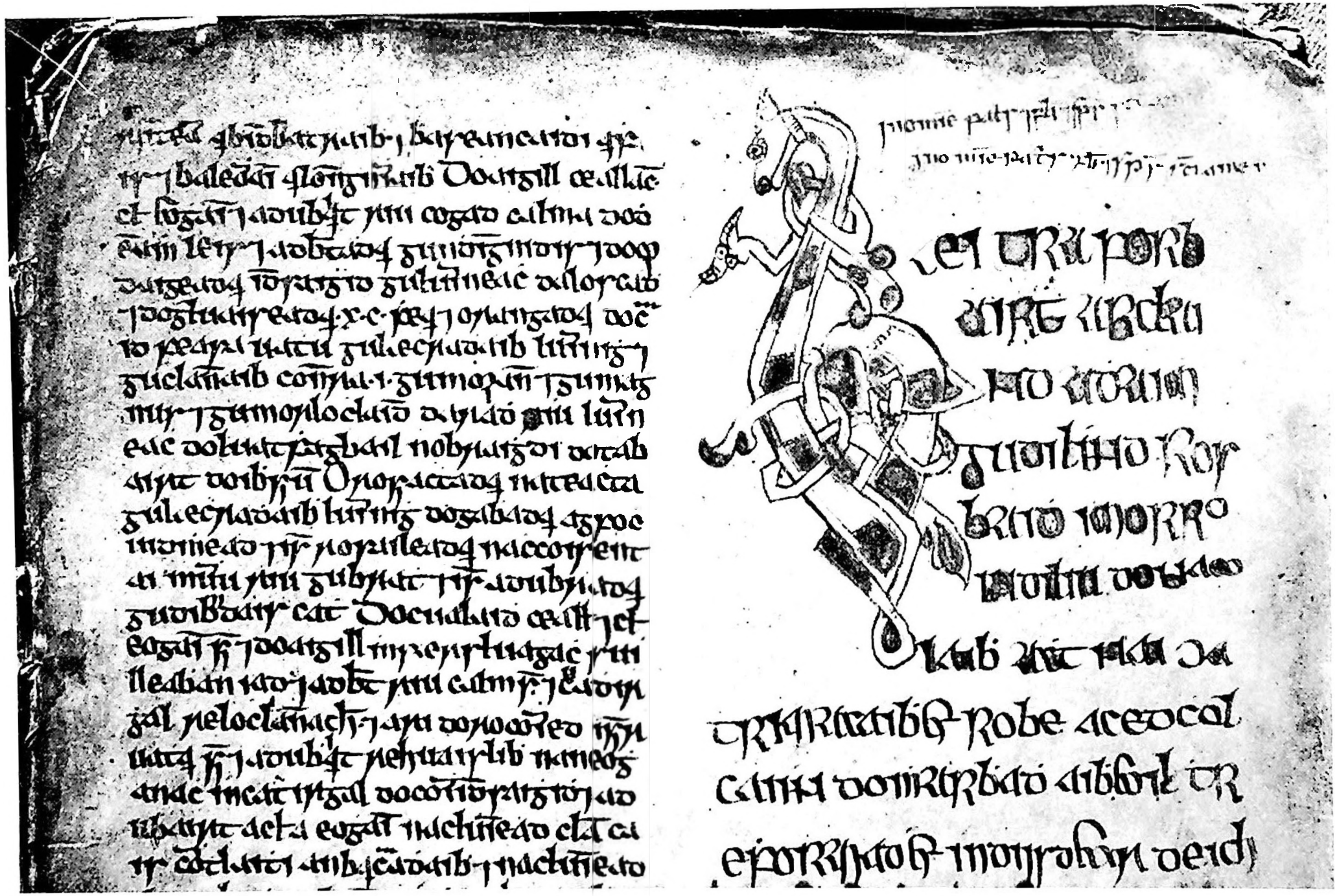


PLATE I Part of a Gaelic MS of the 14th or 15th c. [MS VIII (NLS Adv. 72.1.8; Kilbride Collection no. 4) fo. 28r], possibly copied in Scotland from an Irish original, with notes added here. The ornamental initial B begins a Gaelic version of the Argonautic expedition and the destruction of Troy. (*By courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland on behalf of the owner.*)

PLATE II Coast of Lorn between Loch Etive (top right) and Loch Melfort, as represented on George Langlands' *Map of Argyll-shire*, 1801, marking Kilbride in Seil island (lower left).

> about the time of the Reformation, and whose family were said to have retained for a considerable time, a peculiar taste for Gaelic antiquities, in consequence of which they had once possessed a very large collection of Gaelic manuscripts collected partly in Ireland, and partly in the Highlands of Scotland (MacKenzie 1805:app. 282).

Dr Donald Smith; who seems not to have seen Lord Bannatyne's letter, identified the 'dignified Ecclesiastic' as

> a Ferquhard, son of Ferquhard MacLachlan, (who) was bishop of the Isles, and had Iona or I Colum Kille in commendam from 1530 to 1540; from which time, almost nearly to the present, they and the MacLachlans of Kilchoan, their relations, have been distinguished for taste and learning (MacKenzie 1805:app. 290–1).

And, although Lord Bannatyne rightly congratulated himself on being 'the instrument of preserving from obli 'on what appears to be the largest and most valuable collection of Gaelic manuscripts now remaining in the Highlands of Scotland', the foregoing is almost all that is known of the ancestors and kindred of Major John MacLachlan of Kilbride.[5] Even at that, Ferchar, son of Ferchar, Bishop of the Isles (1530–44), was not a MacLachlan of Kilbride but a MacLean of Kingairloch (Steer and Bannerman 1977: 117, 130–1),[6] while there continues to be some doubt about which of a number of places named Kilbride in Argyll gave rise to their designation.

The earliest MacLachlan of Kilbride who can be identified for certain in the official records is fittingly called Patrick, their most characteristic forename, as we shall see. His descendants are traced in the appendix, as are the immediate family of the MacLachlans of Kilchoan (see below, pp. 18–28). In 1591 Patrick was already dead but he had occupied the lands of Kilbride Beg, nine acres in all, on the island of Seil in the parish of Kilbrandon, Nether Lorn, now granted by James VI to Patrick's son, Neill (RSS:62. 15). In 1600 Neill, as minister of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, was granted the 4 merklands of Kilbride in the Lordship of Lorn together with the salmon fishing in Loch Feochain and in other waters running through the said lands lying between the lands of *Colgain* and *Dunachach* (Cal. Charters:15. no. 3682). This must be Kilbride in the parish of that name rather than Kilbride at the head of Glen Feochain in the neighbouring parish of Kilmore which seems in any case to have been 5 merklands in extent (*OPS* 1851–5:2(1). 120). *Dunachach* is probably *Dunach* to the south east of Kilbride on the shores of Loch Feochain (OS, 1 in.), while the map of the dioceses of Argyll and the Isles in *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (*OPS* 1851–5:2(1)) shows a *Colgyn* immediately to the north west of Kilbride. Finally, rentals indicate that, towards the end of the seventeenth century at least, the MacLachlans of Kilbride were leasing in part or in whole the 6 merklands of Kilbride on Seil (Breadalbane Muns., 9/1, 22). In 1692 Patrick MacLachlan, presumably he who was head of the family from *c.* 1683 to 1719, was tacksman of Kilbride, Seil (Breadalbane Muns., 9/1). All this makes it difficult to decide which of the three Kilbrides associated with the MacLachlans appears in the designation.

To begin with, it should be noted that after Major John MacLachlan had permanently disposed of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, in 1776 (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:220. 1541), he continued to use the designation 'of Kilbride'. In 1750 John MacLachlan of Kilbride, trying to persuade the Duke of Argyll to convert the wadsett of the Garvellach islands, only recently redeemed from him, into a tack, suggested an excambion thereof with the lands of Drisaig, Loch Avich; these islands, he goes on, 'lye very convenient for him as being near adjacent to his lands of Kilbryde' (Saltoun Coll., box 408). This statement would only be true if he was referring to Kilbride Beg and/or Kilbride on Seil, certainly not to Kilbride in the parish of Kilbride. Patrick MacLachlan, pursuing the same objective in 1757, referred to his 'close neighbourhood' to the Garvellach islands (Saltoun Coll., box 416). According to the editors of *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (*OPS* 1851–5:2(2). 825), the church of Kilbrandon, Seil, was the burial place of the MacLachlans of Kilbride and inscribed graveslabs record the burial there of Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan, minister of Kilninver (d. 1685) and of his son, Mr Duncan MacLachlan, minister of Strathlachlan (RCAMS *Argyll* 1971–:2. 140). When Mr John MacLachlan (d. 1660) was minister of Kilbrandon, his ruling elder, at least for the years 1650 and 1651, was John MacLachlan of Kilbride (MacTavish 1943–4:1. 182–3, 198). Clearly the island of Seil was the MacLachlans' main centre of activities.

That Kilbride Beg, only 9 acres in extent, should have given rise to the MacLachlan designation is unlikely in any case, but the late nineteenth-century tradition bearers of Nether Lorn, one of whom was John Clark from Kilbride, Seil, were in no doubt that 'the old mansion-house of Kilbride, long since crumbled to ruins' was once the MacLachlan residence. Only latterly did they live at the nearby house of Yate[7] (Gillies 1909:viii, 18–20). In Gaelic the head of the family was known, apparently by the seventeenth century, as *Fear Chille-Brìde*, literally 'man of Kilbride', a title generally reserved for the holder of lands on the basis of a tack or lease, and, as we have seen, it was the 6 merklands of Kilbride, Seil, that the MacLachlans held in this way at the end of the seventeenth century. It was probably the case that their connection with these lands had begun much earlier and that it is this Kilbride which figures in their designation.[8]

That the MacLachlans of Kilchoan were an offshoot of the MacLachlans of Kilbride is amply demonstrated by their continued association with one another throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but nowhere more obviously than in the grant in 1630 of the 6 merklands of Kilchoan in the mainland part of the parish of Kilbrandon equally to Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride, minister of Kilninver, and Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon. In 1643 Patrick granted to John his half of Kilchoan (GRS, 1 ser.:28. 2; PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 67). It has been assumed that John was a son of Mr Neill MacLachlan and therefore a brother of Patrick (Gillies 1909:18) but the initial grant of Kilchoan was witnessed by Donald MacLachlan who is described therein as being a brother of Patrick only. And indeed such evidence as we possess suggests that their common ancestor was a pre-Reformation figure.

In 1659 a call came to Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilninver, from the parish of Kilbrandon 'where his father and predecessors were before him' (MacTavish 1943–4: 2. 195). In 1616 his father Mr John MacLachlan, vicar of Kilbrandon, was set one quarter of the teinds thereof, 'they [presumably the MacLachlans] being heritable vicars of the said vicarage of Kilbrandon'. Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride witnessed the transaction (Reg. Deeds, 1 ser.:273. 336). Finally, the lands of Kilbride Beg, granted to Mr Neill MacLachlan in 1591 and formerly occupied by his deceased father, Patrick, had belonged to the vicars of the church of Kilbrandon as part of its patrimony. Neill himself was vicar of Kilbrandon at least by 1597 (GRS, 1 ser.:7. 249). The implication of these statements is that the connection of the MacLachlans with Seil and the church of Kilbrandon was already of long-standing by the end of the sixteenth century. How long remains to be seen.

In 1621 a grant in wadsett of two of the 4 merklands of Carnban, Seil, with two of the 6 merklands of Kilbride as warrandice, was made jointly to a husband and wife (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:1. 171). The wife was called 'Margareta ney nean vc sir Patrick alias McLauchlane', which seems to mean 'Margaret, daughter of the daughter of the son of Sir Patrick, of the surname MacLachlan'. The minister of Kilbrandon in 1580 was 'Duncan mc sire Padrik', 'Duncan, son of sir Patrick' (Reg. Deeds, 1 ser.:33. 305). It seems likely that sir Patrick was a MacLachlan. And although Margaret was apparently also a MacLachlan on her father's side, it was clearly her intention to demonstrate her descent from her most prominent MacLachlan ancestor in the recent past through her mother. The very fact that she was included in the transaction suggests that the grant was made in virtue of her connections rather than those of her husband who was not a MacLachlan. The title 'sir' indicates that Patrick was a cleric in the pre-Reformation church and the fact that his son was still alive in 1580 suggests that he flourished around about 1560. In other words we may have identified the MacLachlan ancestor who figured in late eighteenth-century tradition as 'a dignified Ecclesiastic' at the time of the Reformation. Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon, who, perhaps significantly, was bailie for Margaret's sasine, may well have been, like her, a descendant of sir Patrick.

In 1577 joint tenants of the 4 merklands of Kilbrandon, Seil, included Patrick *Densone*, vicar of Kilbrandon, and his sons, John and Duncan *Densones* (Reg. Acts and Decs.: 79. 57). *Densone*, clearly a surname here rather than a patronymic, is a translation of Gaelic *mac an deoin*, 'son of the dean'. It was not uncommon for descendants of a cleric to use alternately with their kindred surname one which recorded his ecclesiastical rank. An obvious parallel for our purposes is James MacGregor, dean of Lismore (d. 1551), who, together with his brother, compiled the collection of mediæval Gaelic poetry known as the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* and whose descendants sometimes used the surname *Mac an deoin* (Black 1962:206). The Densone forenames are characteristically MacLachlan and we can probably assume that an ancestor had been a dean, presumably of the diocese of Argyll or Lismore, as the eighteenth-century tradition reported.

However, the fact that Duncan Densone, as minister of Kilbride, witnessed the same document in 1580 as Duncan, son of sir Patrick, minister of Kilbrandon, clearly indicates that sir Patrick cannot be the dean and therefore that the 'dignified Ecclesiastic' who flourished about the time of the Reformation and the dean are not one and the same person as tradition would have us believe. The dean was probably an earlier MacLachlan cleric. Just as Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon (d. 1660), was probably a descendant of sir Patrick, so his contemporary Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride was probably a descendant of Patrick Densone. Indeed, Mr Patrick MacLachlan's grandfather, Patrick, who was already dead by 1591, may be the same as Patrick Densone which would make his father, Neill, a brother of John and Duncan Densone. Whatever the case we can trace with some confidence two MacLachlan families closely associated with one another and with Seil and the church of Kilbrandon into the pre-Reformation period.

If the dean who figured in the ancestry of the MacLachlans was a dean of Argyll as later tradition maintains, then we would have to go back to the first on record for a possible candidate, at least in terms of name. This was Lachlan (Latin equivalent *Rolandus*), son of Lachlan, who flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century (*CPP*: 1. 201, 573). But nothing else relevant is known about him and it should be noted that there are several series of gaps in the list of recorded deans of Argyll between Lachlan and the Reformation, the latest being from 1470 to 1514 when James MacGregor first appears as dean (Watt 1969:29–31). However, there is other evidence which points to the MacLachlan connection with Seil being already in existence by the fifteenth century at least.[9] In what seems to be a specific reference to grave-slabs of the distinctive West Highland type in the Kilbrandon graveyard in 1852, it is maintained that some were 'of MacDonalds and some of MacLachlans of Kilbride' (*OPS* 1851–5:2(2). 825–6 and n.). There is no documentary evidence for MacDonalds in this area and we can dismiss the ascription of grave-slabs to them as on a par with the erroneous tradition that all such monumental sculpture was removed from Iona after the Reformation. Both are attributable to the fact that the distinctive West Highland style of stone carving was a product of the MacDonald Lordship of the Isles whose ecclesiastical centre was Iona (Steer and Bannerman 1977). Four grave-slabs of this type are still extant in the graveyard. On stylistic grounds two can be dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and another to round about 1500 (RCAMS *Argyll* 1971–:2. 140). No decoration is now visible on the fourth stone but it has on it an inscription in Lombardic capitals which indicates that it was carved before 1500. The inscription, now incomplete, reads: 'Hic iacet Callenus Patricii . . .'. *Patricius*, for Gille-Pádruig or Patrick, is, as we have seen, a characteristic MacLachlan forename, while *Callenus*, a Latinised form of Gaelic *Cailean*, Scottish equivalent *Colin* (Steer and Bannerman 1977:141, 157), is, significantly as we shall see, a common forename among the MacLachlans of Craiginterve.

The long succession of clerics and the continuing connection with the church of

Kilbrandon is sufficient indication that the MacLachlans of Kilbride belonged to the professional orders of mediæval Gaelic society. And although their chosen profession was overwhelmingly the church in our period, the pattern of interconnection between different professions so prevalent elsewhere in this society is not absent, for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century records make it clear that they were related to the MacLachlans of Craiginterve, an hereditary medical family in the employ of the Campbells of Argyll. Indeed, this probably explains their continuing interest in medicine implicit in the otherwise remarkable number of medical manuscripts in the Kilbride Collection. That the MacLachlans of Craiginterve were the original stock is suggested not only by the fact that they, together with their main sixteenth-century offshoot, the MacLachlans of Innis Chonnell, keepers of the castle thereof, were much more important in terms of landed wealth but also by the fact that the grant in 1630 of the 6 merklands of Kilchoan equally between Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride and Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon, was made by Colin MacLachlan, fiar of Craiginterve, with the consent of his father Archibald. Moreover they can be traced back into the fifteenth century with confidence. Craiginterve is in the parish of Kilmartin and still extant is a letter of gift, dated 2 February 1512, by Colin, Master of Argyll, to 'Johne Lech Angussone of Cragynterf and to his lawful heirs they being leeches' (AT). *Angusius medicus* witnessed a charter by Colin, Earl of Argyll, in 1470 (AT, 17 Dec.), while witnesses to an instrument of sasine of the barony of Kilmun to Archibald, Colin's son, in 1493, were Colin, son of Angus, and Neill Leich (AT, 14 May). The two families had almost certainly diverged sometime before 1500.

Colin, not to mention *Gill-easbuig* or *Archibald*, another common Craiginterve forename,[10] were also the characteristic forenames of the Campbells of Argyll, and it has been recently suggested that the MacLachlans of Craiginterve were in fact Campbells, and that they took the subsidiary surname of *MacLachlan* from Lachlan, son of John, son of Angus, who was head of the family by 1539 (H. Campbell Notes, Craiginterve Writs, 3–4; MacPhail 1914–34:4. 26). This in itself is not unlikely; many minor Campbell families in the area habitually used surnames derived from their subsidiary kindred names during this period (Steer and Bannerman 1977:140, 142). It was suggested also that keepership of the important Campbell stronghold of Innis Chonnell would not have been granted to other than Campbells. Furthermore, although never apparently formally employed by them, the association of the MacLachlans of Kilbride with the Campbells was by their own admission a close one. Petitions to the Duke of Argyll by John MacLachlan of Kilbride in 1749 and 1750 and by his nephew, Patrick, in 1757 for a lease of the Garvellach islands held by John until *c.* 1750 in wadsett, emphasise their long-standing support for the ruling Campbell family (Saltoun Coll., boxes 407–8, 416). John reminded the Duke that the late Earl of Argyll had 'such confidence in the close attachment of my Predecessors to his family that he prevailed with my grandfather to take a wadsett' of the Garvellach islands, 'formerly part of MacLean's estate . . . and although he met with several obstructions, yet at length he

forcibly obtained possession of these islands'. Patrick maintained that his 'sole motive' for requesting a lease was

> the natural attachment I have to these islands, as my predecessors got them at first for their attachment to the family of Argyll whom they had the honour to attend in the expedition to Mull and for whom they afterwards maintained them at the risque of their lives and fortunes, for these islands being part of the Mull Estate, and being remote lay alwise open to the incursions of the former proprietors whose partys frequently came there, and stript the grounds of all cattle of whatsoever kind, whilst the Owners were obliged to shelter themselves in rocks unknown to those robbers.

In fact the first Campbell expedition to Mull did not take place until 1674 (Willcock 1907: 197–8), eight years after the wadsett of the Garvellach islands had been granted to John MacLachlan of Kilbride by Archibald, Earl of Argyll. But no doubt the grant is to be seen in the context of the continuing feud between the MacLeans and the Campbells. John in 1749 stated that the 'MacLeans did for sometime smother their resentments on account of my grandfathers having thus dispossessed them'. However, it should be remembered that his grandfather's brother, Mr Neill MacLachlan, was factor for MacLean of Duart at this time and the MacLeans may not have undertaken their depradations until after Neill's death *c.* 1672.

Patrick, ignoring the fact that his own ancestors and kinsmen were strongly Jacobite in sympathy, as we shall see, went on to point out that Dugal MacDougall of Gallanach, the present tacksman of the Garvellach islands, and his predecessors had been Jacobites,

> and tho' they cou'd not compleat their cheif design, did not cease to endeavour the ruin of the branches of the family [of Argyll], a principal one whereof had very nigh fallen by their hands if not prevented by my predecessor for which, my lord, and for our attachment to the family and it's branches, ever since we bear the heatred of the Clan MacDougal.

John MacLachlan concluded his petition by maintaining that his proposal to take a lease of the Garvellach islands was prompted 'meerly that in my old declining years I may have the pleasure to live and die under your Graces Wings'. In the event Patrick's final petition of 1757 was successful, although not before he had offered a thoroughly inflated rent (Cregeen 1964: xvii, n. 2) and probably also not before he had taken an oath of allegiance to George II dated to the same day as the final petition (Saltoun Coll., box 416).

John and Patrick pulled out all the stops and it is inconceivable that, if Campbells themselves, they would have neglected to remind the chief of the clan of that fact. Especially Patrick who could hardly have failed to point out the incongruity of a MacDougall holding the lease at the expense of a Campbell. The Campbell forenames of the MacLachlans of Craiginterve are therefore probably attributable to the fact of their formal employment by the Campbells, an even closer attachment than that apparently enjoyed by the MacLachlans of Kilbride. Likewise the many Campbell marriages made by the MacLachlans would be explicable purely in terms of a small and

militarily insignificant kindred maintaining itself and its identity alongside the powerful and ever expanding Clan Campbell. The strong pressure to marry into neighbouring Campbell families would also explain the total lack of recorded marriages between the various MacLachlan branches throughout our period. Their continued recognition of their kinship without periodic reinforcement by marriage is a measure of the strength of the kin basis of the society to which they belonged.

As early as 1746 the professional MacLachlan kindred that we have been considering was specifically linked with the territorial kindred of the same surname, the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan. To that year is dated a memorial on the state of the Highlands by the presbyterian minister of Inverness, Mr Alexander MacBean, in which he informs us that the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan 'of a long time profest to be of our Communion. But one Mr John McLachlan, a most violent Episcopal minister poisoned his chief and the gentlemen of his name to a strange degree' (Blaikie 1916:85). This was Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan. It is true too that *Patrick*, the characteristic Kilbride forename, was also common among the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan (MS 1467:v a29–52), while Mr Duncan MacLachlan of the Kilchoan branch (d. *c.* 1685) was minister of the parish of Strathlachlan from 1676 (*RPC* 3 ser.:6. 154). But that is the sum total of demonstrable connection between the two sets of MacLachlans in the records of our period. Moreover, in a letter to Bishop Robert Forbes in 1748, Mr John MacLachlan refers to Lachlan, chief of the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan, in terms which suggest that he did not look upon him as his chief (Paton 1895–6:2. 209–10), and the fact that Mr Duncan MacLachlan had to petition the Privy Council in 1679 for payment of his stipend from the parishioners of Strathlachlan (*RPC* 3 ser.:6. 154, 669) is not indicative of a particularly close relationship. It may simply be that Mr Alexander MacBean, writing at some distance, was persuaded by the surname into making a natural but in this case erroneous deduction. The fact that Lachlan MacLachlan was the leading Jacobite in the area is sufficient to explain Mr John MacLachlan's initial association with him and his kindred. Even the MacLeans from Mull and Morvern, who took a part in the rising and whose chief had been imprisoned by the authorities in June 1745, accepted Lachlan's leadership and fought in the MacLachlan regiment at Culloden (Paton 1895–6:2. 209; Blaikie 1916:85).

There can be no doubt, as we shall see, that the MacLachlans of Kilbride remained episcopalian after the Revolution Settlement of 1689–90 and the most prominent Jacobite among them was Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan. Mr Alexander MacBean says of him that he 'did more mischief among other clans than any three priests I ever knew' (Blaikie 1916:85). MacBean's assessment is borne out by John's own letter of 1748 to Bishop Robert Forbes which was in reply to a request by the latter to help him 'make up as compleat a collection as possible of Journals and other papers relative to the history' of the '45 (Paton 1895–6:2. 65), and which contains a brief autobiographical description of John's part in the rising:

> if you'll make mention of any of our clergy that were in that army, I expect you'll not

> forget your writing friend who was the only clergyman at the battle of Gladsmuir [Prestonpans], and who can get several gentlemen to attest that if his project and example had been follow'd, neither Cope nor any of his horses had escap'd, which wou'd have made the victory still more compleat. He attended the Prince to Darby and back again, was at the battles of Falkirk and Culloden, acted chaplain to the Prince, and had a commission to be chaplain-general to all the loyal clans.

After Culloden John went into hiding in Wester Ross but had returned to Kilchoan by 1748 where, he tells us:

> I live for the most part now like a hermite, because all my late charge almost were kill'd in battle, scatter'd abroad, or are cow'd at home, and the people of this country are generally so bigot in Whiggerie, and so insolent on their late success, that it is vastly mortifying to me to live amongst them (Paton 1895–6:2. 208–10).

In 1757 we find Mr John MacLachlan attempting to prevent Alexander MacDougall of Dunollie from redeeming the wadsett of the 6 merklands of Ballimore, Kerrera, granted to his grandfather in 1663. And it is interesting that, despite his deep involvement in the '45, he still felt that he could appeal to the Duke of Argyll for support in this matter (Saltoun Coll., box 416). He had indeed mentioned the important part the Campbells had played on the Hanoverian side in his letter to Bishop Robert Forbes but only in the passing and without a single derogatory comment. In the event Ballimore seems to have been lost to the MacLachlans of Kilchoan. As far as Argyll was concerned, it may have been a case of balancing the books, for in the same year, as we saw, he allowed John's kinsman, Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride, to recover the Garvellach islands from MacDougall of Gallanach.

According to tradition, Mr John MacLachlan lived out the rest of his life in the parish of Kilbrandon until his death sometime after 1763, 'affectionately known as "Maighster Shon", a man beloved and revered in the district for his goodness and kindness of heart, who nevertheless during forty years of faithful ministry is said to have made but one convert to his church' (Gillies 1909:19).

The first hint that the MacLachlans were going to take the stand so firmly maintained by Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan comes in the minutes of the Synod of Argyll held in September 1646 which censured Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve among others for 'their reall joyneing themselves in actuall rebellion with these cruell, insolent and barbarous enemies of this kirk and kingdom under the command of these bluidy and excommunicat traitors, James Graham and Alexander MacDonald' (MacTavish 1943–4: 1. 100). So too Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon, although one of those ordered by the Synod to minister to the Covenanting forces in July 1645, had since come under 'suspicion of complyance with the rebells' (MacTavish 1943–4:1. 98, 101).

The death of Cromwell in 1658 elicited a short Gaelic poem attributed to *Fear Chillebhride*, presumably John MacLachlan of Kilbride (d. *c.* 1681), which is a reflection on the inevitability of death even for the most powerful among us, and it is easy to

imagine that he was not unhappy that this should be so in Cromwell's case (MacDonald and MacDonald 1911:152). A much less equivocal composition is the poem celebrating the birth of Prince Charles in Rome on 20 December 1720 by John MacLachlan of Kilbride (d. *c.* 1750) (MacChoinnich 1844:243–4; Campbell 1938:1–6).[11] This John MacLachlan was probably too old to take an active part in the '45, while Patrick, his nephew, was almost certainly too young; but it may be significant that his is the only certificate confirming an oath of allegiance to George II in the Argyll papers of the period (Saltoun Coll., box 416).

Ultimately, however, the most striking evidence for the total acceptance by the MacLachlans of the episcopalian form of church government comes from the register of the Synod of Argyll. As ministers, students and elders, they swarm over its pages for the period 1639–61 and presumably over those of the missing episcopalian register of 1661–90. But when the meetings of the presbyterian Synod were resumed in September 1687, references to them are, comparatively speaking, few and far between, and, when they do occur, they are most often in the context of their continued adherence to the episcopal church.

It was suspected that Mr William MacLachlan, episcopalian minister of Kilmartin, and almost certainly a MacLachlan of Craiginterve,[12] had taken with him the missing register to Ireland in 1690 (MacTavish 1943–4:1. viii). He was one of three MacLachlan ministers who together petitioned the Privy Council in 1682 to be allowed to take the 'Test', although a year late in so doing (*RPC* 3 ser.:7. 453). The other two were Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan, minister of Craignish, and his brother, Duncan, minister of Strathlachlan. It is clear that Mr John MacLachlan, who was still alive in 1709, gave up or was forced to relinquish his charge in 1690. It was reported in 1693 that Mr Patrick MacLachlan, a member of the Islay branch of the MacLachlans of Kilbride,[13] and 'late episcopal incumbent' of the parish of Kildalton, Islay, had gone to Ireland (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 118). In 1697 the parish of Kilninver was declared vacant because Patrick, son of Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan (d. 1685), episcopal incumbent thereof, did not qualify himself 'conforme to ane act of parliament thereanent' (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 781). His brother, Archibald, was accepted as a probationer but apparently got no further because the presbytery of Lorn found that 'their suspitions of his inclinations' in 1713 were justified (Reg. Syn. Argyll:5. 143). Another brother, Martin, who was actually ordained minister of Kilbride in 1699 and who was therefore the only member of the MacLachlan kindred to be accepted into the ministry in the church of Scotland after 1690, was initially suspect, for he had to make a declaration before the Synod in 1698 'of his fixed purpose and resolution to adhere to presbyterian government now in existence and established by law in the kingdom of Scotland' (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 790). In the event he was drowned some six months after his ordination and so his witness in the pages of the register is necessarily brief. Indeed, the only MacLachlan to appear comparatively regularly therein after 1690 was Angus of Innis Chonnell as ruling elder of the parish of Kilchrenan between 1708 and 1735 (Reg. Syn.

Argyll:5. 1; 6. 123), but his son, Lachlan, was to be a captain in the Prince's army (Blaikie 1916:456).

It is remarkable that a kindred which normally acted in the interest of the Campbells should so consistently take the opposing side in the wider political and religious controversies of the period. It is even more remarkable that, having done so, they continued to expect and, in part at least, to receive support from Argyll, nor, apparently, was their position in society much diminished, if at all. Whatever the explanation, and one might be that Campbell power in mainland Argyll was less monolithic than is sometimes supposed, it is further evidence for the view that religion was the dominant factor in determining support for or against the Stewart dynasty in the Highlands of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The MacLachlans had all the hallmarks of a kindred which belonged to the Gaelic learned orders of the mediæval period. They carried on their profession, initially medicine, if we can judge by the continued prominence of the MacLachlans of Craiginterve, on an hereditary basis. But, as for almost all families involved in this and other professions, the church attracted recruits from their ranks. In the case of the MacLachlans this had clearly begun before the Reformation. Thus the MacLachlans of Kilbride, almost certainly established as a distinct family unit by the fifteenth century, had probably become exclusively associated with the church by 1560 at least. In other words they had joined the ranks of those hereditary lines whose profession was the church (Thomson 1968:67–8). They seem to have made a smooth transition from the old to the new at the Reformation and we can trace their association with the church and parish of Kilbrandon from 1577 into the eighteenth century. It was their refusal to accept the presbyterian form of church government after 1690 that finally ended their active participation in the ministry. And Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan seems to have been the last to serve in a professional capacity, albeit as an episcopalian minister. It is not without interest that in the end they returned to their medical origins in the person of John's grandson, Alexander, who graduated Doctor of Medicine at Glasgow University in 1783 (Addison 1898:391).[14]

The collection of mediæval Gaelic manuscripts is itself evidence for the continuing interest in Gaelic culture traditionally claimed for the MacLachlans of Kilbride. Major John MacLachlan, the last of them in the direct line, was represented as being very reluctant to leave MSS XXXII–XXXVI with the Highland Society in 1801 (Sinclair 1807:3. 570). He carefully signed four of them and probably also the fifth, now missing.[15] He is even credited, as we shall see, with adding at least one manuscript to the collection.

It is almost certainly Major MacLachlan's father, Duncan, whom Mr Donald MacNicol, in his book written in 1775, claims to have been 'esteemed, and very deservedly, one of the greatest antiquarians, of his time, in the Highlands' (MacNicol 1779:4, 11, 342). And, according to Nether Lorn tradition of the nineteenth century, he was a poet, of whom, we are told, 'the translator of Ossian makes honourable

mention as a preserver of Gaelic poetry' (Gillies 1909:131). John, Duncan's brother and predecessor (d. *c.* 1750), was also a poet, and his poem on the birth of Prince Charles 'shows a smooth and careful style and a knowledge of Latin and Gaelic mythology' (Campbell 1938:1). Equally accomplished is the poem on the death of Cromwell attributed to his grandfather, also John (d. *c.* 1681).

The Synod of Argyll was accustomed to employing members of hereditary literary families who were still maintaining a precarious hold on their profession in the seventeenth century to promote the study of Gaelic and the provision of religious material in that language (Thomson 1962:xxxiii, xxxvii–xli; 1970:183–6). So, following on the Synod's decision in 1649 to translate the *Shorter Catechism* on its own account, apparently the first project of its kind undertaken by that body, it is not surprising that some, if not all, of the ministers originally approached, should be themselves members of those families who had for long looked upon the church as an hereditary profession, and who therefore shared in the common cultural heritage of the Gaelic learned orders of the mediæval period. Of the seven appointed, no less than three were MacLachlans (MacTavish 1943–4:1. 127). They were Colin, minister of Lochgoilhead, and, judging by his forename, of the Craiginterve branch; John, minister of Kilbrandon and progenitor of the Kilchoan family; and Martin, minister in Islay. Martin seems to have belonged to the Islay branch of the MacLachlans of Kilbride (see n. 13) and he is one of the very few ministers recorded in the register of the Synod of Argyll between 1639 and 1661 who had not received a university education in Arts. Yet he was named on a further two occasions that translations of religious material into Gaelic were mooted (MacTavish 1943–4:1. 127, 185; 2. 99). It may be that his scholarly knowledge of the language was one of the factors that persuaded the authorities of his fitness for the ministry.

Finally, because the MacLachlans of Kilbride were in being in the sixteenth century and in view of their persistent literary interests thereafter, it is tempting to include among their number Gille-Pádruig MacLachlan, a poet represented by two poems in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*. *Gille-Pádruig* or *Patrick* is, of course, the characteristic Kilbride forename, while one of his poems is a eulogy addressed to a Campbell, namely, James Campbell of Lawers. It concludes in the approved bardic manner with three stanzas in praise of the latter's wife, Mariota, daughter of Sir Duncan Forester of Skipnish, and three in praise of his chief, Colin, Earl of Argyll. It must therefore have been composed between 1513, when Colin succeeded to the earldom, and 1527, the year in which Mariota died (Watson 1937:106–25, 283).

The question of how long the Kilbride Collection was in existence is not an easy one to answer. The manuscripts themselves give us no help in terms of distinguishing individual MacLachlan owners, simply because, apart from Major John MacLachlan, none of them wrote, signed or in any way annotated the surviving manuscripts in their collection, or, at least, none has as yet been identified. Dr John Smith, in a letter dated 1797, says that he had seen 'part of a large treasure' of manuscripts twenty years before

(MacKenzie 1805:app. 73). This is almost certainly a reference to the Kilbride Collection, for it was in 1777 that he was appointed assistant minister to the parish of Kilbrandon (MacVicar 1933–4:2). According to Smith, the 'large treasure' had been 'left by a gentleman who died 30 or 40 years ago', that is, in 1767 or 1757, and therefore probably John MacLachlan who died *c.* 1750. It can hardly be his successor, Duncan, who was apparently still alive in 1775.

A number of the surviving manuscripts could not have been acquired by a MacLachlan earlier than John's father, Patrick, who was head of the family from *c.* 1683 to 1719. Thus, for example, MS XX was still in the possession of Mr John Beaton in 1690, MS XXXIII in 1700 and MS V in 1701 (MacKechnie 1973:1. 137, 160, 172), and it may be that they and other Beaton manuscripts now in the collection were not acquired by the MacLachlans until after John Beaton's death *c.* 1715 (Campbell and Thomson 1963:44; Isles Tests.:2. 52). MS XXXVI was not written by Hugh MacLean, schoolmaster at Kilchenzie, until 1690–1 and was thereafter, at least for a time in the possession of Colin Campbell of the Kilberry family who commissioned it (MacKechnie 1973:1. 176; Campbell and Thomson 1963:10).

The only specific reference to a MacLachlan as a collector of manuscripts occurs in the manuscript history of the Mathesons compiled by Captain Alexander Matheson of Dornie *c.* 1868 (Matheson 1953–9:154). He maintains there that a manuscript written by Murdoch Matheson (Matheson 1971–2:182) in the mid-seventeenth century was acquired by 'Captain MacLachlan of Kilbride'.[16] Major John MacLachlan was the only head of the family on record to hold the military rank of captain, which he did between the years 1770 and 1776 at least. This manuscript, which, we are told, contained 'many of Bishop Carsewell's sacred songs', seems to have been no longer in the Kilbride Collection by 1801 when Donald MacIntosh made his catalogue.

But there is plenty of evidence to show that the later MacLachlans at least, including the Major before 1801 anyway, were nothing if not generous with their manuscripts. Dr John Smith wrote that much of the collection was 'scattered' before he saw it in 1777 and he supposed that more had been dispersed since then (MacKenzie 1805: app. 73). His supposition was correct. Lord Bannatyne tells of a manuscript which he got from James MacIntyre of Glenoe (d. 1799) and which had been given to the latter by Major MacLachlan. Bannatyne returned the manuscript to MacIntyre but had no idea what became of it thereafter. His brief description of the contents does not seem to tally with those of any of the surviving Kilbride manuscripts (MacKenzie 1805:app. 282). Furthermore, Bannatyne implies that the 'two or three' manuscripts given by Major MacLachlan to General Sir Adolphus Oughton and to Sir James Foulis of Colinton were never returned (MacKenzie 1805:app. 283). Assuming that these two noted Gaelic scholars of their day (MacNicol 1779:309–10) visited Major MacLachlan together, as seems likely, it must have been sometime before 1780, the year in which Oughton, Commander-in-chief of the army in Scotland, died (*DNB*). An address on the origins of the Scots presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in December

1780 by Sir James Foulis may be some indication of what he, at least, had been hoping to find in the MacLachlan manuscripts (Foulis 1792:1–12).[17]

Mr James MacLagan (1728–1805) tells us that Mr Archibald Lambie, minister of Kilmartin from 1737 until his death in 1767, had 'seen and read' in manuscript a Gaelic translation of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* in the possession of MacLachlan of Kilbride (MacLagan Coll., no. 122). It is no longer present in the Kilbride Collection but this and other works attributed to Augustine are translated or quoted in translation elsewhere in Gaelic manuscripts of the period (MacKinnon 1912:24; Abbott and Gwynn 1921: 365; Flower 1926–53:2. 444, 555).

Another literary note in the MacLagan Collection (MacLagan Coll., no. 122) claims that MacLachlan of Kilbride got from Mr Colin Campbell, minister of Ardchattan (1667–1726), a 'pretty large' Gaelic manuscript containing the 'Disputes between Fionn and Gaul'. MacLagan's authority for this statement was Colin's son, Dr Alexander Campbell, a noted antiquarian who was still alive in 1775 (MacNicol 1779:341). This is almost certainly the tale entitled *Bruighean bheag na h-Almhuin* that appears in two surviving manuscripts in the Kilbride Collection, namely, MSS XXXIV and XXXVI. The first was already in existence by 22 October 1603 when it was in the possession of Eoghan MacPhail and we have already noted that the second was written in 1690–1; it is much the larger of the two and may well be the manuscript in question (MacKechnie 1973: 1. 175–6).

Evidence that the Kilbride Collection was in being by the seventeenth century comes from the history, as far as it is known, of MS LIII. Sometime between 1797 and his death in 1803, Mr John MacKinnon, minister of Glendaruel, gave the manuscript to Lord Bannatyne, informing him that he had got it 'from some country people in his neighbourhood' who claimed that it had once formed part of the Kilbride Collection (MacKenzie 1805:app. 283). Marginalia in the manuscript itself appear to show that it had been in the possession of a family of Campbells with Cowal connections, the latest owner thereof being Mr William Campbell, minister of Kilchrenan (1745–93), whose father, also William, had been minister of Glendaruel (1712–42), and the earliest being 'Robert Campbell at Glensluan', apparently forester for Argyll in Cowal and author of a Gaelic poem addressed to the famous Welsh scholar Edward Lhuyd and printed in the preface to his *Archaeologia Britannica* published in 1707 (Lhuyd 1707; MacKinnon 1904–5:5; Campbell and Thomson 1963:xiv; MacKechnie 1973:1. 214–15). Since the manuscript itself was written in the early sixteenth century (MacKinnon 1912:159) and since no owner can be identified before Robert Campbell, there is no reason to doubt that it had previously been in the possession of the MacLachlans of Kilbride.

Again, Alexander Carmichael, in a series of notes on the family of Kilbride, reports that many of their manuscripts are said to have 'perished in the raid of Alexander MacDonald, better known as Alastair mac Cholla Chiotaich' (Carmichael-Watson Coll., no. 167). This receives some support from a statement made by John MacLachlan of Kilbride on 15 October 1750 to the effect that 'in the beginning of the civil troubles

in King Charles the first's reign' almost all the MacLachlan documents concerning the 20 shilling land of Drisaig, Loch Avich, 'were carried off and destroyed' (Saltoun Coll., box 408). But, in view of the known sympathies of the MacLachlans for the cause espoused by Alexander MacDonald in 1644–5, it seems unlikely that the latter was directly responsible.

The traditions of the ancestry of the MacLachlans of Kilbride recorded by James MacIntyre of Glenoe and Dr Donald Smith and quoted at the beginning of this paper, which imply, if they do not specifically state, that the Kilbride Collection was in being by the time of the Reformation, are complemented by another tradition that the MacLachlans acquired manuscripts which had been in the monastic library of Iona. Its most circumstantial expression occurs in the letter already quoted and dated 4 December 1860 by Charles Edward Sobieski-Stuart, which says: 'When the monastery of Iona was destroyed it took several days to burn the books piled in heaps for that purpose. Two or three boat loads were saved however by the Kilbride family, one of its members being a *member* of the sacred edifice' (N.L.S. 50. 2. 1, no. 250). The date of this event, if it ever took place (Steer and Bannerman 1977: 82–3), was clearly thought to be 1560 or thereabouts. But the fate of those manuscripts not saved by the MacLachlans reads suspiciously like another description of the same event quoted in the *New Statistical Account* which says that they were 'gathered in heaps and consumed with fire' (*NSA Argyll*: 7. 326), and Sobieski-Stuart's reputation for literary embellishment might lead us to suppose that he invented the rest, were it not for the fact that P. H. Gillies, referring to the Kilbride Collection and reporting nineteenth-century tradition from Nether Lorn, writes soberly: 'it is believed that the majority of the older MSS formed originally part of the library of Iona' (Gillies 1909: 129). Moreover, Mr Archibald Lambie maintained that the translation of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, which he claimed to have read in a MacLachlan manuscript, was done in Iona, but, as we have already noted, the manuscript has apparently not survived. And the fact is that no evidence has yet been deduced from the extant manuscripts to indicate that any of them was ever in the monastic library of Iona.[18]

However, there are a number of manuscripts in the Kilbride Collection which, purely in terms of the date at which they were written, could have been in the possession of the MacLachlans in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. We have already remarked on the fact that they seem to have studiously avoided indicating ownership of any of the manuscripts in their possession, apart, that is, from Major MacLachlan, and then apparently only because the manuscripts in question were leaving his hands for Edinburgh. This is unusual when we compare those of other professional families, especially perhaps of other medical families such as the Beatons. Indeed, the very fact that a number of the older manuscripts in the Kilbride Collection, including six or seven with a mainly medical content, have no indication of ownership and comparatively few marginalia, in some cases none at all which is later than the date of writing, suggest that they have been almost from the beginning in the library of the MacLachlans.

MS LIII is particularly significant in this context, for it contains a considerable body of marginalia written after it had apparently left the Kilbride Collection, probably sometime in the second half of the seventeenth century, but none which can be dated earlier than that. A possible explanation for the MacLachlans' lack of interest in indicating ownership of these manuscripts may be their early commitment to the church of Kilbrandon and their abandonment of the medical profession. From then on they remained in one place and their manuscripts were consequently in less danger of being lost or mislaid. Whereas the Beatons, who continued to practise medicine in the classical tradition into the seventeenth century and who were constantly on the move, travelling from one noble patient to another, as their manuscripts, which they carried with them, sometimes bear witness, must always have been conscious of the possibility of loss, implicit in the comparative frequency with which they wrote their names on them.

The MacLachlans first appear in the records holding land not because they were a territorial kindred like the Campbells or the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan but in virtue of their professional services, whether as physicians or churchmen. But in the seventeenth century, perhaps a little earlier in the case of the MacLachlans of Craiginterve, we can watch them becoming a territorial kindred in their own right; to the extent that MacLachlan of Kilbride and MacLachlan of Kilchoan both figure in the cess roll of Lorn for 1662. As many as half of the sixty-two land holders assessed therein paid less cess than MacLachlan of Kilbride (Breadalbane Muns. 9/1). At the same time as they were assuming a territorial dimension they began to shed their professional commitment to the classical tradition of the Gaelic learned orders. An early indication of this may be the indenture in 1606 of Duncan, son of the late Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve, to an Edinburgh apothecary (MacGregor Coll., 184/120). Indeed, Colin may have been the last of the parent branch of the family to practise medicine in the old style (H. Campbell Notes, Craiginterve Writs).[19]

It is interesting that their progress towards becoming a territorial kindred was partly at the expense of another professional family, the MacEwens of Kilchoan, genealogists, historians, and poets to the Campbells of Argyll. Thus, Neill MacEwen, infefted in his late father's lands of Kilchoan in 1627, had to dispose of them to the MacLachlans of Craiginterve sometime before 1630 (Thomson 1970:184), when, as we saw, the latter granted them to the MacLachlans of Kilbride. A stanza of a bardic poem addressed to Argyll and almost certainly composed by Neill begins 'restore to me my father's heritage in honour of my art' (Watson 1931:156), clearly a reference to the loss of Kilchoan. The continued existence of the Kilbride collection of Gaelic manuscripts, if not also the continued interest of the MacLachlans of Kilbride in Gaelic culture, may be due, in part at least, to the smooth transition that they made from the professional to the territorial. The mediæval Gaelic manuscripts of the MacEwens, 'the ancient books of the learned', as Neill described them, have not survived.

Appendix

The biographical accounts of the MacLachlans of Kilbride and of Kilchoan that follow by no means exhaust the references to these people in the records, but they were selected principally to demonstrate their relationships, landed interests, academic attainments and ecclesiastical connections. Nor has coverage of the records been exhaustive; for example, it was not possible in the time to consult those parts of the *Register of Deeds* that are not indexed. A further examination of this and other official and family documents should make the limits of dating more precise and add significant biographical detail. Unless there is other evidence for determining relative age, brothers and sisters are listed in order of appearance in the records.

MacLachlans of Kilbride

Patrick — occupied the lands of Kilbride Beg on the island of Seil, Nether Lorn. He was dead by 1591 (RSS:62. 15).
1 Neill.

Neill — was probably the Nigellus MacLachlan who graduated in Arts from Glasgow University in 1584 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 4). He received a royal grant of the lands of Kilbride Beg in succession to his late father in 1591 (RSS:62. 15). He was vicar of Kilbrandon when he was granted in 1597 a wadsett of the teinds of Kilbrandon (GRS, 1 ser.:7. 249). A charter of resignation in his favour was given by Neill Campbell, Bishop of Argyll, of the 4 merklands of Kilbride in the parish of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, in 1600 (Cal. Charters:15. no. 3682; Reg. Deeds, Dal.:220. 1541).[20] He was then minister of the parish. He was dead by 31 October 1615 (Reg. Retours:6. 231).
1 Patrick.
2 Donald witnessed a sasine in 1630 (GRS, 1 ser.:28. 2).

Patrick — matriculated at Glasgow University in 1607 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 67) and graduated in Arts on 28 July 1610 (Scott 1915–50:4. 96). He was vicar of Kilbride, when he was granted the 4 merklands of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, by Andrew Boyd, Bishop of Argyll, in 1614 (*RMS*:8. no. 2133). In 1615 he was retoured heir to his father in the lands of Kilbride Beg (Reg. Retours:6. 231). On 6 September 1616 he was provided to the parsonage and vicarage of Kilchoman, Islay (Scott 1915–50:4. 73). In 1619, as minister of Kilarrow (by this time combined with Kilchoman), he brought an action for payment of the duties of the 20s. land of Drisaig, Loch Avich, against, among others, Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan (Reg. Acts and Decs.: 333. 80). He renounced the wadsett of the teinds of Kilbrandon in 1621 (GRS, 1 ser.:7. 249) and in the same year took sasine of half of the 6 merklands of Dowache, Lorn (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:1. 172). He was still serving as minister in Islay, perhaps the only minister, in 1626 (*Coll. de Rebus Alban.*:123) but he was minister of Kilninver, Nether Lorn, when he took sasine of three of the 6 merklands

of Kilchoan, Nether Lorn, in 1630 (GRS, 1 ser.:28. 2). In 1643 he granted them to Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 67). He was excused a meeting of the Synod of Argyll on 7 October of that year because of illness and it was recorded on 2 May 1644 that the parish of Kilninver was vacant through the decease of the minister (MacTavish 1943–4:1. 78, 90). He married Marion Campbell sometime before 3 February 1623 (GRS, 1 ser.:22. 385).

1 John.

2 Neill first appears on record as one of a number of boys approved by the Synod of Argyll in 1648 for further education. He received 200 merks from the Synod in 1651 to maintain him at the grammar school of Inverary (MacTavish 1943–4:1. 124, 201). He matriculated at Glasgow University in 1653 and graduated in Arts three years later (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 31, 106). In 1658 a grant in his favour of the lands of Kilbride Beg by his brother, John MacLachlan of Kilbride, was witnessed by Sir Allan MacLean of Duart and Murdoch MacLean of Lochbuie (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:22. 192), and by the following year he is on record as 'paedagogue' to MacLean of Duart. In this role he was thoroughly disapproved of by the Synod and they made attempts to have him removed and to bring him before the presbytery of Lorn 'to answer for the scandall of ordinary sweareing and drunkenes, as also the scandall of fornication' (MacTavish 1943–4:2. 195, 203, 210). But all to no avail, for he remained in his post and a bond of 1662 refers to him as 'Governour to the land of MacLean' (Saltoun Coll., box 407). In the same year the 4 merklands of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, were granted to him (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:28. 63). In 1668 a complaint was laid before the Privy Council against Mr Neill MacLachlan and others for illegal imprisonment of a free subject (*RPC*, 3 ser.:2. 515). He was dead by 6 February 1672 (Saltoun Coll., box 407).

John was served heir to his father who died *c.* 1643 (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:22. 192). He is on record in 1650 and 1651 as the ruling elder of the combined parish of Kilbrandon and Kilchattan (MacTavish 1943–4:1. 183–4, 198). He was granted the wadsett of the 4 merklands of Oban, Seil, by Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, in 1652 (Breadalbane Muns., 2/64). In 1663 he witnessed a grant of the 6 merklands of Ballimore, Kerrera, to Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilninver (GRS, 3 ser.: 6. 151). A charter of wadsett of the Garvellach islands was granted to him in 1666 by Archibald, Earl of Argyll (Saltoun Coll., box 407). He leased four of the 6 merklands of Kilbride, Seil, in 1667 (Breadalbane Muns., 9/22) and was retoured heir to his brother, Neill, on 6 February 1672 (Saltoun Coll., box 407). He was probably still alive on 22 November 1681 when his son and successor, Patrick, is called 'fiar of Kilbryd' (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:60. 573) but was almost certainly dead by 19 June 1683 when Patrick was designated 'of Kilbride' (*RPC*, 3 ser.:8. 559). He married Christian, sister of Alexander Campbell of Arivane, who was dead by 5 November 1673 (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:51. 220).

1 Patrick.

2 Archibald witnessed a bond between his father and Alexander Campbell of Arivane in 1673 (*ibid.*).

3 Marie was the subject of the same bond (*ibid.*).

Patrick witnessed a bond by his father in 1670 (Reg. Deeds, Dur.:24. 289). He was fiar of Kilbride by 22 November 1681 (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:60. 573) and had succeeded his father by 19 June 1683 when, designated 'of Kilbride', he was one of many from the area who gave bonds to the Commissioners of Justiciary to keep the peace (*RPC*, 3 ser.:8. 559). Sasine to him, as eldest born son of the late John MacLachlan of Kilbride, of the lands of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, is recorded in 1686 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:2. 147). He was doubtless the tacksman of that name to whom the 6 merklands of Kilbride, Seil, were leased by Lord Neill Campbell in 1692 (Breadalbane Muns., 9/1). In 1709 and again in 1710 he was named cautioner for his sons, John and Neill (Breadalbane Muns., 9/39). He was party to a bond of cautionary dated 10 July 1719 (Paton 1913–22:1. 171). But an inventory of the progress of the wadsett of the Garvellach islands drawn up in 1749 records a charter of adjudication dated 23 February 1719 to Patrick's son, John, 'now of Kilbride' (Saltoun Coll., box 407), which suggests that Patrick had already handed over control of MacLachlan affairs to his son.

1 John.

2 Patrick, Master of Arts and student of theology, was a witness in 1683 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:2. 147). A MacLachlan of that name matriculated at Glasgow University in 1670 and another graduated in 1671 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 39, 121; but see below, n. 13).

3 Duncan.

4 Neill leased the 2 merklands of Clachan, together with the change house and the ferry between Seil and the mainland, in 1709 and 1710 (Breadalbane Muns., 2/64). In 1718 he bound himself to render account to Lord Glenorchy's chamberlain for his intromissions with the ferm and teind meal of Nether Lorn (Paton 1913–22: 1. 164).

John was named in the sasine to his father of the lands of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, recorded in 1686 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:2. 147). As John MacLachlan, 'younger of Kilbride', he leased the 4 merklands of Oban, Seil, for seven years with entry at Whitsun 1709 (Breadalbane Muns., 9/39). He was designated 'of Kilbride' in 1719 (Saltoun Coll., box 407). In 1748 a list of wadsetts on the Argyll estate which it was thought lucrative to redeem included the Garvellach islands. This elicited a petition in the following year from John to the effect that he should be allowed to convert the wadsett into a lease. On 15 October he complained that the Duke of Argyll's factors were demanding too much rent for the 20s. lands of Drisaig, Loch Avich, and he offered to exchange them for a tack of the Garvellach islands. In the event the wadsett of the Garvellach islands was redeemed from him, and his nephew, Patrick, reopening in 1757 the possibility of obtaining a lease, claimed that, when they were leased to Dugall MacDougall of Gallanach in 1751, he was so young that he 'could not make any proposal' for them. The implication is that John had died by this time, and indeed, in his petition of 1749, he represented himself as being in his 'old declining years'. Patrick goes on to tell us that his uncle, 'an old infirm man' at the time of his death, had no children (Saltoun Coll., boxes 407, 408, 416).

Duncan was designated 'of Croy' in a sasine of 27 March 1750 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:8. 114). This must be Croy in Dumbartonshire and he presumably obtained possession of the lands of Croy on, or as a consequence of, his marriage to Margaret Leckie. At least a family of that name is on record as possessing the lands of Croy Lecky, Dumbartonshire, in the early seventeenth century (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:1. 228–30). In 1755 Duncan was designated 'of Kilbride' in a list of assize (Saltoun Coll., box 413). He granted the lands of Kilbride Beg, Seil, and of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, to his son, Patrick, in 1756 (RMS:116. 91, 113). In 1761 he agreed to pay part of the salary of the schoolmaster for the island of Luing (Session Bk.:1. 52, 59). He was bailie for the sasine of the lands of Kilchoan to John MacLachlan in 1763 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 367). He attended the kirk session of 2 September 1766 as a heritor of the parish of Kilbrandon (Session Bk.:1. 101). He seems to have been still alive in 1775, for he was almost certainly the MacLachlan of Kilbride whom Mr Donald MacNicol mentioned in his book written in that year (MacNicol 1779:4, 11, 342), but he was dead by 27 December (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:11. 199, 202). He married Margaret Leckie presumably sometime before 27 March 1750 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:8. 114; RMS:116. 91).

1 Patrick was owed rent by a tenant in Croy in 1751 (Reg. Deeds, MacK.:178(1). 277). And although he claimed to have been too young in that year to make a proposal for leasing the Garvellach islands (Saltoun Coll., box 416), the evidence suggests that Duncan, on his succession *c.* 1750, had placed the administration of the MacLachlan estate in his son's hands. As Peter MacLachlan of Croy he addressed the kirk session on 8 December 1754 on behalf of a miller on the island of Luing who had not yet received payment for making 'a poor man's coffin' (Session Bk.:1. 11). In 1755 he took sasine of the wadsett of the 7 merklands of Auchinellan, Ardskeodnish, and in the following year of the islands and slate quarries of Belnahua, Plada and Ormsary in the parish of Killernadale, Jura (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:8. 460; 9. 58). His father made over to him, as his eldest son born of Margaret Leckie, the lands of Kilbride Beg, Seil, and Kilbride, Mid Lorn, in 1756 (RMS:116. 91, 113). The year 1757 saw at least three memorials by Patrick to the Duke of Argyll giving reasons why the lease of the Garvellach islands to Dugal MacDougall of Gallanach should be set aside in Patrick's favour. A note appended to the last of them dated 9 November indicates that it was successful (Saltoun Coll., box 416). Patrick was dead by 25 February 1760 (Session Bk.:1. 45).

2 John.

3 Hugh makes comparatively frequent appearances in the pages of the Session Book of Kilbrandon between the years 1755 and 1763 (Session Bk.:1. 14, 16, 27–30, 39, 63–4, 67). Therein he is described as a natural son of Duncan MacLachlan of Kilbride and as a merchant who lived in Upper Ardlarach, Luing. But he was living at Ormaig in the parish of Kilmartin when he died on 23 May 1790 (Argyll Tests.:12. 195–6). In 1763 he contracted to marry Jean, daughter of Daniel Campbell of Carsaig (Paton 1913–22:3. 171), who survived him (Argyll Tests.:12. 195–6).

4 Elizabeth.

5 Margaret.

6 Patrick is described as 'brother consanguinean' of Margaret in 1804. As heir portioner to her brother german, Major John MacLachlan of Kilbride, she granted her half share of the 5 merklands of Ard Chonnell to Patrick. In the sasine thereof he was designated 'of Ard Chonnell' (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 16. 225). He was then a lieutenant in the army and may be the same as Lieutenant Peter MacLachlan who was attorney in a sasine on Ormsary in 1796 (H. Campbell Notes, Barbreck Writs). According to nineteenth-century tradition he attained the rank of captain, succeeded to the lands of Kilchoan and died without issue (Campbell 1885: 186; see below.

John witnessed a sasine in 1750 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 8. 114). He had been preferred by the Duke of Argyll to a lieutenancy in the 'new Additionall Levies' by 28 October 1757 (Saltoun Coll., box 416). He was party to his brother Hugh's marriage contract drawn up in 1763 (Paton 1913–22: 3. 171). On 7 August 1770 the Session Book of Kilbrandon records payment of the balance of a fine due by 'Capt. McLauchlan' (Session Bk.: 117). He was served heir to his brother, Patrick, in 1771 (Reg. Retours: 80. 217). In 1772 he took sasine of the Belnahua islands as Captain John MacLachlan of Kilbride (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 10. 401). On 24 November 1774 he attended the kirk session of Kilbrandon, presumably as a heritor of the parish (Session Bk.: 1. 129). A royal grant confirmed him in his possession of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, in 1775 and similarly a year later of Kilbride Beg, Seil (RMS: 116. 91, 113). On 27 December 1775 he took sasine of the 20s. lands of Drisaig, Loch Avich, in preparation for granting them to Archibald, son of Hugh MacCalman, surgeon in Larachbane (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 11. 199, 202), and on the same day he took sasine of the 5 merklands of Ard Chonnell, together with the keepership of the castle of Innis Chonnell, as granted to him by Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve. In 1776 he leased the lands of Ard Chonnell, granting the rent thereof a year later to Ann and Helen, sisters of the deceased Colin, brother of Lachlan MacLachlan, younger of Innis Chonnell. Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve acted as bailie at the sasine (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 11. 200, 290, 335). Describing himself as Captain in the 55th regiment of foot, John sold the lands of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, for £1,000 sterling in 1776 to Alexander MacDougall of Dunollie 'heretably without any manner of Redemption, Reversion or Regress whatsomever' (Reg. Deeds, Dal.: 220. 1541). A series of documents in the final years of the eighteenth century concern complicated financial transactions involving the lands of Craiginterve undertaken by Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve with the support of John (GRS, 3 ser.: 573. 245; 582. 200, 207; 608. 119; PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 15. 42, 442). By 1797 John had risen to the rank of major (GRS, 3 ser.: 573. 245). According to nineteenth-century tradition from Nether Lorn, a Major John MacLachlan, who had seen service in North America, was laird of Kilchoan (Gillies 1909: 36).[21] This must be Major John MacLachlan of Kilbride, for it was in 'the Major's own house at Kilchoan' in 1801 that Donald MacIntosh compiled his catalogue of the Kilbride Collection (N.L.S. 73. 2. 24, no. 15). It was there too that John's sister and heir portioner, Margaret, disposed of her share of the lands of Ard Chonnell to

Lieutenant Patrick MacLachlan in 1804 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 16. 225). It would seem that John had acquired the lands of Kilchoan from his kinsmen, perhaps on the death of Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan sometime after 1763. We shall see that the latter's immediate family had already taken up residence in Glasgow. John MacLachlan of Kilbride was still alive on 9 October 1802 (Reg. Deeds, Dur.: 295. 46) but he was dead by 1 October 1803 (GRS, 3 ser.: 686. 20).

Elizabeth married George Sime of Stuckgowan, Loch Lomond, almost certainly by the year 1773, for her daughter, Christian, came of age in 1794. By that year also Elizabeth was a widow (Reg. Deeds, Dur.: 295. 46). She was served heir to her brother, Major John MacLachlan of Kilbride, on 27 July 1804 (Reg. Retours: 96. 469) and on 29 August, as one of the two heir portioners of her brother, the other being her sister, Margaret, she was seized in the lands of Kilbride Beg (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 16. 250). On 4 October she was reported to be living in Stockwell, Glasgow (N.L.S. 73. 2. 24, no. 47). She was still alive on 4 February 1814 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 27. 152, 155) but was probably dead by 1816 (see above, p. 2).

1 John was heir to his father, George Sime of Stuckgowan, Loch Lomond. He was already in serious financial difficulties by 1794 when his uncle, Major John MacLachlan, appointed trustee by George Sime in 1788, sequestrated 'his stock of cattle'. In 1796 the Sime estate had to be sold by Major MacLachlan (Reg. Deeds, Dur.: 295. 46). On 8 October 1804 it was reported that John, now a captain in the army and 'possessor of the Kilbride MSS', was living at his mother's house in Stockwell, Glasgow (N.L.S. 73. 2. 24, no. 47). He was still alive on 4 February 1814 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 27. 152) but was probably dead by 1816 when his sister, Christian, seems to have become the owner of the Kilbride Collection (see above, p. 2).

2 Christian came of age in 1794 and was therefore born in 1773. In 1802, supported by her uncle, Major John MacLachlan, she successfully claimed money from the Sime estate left to her by her father (Reg. Deeds, Sur.: 295. 46). She was seized in her mother's half of Kilbride Beg and of Ard Chonnell in 1814. By this time too she was the widow of William Marshall, Writer, Glasgow (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 27. 152, 155). By 1821 she had recovered four of the five manuscripts lent to the Highland Society by Major MacLachlan. And, if Charles Edward Sobieski-Stuart is to be believed, she was still alive in 1839 or 1840 (see above, p. 2).

Margaret was served heir to her brother, Major John MacLachlan of Kilbride, on 27 August 1804 (Reg. Retours: 97. 56). She was already the widow of Hugh Cameron, a merchant in Strontian, when she was described on 4 October as one of two heir portioners of her deceased brother, the other being her sister, Elizabeth (GRS, 3 ser.: 686. 20). In 1804 she was seized in her half of the 5 merklands of Ard Chonnell which she immediately granted to her 'brother consanguinean', Lieutenant Patrick MacLachlan of Ard Chonnell (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 16. 223, 225).

MacLachlans of Kilchoan

John was a Master of Arts and he could be either of two MacLachlans of that name who graduated from Glasgow University in 1595 and 1606 respectively (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 7, 10). As vicar of Seil, he witnessed two charters by Andrew Boyd, Bishop of Argyll, in 1615 (Argyll Rentals:1. 88; *RMS*:7, no. 1243). In the following year a contract between John and Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan concerning the teinds of the parish of Seil was witnessed by Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride (Reg. Deeds, 1 ser.:273. 336). As minister of Seil and Luing (the combined parish of Kilbrandon and Kilchattan), he was bailie at a sasine in Seil in 1621 (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:1. 171). The 6 merklands of Kilchoan were granted 'irredeemably and equally' between John and Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride by Colin MacLachlan, fiar of Craiginterve, with the consent of his father, Archibald, in 1630 (GRS, 1 ser.:28. 2) and in 1643 Mr Patrick MacLachlan granted his half of Kilchoan to John (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 67). John was moderator of the presbytery of Kilmore (Lorn) in 1651 and in 1657 he declared his readiness to retire from the ministry (MacTavish 1943–4:2. 150). He granted the 2 merklands of Deginshe, Kilbrandon, under wadsett to Donald, brother of Colin Campbell of Lochnell in 1659 (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 265). On 9 June 1660 he was granted half of the 6 merklands of Ballimore, Kerrera, together with the ferry of Kerrera, on a charter of alienation and wadsett by John MacDougall of Dunollie (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 387). He was seized in these lands on 11 September but was dead by 2 November (MacTavish 1943–4:2. 227). He married Isobel MacDougall (GRS, 1 ser.:28. 5), doubtless sometime before 1607, the year in which their son, John, was born.

1 John.

John probably matriculated at Glasgow University in 1636 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 90). He had completed a degree in Arts by 18 August 1643 (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 33) and in the following year he was an expectant in the presbytery of Kilmore (Lorn). On 2 May the Synod of Argyll directed that he should undergo further trials at Inverary on the first Wednesday in August. Presumably successful, he was admitted to the charge of Kilninver in 1649 (MacTavish 1943–4:1. 89, 132–3). In 1659, as eldest son and heir apparent, John consented to his father's grant of wadsett of the 2 merklands of Deginshe, Kilbrandon, to Donald Campbell (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.: 2. 265). In the following year there is recorded the reversion by John of the wadsett of 2 merklands in Braelorn in the name of his son, Duncan, to Alexander Campbell of Barrichbeyan (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 363). He took sasine of the 6 merklands of Ballimore, Kerrera, in 1663 on a wadsett charter by John MacDougall of Dunollie witnessed by John MacLachlan of Kilbride (GRS, 3 ser.:6. 151). He was 'of Kilchoan' in a document dated 23 October 1667 (GRS, 3 ser.:18. 140) and this appears to be the earliest record of its use as a designation by the family. He was confirmed in the wadsett of Ballimore by the Earl of Argyll in 1669 (Saltoun Coll., box 416) and in the same year he was seized in the 6 merklands of Kilchoan (GRS,

3 ser.:21. 396). The inscription on his graveslab in Kilbrandon tells us that he died at the age of 78 on 3 November 1685 (RCAMS *Argyll* 1971–:2. 140). He was married first to Margaret Campbell, almost certainly by 18 August 1643 (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 33; GRS, 3 ser.:18. 140), and second to Elizabeth Campbell who survived him (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5, nos. 3, 5).

1 John.

2 Duncan received £100 from the Synod of Argyll in 1652 (MacTavish 1943–4: 2. 23), probably to maintain him at the grammar school at Inverary. As second lawful son of Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilninver, he was granted a wadsett of 2 merklands in Braelorn by Alexander Campbell of Barrichbeyan in 1657 (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 246). He matriculated in Glasgow University in 1662 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 113). Five years later he witnessed a document as Mr Duncan MacLachlan, student (GRS, 3 ser.:18. 140). He was probably a student of theology by this time, for in April 1676 he was presented to the parish of Strathlachlan, having served 'at the said kirk' all the previous year (RPC, 3 ser: 6. 154). In 1679 he was supplicating the Privy Council for payment of his stipend. He died in 1685 or 1686 (Scott 1915–50:4. 44). He married Ann MacArthur (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:6. 279). Their son, John, succeeded his uncle as head of the family (see below).

3 Patrick was named in 1657 first of Duncan's three brothers who would succeed the latter in the wadsett of the two merklands in Braelorn should he have no lawful heirs (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 246). He graduated Master of Arts from Glasgow University on 18 July 1672 (Scott 1915–50:4. 96). He was bailie for his father and brother, John, in a sasine in 1678 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:1. 226). On 16 December 1685 he was presented to the parish of Kilninver (Scott 1915–50:4. 96), presumably succeeding his father therein. He was still minister of Kilninver in 1693 when he went surety for two Kilchoan inventories recorded in that year (Argyll Invs.:2. 22). But in 1697 Kilninver was declared vacant because Patrick, 'late episcopal incumbent', had failed to accept the presbyterian form of church government (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 781). He is on record as renting three quarters of the 6 merklands of Laganmore in the parish of Kilninver in 1704, and again in 1709 and 1710 when he is described as 'ane old minister and infirme' (Breadalbane Muns., 9/1, 39). He was served heir to his brother Neill in 1711 (Reg. Retours:54. 209).

4 Neill was the second of three brothers of Duncan who were named as his successors in 1657 (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 246). Neill was a drover. Robbed near Moffat of money made on one of his droving enterprises into England, he and his advocate, Sir George MacKenzie of Rosehaugh, took out a summons before the Privy Council in 1688 (*RPC*, 3 ser.:13. 301). He died at Nether Kames, Kilmelfort, in September 1692 (Argyll Invs.:2. 22).

5 Donald, the third of Duncan's three brothers named as his possible successor in 1657 (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 246), was a witness in 1671 (GRS, 3 ser.:26. 449). He made and gave up his father's testament in 1686 (Argyll Test.:2. 117). In 1692 he was named executor on the death of his brother, Neill, who bequeathed to him all his 'goods'. Donald, now in Nether Kames, was also executor for his sister-in-law, Katherine MacAlastair, wife of Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan, who died in

1693 (Argyll Invs.:2. 21–2). He was a witness in 1709 and again in 1715 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. nos. 15, 20).
6 Isobel was seized in 2 merklands of Carnban, Seil, in 1671 (GRS, 3 ser.:26. 449).
7 Helen was contracted to marry Iver Campbell of Auchadaherly in June 1688 and she is on record as his widow on 29 June 1741 (Paton 1913–22:1. 18, 219).
8 Martin matriculated at Glasgow University in 1689 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 148). Examined by the Synod in the following year, he was found to be a 'hopefull young man' (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 89). He witnessed his brother Neill's will dated 30 August 1692 (Argyll Invs.:2. 22). By 1697 he had graduated Master of Arts (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. no. 11). He was being supported as a student of divinity by the Synod in 1698 (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 790). Ordained minister of Kilbride in May of the following year, he was drowned at Inverary in December (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 811, 856).
9 Katherine was named in her brother Neill's will dated 30 August 1692 (Argyll Invs.:2. 22).
10 Archibald was the first, and presumably therefore the eldest, of five children named in his father's will recorded on 27 January 1686 (Argyll Tests.:2. 117). These were presumably the offspring of Mr John MacLachlan's second marriage. Archibald was a witness in 1693 and again in 1697 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. nos. 6, 10). He matriculated at Glasgow University in 1702 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854: 3. 174). By 1708 he had graduated Master of Arts (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. no. 14). He was described as a student of divinity in 1711, a probationer in the presbytery of Lorn in 1712 and a student of theology in 1713 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. nos. 17, 19, 27) but in that year the Synod reported that the presbytery of Lorn found him unsatisfactory material for a minister (Reg. Syn. Argyll:5. 143). He is on record again in 1720 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 3. no. 42).
11 Hugh was the second of five children named in his father's will recorded on 27 January 1686 (Argyll Tests.:2. 117).
12 Alexander (*ibid.*).
13 Anna (*ibid.*).
14 Christian (*ibid.*).

John received 100 merks from the Synod of Argyll in 1659 to pursue his studies (MacTavish 1943–4:2. 205). He was doubtless one of two MacLachlans of that name who matriculated at Glasgow University in 1661 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 112–13). Whether it was he or the other who graduated in Arts in 1664 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854: 3. 35), he had completed a Master's degree by 1669 when he took sasine of Kilchoan along with his father (GRS, 3 ser.:21. 396). In the same year he was presented to the parish of Craignish (Scott 1915–50:4. 2). He was still minister of Craignish on 7 February 1689 but by 9 February 1692 he was describing himself as 'minister of the Gospel' and on 26 February 1697 as 'late minister of Craignish' (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. nos. 3, 5, 10). He was still alive on 5 March 1709 but was dead by 7 February 1711 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. nos. 15, 16). He married Katherine MacAlastair who died in March 1693 (Argyll Invs.:2. 21).
1 Margaret, an only child, was served heir to her grandfather in 1730. She was

then wife of James, brother of Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine (Reg. Retours:61. 450; Paton 1913–22:3. 197). Her son, John, unsuccessfully attempted to claim the wadsett of Ballimore as heir of line sometime before 4 March 1757 (Saltoun Coll., box 416; see below).

John, son of Mr Duncan MacLachlan, minister of Strathlachlan (d. *c.* 1685), had succeeded his uncle, Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan, as heir male by 7 February 1711 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. no. 16; Saltoun Coll., box 16). By this time too he had completed a Master's degree in Arts and he was doubtless one of two MacLachlans of that name who matriculated at Glasgow University in 1701 and 1703 respectively (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 172, 178).[22] He had occasion to procure himself invested in the lands of Ballimore and of Kilchoan in 1729 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:6. 279). He took a prominent part in the '45, being chaplain general to the army of Prince Charles Edward Stewart (Blaikie 1916:85). Alexander MacDougall of Dunollie attempted to redeem the wadsett of Ballimore from him in 1747 but was unsuccessful partly, it was claimed, because the latter was out of the country 'for being concerned in the rebellion' (Saltoun Coll., box 416; and see above, p. 9). Ten years later John had himself served heir to his grandfather to meet the threat to his possession of the wadsett of Ballimore from John Campbell, the heir of line (Reg. Retours:71. 480; Saltoun Coll., box 416; and see above). However, in the same year and despite an appeal to the Duke of Argyll as the lawful superior, he failed to ward off another attempt by Alexander MacDougall to redeem the wadsett (Saltoun Coll., box 416). He paid a fine to the kirk session of Kilbrandon on behalf of one of his servants in 1762 and he is also on record in that year as baptising an illegitimate child (Session Bk.:1. 59, 61). He was still alive on 16 July 1763 when he granted the lands of Kilchoan to his son, John (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 367).[23] He was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Sutherland of Auchdall, by October 1729 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:6. 279). Later he married Ann and in 1762 he granted her a life rent of the lands of Kilchoan in case she survived him (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 342).

1 John.

John was granted the lands of Kilchoan conjointly with his wife Katherine MacPherson by his father on 16 July 1763. He was then a merchant in Glasgow. Duncan MacLachlan of Kilbride was bailie at the sasine (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 367).

1 John was named eldest lawful son and successor to his father in the grant of the lands of Kilchoan on 16 July 1763 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 367).

2 Alexander was the second lawful son and on the same day provision was made for him and for his sisters, Catherine and Elizabeth, out of the lands of Kilchoan. Duncan MacLachlan of Kilbride was again bailie at the sasine (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 367, 369). Alexander matriculated at Glasgow University in 1774 and graduated Doctor of Medicine in 1783 (Addison 1898:391).

3 Catherine (*ibid.*).

4 Elizabeth (*ibid.*).

Genealogical Tables

When the date of birth or death is known, it is indicated in the appropriate manner, otherwise the dates recorded are those of the earliest and latest datable references to a given person. The names of successive heads of family are italicised.

MacLachlans of Kilbride

Patrick

Neill 1584–1600

Patrick 1607–d. *c.* 1643
Donald 1630

John 1650–81
Neill 1648–68

Patrick 1670–1719
Archibald 1673
Marie 1673

John 1686–d. *c.* 1750
Patrick 1683
Duncan 1750–d. 1775
Neill 1704–39

Patrick 1751–7
John 1750–d. *c.* 1803
Hugh 1755–d. 1790
Elizabeth 1802–14
Margaret 1803–4
Patrick 1796–1804
John 1794–1814
Christian b. 1773–1839/40

MacLachlans of Kilchoan

John 1615–d. 1660

John b. 1607–d. 1685

John 1659–1709
Margaret 1730

Duncan 1652–d. *c.* 1685
John 1711–63
John 1763
John 1763
Alexander 1763–83
Catherine 1763
Elizabeth 1763

Patrick 1657–1711
Neill 1657–d. 1692
Donald 1657–1715
Isobel 1671
Helen 1688–1741
Martin 1689–d. 1699
Katherine 1692
Archibald 1686–1715
Hugh 1686
Alexander 1686
Anna 1686
Christian 1686

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Professor Gordon Donaldson and Mr Ronald Black, who kindly read this paper in a first draft, for help and advice. My thanks are also due to the staffs of the Scottish Record Office and the National Library of Scotland for their unfailing courtesy and helpfulness.

NOTES

1 I am indebted to Mr Ronald Black for making available material relating to the Kilbride Collection in the Ingliston Archives. I have used the reference system that he devised for documents of Gaelic interest in the archives.

2 MacKenzie rendered the name of the library as 'Leabhar-làn Luchd-lagha Ghlascho' which is not very informative but I am assured that the procurators' library was the only possible candidate in 1844.

3 The Kilbride Collection was presumably recovered from the procurators' library by Hugh Kerr or his executors sometime after 1844. It may have been deposited there in the first place on loan or for reasons of safety.

4 MSS XXXII and XXXV are missing but the contents of the first were described in detail and transcribed by Ewen MacLachlan in 1812–13 (N.L.S. 72. 3. 4–5; Ingliston Archs., A. vi. 1) and Professor Donald MacKinnon described the contents of the second (MacKinnon 1912:221–5).

5 There are further eighteenth- and nineteenth-century references of a more or less general character to the MacLachlans of Kilbride and their collection of manuscripts. Donald MacNicol, whose review of Dr Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* came out in 1779, and therefore contains the earliest published notice of the MacLachlans of Kilbride, tells us that they possessed 'a variety of Gaelic manuscripts and fragments, which have been transmitted from father to son, for many generations' (MacNicol 1779:342). John MacKenzie, writing in Gaelic in 1844, maintains that 'all the MacLachlans of Kilbride were skilled in history and poetry and it was reported that in their day they were the best Gaelic scholars in Scotland. They left fifty books written on calf and sheepskin in the old Gaelic script in which the *seanchaidhean* of Scotland and Ireland were accustomed to write' (MacChoinnich 1844:244). Finally, Lord Archibald Campbell, purporting to retail tradition recorded in Gaelic from Dugald MacDougall of Soroba, Kilbride, Mid Lorn, says that, besides being land-owners and cattle dealers, the MacLachlans of Kilbride were 'men of literary and musical tastes, being accomplished historians and bards, and proficient players on several musical instruments'. Some of them, he goes on, 'were connected with the Church in pre-Reformation and post-Reformation times' (Campbell 1885:181).

6 Bishop Robert Keith was originally responsible for this error (Keith 1824:306). He read *Maclauchlan* for *McCachane* in a precept of legitimation granted to Bishop Ferchar in 1544 (*RSS*:3. no. 755). *MacEachainn* was a subsidiary surname used by the MacLeans of Kingairloch at this time (Steer and Bannerman 1977:130–1).

7 Yate or Gait was an alternative name for the lands of Kilbride Beg (RMS:116. 113).

8 But it should be noted that Duncan, son of Alan MacDougall of Torsay, held a wadsett of four of the 6 merklands of Kilbride, Seil, from 1655 to 1666 (Breadalbane Muns., 2/44).

9 So too perhaps, in view of their later close connection with the parish of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, we should not overlook the fact that Gilbert, son of Torletus MacLachlan, was vicar of Kilbride for a number of years before becoming chancellor of Argyll in 1424 (Dunlop 1956:79, 89, 116). These forenames are not, however, recorded elsewhere among the MacLachlans of Kilbride, but sir Patrick, vicar of Kilbride, witnessed a sasine in favour of Walter Stewart, lord of Lorn, in 1470 (AT, 21 Mar.).

10 Sir Archibald Leche, chancellor of Argyll in 1511, maybe a MacLachlan, and therefore the earliest of that forename on record (Campbell 1922:183; Fraser 1874:2. 190).

11 It was also claimed by Mr Donald MacNicol (MacKechnie 1973:1. 331, no. 15b) that John composed *Marbhrann do Mhac Mhic Ailein*, an elegy to Alan MacDonald of Clan Ranald, a leading Jacobite, who, severely wounded at Sheriffmuir (1715), died shortly thereafter at Drummond Castle (but see *ibid.* and MacKenzie 1904:69–70).

12 William, who matriculated at Glasgow University in 1663 and graduated in 1666 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 36, 114), was granted the 2 merklands of Fernoch and Mill of Drum by Archibald MacLachlan of Craiginterve in 1673 (H. Campbell Notes, Auchindarroch Writs, 2. no. 15).

13 He was a son of Martin MacLachlan, a merchant in Islay, and by 1672 he was a graduate in Arts (Reg. Deeds, Dur.:48. 591). His father was probably the son of another Martin who was minister in Islay by 1630 (Reg. Deeds, 1 ser.:453. 7) and who may have succeeded Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride there. Like Patrick, he was the only minister on the island, at least from 1653 (MacTavish 1943–4:2. 35, 238). As 'minister of the word of God in the Ill of Ila', he entered into a bond with Patrick's son, John MacLachlan of Kilbride, in 1657 (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:11. 842–3). He was still minister in Islay in 1661 (MacTavish 1943–4:2. 235). Finally, Archibald MacLachlan, merchant in Kilarrow, Islay, was party to a bond for the relief of John MacLachlan of Kilbride and others in 1768 (Reg. Deeds, Dur.:230. 464).

14 It can be shown that many professional families in mediæval Scotland had their roots in Ireland and it may be significant that MS XXXV of the Kilbride Collection was written *c.* 1654 by Edmond MacLaghlain, who was an Irishman (MacKechnie 1973:1. 175). But it has so far not been possible to point to any other likely Irish connection.

15 This is MS XXXII, but the fact that Ewen MacLachlan, who transcribed it, called it *Leabhar Chille Bride* (N.L.S. 72. 3. 251–4), suggests that Major John MacLachlan had signed it also.

16 I am indebted to Mr William Matheson for this reference.

17 In 1806 Sir John Sinclair, in pursuance of the Highland Society's remit of furthering the study of Gaelic literature and music, enquired of Foulis's son whether his father, who died in 1791, had left any Gaelic manuscripts among his papers, but the son replied that he had found 'none that could be of any use' (N.L.S. 73. 2. 11, nos. 58, 63). General Oughton's papers were also examined at the behest of Sir John Sinclair but there is no record of MacLachlan manuscripts being found among them (N.L.S. 73. 2. 11, no. 25; 73. 2. 12, no. 51; 73. 3. 1, no. 25).

18 I am indebted to Monsignor David McRoberts for allowing me to refer to a forthcoming publication in which he will argue that the covers of MSS XIV and XXVII, probably made sometime in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, come from a service book which may have been written in the monastery of Iona at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

19 In view of the continued interest of the MacLachlans of Kilbride in medicine, implicit in their acquisition in the eighteenth century of Beaton medical manuscripts, it is perhaps surprising that they did not acquire those which must once have been the working tools of their kinsmen, the MacLachlans of Craiginterve. However, it is possible that, although the latter had given up the medical profession early in the seventeenth century, an offshoot may have continued to practise medicine in the classical tradition and fallen heir to their manuscripts. It is worth noting therefore that Edward Lhuyd's list of owners of Gaelic manuscripts in Scotland in 1699 includes 'Alan MacLachlyn, a chirurgeon, in Cnapdale' (Campbell and Thomson 1963:9).

20 There is a tradition that the MacLachlans obtained Kilbride, Mid Lorn, through a marriage connection with the MacDougalls of Dunollie (Campbell 1885:181).

21 See also Campbell 1885:186. But if it was during the Seven Years War (1756–63) as tradition maintains (Gillies 1909:36), John MacLachlan had not yet attained the rank of major, nor had he acquired the lands of Kilchoan.

22 The other was probably Mr John MacLachlan, son of Donald in Stroneskar, just across the Kilmartin parish boundary from Craiginterve. He gave a receipt on behalf of Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan in 1723 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. no. 30).

23 Traditionally the year of his death was 1789 (Gillies 1909:19), which, since his father died *c.* 1685, would make him at least 104 years old.

REFERENCES

1 *Manuscripts in Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh*

ARGYLL INVS.
Register of Inventories. The Commissariat Record of Argyll. CC 2/5.

ARGYLL TESTS.
Register of Testaments. The Commissariat Record of Argyll. CC 2/3.

BREADALBANE MUNS.
Breadalbane Muniments. GD 112.

CAL. CHARTERS
Calendar of Charters and other original Documents. RH 6.

GRS
General Register of Sasines. RS 1–3.

H. CAMPBELL NOTES
Notes etc. compiled by Herbert Campbell. GD 1/426/1.

ISLES TESTS.
Register of Testaments. The Commissariat Record of the Isles. CC 12/3.

MACGREGOR COLL.
The John MacGregor Collection. GD 50.

PRS ARGYLL
Particular Register of Sasines, Argyll. RS 9–10.

REG. ACTS AND DECS.
Register of Acts and Decreets. CS 7.

REG. DEEDS
Register of Deeds. RD 1–4.

REG. RETOURS
Register of Retours. C 22.

REG. SYN. ARGYLL
Register of the Synod of Argyll. CH 2/557.

RMS
Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. C 2.

RSS
Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. PS 1.

SESSION BK.
The Session Book of Kilbrandon. CH 2/209.

S.R.O.
Scottish Record Office.

2 *Other Manuscripts*

ARGYLL RENTALS
(Microfilm) Edinburgh University Library.

AT
Argyll Transcripts, made by 10th Duke of Argyll. Inveraray.

CARMICHAEL-WATSON COLL.
: The Carmichael-Watson Collection. Edinburgh University Library.

E.U.L.
: Edinburgh University Library.

FR
: Faculty Records. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

G.U.L.
: Glasgow University Library.

INGLISTON ARCHS.
: The Archives of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society, Ingliston, Midlothian.

MACLAGAN COLL.
: The MacLagan Collection. MS Gen. 1042. Glasgow University Library.

MS 1467
: 72. 1. 1. National Library of Scotland.

N.L.S.
: National Library of Scotland.

SALTOUN COLL.
: Saltoun Collection. National Library of Scotland.

3 *Printed Sources*

ABBOTT, T. K. and GWYNN, E. J.
1921 *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.* Dublin.

ADDISON, W. INNES
1898 *A Roll of Graduates of the University of Glasgow.* Glasgow.

BLACK, GEORGE F.
1962 *The Surnames of Scotland.* New York.

BLAIKIE, WALTER BIGGAR
1916 *The Lyon in Mourning.* Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD
1885 *Records of Argyll.* Edinburgh.

CAMPBELL, H.
1922 'Extracts from Poltalloch Writs', *The Genealogist* 38:71–7, 135–45, 183–92. London.

CAMPBELL, JOHN LORNE
1933 *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five.* Edinburgh.

CAMPBELL, JOHN LORNE, and THOMSON, DERICK
1963 *Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands 1699–1700.* Oxford.

COLL. DE REBUS ALBAN.
1847 *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis.* Iona Club, Edinburgh.

CPP
1896– *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope.* London.

CREGEEN, ERIC R.
1964 *Argyll Estate Instructions.* Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

DNB
1908– *Dictionary of National Biography.* London.

DUNLOP, ANNIE I.
1956 *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1423–1428.* Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

FLOWER, ROBIN
1926–53 *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*. London.
FOULIS, JAMES
1792 'An Inquiry into the Origin of the Name of the Scottish Nation', *Archaeologia Scotica* 1:1–12. Edinburgh.
FRASER, WILLIAM
1874 *The Lennox*. Edinburgh.
GILLIES, PATRICK H.
1909 *Netherlorn and its Neighbourhood*. London.
GLAS. MUN.
1854 *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*. Maitland Club, Edinburgh.
KEITH, R.
1824 *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*. Edinburgh.
LHUYD, EDWARD
1707 *Archaeologia Britannica*. Oxford.
MACCHOINNICH, IAIN
1844 *Eachdraidh a'Phrionnsa, no Bliadhna Theàrlaich*. Edinburgh.
MACDONALD, A. and MACDONALD, A.
1911 *The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry*. Inverness.
MACKECHNIE, JOHN
1973 *Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts*. Boston.
MACKENZIE, HENRY
1805 *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
MACKENZIE, JOHN
1904 *Sar-obair nam Bard Gaelach*. Edinburgh.
MACKINNON, DONALD
1904–5 'The Glenmasan Manuscript'. *The Celtic Review* 1:3–17. Edinburgh.
1912 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library and elsewhere in Scotland*. Edinburgh.
MACNICOL, DONALD
1779 *Remarks on Dr Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides*. London.
MACPHAIL, J. R. N.
1914–34 *Highland Papers*. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.
MACTAVISH, DUNCAN C.
1943–4 *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll*. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.
MACVICAR, ANGUS J.
1933–4 'The Rev. Dr John Smith of Campbeltown'. *Argyll* 2:1–9.
MATHESON, WILLIAM
1953–9 'Traditions of the Mathesons'. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 42:153–81. Stirling.
1971–2 'Genealogies of the Mathesons'. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 47:172–217. Stirling.
NSA
1845 *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
OPS
1851–5 *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*. Bannatyne Club, Glasgow.
OS
Ordnance Survey.

PATON, HENRY
1895–6 *The Lyon in Mourning*. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.
1913–22 *The Clan Campbell*. Edinburgh.
RCAMS ARGYLL
1971– The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. *Argyll, an Inventory of the Ancient Monuments.*
RMS
1882–1914 *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh.
RPC
1877–1970 *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
RSS
1908 *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*. Edinburgh.
SCOTT, HEW
1915–50 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*. Edinburgh.
SINCLAIR, JOHN
1807 *The Poems of Ossian*. London.
S.R.O.
Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
STEER, K. A. and BANNERMAN, J. W. M.
1977 *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*. H.M.S.O. Edinburgh.
THOMSON, DERICK S.
1968 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland'. *Scottish Studies* 12:57–78. Aberdeen.
THOMSON, R. L.
1962 *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*. Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh.
1970 *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*. Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh.
WATSON, W. J.
1931 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 3:139–59. Oxford.
1937 *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*. Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh.
WATT, D. E. R.
1969 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*. St Andrews.
WILLCOCK, JOHN
1907 *A Scots Earl in Covenanting Times*. Edinburgh.

*Courtly and Satiric Poems in the Book of the Dean of Lismore**

WILLIAM GILLIES

The Book of the Dean of Lismore[1] (*B*) contains two main types of material—Ossianic ballads and bardic verse, the latter being further divided into official, commemorative verse (the bardic encomia proper) and bardic religious verse. These categories do not exhaust the contents of *B*, but the remainder was rather summarily dismissed by W. J. Watson as 'more or less indecent' (Watson 1937:xvii) and remains largely unedited, although E. C. Quiggin had transcribed most of it for his projected edition of *B* (on which see Quiggin 1937:vii), and made some reference to it in his prefatory Rhys Lecture (as at Quiggin 1913:7 and 39–40). Almost all of these poems concern women, whether as the subjects of love-lyric or as the objects of satire. Although comparatively neglected—in part, no doubt, because of a 'lack of euphemism' in some of them—these poems are of interest as the main source (and sometimes the only source) for certain poetic genres in Gaelic. They bear some relation to Scots literature too, though it will appear that this relation is especially difficult to assess. Moreover, some of them are very good of their kind, and deserve to be edited in full. However, the present paper is intended merely to place these poems in their Celtic and European context and give a general impression of their range.[2] I shall start with 'courtly love' poems, and then mention various other types, mostly satiric.

It is believed that love-themes deriving from the lyrics of the French *trouvère* period became naturalised in Ireland, in the halls of Norman–French settlers, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; these came to be sung in Irish and entered the native Gaelic literary tradition. (See especially Ó Tuama 1960:258–62, 1961:91–3 and 99.) One product of this transfusion was the type of poem called *dánta grádha* ('poems of love' in the syllabic quatrains of learned Gaelic verse), which present a distinctive synthesis of traditional, native elements with courtly love themes and conventions. (For an appreciation of these see Flower in O'Rahilly 1926:xi–xxxiv.) Some of the poems in *B* are *dánta grádha*.

One poet, called simply 'A Certain Lover' (*Fear éigin suirghe*) takes up a position that is quite basic to this sort of poetry: 'I have given great love to a certain one's wife;

* This paper was written as a contribution to an unpublished collection of papers by former pupils and colleagues presented to Professor K. H. Jackson in June 1976 to mark his completion of 25 years as Professor of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh (1950–75).

that is more grievous than anything under the sun.' (*Thugas ró-ghrádh do mhnaoi fir, ⟨is⟩ duilghe sin ná ní fón ghréin*: *B* 225; Q LXVI 1ab) He is in a sorry state:

Go bhfóire an dá aspal déag
oram féin fá chionn na mná—
an aoinbhean as annsa leam,
nách lamhaim a h-ai[n]m do rádh. (verse 2)

May the twelve apostles succour me with regard to that woman; the one dearest of all to me, whose name I dare not speak.

The same frustration is felt by the unnamed poet of *Fada atú i n-easbhaidh aoibhnis* ('Long am I without pleasure': *B* 161; Q XLVIII), who begins:

*Fada *atú i n-easbhaidh aoibhnis,*
fada shaoilim beith bhuaidhe;
mar atáim-se 'na [h-]urlainn—
cá bhfuil cunnradh as cruaidhe? (verse 1)

Long am I without pleasure, long I consider my exile from it; the way I am in her court—where is there a compact more harsh?

He then describes his plight in terms of morbid symptoms as a kind of life-in-death: 'I am not alive, nor yet have I perished' (*ní beó 's níor chailleadh mise*: 3d). He amplifies in the same metaphysical vein:

Saoilim nách bhfuil ar talmhain
aon mhac samhla mo ghalair—
*gé *atá mo chorp ar marthain*
táim ar scarthain rem anam.

Éinneach dá bhfuil ar domhan
do chomhthach nó do charaid
cha chluinim, is chan fhaicim
éinní as ait liom, ná as an-ait. (verses 4–5)

I think there is not on earth a single example of my malady: although my body survives I have parted from my soul.

No-one in the world, be he neighbour or friend, do I hear; nor do I see anything to tempt me—or to repel me.

The sense of Love's being a sickness (*galar*) receives a further development in the poem [*Is*] *mairg dan galar an grádh* ('Woe to him whose malady is Love': *B* 290; *W* XXXI), attributed to Isabella, Countess of Argyll; it concludes with an echo of the formulae used to ward off the evil effects of a spell, at the point where she turns them back—with interest—on their source[3]: 'if he should cast me into torment, may it be woe a hundred-fold to himself!' (*dá *gcuireadh sé mise i bpéin/ gomadh dó féin as céad mairg*: 3cd). This poem is striking amongst the present ones in that the uncaring Loved One

is 'he' rather than 'she'; in other respects it conforms to the conventions of the *dánta grádha*, for sound poetic reasons.

In John MacVurich's *Námha dhomh an dán* ('Inimical to me is the fate'[4]: *B* 61; *M* 82) we are told of a beautiful woman who has haunted the poet's sleep:

Fár bhean an dán díom
is mór m'fhíoch is m'fhearg—
cneas mar chobhar tonn,
glac chorr is gruaidh dearg.

Béal ar dath na subh
tug mo chruth ar . . .;
ód chodlas-sa a-réir
truagh, a Dhé, mo chor.

Do bhí sí far riom—
ar liom, gion go robh:
gan í ann ó ló
do-chuaidh ar bhróin domh. (verses 4–6)

Great is my fuming and resentment at what fate has snatched from me—(her) skin white as sea foam, slender hand and scarlet cheek.

Lips red as the raspberries have put my form into (a decline); since I fell asleep last night, o God, wretched is my condition.

She was beside me—(or so) I thought, though she was not; her absence since daybreak has increased sorrow for me.

The nocturnal visitant occurs in the *dánta grádha* too (*e.g.* O'Rahilly 1926:61–4, poems 43–5); this poem also follows the convention of encoding the name of the lady who has enthralled him—a Gaelic equivalent to the acrostic. (Compare O'Rahilly 1926:11 (poem 8, verse 9), 29 (poem 20, verse 9), *etc.*) Our poet uses the names of trees, which signify letters of the old *ogham* alphabet, to frame his clue to her name (verse 7); alas, he has done it too well for the present writer to be able to recover it as yet.

The 'bird-messenger' convention is utilised in Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's *Teachtaire chuireas i gcéin* ('I sent a messenger afar': *B* 149; *Q* XLVII), though the poem itself is not a messenger-poem of the usual sort:

Teachtaire chuireas i gcéin,
mairg mé féin do-chuaidh 'na phdirt:
do-rinne dhomh-sa dá dheóin
teachtaireacht an eóin on Áirc. (verse 1)

I sent a messenger afar—woe to me the man who performed the mission; of his volition he inflicted on me the messengership of the bird from the Ark.

Having sent 'my bosom-friend and confidant' (*mo chompánach is m'fhear rúin*: 2c) on this errand,

Ní tháinig d'innse na sgéal,
a bhéal rena béal do dhruid;
do-rinne ar aithris an eóin
*acht *nachar chaith feóil mar chuid.*

Gach [éin]ní dhár iarras air
do rádha réna dreich réidh
dó féin do-rinne go deas—
agus dearmaitear leis mé. (verses 3–4)

He did not come to deliver the tidings—his lips closed with hers! He did as had been done by the bird, save that he did not consume flesh as his portion.

Everything that I asked him to say to her calm presence he performed blithely for himself—and I am forgotten by him.[5]

Despite some unique features these poems and a couple more like them correspond closely to the bulk of O'Rahilly's collection *Dánta Grádha*. Indeed, the possibility of their being independent developments in Gaelic Scotland and Ireland is precluded (on present evidence at least) by the fact that the courtliness of our poems shows eccentricities—judged from a continental standpoint—otherwise confined to the *dánta grádha* alone. For example, the *dánta grádha* in general, or a poem like *Fada atú i n-easbhaidh aoibhnis* above, can come very close to the spirit of some of the troubadour lyrics in their illicit, unsatisfied, self-abasing experience of Love, and in other minute respects; but they have completely (and, in my experience, uniquely) suppressed the May mornings and the bird-song, the day-dreaming poet and the shepherdesses (Ó Tuama 1960:173, 1961:93) to give a very literal, *indoors* signification to the word 'courtly'.[6]

As for their starting point in Scottish Gaelic literature, it is to be noted that one of the poets named above, John MacVurich, has been identified as a senior member of the ancient poetic family that had provided chief-poets to the Lords of the Isles (Watson 1937:vii; Thomson 1960–3:292, 297); the most likely hypothesis, on this and other grounds, is that these *dánta grádha* came to Scotland through the agency of the poetic order—through Scottish poets training in Irish seminaries and Irish poets visiting Scottish patrons and colleagues on their circuits. There is an apparent difficulty in this view, in that most datable examples of Irish *dánta grádha* seem to be rather later than those in *B* (Knott 1960:38; Ó Tuama 1961:92–4). However, it seems possible to put this down to their ephemeral nature (O'Rahilly 1926:vii–viii; Ó Tuama 1961:87–8) and assume that they were practised in Ireland at least as early as in Scotland.[7]

Further examples of this sort of poetry are fairly rare in the Highlands, but where they do occur they confirm a point that is clear from the Irish examples (and indeed in *B* itself), namely that the patrons themselves were quite ready to compose love-poems of this sort. Thus, besides the compositions of later members of the MacVurich bardic family (*e.g.* Niall Mór's *Soraidh slán don oidhche a-réir*: O'Rahilly 1926:51, poem 38; Thomson 1974:52–3) we find poems ascribed to members of the Gaelic nobility:

sixteenth-century ascriptions include a chief of the Mathesons (W. Matheson 1967–8: 150–2), an Earl of Argyll (R. MacDonald 1776:347; see MacKinnon 1912:304 for a conjecture as to which Earl) and a chief of the Macleans (MacKechnie and Glynn 1933:46); the individual ascriptions may be doubted, but the intended ambience is clear. At what date *dánta grádha* were first composed in Scotland I cannot say; perhaps it was not so long before the day of John MacVurich. As to their demise, they would last, no doubt, as long as trained poets could find patrons. Thereafter, amatory odes continued in fashion as a gentlemanly pursuit—in the Eigg Collection, for instance, the authors of such poems, wherever divulged, are members of at least the minor gentry of the Highlands—and some recognisably bardic traits survived the crossing from learned to vernacular language and metre, to leave their mark on men's songs to women in the modern tradition.

The second main category of poems is concerned principally with women in general rather than with particular women; these may be called contributions to that ever-present mediæval genre, the 'Argument about Women' (as defined by Utley 1944:vii[8]). As regards the present examples, their attitude to women is in general unfavourable, though there is at least one exception to that rule. The history of this brand of verse in Western Europe is just as convoluted as that of courtly verse—an ivy whose tendrils have penetrated to all countries and social levels, with literary roots that extend back to the pagan authors Juvenal and Ovid, but which intermingle at all stages with quite ubiquitous and timeless sentiments and conventions about the fair sex. Despite this complexity it will be feasible to pursue the question of origins at least one step back from *B*. I give first a selection from *B*'s examples of the genre.

In Duncan Campbell's *Fada ó mhalluigh Dia na mná* ('Long since God cursed women': *B* 10; Q LI) the *blâme des femmes* is traced directly to the first temptress:

> *An chéidbhean do mhalluigh Dia*
> *Éabha, . . .*
> *créad 'mar mheabhluigh an bhean duaigh*
> *Ádhamh, ⟨an⟩ seanóir truagh g[an chion]?* (verse 4)

The first woman God cursed was Eve, . . .; why did the hateful woman shame Adam, wretched, blameless patriarch?

Another favoured tactic in this type of literature was the cumulative list—the Catalogue of Evil Women from history (Utley 1944:44). Such a list forms part of *Créad fán seach[n]ainn-sa suirghe* ('Why should I forsake love?': *B* 267; Q LVI), ascribed to 'The Parson' (*An Pearsún*). In the course of his argument (which is that women's chronic fickleness invites a cavalier attitude on his own part) he cites a series of examples from classical, biblical and native sources to show how neither a man's intellect, his strength nor his looks will keep his woman true to him. (The examples chosen are Adam, Fionn, Hercules, Solomon, Aristotle, Ealcmhar and Diarmaid: verses 6–12.)

Again, one of the poems that *B* ascribes to Earl Gerald[9] (*Mairg do léimeas thar a each,*

'Woe to him who dismounts from his horse': *B* 68; *M* 78) has a sort of refrain, 'There's no use in consorting with women' (*ní fheil feidhm beith ris na mnáibh*). 'My curse light upon women,' he says, 'although I spent a while in their company' (*Mo mhallacht i measg na mban,/ gé do bhithinn seal 'na ndáil*: 2ab). Every woman is the same—treacherous, scheming, unheeding (verses 3–5);

Cuiridh sí fearg ar a fear,
caochlaidh a gean ris gach dáimh,
cuiridh sí i n-éadtruime a céim—
ní fheil feidhm beith ris na mnáibh. (verse 6)

She infuriates her husband, (but) changes her humour whenever there's company; (then) her step becomes tripping—there's no use consorting with women.

He concludes gloomily:

Ní fheil feidhm beith ris na mnáibh
is iad ag gláimh is i bhfeirg;
gach neach nách cuir sin i gcéill,
ní h-éidir nách dó féin as mairg. (verse 10)

There's no use in consorting with women, with their snapping and raging: anyone who will not declare thus, it cannot fail to be woe to him.

In *Sgéal beag agam ar na mnáibh* ('I have a little tale about women': *B* 71; *Q* LXVIII), ascribed to Alan, son of Fair Dugall (*Ailéin mac Dhubhghoill Bháin*), the theme is treated dramatically, most of the poem consisting of an imaginary dialogue between a husband and wife. The poet's own bias is revealed first:

An aoinbhean lérbh annsa a fear
dá bhfacaidh tú thear nó thiar,
dh'fhéadte go bhfacaidh 'san lá
fear nó dhá i mbíodh a mian. (verse 3)

The woman who loved her husband most, of all women you've seen, east or west, it might be that she has seen one man—or two, perhaps—per day that she'd fancy.

The dialogue ensues; it starts with the woman asserting that, 'of all men under the sun, you are the one for me' (*a bhfuil d'fhearaibh fón ghréin/ mo roghainn féin díobh is tú*: 4cd). In return for that the husband pledges, while recognising (4b) her insincerity, 'if the world were at my disposal I would give you half of it for yourself' (*dá mbeadh an cruinne fám breith/ bhéarainn duit a leith id láimh*: 5cd). She is moved to even greater protestations:

"**Bhéara mé a luach sin duid,*
agus tuig: gé mór an cás,
éinfhear **nocha luigh lem chorp*
acht gé dcacha tú a-nocht bás." (verse 6)

"I shall give you the value of that; know this: however great the straits, no (other) man shall lie with my body, even though you die this very night."

He plays along. He is happy to believe that, he says (7ab), rather than the rumour the gossips (*lucht na mbréag*) circulate; and he promises (7cd) not to become one of those jealous husbands mocked at in another class of poems included in *Dánta Grádha* (O'Rahilly 1926:124–7, Nos. 92–4). But (she interjects) he will be given no cause for jealousy: 'you will find no living man to whom I have secretly given my kiss' (*chan fhaighfir éanduine beó/ dá dtug mé mo phóg gan fhios*: 8cd). She warms to this theme:

> "*Ghéabhainn airgead, ghéabhainn spréidh,*
> *dá dtugainn mé féin dá chionn;*
> *ó n-as duit-se bhá mo ghaol*
> *cha b'fheirrde duine a thaobh riom.*" (verse 9)

"I could get money, I could get cattle if I were to give myself for them; (but) since my love was for you, no man would be any the better off for approaching me."

The poem now ends with a dry comment from the husband:

> "*Fiosrach mé ar sin, a bhean,*
> *go bhfeadhmadh tú fear nó dhó*
> *ab fhearr ná mise fá chéad,*
> *dá mbadh áil leat féin dol dóibh.*" (verse 10)

"I'm well aware of this, woman, that you'd need a man—or two—a hundred times better than me—if you yourself would want to go to them!"

Duncan Campbell's *Mairg ó ndeachaidh a léim lúith* ('Woe to him whose vigour has departed': *B* 202; *Q* LXXV) is a husband's lament that his wife has no time for him since his sexual powers have declined. He used to receive all manner of attentions from her; she used to hang on his every word; but now,

> *Acht a-nis dá dtairgim di*
> *gach uile ní fán bhioth bhán,*
> *as mo bhod ó chuaidh a lúth*
> *déaradh sí, 'a thrú, ní h-áil,'* (verse 10, = Q, verse 11)

But now, if I were to offer her everything in the bright Universe, since my virility has departed she'd say, "Wretch, no thank you!"

He addresses a prayer:

> [*Athchuinge (?)*] *ort, a mhic Dhé bhí,*
> *a Fhir as rí ar gach reilg:*
> *mo bhod a mhairsinn do ghnáth,*
> *do chasgadh mo mhná ón mheirg.* (verse 12, = Q, verse 13)

(A prayer) to you, son of the living God, you who are King of every holy place: may my virility last forever, to check my wife from sinning.

A poem ascribed to 'The Earl of Argyll', *A bhean dá dtugas-sa grádh* ('Woman to whom I have given love': *B* 73; *Q* LXX), poses in debate form the question, 'Whether does a woman prefer love or sex?':

"Cia as annsa leat—fear gan bhod,
is é a ngeall ort do⟨n⟩ ghnáth,
nó giolla an bhuid bhríoghmhoir chruaidh,
bhíos ag imtheacht uait gach lá?" (verse 2)

"Which do you prefer—a stingless fellow pledged to you forever [*i.e.* the courtly lover!], or the potent, virile lad who departs your chamber every morning?"

After an attempted compromise (in which she advances the suggestion that love and sex are not incompatible) the woman is made to admit that 'the prime cause of love' (*céad-adhbhar an ghráidh*: 5d) is the male organ. This degradation of woman to the animal level is also implicit in *Mairg ó ndeachaidh a léim lúith* and in the poem of 'The Parson' (*e.g.* verse 3). Moreover, it is well and truly justified (or would be if one could accept its ascription) by one of the poems in the name of Isabella, countess of Argyll. For *Éistibh, a lucht an tighe-se* ('Listen, people of this house': *B* 251; *Q* LXII) is an encomium on the sexual powers of the speaker's chaplain, who is compared to the legendary Fergus Mac Roich in this respect. One should set this beside a rumbustious *tour de force*, attributed to Duncan Campbell, entitled *Bod bríoghmhor atá ag Donnchadh* ('A potent *bod* has Duncan': *B* 37 and 157; *Q* p. 92 and LX). These last specimens are the product of a view diametrically opposed to the courtly ideal; for here, not only is the Lady deposed from her exalted throne, but she is held to be enslaved to men—because of the sexual gratification only they can give her.

The satirising of lascivious women and voracious priests occurs also in a couple of poems in which the latter are the prime target. Duncan Campbell's *A shagairt na h-éan-phóige* ('Priest with but one kiss': *B* 251; *Q* LXIII) takes the same line (and also shares the same page in *B*, and the same *aoi freislighe* metre) as *Éistibh, a lucht an tighe-se*, while *Mairg bean nach bí ag aon sagart* ('Woe to the woman whom no priest possesses': *B* 223; *Q* LXIX) gives a chronicle of sexual dues and tithes that the various ecclesiastical grades are imagined as exacting from their flock.[10] (This poem, also in *aoi freislighe*, is ascribed to the Dean of Lismore's brother and co-adjutor Duncan MacGregor.) A stray quatrain enshrines the same doctrine:

Do-chuaidh mise, Roibeart féin,
don mhainistir a-né a-nonn;
agus níor léigeadh mé a-steach,
ó nach raibh mo bhean far riom. (*B* 58; *M* 78)

I myself, Robert, went across yesterday to the monastery—and was not allowed inside, since my wife was not with me!

Two further poems show Milady cut down to size as firmly, but in a more quizzical, less vengeful way. In *A bhean na dtrí mbó* ('Woman of the three cows': *B* 88; Murphy 1941–2:64 and 150) Earl Gerald addresses a woman who relies on the profit from her cattle to keep him true to her—but 'there is a woman I prefer who has neither white

nor black cows' (*tá bean ab fhearr linn/ gan bhoin fhinn ná dhuibh*: 1cd). Her cattle may perish, and then she must rely on her own charms; but

Is caol cam do chas,
is is glas do cheann,
is cas t'aghaidh ort
mar bhíos boc dhá bheann. (verse 3)

Your leg is skinny and twisted, and your head is grey; your face is wrinkled like a two-horned billy-goat.

Another poem, by Farquhar, son of Patrick Grant, is an explicit reprise of the last. *A bhean 'gá bhfuil crodh* ('Woman with the cattle': *B* 88 and 171; *Q* LXV and A. Matheson 1945–7: 156) concludes:

Gé atá mise óg glas,
tá thusa cas sean:
⟨an⟩ tráth chí mé folt nua
théid mé bhuat, a bhean. (verse 3)

Though I am young and lissom, you are wrinkled and old: when I see a new head of hair I'll be leaving you, woman.

Yet another of Earl Gerald's poems, *Mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh* ('Woe to him who speaks ill of women': *B* 307; *Q* LVII) is a Defence of Women—'of the Prayiss of Wemen, and to the Reproche of Vicious Men', as it were[11]:

Mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh—
beith 'gá n-éagnach ní dáil chruinn;
[a bhfua]radar do ghuth riamh,
dom aithne ní h-iad do thuill. (verse 1)

Woe to him who speaks ill of women—to be reviling them is no sensible course (?); to my knowledge they have not earned the ill-fame they have always received.

The poet goes on to list various bad things done by men, in which women have no part; and then, with a slight change of direction, he turns the tables on the argument of *A bhean na dtrí mbó* and *A bhean 'gá bhfuil crodh*:

Duine aosda, leathan, liath,
ní h-é a mian dul 'na dháil;
gé ⟨ba⟩ m⟨h⟩ór a chonách 's a chíos,
dar an leabhar bhíos im láimh
is annsa leo an barr scoth—
mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh.

(verses 6 and 7, run together in *B* with loss of a couplet)

They do not wish to tryst with an aged, stout, grey-haired man; however great his wealth and his tribute, by the Book that is ever in my hand they prefer the luxuriant head of hair—woe to him who speaks ill of women!

Finally, in sir Duncan MacDiarmid's *Tuig gura* (?) *feargach an t-éad* (apparently 'Know that jealousy is ferocious': *B* 106; Q LIII) we find a sort of philosophic detachment from the Debate, and an impartial resolution of the question insofar as it concerns the jealousy that is never far behind love. After pointing out that it strikes at all social levels—kings, lords, burgesses and peasantry (verses 4–6)—he shows that the *malmarié* and the *malmariée* are equally common figures with an equal claim on our sympathy or scorn:

An fear dhíobh a bhíos go sean,
agus aige-san bean óg,
ní anfaidh sé uimpe ag éad
nó go gcuirfear é fé fhód.

An bhean tsean is an fear óg,
luighim ar an Ród fám bhráth,
nách anfaidh sí uime ag éad
. . . go ndéan an t-éag dá lá. (verses 7–8)

The man who is up in years, and has a young wife, his jealousy over her will not cease until he is buried beneath the sod.

The old wife with the young husband, I swear on the Rood by my Salvation that her jealousy over him will not cease until death puts (an end) to her days.[12]

Judged by its occurrence in the Gaelic tradition as a whole (*i.e.* in Ireland and Scotland together) this sort of poetry is perhaps best explained as crystallising in Ireland and circulating principally through the medium of the poetic order—in short, rather like the *dánta grádha*, from which it should not be too rigidly demarcated.[13] One is faced again with the difficulty that the Irish sources are all relatively late, but again there may be good reasons why such verse did not usually find room in manuscripts until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Like the *dánta grádha* it presents a synthesis of native and exotic materials and constructs. For example, one stock gambit involves the enumeration of famous elopements from Gaelic saga and romance (*e.g.* MacNiocaill 1963:29–30, poem XII; Feiritéar 1934:110–11, verses 14–16; Cameron 1892–4:1.411 (lines 1–15), 2.341–3; *etc.*). This clearly owes something to the Catalogues of Evil Women mentioned above,[14] but the theme cannot have seemed too alien to the tradition that had produced the *Ban-senchus* ('Woman-lore'—a verse encyclopaedia of the wives of Irish mythological history) and whose classification of Tales had long since extrapolated and formalised the category of Elopements (*aitheda*).[15] At a more obvious level, too, one can find catalogues in which the universally cited classical and biblical examples of false women appear side by side with native ones (*e.g.* in 'The Parson's'

poem, described above; a similar source is implied by verses found in various manuscripts of Irish provenance[16]).

The forms most frequently assumed in the Early Modern tradition *exclusive* of *B* are as follows:

(1) Inversions or parodies of the courtly love poses (compare Utley 1944:45): *Dánta Grádha* itself includes examples of a type in which the 'lover' proclaims that he is *not* suffering from the usual symptoms of Love (O'Rahilly 1926:10–11, poem 8, *etc.*). Similarly one finds poems in which the Lady is 'taken down a peg': her hair may be yellow, but not as yellow as the ragwort, and so on. (Compare O'Rahilly 1926:134–6, poem 101; MacKechnie and McGlynn 1933:74; A. MacDonald and A. MacDonald 1911:339.)

(2) Single quatrains (or numbers of such quatrains loosely strung together) containing dry, aphoristic comments on the nature of women: many of these are collected in O'Rahilly's *Dánfhocail* ('Irish Epigrams in Verse'); they belong to the period 1400–1700 (O'Rahilly 1921:59) and they include such familiar items[17] as:

Dá madh dubh an fhairge,
dá madh cailc na cruadh-chairge,
dá madh pinn eiteach na n-éan,
dá madh meamram an t-aiéar,

'S tugtar peann i láimh gach fir
do shíol Éabha agus Ádhaimh—
d'fhágadaois uile dá n-éis
dá dtrian uilc ban gan fhaisnéis.

(O'Rahilly 1921:17, no. 84; and elsewhere)

If the ocean were ink, if the hard rocks were chalk, if birds' feathers were pens, if the sky were parchment,

And a pen put in the hand of each man of the posterity of Adam and Eve—they would still leave behind them two thirds of women's evil untold.

(3) Overlapping with the last category are more or less coherent poems, sometimes bearing general titles like *Laoidh na mban* ('The Lay of the Women'—see Feiritéar 1934:70) or *Diomoladh nam ban* ('Dispraise of Women'—see A. MacDonald and A. MacDonald 1911:393). The subject-matter includes such familiar themes as 'Be slow to marry', 'The vices of women', 'The old man's lament', and so on.

Now *B*'s contributions to the 'Argument about Women' contain enough instances of identity with the rest to rule out the possibility of their being wholly independent creations. Not only are the themes similar, but some of the poems in the name of Duncan Campbell and of those ascribed to Earl Gerald share phrases, lines and figures with the later tradition of misogynist verse.[18] At the same time the poems in *B* exhibit a number of points, both general and specific, for which I can find no parallel in the

rest of the Gaelic tradition. Sometimes these points find ready and obvious parallels in Middle English (including Middle Scots) sources, and one might be forgiven for wondering whether the poets of *B* were influenced by the latter; for in the case of some of these men it is possible to demonstrate on different grounds a first-hand awareness (at the least) of some aspects of Scots and English literature. (This side of *B* requires fuller investigation than can be attempted here.) Even so, to assert that a poem like (say) *Mairg bean nach bí ag aon sagart*—above, p. 42—was never paralleled in Irish sources is to invoke the *argumentum ex silentio* in a context where, in addition to the usual perils to manuscripts, one has to reckon with the possibility of conscious suppression on grounds of moral or religious affront, at any time from the date of composition to the present century. Not only this, but the whole genre is so thoroughly diffused—*cf.* above, p. 39—that even quite close correspondences may be non-significant for the tracing of its history. One's conclusion for the present must therefore be that certain elements in these poems *may* argue direct contact with non-Gaelic literatures (or perhaps experimentation beyond the given limits of existing Gaelic literature), but that it might also be taken to suggest a little-publicised activity of some branch of the native *literati*.[19]

These two main divisions absorb most of the poems I have essayed to describe; a few remain which have some affinity with the rest, but do not really belong either with the *dánta grádha* or with the 'Argument about Women' poems.

In *Mór tubaist na táiplisge* ('Great was the upset of the tables': *B* 57, D. Greene 1955:8) the poet pretends to describe a game of backgammon played against a young lady, but also contrives a sustained *double entendre* out of terms common to gambling and love-making. This very distinctive gambit occurs in a couple of Irish sources later than *B*,[20] and also, in a striking parallel, in a twelfth-century troubadour lyric. The editor suggests that the 'literary *jeux d'esprit*' were imported along with the playing of the game itself. Now this presumably implies the same Norman–Irish context as has been assumed for the introduction of the better known love themes; it is worth noting that *Mór tubaist na táiplisge* contains a specific link with the *dánta grádha* in its scholarly clue to the girl's name (verse 14; *cf.* p. 37 above; and see D. Greene 1955:9 (notes to 14cd) for explication of the *ogham*). At a more general level, too, Ó Tuama's researches on the *amhrán* tradition have shown that the latter owes several well-developed codes of erotic ambiguity to its continental sources.[21] Clearly, what has survived merely hints at the diversity that must have perished in this area.

The two poems ascribed to 'Macintyre the Bard', *Créad í an long-sa ar Loch Inse* ('What ship is this on Loch Inch?': *B* 70; *W* xxix) and **Tánaig long ar Loch Raithneach* ('A ship has come on Loch Rannoch': *B* 266; *W* xxx), are apparently vision-poems, in each of which the poet sees a 'Ship of Evil Women' (*long na ndroch-bhan*: *W* xxx 7a) afloat, manned by specimens of female wantonness, pride, inconstancy, quarrelsomeness and so on. There are grounds for thinking that they can be quite closely defined as to date of composition, inasmuch as such 'ship-poems' had a vogue, especially in France (Pompen 1925:296), at the very beginning of the sixteenth century, through translations

and imitations of Sebastian Brant's *Das Narren Schyff*.[22] Although Macintyre's poems cannot be exactly paralleled, and in some ways seem specific in reference and original in inspiration, it is likely that some representative of this literature contributed towards the Gaelic ones (so Quiggin 1913:40). The difference between these poems and the 'Argument about Women' ones is one of seriousness: for these are directed against a monstrous regiment of *evil* women, rather than against women in general. At one point it is said: 'a good woman would not venture into the Ship' (*bean mhaith ní lamhadh 'san luing*: *W* XXIX 11a); in poems like those of Duncan Campbell there is no such thing as a good woman, and therefore no moral indignation.

Equally serious, and equally distinct from the 'Argument about Women', is Grey Donald MacGregor's poem *Tá triúr cailín as searbh glór* ('There are three maids of sour repute': *B* 199; *Q* LV), which is a satire in the strict, 'Celtic' sense of the word. The accusations discussed above also make their appearance here—indeed, they appear repeatedly, for in the world of the Gaelic satirist words are twice as powerful as sticks and stones; but here they are directed at named individuals, and the satirist's stated aim is to expel his victims. Thus he begins, 'Whereas it is necessary to put them away . . .' (*Ós éigin a gcur ar folbh*: 3a; *cf.* 15a).

The poem *Fuath liom bheith anmoch* (*?*) *ag triall* ('I hate to be late journeying': *B* 68; *W* XXXIV) offers a different sort of contrast, and gives—albeit incidentally—yet another character to women (see 1b, 2a, 4c, 5c, 6ab). In the very ancient Gaelic tradition of wisdom-literature the advice to the young prince usually includes warnings to steer clear of women, they being regarded as in all ways inimical to the well-ordered (*i.e.* the male-ordered) state. (Meyer 1909:29–35; 1906:12 (§91), 16 (§125), 32 (§238), *etc.*; compare also, from the sagas, Strachan and O'Keeffe 1912:122, lines 3646–8; Thurneysen 1951:3 (§3, lines 10–11); and the 'first jealousy' of the legendary history of Ireland: Macalister 1940:62–73 (*cf.* Ó Cuív 1975–6:9–11).) By contrast, the Gaelic poems in the 'Argument about Women'—which may be defiant, resigned, embattled, plaintive, waspish or vitriolic about women—never quite match the unselfconscious dismissiveness of the gnomic tradition. The difference between them, I suppose, is the courtly love movement of the twelfth century, which clearly gave direction and added point to the satirising of women.[23] According to this criterion a poem like *Fuath liom bheith anmoch ag triall* should rank as *pre*-courtly (rather than *anti*-courtly) even though it itself was composed long after the twelfth century.

Last of all one should note that short epigrams to women or on women occur here and there throughout *B*; they are mostly scurrilous sallies at the expense of local worthies of the Dean of Lismore's day, their wives and daughters. Opaque allusions to contemporary, unrecorded events of purely local notoriety do not prevent them from contributing something towards our conception of the historical and social circumstances which lie behind *B* as a whole.

This body of verse has some interest for Celtic scholars in that it extends the range of verse composition known from the Early Modern period. At the same time it provides

more material, and more directly comparable material than has been available hitherto, to set against Scots literature south of the Highland Line (see MacQueen 1970:lxviii). As for Scottish Gaelic studies these poems are important in several ways, not all of which have even been touched on here. For example, there is a linguistic interest, inasmuch as they appear to have been *composed* (and not merely written down) in several varieties of Gaelic, including unexceptionable Early Modern Irish in some, unexceptionable modern Scottish Gaelic in others, and various 'intermediate' grades in the rest. Again, they sometimes refer to other literary forms in a way that helps us gauge the state of the Gaelic tradition at that time, as when they refer to ancient tales still remembered or to late romantic tales already current. Finally, they tell us a lot, both directly and indirectly, about those who were associated with the compilation of the Book of the Dean itself.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am grateful to Messrs A. J. Aitken, Archie Macintyre (Lindsaig) and the Rev. William Matheson for answering specific queries which arose during the writing of this paper; my thanks are also due to Professor Brian Ó Cuív for reading and commenting on it; and especially to Miss Helen O'Sullivan for reading and criticising an earlier draft, and for discussing many of the problems with me. Remaining imperfections are my own responsibility.

NOTES

1 *i.e.* National Library of Scotland Gaelic Manuscript Adv. xxxvii (N.L.S. 72. 1. 37), hereafter referred to simply as *B*. For other abbreviations see the next note.

2 In view of the need to cite numerous passages from *B*, and the peculiar problems that surround *B*'s text, I have adopted the following procedure: each textual reference (unless immediately preceded by a reference to another part of the same poem) consists of (1) a page-reference to *B* itself, and (2) a reference to the most recent edition, failing which the most recent printing of *B*'s text. For this purpose *M* = McLauchlan and Skene 1862 (cited by page of the Gaelic section), *C* = Cameron 1892–4 (cited by page of vol. I), *Q* = Quiggin 1937 (cited by poem number) and *W* = Watson 1937 (cited by poem number). I have given all quotations in conventional spelling, since more or less accurate versions of *B*'s quasi-phonetic text are available in these printed sources, whereas early attempts to interpret that text were decidedly less successful (at least down to Watson's and Quiggin's day). As to consistency, I have allowed more 'Scotticisms' to stand in some poems than in others—a reflection of my present convictions (expressed later m) about the composition of the non-official poems in *B*. I have taken all readings from *B*, but readily own my debt to previous transcribers, not least because *B* has deteriorated somewhat during the century and a half since the first transcripts were made. There are, I must confess, many points at which I am doubtful of my interpretation. Translations likewise are my own responsibility, though I have availed myself of existing versions wherever possible. Although discussion of textual matters has had to be excluded, note that [. . .] indicates something supplied by me, not in *B* or not visible in *B*; ⟨. . .⟩ indicates something in *B*, to be omitted; while an asterisk indicates a textual emendation to *B*. This unceremonious treatment I regard as being *pro tempore*: I hope to redress the balance for at least some of these poems in the future.

3 Examples may be found in Carmichael 1928:2. 56, 58; 1941:156, 158. Love had, of course, been regarded as a sickness with preternatural associations since the Old Irish period at least.

4 As Professor Thomson has pointed out (1974:52) the poet is playing on two meanings of *dán*—'poem' and 'fate'; I am conscious of such ambiguity in some of the other poems too, but have usually ignored it where formal explanation would be needed to bring it out in the passages quoted.

5 For the traitorous bird compare perhaps R. Greene 1974:xiv–xv, and also (or perhaps alternatively) the gibe aimed at the Raven in *The Houlate*, lines 812–14: 'Thow ischit out of Noyis ark, and to the erd wan,/ Tareit as tratour and brocht na tadingis.' (Bannatyne 1896:4. 892).

6 The *ogham* anagram itself is enough to link at least John MacVurich's poem with the scholastic Irish tradition; see p. 46 for another example of this practice from *B*.

7 My reasons for assuming that they came from Ireland to Scotland (rather than the reverse) are: (i) The evidence for the continental love-themes in general seems to concentrate more in the south of Ireland, less in northern Ireland and Scotland (Ó Tuama 1960:262, n. 59). (ii) Insofar as their introduction is to be associated with the Normans, several Norman families had much to do with Gaelic literature in Ireland (especially, again, in the southern half), whereas they were never more than peripheral to Gaelic culture in the Highlands. (iii) Insofar as their dissemination has been correctly linked with the poetic order, innovations from the periphery of the bardic world seem unlikely. (iv) The fifteenth-century Book of Fermoy contains a series of thirty poems ascribed to Gearóid Iarla ('Earl Gerald', *i.e.* the historical Gerald fitzMaurice, 3rd Earl of Desmond (1338–98), on whom see MacNiocaill 1963:8–11). Amongst various possible echoes of continental modes these include a 'messenger-poem' (MacNiocaill 1963:44–5, no. xxv) which may count as providing at least one wholly Irish example of a *dán grádha* from the fourteenth century. (For the series of nine Earl Gerald poems in *B* see below, note 18.)

8 '. . . we are forced to rely on two simple tests for a satire or a defense: that the subject matter be women primarily, and that the intent and attitude be exaggerated or controversial.'

9 See note 18 for the significance of these Earl Gerald poems.

10 Comparable in general is the passage beginning 'Another abbei is therbi' in the 'Land of Cokaygne' (Furnivall 1858:156–61); much closer to home one might compare the latter part, especially verses 45–51, of the Scots text known as 'Duncan Laideus' Testament', apparently composed at or near Taymouth soon after 1551 (Innes 1855:166–8, *cf.* xi–xv).

11 George Bannatyne's formulation; this poem belongs with such examples as 'To onpreyse wemen yt were a shame' (Robbins 1952:31, quoted by Ó Tuama 1960:167), Dunbar's 'In prais of wemen' (MacKenzie 1932:83) and many others: see Utley 1944:50.

12 But note that even sir Duncan believes women are specially burdened by Nature; for in his next verse he adds: 'Women have another practice . . . (namely) that they are no less prone to jealousy when they (themselves) have strayed.' (*Ábhais eile thá ag na mnáibh,/ . . ./ nách lughaide a-dhéanad éad/ gé do-rinnead béad . . .*: verse 9.)

13 Points of comparison include the following: (i) These poems tend to occur in the same manuscripts as the *dánta grádha*; indeed, some of them are included in *Dánta Grádha* (as will be clear from citations in the text above). (ii) 'Gentlemen amateurs' may be connected with this sort of verse too: *e.g.* the seventeenth-century Kerry figure Peirce Ferriter (Feiritéar 1934:69–70; Flower 1944:84–91) in Ireland, John Carswell (A. Matheson 1953–9:204) and 'The son of the Earl of Lennox' (MacColl 1891–2:429–30) in Scotland, not to mention several of the poets of *B* (including Earl Gerald). (iii) The relationship between these poems and such *amhráin* as *An Seanduine dóighte* and *An Pósadh Brónach* may turn out to be the same as that between the *dánta grádha* and the *amhráin ghrá*.

Note, however, that English and Latin (as opposed to French) analogues seem to be more to the fore with misogynist verse than with the love-songs.

14 P. 39. The enumerating of famous women doubtless goes back to Ovid's *Heroides* (who were, however, more sinned against than sinning); the enumerating of *evil* women goes back, in the first instance, to Boccaccio's *In Mulieres*: *cf.* Utley 1944:44, 192–3.

15 For the *Ban-senchus* see Dobbs 1930:282–339, who distinguishes a nucleus of names completed by the late eleventh century, with twelfth-century redactors adding in more recent names in some versions. For the Tale-lists see Thurneysen 1921:21–4, who shows that the existing lists presuppose an earlier compilation dating from no later than the tenth century. The earliest 'Catalogue of Elopements' known to me occurs in the twelfth-century Fenian poem *Cotail becán becán bec* (Murphy 1956:160), verses 4–7, sung by Gráinne over the sleeping Diarmaid. It is clear that this topic would bear further investigation: *cf.* Murphy 1953:xlvii, n. 3 and lxxxiv, n. 4.

16 *E.g.* the common *Do mealladh* (or *cailleadh*) *Ádhamh le mnaoi*; *cf.* the equally common *Do cailleadh* (or *Ó mealladh*) *le mnaoi Dáith rí 7 Solomon glic* in stressed metre.

17 Compare the 'Chaucerian' pieces beginning 'Thocht all the wod vnder the hevin that growis' and 'Gif all the erth war perchmene scribable' amongst the *Schort Epegrammis aganis Women* (Bannatyne 1896:4. 754–5), and many others cited by Linn 1938:962–5.

18 See note 7 (iv) above for the historical Earl Gerald. Given that the poems described above (and such others in *B* as resemble them) form a unity, Gerald's presence amongst a group of poets who hail from Argyll or Perthshire in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century raises complex questions which cannot be dealt with here. The main possibilities are that a given ascription to Gerald in *B* is either (i) correct, (ii) a 'courtesy' ascription (like those to Chaucer in contemporary Scots sources), or (iii) to be understood as '*à la* Gerald'; but in any case the facts require an explanation that links *B* with Ireland.

As to the verse itself, note the following correspondences: (i) *Mairg do léimeas thar a each*, verse 7, is very close to MacColl 1891–2:429, verse 4. (ii) *Mairg ó ndeachaidh a léim lúith*, verse 10, draws on the same topos (that a woman will *believe* white black if her lover says so, but will *call* white black to vex her husband) as O'Rahilly 1921:16, no. 77, *etc.* (iii) A reminiscence of at least the title of *Sgéal beag agam ar na mnáibh* seems to appear in (*A*)*tá sgéal agam ar na mnáibh*, found in several Irish manuscripts. In subject-matter the *B* poem is closer to another poem, *Mairg do-ní cumann le mnáibh* (O'Rahilly 1926:108–11); one might also suspect a distant connection with the much more slapstick 'A lytyll tale I will you tell' in R. Greene 1935:273. (iv) An echo of *A bhean na dtrí mbó* occurs in *Go réidh, a bhean na dtrí mbó* (Ó Canainn 1939:176), of which the first two verses and the last correspond roughly to our poem. (v) An anonymous version of *Mairg adeir olc ris na mnáibh* occurs in two late Irish manuscripts (O'Rahilly 1926:4; *cf.* 1935:47); it is shorter than *B*'s version, but agrees quite closely in the verses that are common to both.

19 *Cf.* Knott 1960:38, n. 1, who says that the poets who composed the *dánta grádha* 'could be . . . extremely indecorous, in quite a stately style.' Note also such scholars' *jeux* as *Beith Onn Duir do-bhérainn duit*, *Muin an briathar ré mbiodhgaim*, or *Truagh liom do bhás, a bhoill*, found in the class of manuscripts to which we owe the preservation of many of the *dánta grádha*.

20 D. Greene, *loc. cit.*; to these may be added Ó Máille 1916:135, no. 23, lines 4–6 (with variants).

21 See especially Ó Tuama 1960:144–6; these include an association of 'tables' with love, though not the sustained and elaborate word-play. For a Scottish example *cf.* R. MacDonald 1776:292, verse 6.

22 Women received their own special treatment in the *Stultiferae Naves* of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, published in 1501 (Renouard 1908:158); the 'Ship of Fools' itself was available in English, in Barclay's translation, from 1509 (Pompen 1925:18).

23 Recent scholarship has undermined the idea of courtly love as something new and unique that sprang into being in Provence around 1100; while a parallel argument emphasises the 'timeless and universal' (Utley 1944:5) occurrence of satire on women. This does not mean that no new ingredients were added in the twelfth century, with results for the tenor and constitution of both these sorts of verse: *cf.* Dronke 1968:46. But in any case, our concern is with Ireland, upon whose comparatively sheltered, even ingrown literature the continental modes made unmistakable impressions at various levels during the centuries following the twelfth.

REFERENCES

BANNATYNE, GEORGE
1896 *The Bannatyne Manuscript.* Hunterian Club, Glasgow.

CAMERON, REV. ALEXANDER
1892–4 *Reliquiae Celticae.* Ed. Alexander MacBain and Rev. John Kennedy. Inverness.

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER
1928 *Carmina Gadelica.* Second edn. Edinburgh.
1941 *Carmina Gadelica.* Vol. III. Ed. James Carmichael Watson. Edinburgh.

DOBBS, MARGARET E.
1930 'The Ban-shenchus.' *Revue Celtique* 47:282–339.

DRONKE, PETER
1968 *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-lyric.* Second edn. London.

FEIRITÉAR, PIARAS
1934 *Dánta.* Ed. Pádruig Ua Duinnín. Dublin.

FLOWER, ROBIN
1926 (See O'Rahilly 1926).
1944 *The Western Island.* Oxford.

FURNIVALL, F. J.
1858 'Early English Poems and Lives of Saints.' *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1858. Part II.

GREENE, DAVID
1955 '*Un Joc Grossier* in Irish and Provençal.' *Ériu* 17:7–15.

GREENE, RICHARD LEIGHTON
1935 *The Early English Carols.* Oxford.
1974 *The Lyrics of the Red Book of Ossory.* Oxford.

INNES, COSMO
1855 *The Black Book of Taymouth.* Bannatyne Club, Glasgow.

KNOTT, ELEANOR
1960 *Irish Classical Poetry.* Second edn. Dublin.

LINN, IRVING
1938 'If all the Sky Were Parchment.' *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 53:951–70.

MACALISTER, R. A. STEWART
1940 *Lebor Gabála Érenn.* Part III. Irish Texts Society, vol. XXXIX, Dublin.

MACCOLL, EVAN
1891–2 'Additional Poems from the MacColl MS.' *Highland Monthly* 2:429–33.

MACDONALD, REV. A. and MACDONALD, REV. A.
1911 *The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry.* Inverness.

MACDONALD, RANALD (RAONUILL MACDOMHNUILL)
1776 *Comh-chruinneachidh Orannaigh Gaidhealach.* (The 'Eigg Collection'). Edinburgh.

MACKECHNIE, JOHN and MCGLYNN, PATRICK
1933 *The Owl Remembers.* Stirling.

MACKENZIE, W. MACKAY
1932 *The Poems of William Dunbar.* London.

MACKINNON, DONALD
1912 *A descriptive catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library etc.* Edinburgh.

MCLAUCHLAN, REV. THOMAS and SKENE, WILLIAM F.
1862 *The Dean of Lismore's Book.* Edinburgh.

MACNIOCAILL, GEARÓID
1963 'Duanaire Ghearóid Iarla.' *Studia Hibernica* 3:7–59.
MACQUEEN, JOHN
1970 *Ballattis of Luve 1400–1570*. Edinburgh.
MATHESON, ANGUS
1945–7 'A Ughdar so Fearchar mac Phádraig Grannd.' *Éigse* 5:156–7.
1953–9 'Bishop Carswell.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 42:182–205.
MATHESON, WILLIAM
1967–8 'Further Gleanings from the Dornie Manuscripts.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 45:148–95.
MEYER, KUNO
1906 *The Triads of Ireland*. (Todd Lecture Series) Dublin.
1909 *The Instructions of King Cormac mac Airt*. (Todd Lecture Series) Dublin.
MURPHY, GERARD ('G.Ó M.')
1941–2 'A Ughdar so Gearóid.' *Éigse* 2:64.
1953 *Duanaire Finn*. Part III. Irish Texts Society, vol. XLIII, Dublin.
1955 *Early Irish Lyrics*. Oxford.
Ó CANAINN, PÁDRAIG
1939 *Filidheacht na nGaedheal*. Dublin.
Ó CUÍV, BRIAN
1975–6 'Three Middle Irish Poems.' *Éigse* 16:1–17.
Ó MÁILLE, TOMÁS
1916 *Amhráin Chearbhalláin*. Irish Texts Society, vol. XVII, Dublin.
O'RAHILLY, T. F.
1921 *Dánfhocail*. Dublin.
1926 *Dánta Grádha*. Second edn. Cork.
1935 'Indexes to the Book of the Dean of Lismore.' *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 4:31–56.
Ó TUAMA, SEÁN
1960 *An Grá in Amhráin na nDaoine*. Dublin.
1961 'The New Love Poetry.' *Seven Centuries of Irish Learning 1000–1700*. Ed. Brian Ó Cuív. Dublin.
POMPEN, FR. AURELIUS, O.F.M.
1925 *The English Versions of the Ship of Fools*. London.
QUIGGIN, E. C.
1913 *Prolegomena to the Study of the Later Irish Bards*. (Published from *Proceedings of the British Academy* 5 (1911–12):89–143.) London.
1937 *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*. Ed. J. Fraser. Cambridge.
RENOUARD, PH.
1908 *Bibliographie des Impressions et des Oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius*. Paris.
ROBBINS, R. H.
1952 *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*. Oxford.
STRACHAN, JOHN and O'KEEFFE, J. G.
1912 *The Táin Bó Cuailnge from the Yellow Book of Lecan*. Dublin.
THOMSON, DERICK S.
1960–3 'The MacMhuirich Bardic Family.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 43:276–304.
1974 *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*. London.

THURNEYSEN, RUDOLF
1921 *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert.* Halle.
1951 *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó.* Dublin.
UTLEY, FRANCIS LEE
1944 *The Crooked Rib.* Columbus, Ohio.
WATSON, WILLIAM J.
1937 *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore.* Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh.

Jeannie Robertson: The Lyric Songs

HERSCHEL GOWER AND JAMES PORTER

It is worth noting that many of the lyric songs and fragments sung by Jeannie Robertson had never been recorded in any permanent way until Hamish Henderson went to her door in Aberdeen in 1952. As the present notes to individual songs indicate, several have since been printed by Norman Buchan (and Peter Hall) in two popular collections and others by Arthur Argo in *Chapbook* (Buchan 1962, Buchan and Hall 1973; Argo [n.d.]). In the course of twenty years or so, therefore, Jeannie saw her lyrics recorded on tape and disc, some appear in print, and a considerable number sung by a generation which learned them from her personally as well as from published or broadcast versions. By such means Jeannie, members of her family, and other travelling families in Aberdeenshire and Perthshire have formed the fountainhead of the Scottish folk song revival (Henderson 1964a, 1973).

Characteristically, many of the songs, in contrast to the ballads in her repertoire, are short pieces of wit and irony, on occasion adding up to little more than wordplay or bawdy representations of a vivid and empirical reality. These songs nevertheless demonstrate the variety to be found in her repertoire, a variety not only of mood and experience but also of technical command and communicatory skill. All the songs designated here as lyrics (for lack of a better descriptive term) are therefore not invariably fast in tempo or light in theme. There are invariably exceptions to any such concept: 'I wish, I wish', for example, could be described as a kind of lament, or 'Bonnie Udny' as a eulogy reflecting the identity travelling people feel with Nature. 'Jimmy Drummond' is the universal complaint of a traveller in serious conflict with the law.

If the actual verses when reduced to print seem less significant poetically than the ballad texts, it should be noted that in the ballads there is the narrative thrust upon which Jeannie, like other singers, concentrates in her telling or retelling of a story. The stanza and line of the traditional narrative song are more likely to remain stable than that of the lyric because of the propulsion towards sequence and climax; ballads depend largely upon structural devices such as framing, accumulation, and repetition (Buchan 1972: 87–144). In the lyric songs, on the other hand, stanzas may sometimes be sung in a different order from the norm; occasionally 'outside' or 'floating' stanzas and lines will be added. The fluid structural tendencies which are part of ballad composition and performance are clearly present in texts of this kind (Bronson 1945:135; 1954; Abrahams 1969:109–12). Literary criticism, however, in applying a different set of aesthetic criteria to the poetry of the lyrics, has tended to neglect the emotional and

communicative power of Jeannie's lyrics in performance (this aspect is discussed in Muir 1965:35–50, and Abrahams 1972:75–86).

However fragmentary, many of the texts recall the poetic imagery familiar in the ballads. Simple, concrete images proliferate:

> For there's a blackbird sits on yon tree;
> Some says it's blind and it cannae see.
> Some says it's blind and it cannae see.
> And so is my true love to me.

Precision of imagery, a characteristic of Scottish poetry frequently remarked upon by literary scholars, appears again in combination with thematic understatement:

> O, brush ye back my curly locks
> An' lace my middle sma',
> An' nane'll ken by my rosy cheeks
> That my maidenheid's awa'.

Under metrical analysis the prosody and versification are of considerable interest. The strongly varied rhythms of accentual verse, for instance, are evident in these lines:

> It is over the mountain and over the main,
> Through Gibraltar tae France and Spain,
> Get a feather tae yer bonnet and a kilt abeen yer knee
> An' list bonnie laddie an' come awa' wi' me.[1]

The interlocking dactyles and spondees above stand in marked contrast to the curt rhythms and monosyllabic phrasing of 'Ainst Upon a Time':

> Dinnae think, my bonnie lad,
> That I'm mad aboot ye:
> For I could dae wi' a man,
> But I can dae withoot ye.

Many of the elements and techniques of oral composition can be found in Jeannie Robertson's lyrics: feeling (*e.g.* wit, humour, pathos, resignation), form (*e.g.* fusion of poetic line and musical phrase, contrast and variety in stanza, line, and foot), theme and idea reflected in character and *persona* (*e.g.* outlaw, traveller, soldier, sailor, rake, forsaken maiden, liberated woman). Each of these diverse elements receives focus in individual songs through the medium of Jeannie's creative personality.

It has already been pointed out that her manner of performance inclines towards the deliberate, her ballad numbers in particular being affected by the extended treatment of poetic line and musical phrase (Gower and Porter 1970, 1972). The details of the action or idea are dramatically held up, as it were, for the audience's contemplation. This does not imply that the concept of any song as an 'objective', artistic and integral whole is undermined for the sake of a personal expressiveness. As a singer aware of her audience's

needs and capabilities in grasping the weighty events recounted in such narratives, she includes an appropriate time-scale as a necessary parameter of song performance. Musical time in a structural sense subsumes factors of tempo, measure, rhythm, and proportion, and these are scaled skilfully by her in two directions: towards song content and style on the one hand, and to her audience's apprehension of these elements as artistic components of the story-song on the other. The same holds good, essentially, in her performance of the lyric songs, where a story is implied and the total implication strongly felt.

Analysis indicates that when she sings the lyrics her manner of performance is generally far more varied than in the narrative songs, an indication of the variety in structure and thematic content already noted. Performance types can be said to fall into three groups related to the principal factors of tempo, measure, and rhythm: Group 1, a sustained ($\dot{}| = \pm 60$–92), hypermetrical, rhythmically complex type normally associated with her ballad style; Group 2, an intermediate, moderately-paced ($\dot{}| = \pm 48$–84), heterometric but rhythmically simpler type sometimes sharing the structural characteristics of the other two types; and Group 3, a quick ($\dot{}| = \pm 72$–128), largely isometric, rhythmically straightforward type often derived from, or related to, dance or mouth music.

In considering melodic factors there are significant inferences to be drawn from the relationship between manner of performance and the singer's concept of tonality. The interaction between these two aspects is important to a determination of scale or mode, and the problems inherent in differing interpretations of tonality have already been raised with reference to the narrative songs (Gower and Porter 1972). The investigator is obliged to decide whether every stable pitch (or at least all those recurring consistently throughout a song) as recorded in a detailed transcription is to be included in the determination of mode, even when several such pitches may carry little weight in terms of melodic function and importance, or whether, disregarding minor inflections although they are *de facto* present, he believes the underlying, 'reduced' structure to be the model for mode classification. Unlike Bertrand Bronson who, in *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads*, was treating a great bulk of historical as well as synchronic material from diverse sources, all of which material as editor and compiler he has ordered in broad and consistent groupings, the student of the individual singer like Jeannie Robertson must take account of the complexities evident in her performances in order to interpret style with any accuracy, and the abstractions of modal classification are necessarily dependent upon that interpretation.

A methodology for scale description which is directed towards recorded performance will accordingly yield different results in the interpretation of tonality when it considers all stable and consistent pitches in a song. Moreover, if its assumptions begin from that point (namely, actual performance as a basic criterion in the determination of tonality), it must consequently take account of the tonality as a conceptual entity in the mind of the singer. Ideally, this would mean an exhaustive study of melodic variability and

stability in each stanza of every song on all occasions upon which it was sung.[3] Lacking this perfect state of affairs, however, the investigator will find that, in making a close study of the repertoire and style of a single singer, the great majority of whose songs has been recorded on tape or disc, he can still construct an accurate picture of tonality from the analysis of complete songs in single or multiple versions. The same procedure may be utilised with regard to melodic range and contour, rhythmic characteristics, and other aspects of style. In this way more precise typologies and classificatory systems could be devised (Cazden 1972; Bronson 1973).

A table which illustrates the relationship of performance to tonal characteristics can be drawn up in correspondence with the three groups outlined above. Tonal structure and manner of performance are shown according to a strict transcription of the stable and consistent pitches in each song.

Performance Group	*Tonal Structure*		
	Penta-	*Hexa-*	*Hepta-*
1.	The Banks o Red Roses Bonny Udny	I Wish, I Wish Jock Stewart	The Gallowa' Hills Rolling in the Dew
2.	Jimmy Drummond When I Was Noo (both versions)	He's a Bonnie, Blue-Eyed Laddie	Ainst Upon a Time The Lassies in the Cougate The Overgate (version 1)
3.	O Jeannie, My Dear	Bonnie Lass, Come Owre the Burn Maggie A-milkin' The Overgate (version 2)	Brush Ye Back My Curly Locks Tullochgorum

Actually, the tonal structure of Jeannie's songs ranges from the four-note, plagal 'Cant Song' (see page 99) to the heptatonic forms of Group 3. The fairly uniform distribution of penta-, hexa-, and hepta- forms is significantly altered for classificatory purposes if one regards four of the hexa- tunes as penta- forms because of the limited functional-structural importance of certain passing notes ('I Wish, I Wish', 'He's a Bonnie, Blue-Eyed Laddie', 'Bonnie Lass, Come Owre the Burn', 'The Overgate' 2; see Gower and Porter 1972:140–1). The overall number of penta- or closely related though strictly hexa- forms is then ten out of fourteen songs.

A tectonic feature of several tunes ('The Gallowa' Hills', 'The Lassies in the Cougate', 'Brush Ye Back My Curly Locks', 'O Jeannie, My Dear, Would You Marry Me?', 'Tullochgorum') is the so-called double tonic, the alternating tonal construction effected by juxtaposing the scale one whole tone lower with the original tonality. The suggestion that this technique has its basis in or is stylistically derived from instrumental music may

perhaps be substantiated in the case of 'Tullochgorum' because of its many printings as a fiddle tune, while the phenomenon may be retained as a hypothesis in the case of the others. Tonal ambivalence of another kind appears in 'The Overgate' (version 1) in the strong tendency of the refrain to move towards a tonal centre of G, thus blurring the postulate of a D-Aeolian centre. There is a clear overlap between a D-Aeolian and G-Dorian concept of the tonal structure, the former plagal, the latter authentic in range.

The structural character of the 'Cant Song' has evidently been influenced by social function and context, though it seems likely that the temporal, rhythmic, and tonal complexity of songs like 'Tullochgorum', 'When I Was Noo But Sweet Sixteen', or 'O Jeannie, My Dear, Would You Marry Me?' are indications of other 'functional' (*e.g.* dance or march) tunes in transformation. Structural change of a different kind occurs in 'The Gallowa' Hills', where the powerful lyric character of the melody in the refrain has displaced that for the second verse. Connections with other song genres and melodic types are fleeting or peripheral, such as the resemblance of the first strain of 'Jock Stewart' to that of the metrical psalm tune 'Stracathro', particularly in the contour formed by the upward leap of a sixth from the third degree of the scale. But where the psalm tune develops a new melodic idea in the second strain, the lyric repeats the first half of the tune with an adjusted cadence.

The full, descriptive notation of the songs are accompanied here by prescriptive models derived from them. These are not to be understood as simplified or 'basic' versions of the tunes, abstractions formed by the removal of ornamental or passing notes. They are deductive, statistical models built from a consideration of all stable and consistent pitches as they appear in every stanza of every song. The functional-structural importance of passing-notes, already referred to, has been analysed in relation to both the melodic contour of the song and to the stylistic idiosyncracies of the singer's performance. These models, in other words, are an attempt to represent the melodic idea in the singer's head as she conceived it at the time the song was sung. (To facilitate comparison the model versions have all been transposed to G; the diacritical signs indicate when a particular note has been lengthened, ⁻, or shortened, ᵕ, or is variable, $\bar{\smile}$ $\underline{\smile}$, in all the stanzas of a song.) More complex models are possible, those for example which incorporate structural change as it is manifested in, and can be deduced from, the differentials of personal feeling, social context, and audience reaction. Such model-building would demand a series of transcriptions made from a number of performances, and would be very much more sophisticated than the structural models made from conventional music transcription. The implications of these extended conceptual models are significant for future studies, for they suggest clues to an understanding of the creative processes behind the formation of Jeannie's lyrics and all of her orally-transmitted songs in the context of specific performance.

Finally, in terms of overall thematic grouping, the editors have arranged the lyrics in three basic classes: songs of love, courtship, seduction, and regret (most of these are sung by 'the maiden' in the first person); songs associated with specific places; and

songs presented under a male *persona* (the man against the law, the man's voice in several situations or moods). The songs of love are: 'Bonnie Lass, Come Owre the Burn', 'The Banks o Red Roses', 'Ainst Upon a Time', 'Brush Ye Back My Curly Locks', 'I Wish, I Wish', 'Rolling in the Dew', 'The Lassies in the Cougate', 'When I Was Noo But Sweet Sixteen', 'Maggie A-Milkin', and 'O Jeannie, My Dear, Would You Marry Me?'; those associated with places are: 'The Gallowa' Hills', 'The Overgate', 'Tullochgorum', 'Bonnie Udny', and 'He's a Bonnie, Blue-Eyed Laddie'; songs with a male *persona* are: 'Jock Stewart', 'Jimmy Drummond', and 'Cant Song'.

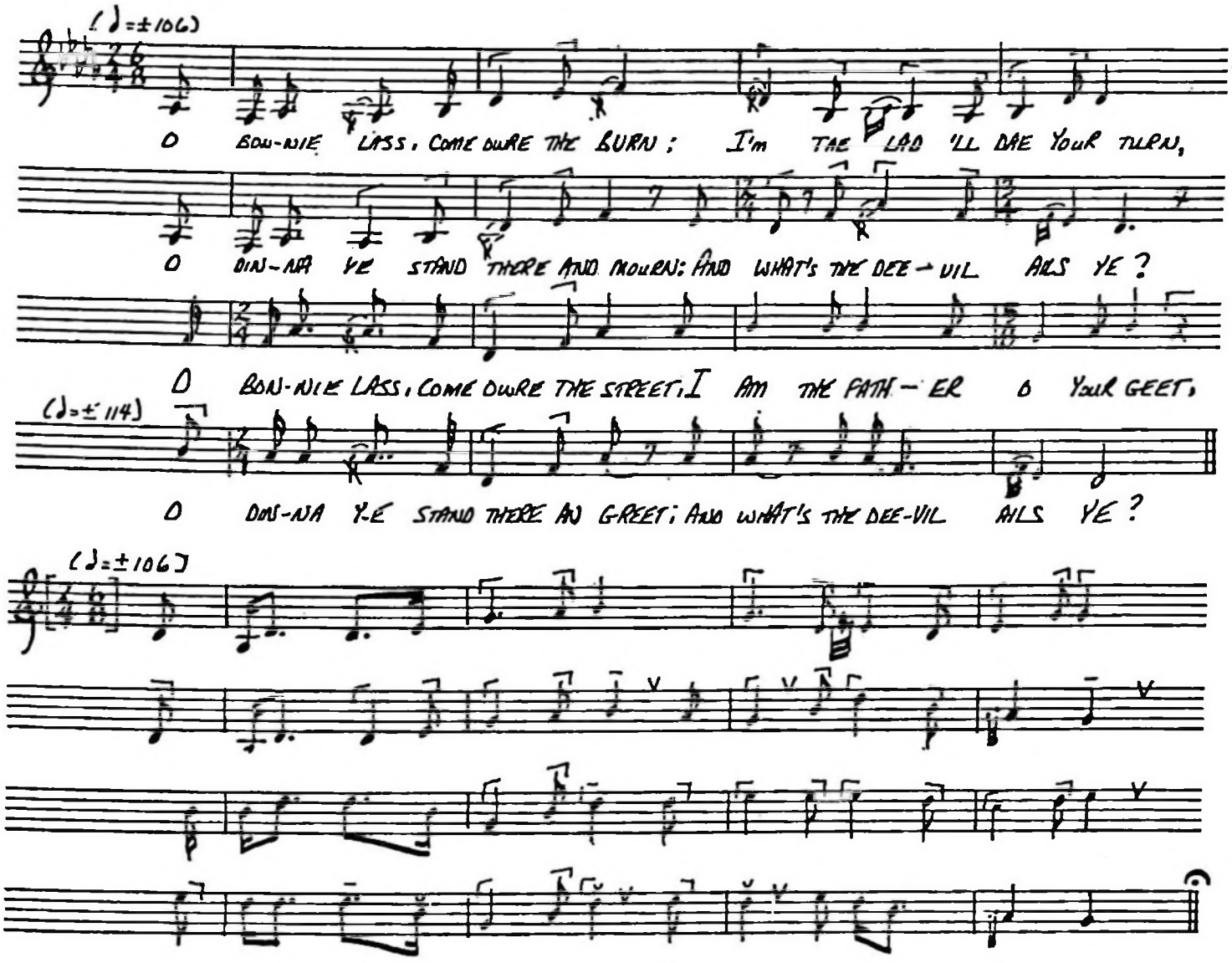
NOTES

1 From 'The Recruitin' Sergeants', as sung by Jeannie Robertson, *Chapbook* V, no. 3, p. 9.

2 In this study we have included two transcriptions of 'When I Was Noo But Sweet Sixteen' to show some of the features of stability and variability in the same song recorded on two different occasions; the raised pitch in the second version, for instance, may be accounted for by the fact that the recording was made in concert.

BONNIE LASS COME OWRE THE BURN

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1952/33/A8



O bonnie lass, come owre the burn;
I'm the lad'll dae your turn,
O dinna ye stand there and mourn:
And what's the deevil ails ye?
O bonnie lass, come owre the street,
I am the faither o your geet,
O dinna ye stand there an greet:
And what's the deevil ails ye?

A more polite version of this song appears in *The Harp of Caledonia* (Glasgow 1819, p. 230) with four quatrains. This version, and the three-stanza version (further bowdlerised) printed by R. A. Smith in his fifth volume (1828:26) seem to derive from the words written by the Rev. James Honeyman of Kinneff, Kincardineshire, who died about 1779 (see Blackie's *Scottish Song*). The tune in Smith is not that used here,

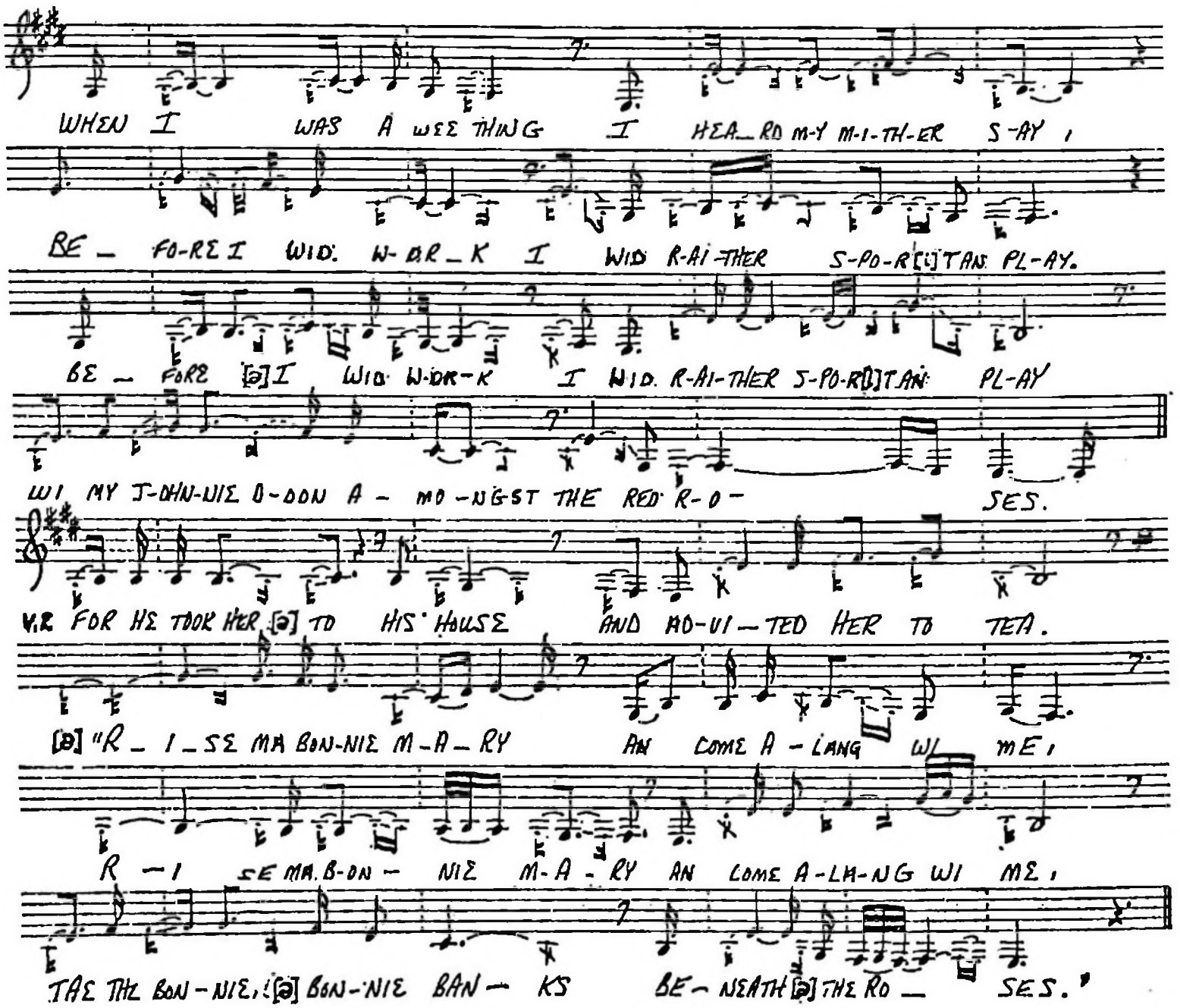
however, and neither does this tune have any connection with the air entitled 'What the D---l ails you' in Bremner's *A Collection of Scots Reels or Country Dances* (*c.* 1765) or 'What the Devil ails you' in the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, vol. x. A close variant of Jeannie's words appears in Greig's MS, vol. II, p. 128 with the title 'Bonnie Lass', and with her tune:

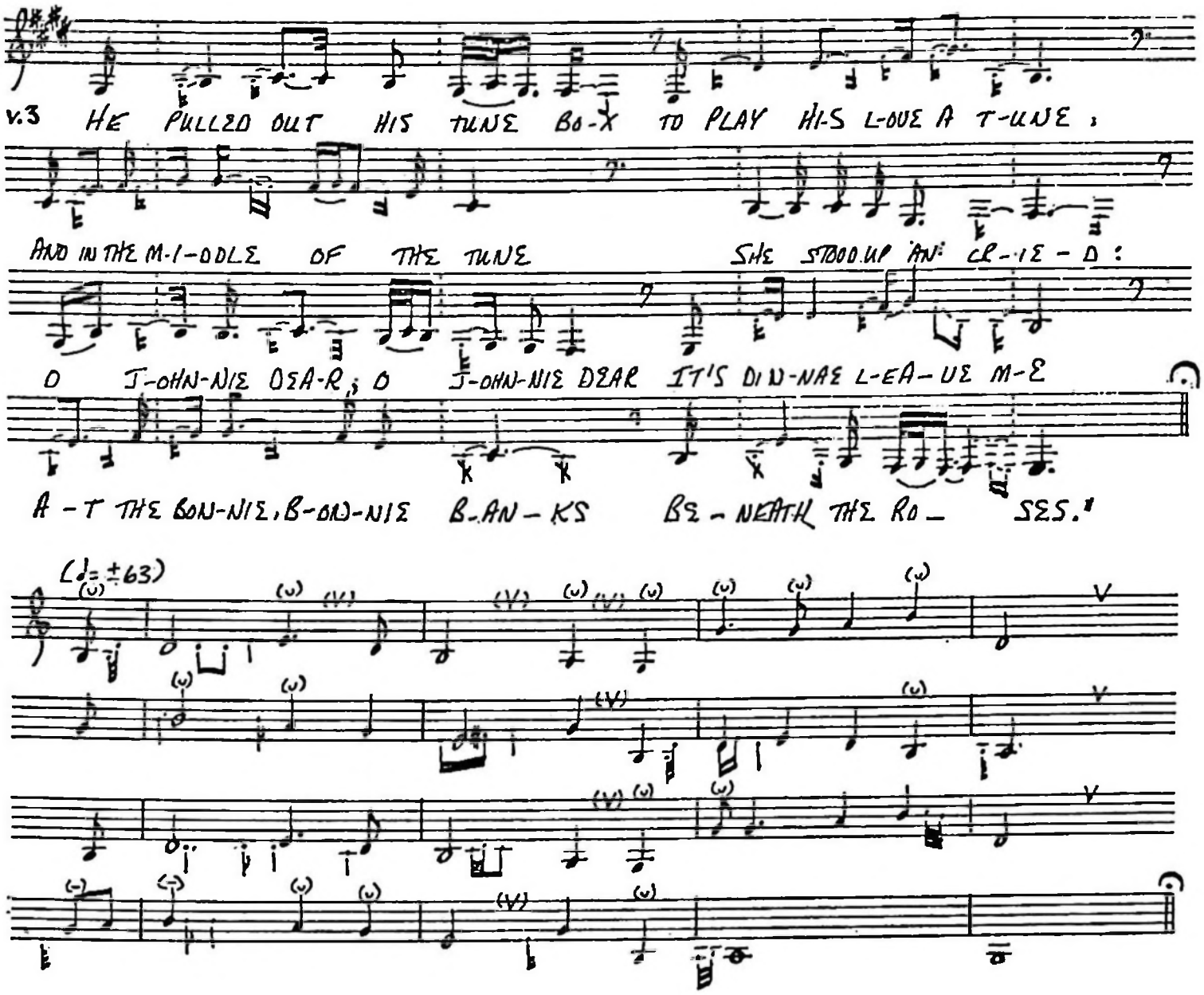
> Bonnie lass owre the street, what gar's ye stare and greet?
> I'm the father o' your geet. What the sorra ails ye?

See also Buchan and Hall (1973:70) for another transcription of the words and tune. Two recordings by Jeannie are on Collector Records JES I and Prestige/International 13075; also BBC 21083.

THE BANKS O RED ROSES

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1953/247/B13





When I was a wee thing
I heard my mither say,
Before I wid work
I wid raither sport an play.
Before I wid work
I wid raither sport an play
Wi my Johnnie doon amongst
The red roses.

For he took her to his house
And advited her to tea.
'Rise ma bonnie Mary
An come alang wi me,
Rise ma bonnie Mary
An come alang wi me,
Tae the bonnie, bonnie banks
Beneath the roses.'

He pulled out his tune box
To play his love a tune,
And in the middle of the tune
She stood up an cried:
'O Johnnie dear, O Johnnie dear,
It's dinnae leave me
At the bonnie, bonnie banks
Beneath the roses.'

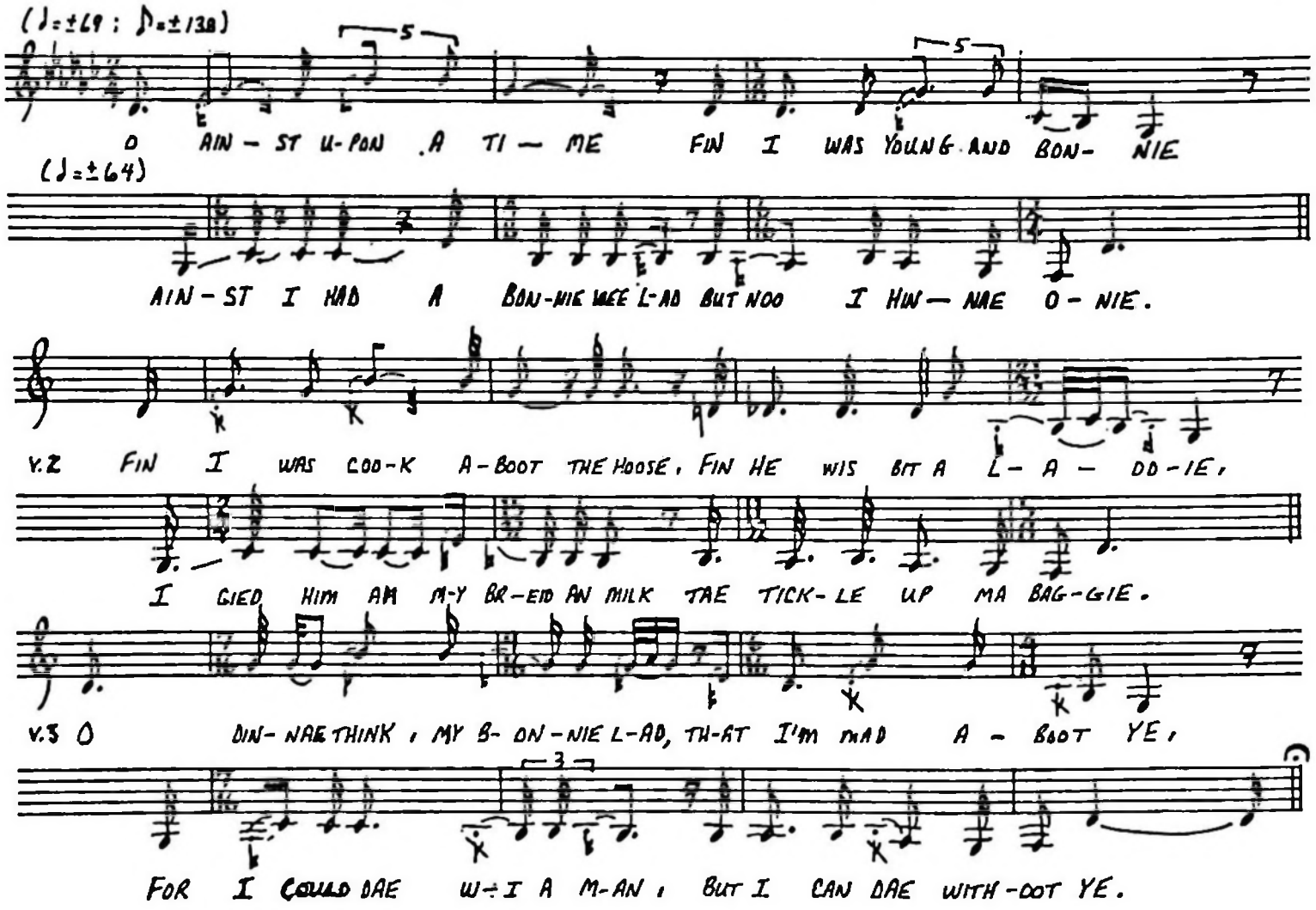
This fragment has had considerable currency throughout the British Isles. See *JFFS* II: (1906:4). Joyce (1909:65) remarks: There is a setting in Stanford-Petrie with the name, 'The Banks of the Daisies'. The version we give here is different:

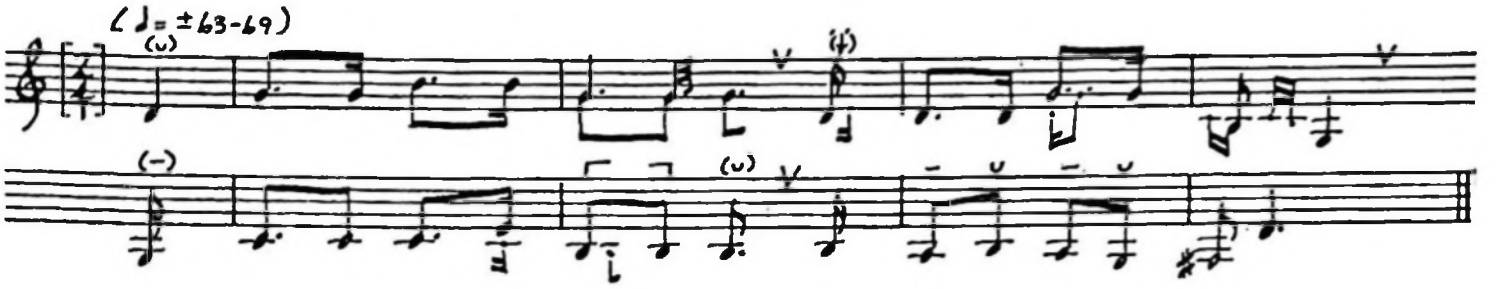
> If ever I get married it's in the month of May,
> When the fields they are green and the meadows they are gay,
> When my true-love and I can sit and sport and play
> All alone on the banks of the roses.

See also *The Scots Musical Museum* VII, for 'The Beds of Sweet Roses'. Colm O Lochlainn (1960:158, 226) mentions how his mother learned it from her father, John Carr of Limerick (1819–90), adding that he gave it to Donal O' Sullivan for inclusion in *JIFSS* XVIII. Kidson (1929) also published a version. Others yet unpublished were sung for Hamish Henderson by Seumas Ennis and Mrs Macon in Ireland and by Jimmie Bowie in Craig Moray, Elgin, who first heard it from a traveller child. See Buchan and Hall for a recent version (1973:52).

AINST UPON A TIME

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1955/154/B9





O ainst upon a time
  Fin I was young and bonnie
Ainst I had a bonnie wee lad
  But noo I hinnae onie.

Fin I was cook aboot the hoose,
  Fin he wis bit a laddie,
I gied him aa my breid an milk
  Tae tickle up ma baggie.

O dinnae think, my bonnie lad,
  That I'm mad aboot ye;
For I could dae wi a man,
  But I can dae withoot ye.

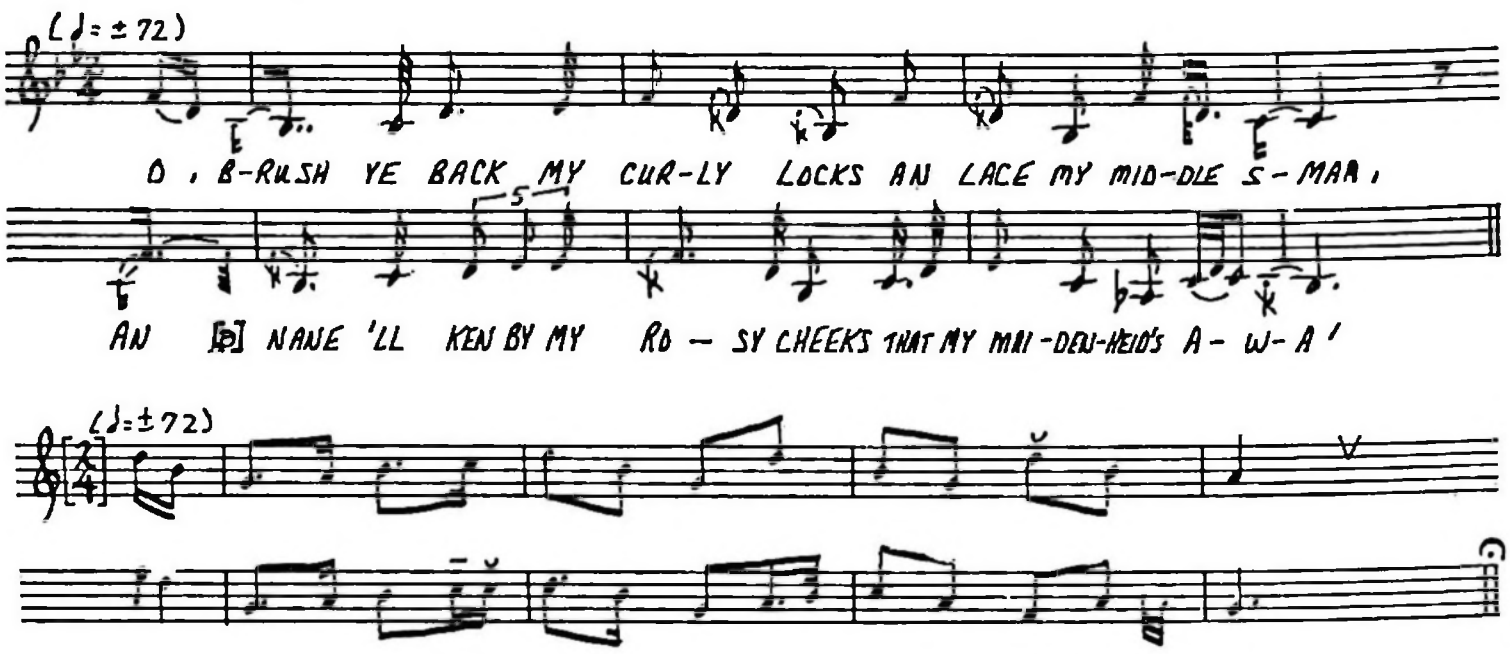
[*Repeat first verse.*]

Stenhouse (1853; 1962, 2:485) indicates that Hector MacNeill (1746–1818) wrote the whole of the song in the *Museum* known as 'Dinna Think Bonie Lassie I'm Gaun to Leave You' except the last verse, '. . . which the late Mr. John Hamilton, music seller in Edinburgh, took the liberty to add to it, and to publish as a sheet song.' Graham (1861, 3:165) also discusses it, while John Greig (1895:iii) follows Stenhouse in declaring that the song is adapted to a dance tune called 'Clunie's Reel', taken from 'Cumming of Granton's Reels and Strathspeys'. This is a reference to Angus Cumming of Grantown in Strathspey, who published his *Collection* about 1778. Glen makes the assertion (1900:230) that the same tune is found in Bremner's collection under the title 'Carrick's Reel', and that Bremner's work appeared about twenty years before Cumming's. The tune, however, is much older and its analogues much more widely diffused. Its earliest appearance in print is in the 5th edition of *Apollo's Banquet* (1687) under the title 'Long Cold Nights', as well as in *Comes Amoris* of the same year. The words are reprinted in the *Compleat Academy of Complements* of 1705; see Simpson (1966:466–7). The Thomson MS (1702) has it with the title 'When ye Cold winter nights were frozen', and further on as 'The Banks of Yaro'. It is at this point that the tune is first associated with the song 'Mary Scott', under which title the tune was most popular, appearing in a host of collections starting with *Orpheus Caledonius* and Stuart's *Musick for the Tea-Table Miscellany* (both 1725). In the meantime it had also emerged in several manuscript and printed collections as 'O Minie', or 'O dear mother what shall I do' (see, for example, the Sinkler MS, the Mcfarlan MS, Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, Bremner's *Songs in The Gentle Shepherd*). 'Ainst Upon a Time' draws on the second half of the second strain of the tune, and is probably best known in its guise as a fiddle tune: 'The Smith's a Gallant Fireman' (see Gavin Greig, *Folk Song of the North East*, 73 for additional

comment on words for it under this title). It has also turned up in Pennsylvania, as Bayard has shown (Bayard 1957:166–9). The first appearance of it in print as an instrumental tune is actually in Walsh's *Country Dances* of 1740, entitled 'Carrick's Reel'. Angus Cumming's 'Clurie's Reell' was reprinted in *An Evening Amusement* of 1789 with the clear statement 'Cluries Reel—from Mary Scott'. The tune is also known in Northumberland as 'Sir John Fenwick's the Flower Among Them' (see Bruce and Stokoe 1965:158–9) or latterly as 'Sir John Fenwick's Lament'. A composite version of 'Ainst Upon a Time'—Jeannie's verses with five added by Ray Fisher—appears in Buchan and Hall (1973:63). Jeannie's recording of the song is on HMV 7EG 8534.

BRUSH YE BACK MY CURLY LOCKS

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1954/104/A9



O, brush ye back my curly locks
An lace my middle smaa,
An nane'll ken by my rosy cheeks
That my maidenheid's awa'.

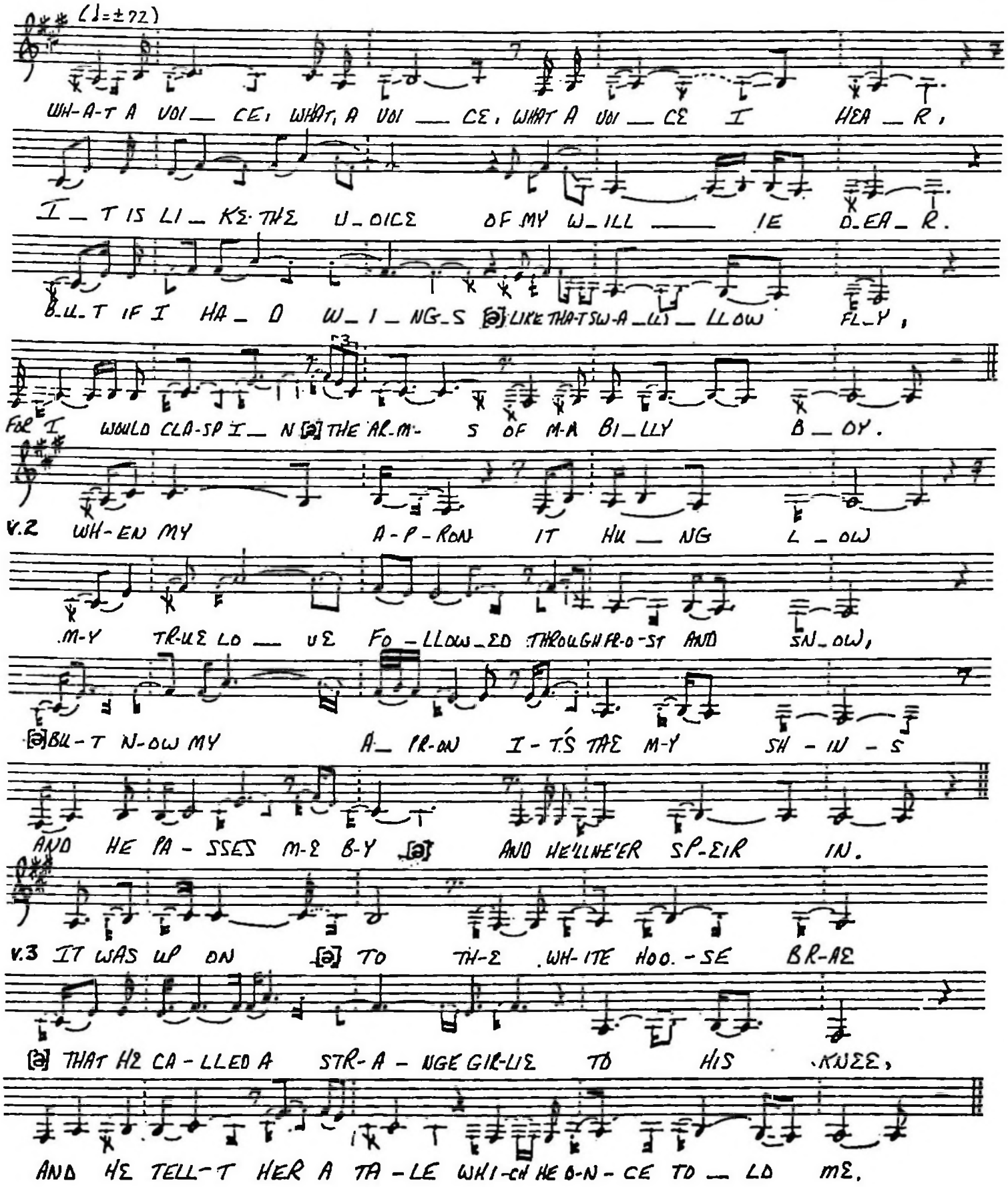
For I'll gang back to Dundee
Lookin bonnie, young, and fair,
And I'll pit on my buskit stays
And kaim back my bonnie brown hair.

For I'll pit on my buskit stays
Tae mak my middle smaa,
And wha will ken by my rosy cheeks
That my maidenheid's awa'?

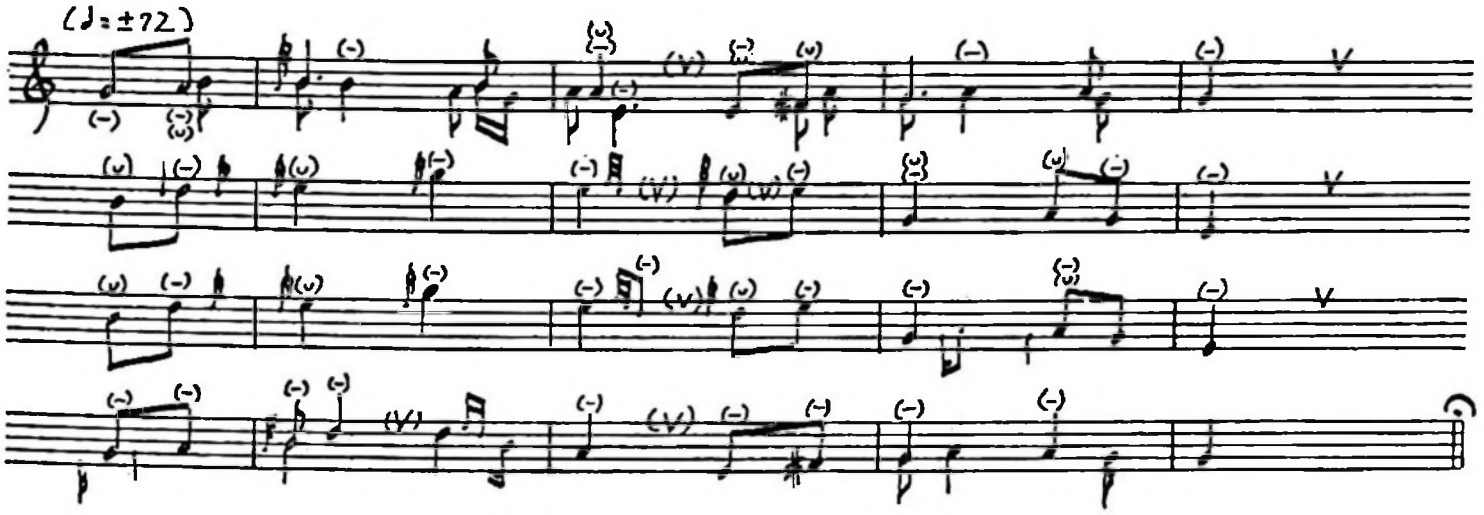
This song, challenging rather than sardonic in tone, is available commercially on a recording by Enoch Kent and The Reivers. Topic 12T128.

I WISH, I WISH

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1952/33/B18



v.4 O I WISH, I WISH, O I WISH IN VAIN
I WISH I, WAS A MAIDA AIN;
[ə] BUT A MAID A- GAIN I WILL NEVER BE
TILL A APPLE IT GROWS ON A ORANGE TREE
BREAK IN RECORDING
v.5 O I WISH, I [WISH] THAT MY BABE WAS BORN
AND SMILIN ON SOMENULL'S KNEE;
AND FOR [ə] MY- SEL TO BE DEAD AND GONE
AND THE LONG GREEN GRASS GROWIN' [ə] OVER [ə] ME.
v.6 FOR THERE'S A BLACK BIRD SITS ON YON TREE.
SOME [ə] SAYS IT'S BLIND AND IT CANNAE SEE
SOME [ə] SAYS IT'S BLIND AND IT CANNAE SEE.
AND SO IS MY TRUE LOVE TO ME



What a voice, what a voice, what a voice
I hear,
It is like the voice of my Willie dear.
But if I had wings like that swallow fly,*
For I would clasp in the arms of ma
Billy boy.

When my apron it hung low
My true love followed through frost and
snow,
But now my apron it's tae my shins
And he passes me by and he'll ne'er
speir in.

It was up on to the white hoose brae
That he called a strange girlie to his knee,
And he tellt her a tale which he once
told me.

O I wish, I wish, O I wish in vain
I wish I was a maid again;
But a maid again I will never be
Till a aipple it grows on a orange tree.

O I wish, I [wish] that my babe was born
And smilin on some nurse's knee;
And for mysel to be dead and gone
And the long green grass growin over
me.

For there's a blackbird sits on yon tree;
Some says it's blind and it cannae see.
Some says it's blind and it cannae see.
And so is my true love to me.

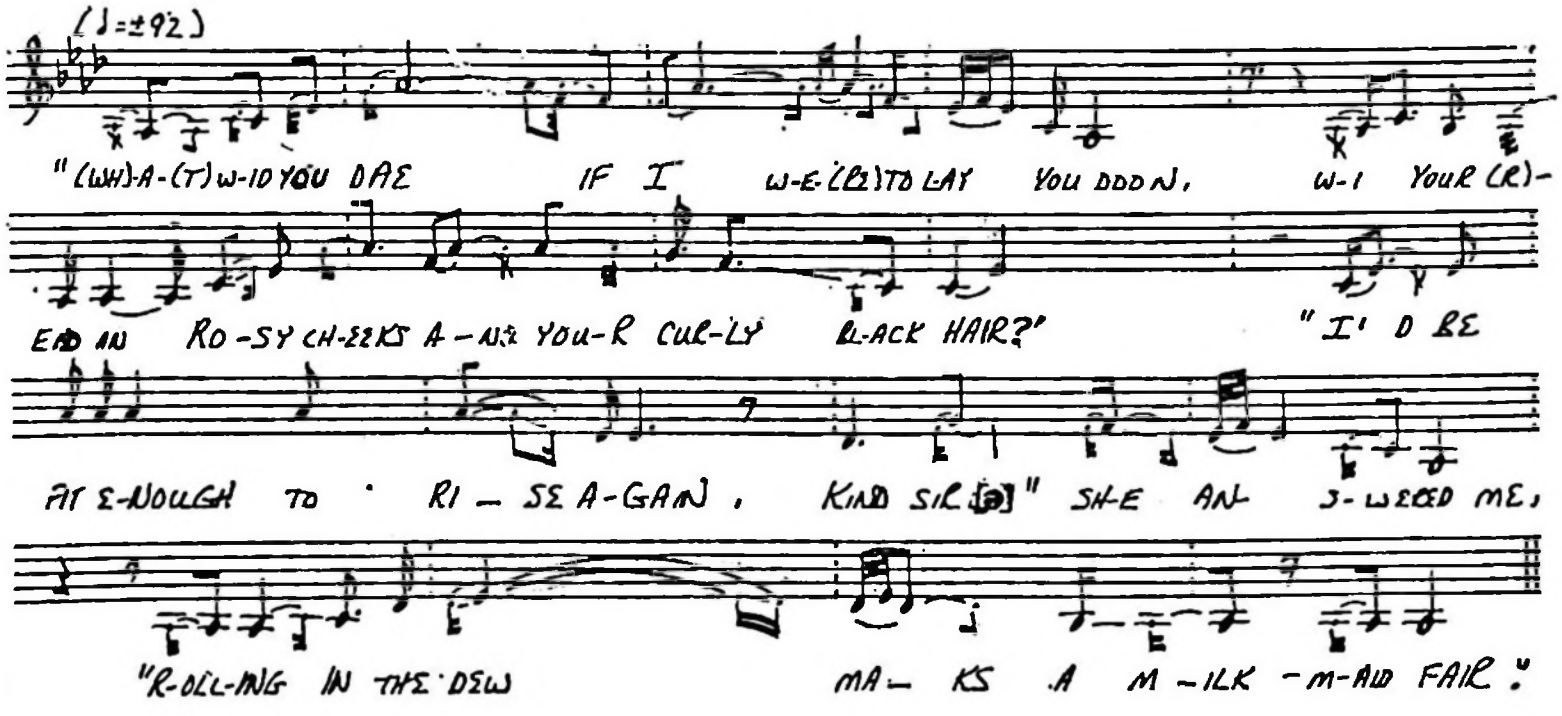
Other titles are found for this song, which belongs to the 'Died of/for Love', 'The Bold/Brisk Young Sailor/Farmer' story complex. A note by Lucy Broadwood in *JFSS* 19 (1915:186–7) and also by Walker (1915:235) indicates that an ancestor for the song can be found in Laing's *Broadside Ballads* (*c.* 1700) with the title 'Arthur's Seat shall be my bed, or Love in Despair', and the essence of the theme has been compared to stanzas of 'Waly Waly' in *Orpheus Caledonius* and the later version in *The Scots Musical Museum* (see also Ritson's *Scottish Songs*:1. 235–6). Christie includes a version in his first volume (1876:248). It appears in the Duncan MS as 'The Student Boy', and the first of five tunes in the Greig MS is entitled 'Arthur's Seat'. The most recent variants in published Scottish collections are in Norman Buchan's *101 Scottish Songs* (1962:61) under 'Will Ye Gang, Love?', and in Buchan and Hall (1973:93). The earliest English printed

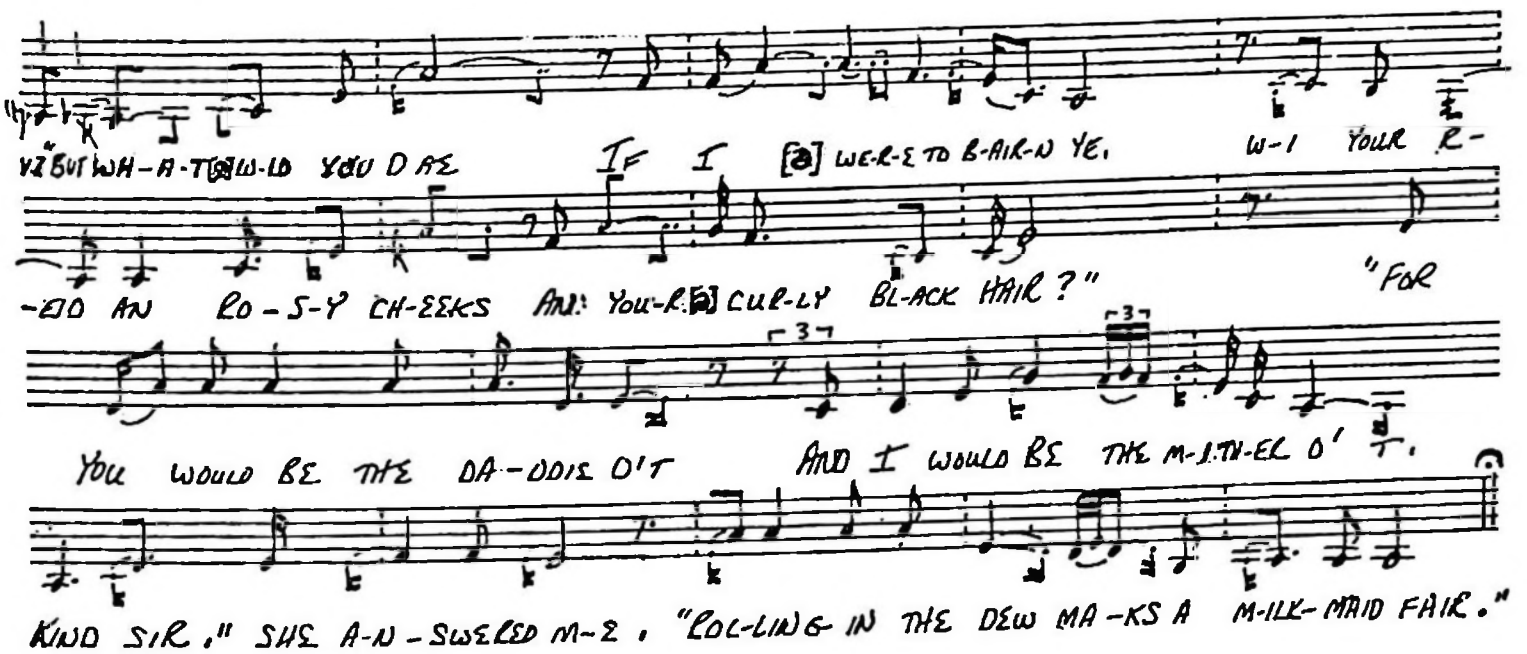
* She sings *fly* here, and not *flying* as one might expect grammatically.

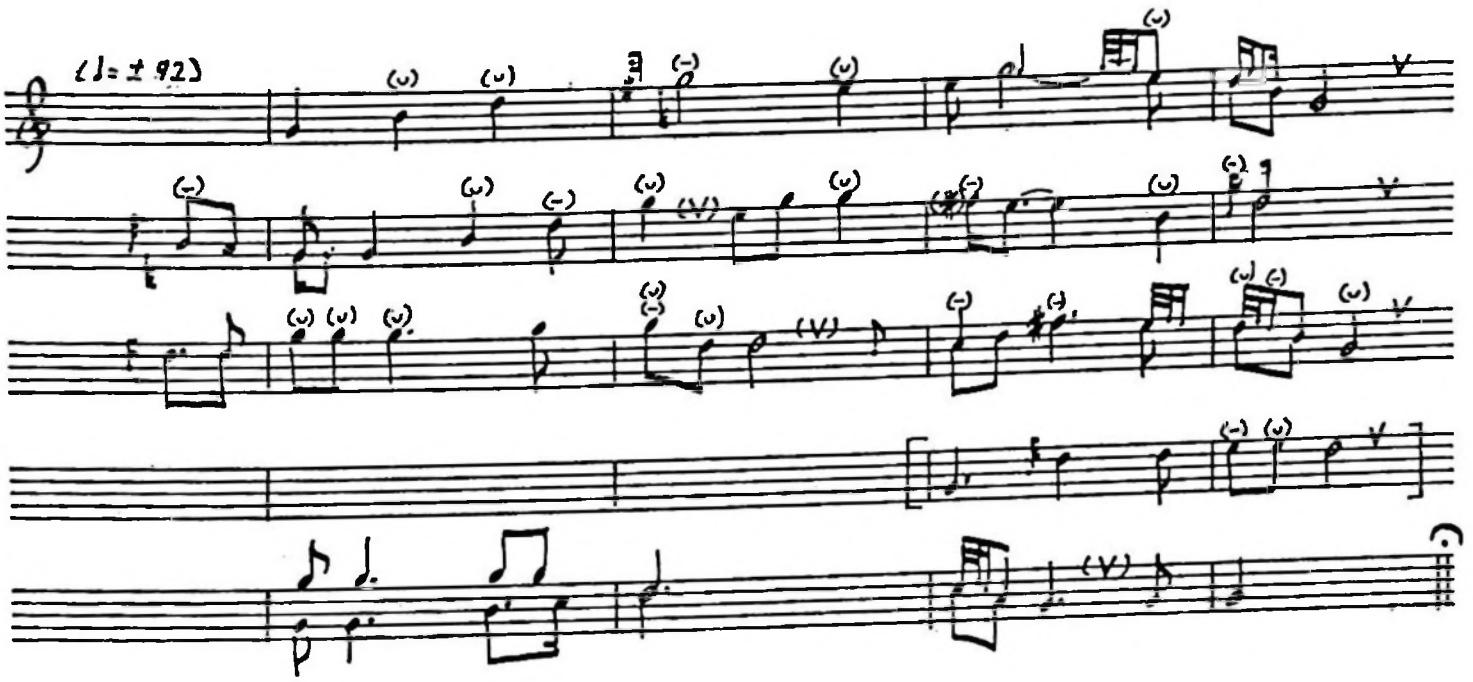
versions are in Kidson's *Traditional Tunes* (1891:44–6); Baring-Gould has it as 'Deep in Love', No. 86 of *Songs and Ballads of the West* (1892:184–5), and a variant with this title is in the Hammond MSS (1905). Dean-Smith gives a list of published versions (1954:63), and additional variations on the theme have emerged in *JEFDSS* III, 3 (1938:192–3); V, 1 (1946:16–17); VII, 2 (1953:103), and *FMJ* (1973:278), as well as in Vaughan Williams and Lloyd (1959:53). See also Reeves (1958:43–5, 90–2; 1960:96–8). There is an analogue in *JFSS* XXVII (1930:110–12) called 'The Shannon Water, or Mabel Kelly', and another immediately following, 'Happy the Worm Lies Under the Stone'. The Stanford-Petrie collection has it as no. 811, 'I wish, I wish, but I wish in vain', and there are two fragments in Bunting (1796). Several versions of the song have been recovered in North America, where it has been linked to the 'Careless Love' title (see, for instance, Lomax 1960:585). Laws (1957:61) names it 'Love Has Brought Me to Despair' (P 25), and notes versions from Indiana and Illinois. Additional ones occur in Cox (1925:353–7), Combs (1925:205), Korson (1949:48–9), Owens (1950:134–5), and Randolph (1950:268–9). See also the 'Lullaby' in Grover (1973:24). 'Floating' stanzas, lines, and images connect the song with similar stories of unhappy love such as 'The Butcher Boy' (Laws P 24) or 'The Sailor Boy I' (Laws K 12). The imagery of the apron, white house ('alehouse'), strange girl, apple on the orange tree, burial beneath long green grass, and the blind bird are retained as in most British versions. Jeannie has recorded the song on Riverside RLP 12–633, Topic 10 T 52 and 12 T 96.

ROLLING IN THE DEW

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1955/154/B8







'What wid you dae
If I were to lay you doon,
Wi' your reid an rosy cheeks
An your curly black hair?'
'I'd be fit enough to rise again,
Kind sir,' she answered me,
'Rolling in the dew
Maks a milkmaid fair.'

'But what wid you dae
If I were to bairn ye,
Wi' your reid an rosy cheeks
An your curly black hair?'
'For you would be the daddie o't
And I would be the mither o't,
Kind sir,' she answered me,
'Rolling in the dew
Maks a milkmaid fair.'

This song is printed in Ford (1899: 149–50) with six verses, each stanza being composed of four lines. In the first two a question is asked by the 'kind sir' or would-be seducer.

The maiden replies in the second two, at first coyly. The last two lines of the final stanza give her the final word:

> 'Then I won't go with you, my pretty fair maid,
> With red rosy cheeks and coal black hair.'
> 'And naebody asked ye, kind sir,' she replied,
> 'Rolling in the dew makes a milkmaid fair.'

An early appearance of the theme is a broadside by William Thackeray which was produced about 1660–70 with the title: *A Merry New Dialogue between a Courteous Young Knight and a Gallant Milk Maid* (see Purslow 1972:135–6). Ritson (1802:14) published a song with the title 'Laddy Lye Near Me', and the verses:

> 'What if I lay thee down, lassy, my deary?'
> 'Cannot I rise again? Laddy, lye near me,
> 'Near me, &c.'
>
> 'If I get thee with bairn, lassy, my deary?'
> 'Cannot I nurse the same? Laddy, lye near me.
> 'Near me, &c.'

Later variants appear in J. O. Halliwell's *The Nursery Rhymes of England* (1842:420), the Riddell MS (begun 1903), and Hecht (1904:155). Greig's first MS volume has a tune 'Rolling in the dew mak's a milkmaid fair' (not the present one). For a history of the song in Scotland, including its associations with both Burns and Celtic tradition, see Crawford (1963:37–46). There are sixteen variants in the Sharp MSS (1904–14), three in the Hammond MSS (1906–7), and five in the Gardiner MSS (1906–9); see Dean-Smith (1954:62), Reeves (1958:100–1; 1960:85–6), and Purslow (1972:80). Baring Gould and Sharp (1906), Sharp and Marson (1905–9), Butterworth (1913), and Sharp (1921) have 'edited' texts. Seven additional tunes were printed in *JFSS* IV (1913:282–6), two with full texts. Butterworth's version from Billingshurst, noted in June 1907, includes these lines in the final stanza:

> 'Why the devil might run after you, I would stand and laugh at you,
> For roving in the dew makes the milk-maids fair.'

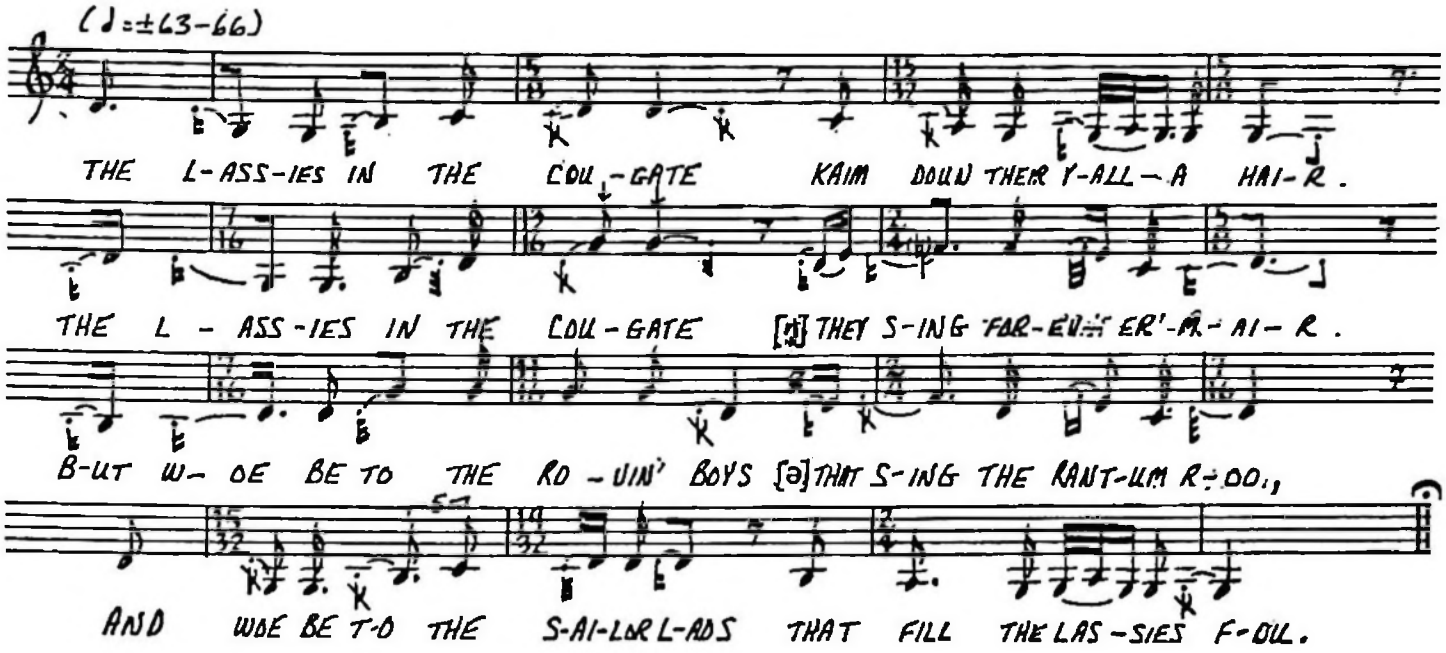
A tune related to Jeannie's appeared in *JEFDSS* IX (1963:191–2) with eight stanzas and the final couplet:

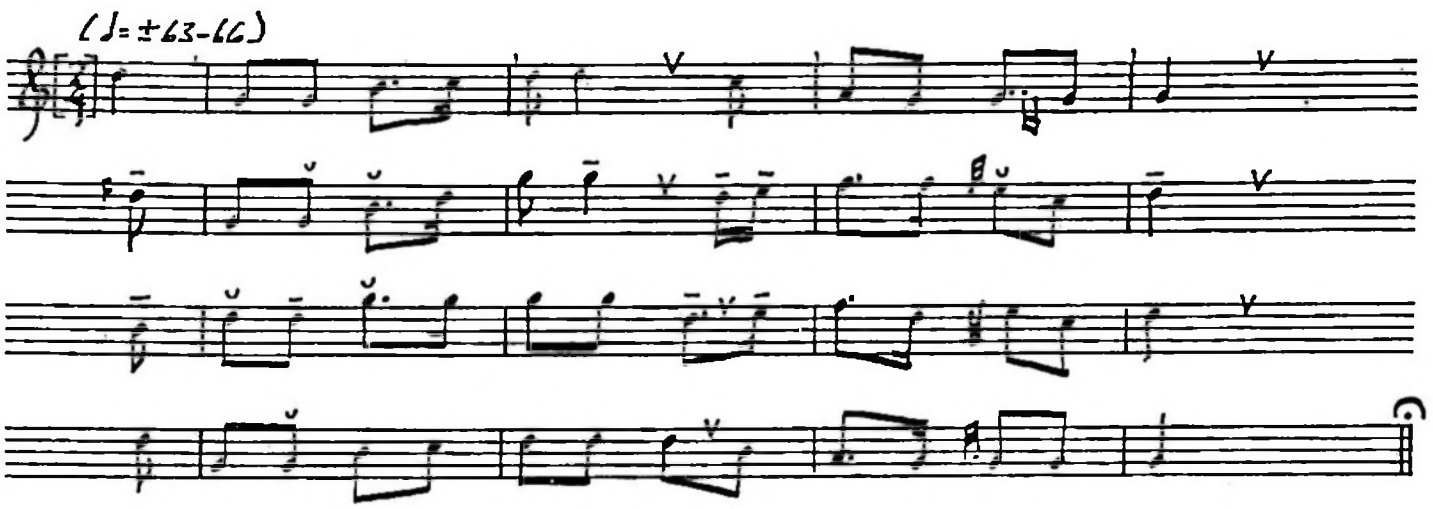
> 'May the devil fetch you back again, kind sir,' she answered me,
> 'For rolling in the dew makes the milkmaid fair.'

See also *FMJ* (1973:287) for a recently published variant; the latest American version is in Patrick W. Gainer, *Folk Songs from the West Virginia Hills* (Grantsville 1975:150). Jeannie has recorded the song on Collector Records JFS 4001.

THE LASSIES IN THE COUGATE

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1955/154/B10



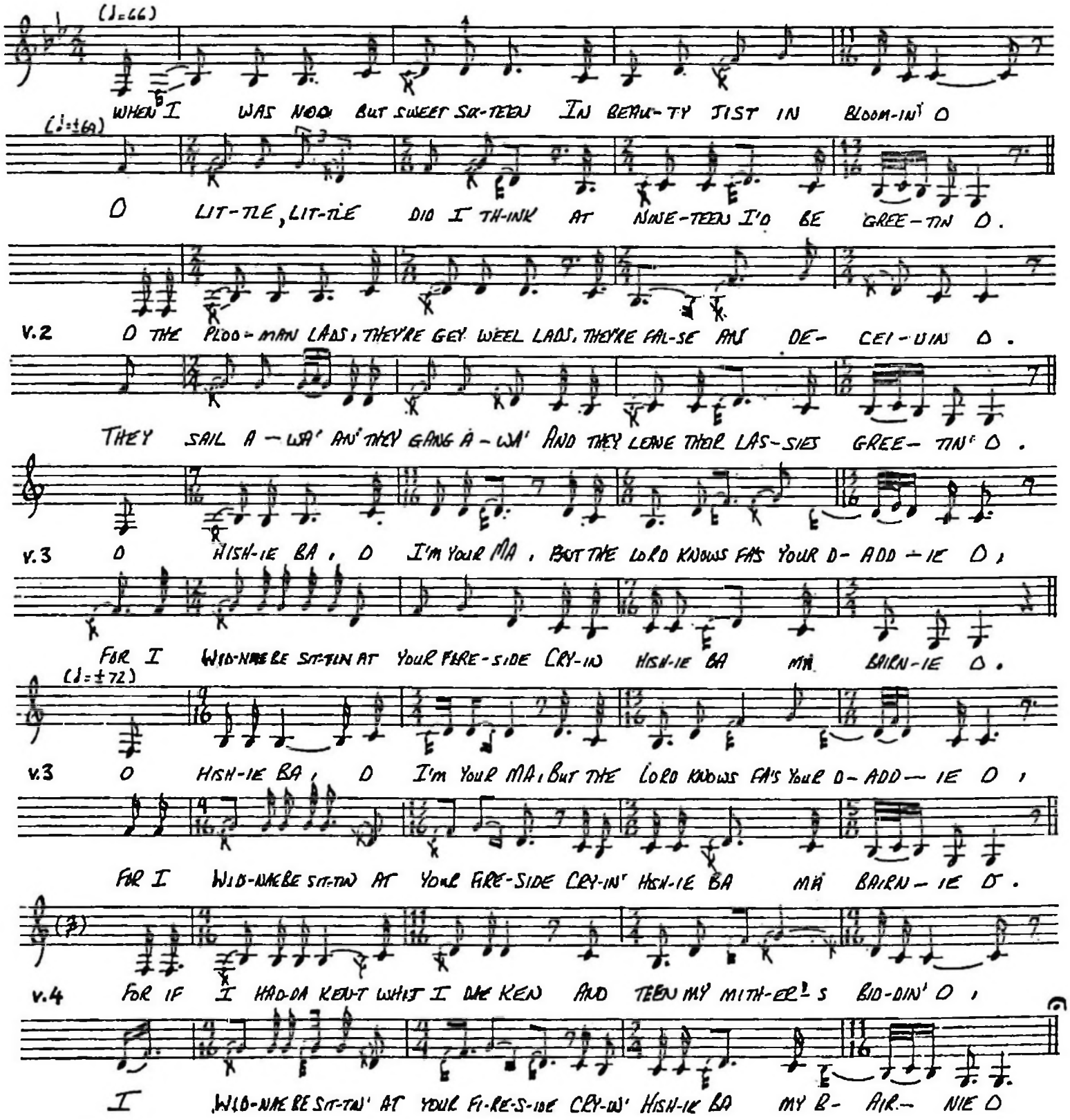


The lassies in the Cougate
  Kaim doun their yalla hair,
The lassies in the Cougate,
  They sing forevermair.
But woe be to the rovin boys
  That sing the rantum-roo,
And woe be to the sailor lads
  That fill the lassies fou.

For a note on the possible origin of this song see Henderson 1964:227–8.

WHEN I WAS NOO BUT SWEET SIXTEEN (1)

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1952/33/A12



When I was noo* but sweet sixteen
In beauty jist in bloomin O
O little, little did I think
At nineteen I'd be greetin O.

O the plooman lads, they're gey weel lads,
They're false an deceivin O.
They sail awa' and they gang awa'
And they leave their lassies greetin O.

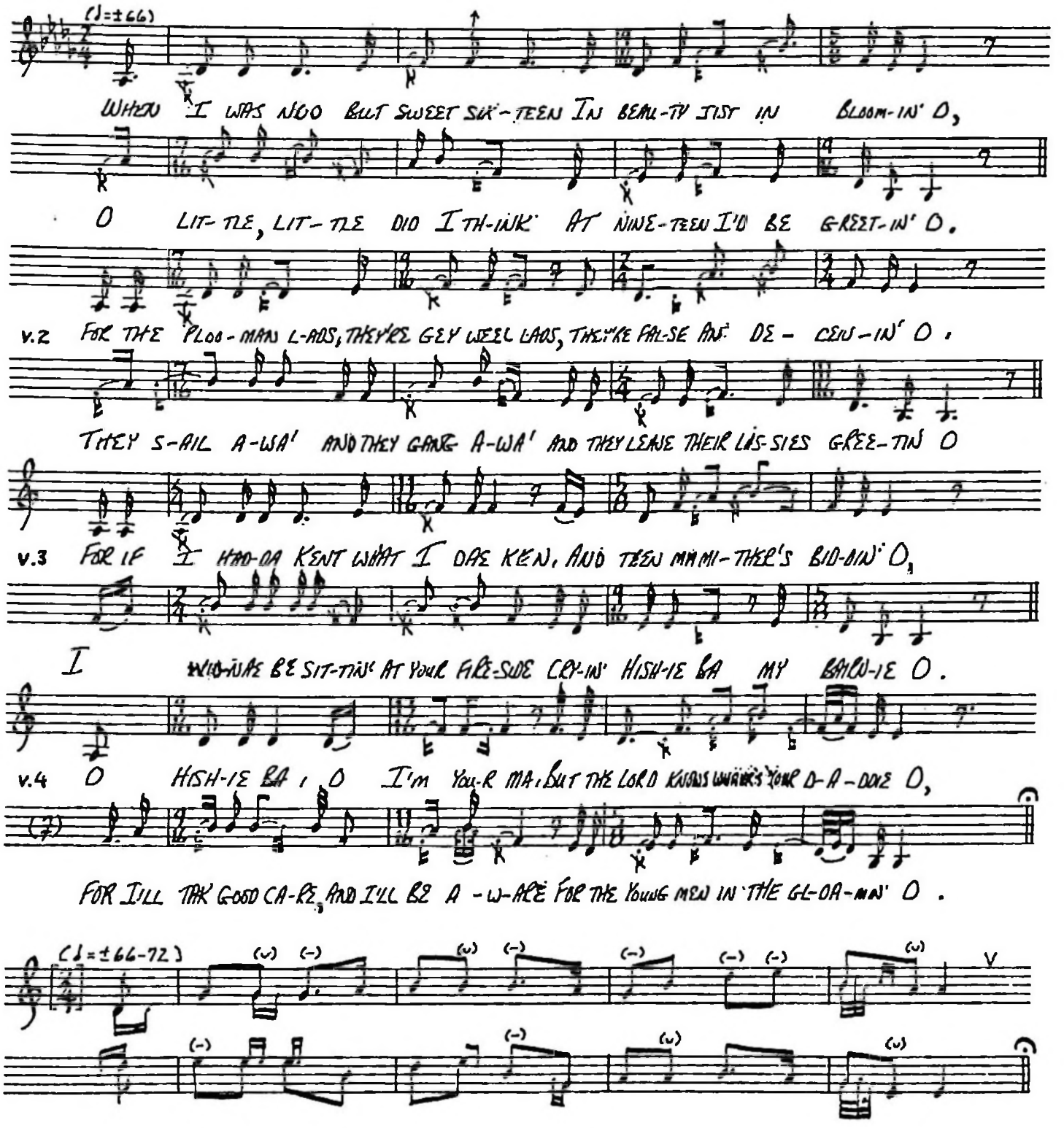
* *Noo*: English *now*.

O hishie ba, O I'm your Ma,
But the Lord knows fa's your Daddie O.
For I widnae be sittin at your fireside
Cryin hishie ba ma bairnie O.
[*This verse is repeated*]

For if I hadda kent whit I dae ken
And teen my mither's biddin O,
I widnae be sittin at your fireside
Cryin hishie ba my bairnie O.

WHEN I WAS NOO BUT SWEET SIXTEEN (2)

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1953/235/A7



When I was noo but sweet sixteen
In beauty jist in bloomin O,
O little, little did I think
At nineteen I'd be greetin O.

For the plooman lads, they're gey weel lads,
They're false an deceivin O,
They sail awa' and they gang awa'
And they leave their lassies greetin O.

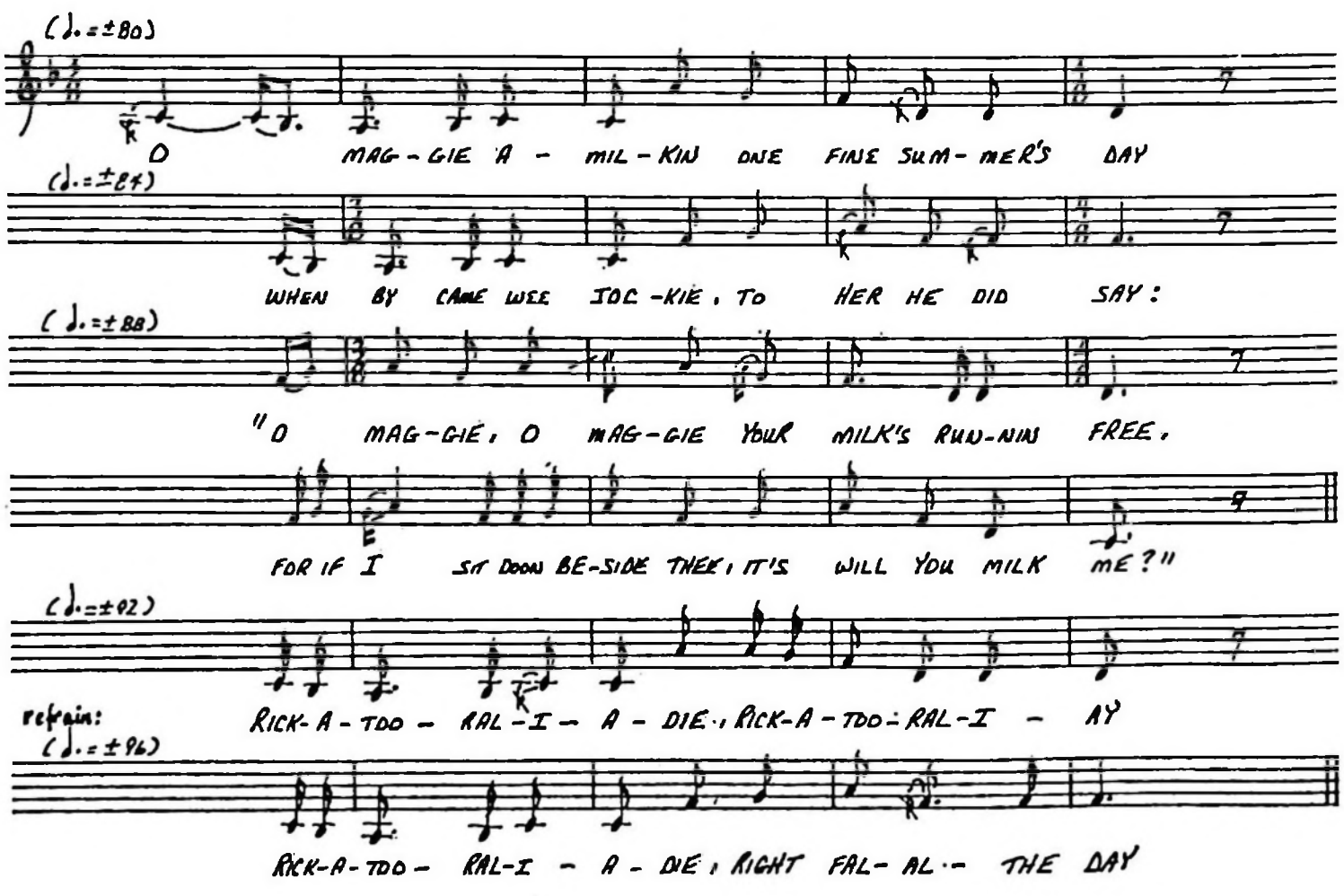
For if I hadda kent what I dae ken
An teen ma mither's biddin O,
I widnae be sittin at your fireside
Cryin hishie ba my bairnie O.

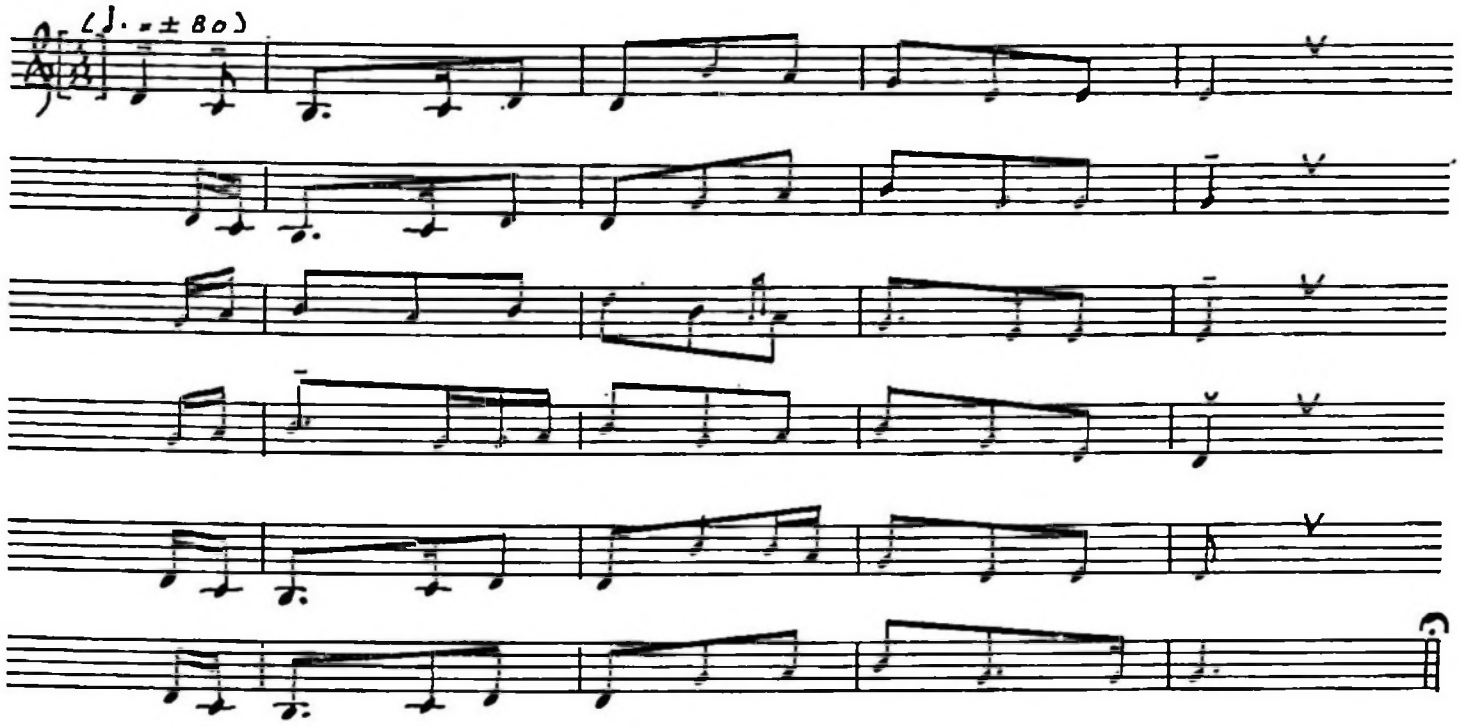
O hishie ba, O I'm your Ma,
But the Lord knows whaur's your Daddie O,
For I'll tak good care, and I'll be aware
For the young men in the gloamin O.

One text of this song appears without tune in the Greig-Duncan MS. See also 'Peggy on the Banks of Spey', a version sung by Mrs Elsie Morrison of Spey Bay, April 1956, and the notes by Hamish Henderson (1957:246–8). A version of the song is printed in *The Seeds of Love*, the text and one of two tunes based on Jeannie's singing but collated with other printed variants (1967:106–7). See also Buchan and Hall (1973:81). Jeannie has recorded 'When I Was Noo But Sweet Sixteen' on Riverside RLP 12–633, Topic 10 T 52 and Topic 12 T 96.

MAGGIE A-MILKIN

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1954/104/A8





O Maggie a-milkin one fine summer's day
When by came wee Jockie, to her he did say:
'O Maggie, O Maggie, your milk's runnin free,
For if I sit doon beside thee, it's will you milk me?'

Refrain:
Rick-a-too-ral-i-a-die, rick-a-too-ral-i-ay.
Rick-a-too-ral-i-a-die, right fal-al-the day.

For Maggie lay doon and she pulled up her clothes,
And Jockie he gave her ye may's weel suppose.
[*Repeat refrain.*]

For she milkit wee Jockie and she milkit him dry,
And she sent him tae the Highlands amongst the dry kye.
[*Repeat refrain*]

(**JR** 'My mother sang that too. There was a lot of verses that she never let us hear.')*

The tune of this piece of bawdry has special interest, being a version of the well-known air for 'Logie O Buchan', written in 1736–7 by George Halket, schoolmaster at Rathan. John Greig (1892:ii) comments that the tune is said to be '. . . an adaptation of "The Tailor Fell Through the Bed, Thimbles an Aa", to which air the Worshipful Corporation of Tailors used to march.' J. Muir Wood, in his revision of Graham (1908:109) remarks '. . . the date of the air is not known, but an old version of it is found in Atkinson's MS (1694), under the name of "Tak tent to the ripells [pains in the back], Gudeman": the MacFarland [*sic*] MS (1740) calls it "The ripells, Gudeman", and Oswald, "Beware of the ripells"; it is probable, therefore, that this was a line of a song now lost. In Johnson's *Museum* a bad set of the air is given to rather ridiculous words,

* This comment is Jeannie Robertson's.

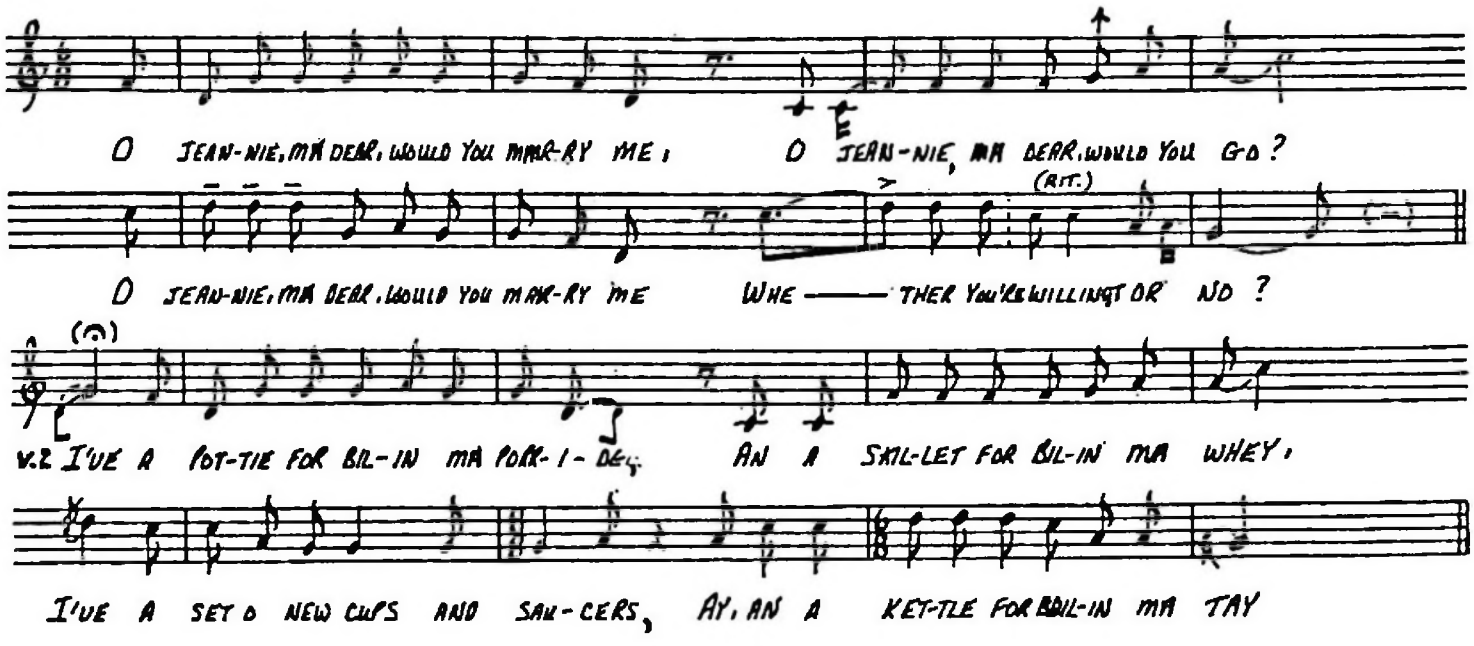
"The taylor fell through the bed, thimble an a' "; Urbani's version of the air is not much better. Napier (1792) is the first who has given the melody in its present simple form . . . The air is also known as "The March of the Corporation of Tailors", and was usually played at the annual meeting for choosing the deacons of the body.' Some light is thrown on this confusion in Burns' *Merry Muses of Caledonia*, where the song 'I Rede You Beware o' the Ripples' is printed with the instruction: 'Tune: The Taylor's faun thro the bed'. The final stanza runs:

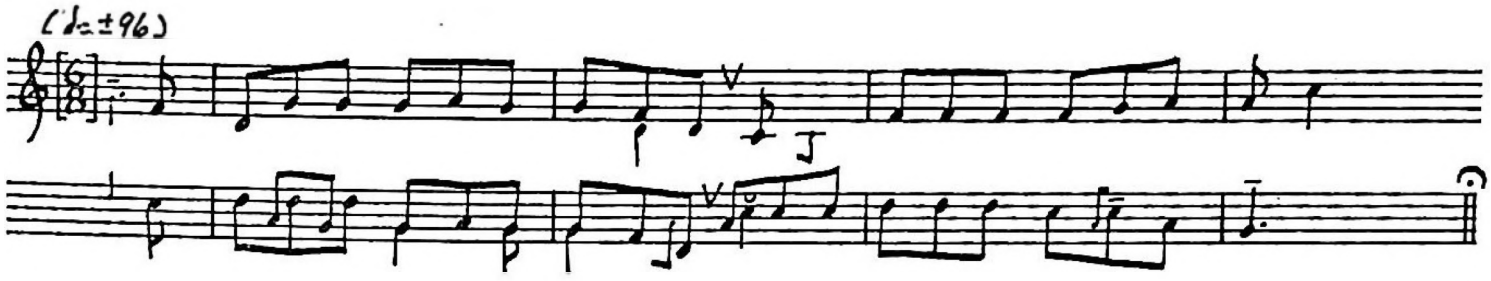
I rede you beware o' the ripples, young man,
I rede you beware o' the ripples, young man;
Gif you wad be strang, and wish to live lang,
Dance less wi' your a--e to the kipples [rafters, with
the pun on 'coupling'], young man.

Three stanzas, probably bowdlerised, of 'The tailor fell thro' the bed' were printed by R. A. Smith (1824:66). It seems clear, however, that the tune was early associated with the bawdy song 'Tak tent to the ripells', the air of which is in Atkinson's MS, and the thematic relationship has persisted, or has reasserted itself, in 'Maggie A-Milkin', transposed now to a pastoral context. A late appearance of 'The Tailor Fell Through the Bed' occurs in the Duncan MS, where Duncan adds that the tune is also sung to 'The Campbells are Comin' '.

O JEANNIE, MY DEAR, WOULD YOU MARRY ME?

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1959/76/A3





O Jeannie, ma dear, would you mairry me?
O Jeannie, ma dear, would you go?
O Jeannie, ma dear, would you mairry me,
Whether you're willingt or no?

I've a pottie for bilin ma porridge,
An a skillet for bilin ma whey,
I've a set o new cups an saucers,
Ay, an a kettle for boilin* ma tay.

[*Repeat first verse.*]

Chappell (1858–9: 553–5) prints the tune with the title 'Give ear to a frolicsome ditty; or The Rant', remarking further that there are two ballads in existence, and '. . . A third ballad is in the Roxburghe Collection, ii, 359, entitled "Mark Noble's Frolick", &c, "To the tune of The New Rant" . . . The tune is in one of the editions of *Apollo's Banquet*, entitled "The City Ramble", and in many ballad operas. Among the last may be cited *The Beggar's Opera* . . . [where] it is called "Have you heard of a frolicsome ditty?" . . . About fifty years later, we find it quoted in Ritson's *Bishoprick Garland*, or *Durham Minstrel*, as the tune of a song of "The Hare-Skin" . . . And Mr J. H. Dixon prints a ballad entitled "Saddle to Rags", which is still sung in the North of England, to the same air . . . In Mrs Centlivre's Comedy, *The Platonick Lady*, 1707, [it is called] "Give ear to a frolicsome ditty".' James O'Neill printed it in his *The Dance Music of Ireland* (1907: 88) under the name 'Open the Door for Three', a tune Captain Francis O'Neill mentions as being in the manuscript collection of Timothy Downing, a gentleman farmer and flutist from Tralibane in Cork. 'Open the Door for Three' (or 'Winifred's Knot') was published in Playford's *Dancing Master*. Variants of it are found in Scottish collections such as the MacFarlan MS (1740), *An Evening Amusement* (1789), *The Caledonian Muse* (1795), and Davie's *Caledonian Repository* (1829). Joyce (1909: 37) includes a song named 'Kitty, Will You Marry Me?', but to a different air:

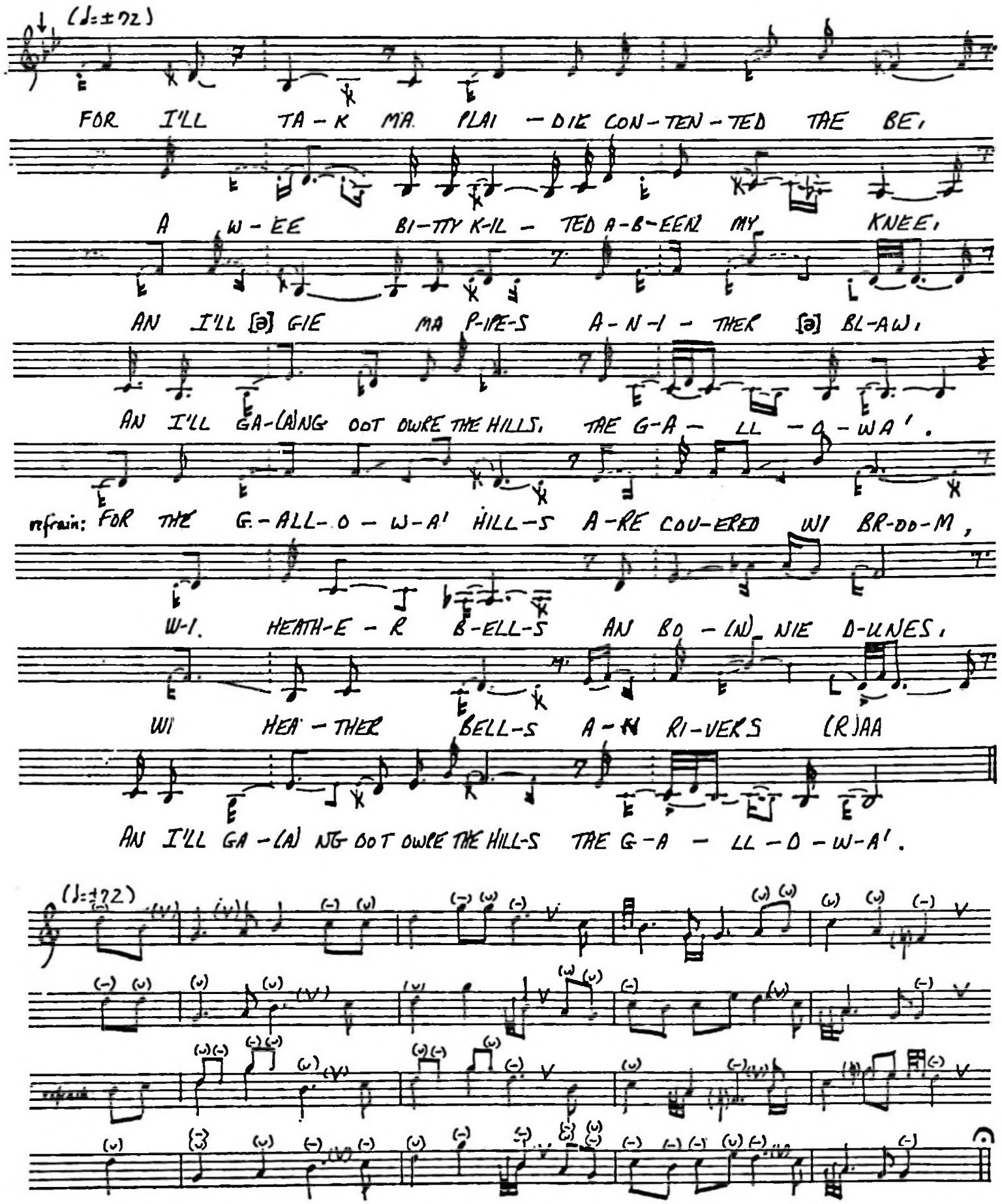
O Kitty will you marry me? or Kitty I will die;
Then Kitty you'll be fretting for your loving little boy;
Oh, Kitty, can't you tell me will you marry me at all;
Or else I'll surely go to sleep inside the churchyard wall.

A closely related Irish tune, 'Lá 'gus mé teasdal amwänar', appears in *JFSS* VI (1921: 278) with a note by Lucy Broadwood, who also included it in her *English County Songs*. It was the first tune Jeannie learned from her mother and she has recorded it on Collector Records JES 1.

* Here Jeannie sings *boilin* instead of *bilin*. She was characteristically inclined to sing a song her way without bowing to formal demands of consistency.

THE GALLOWA' HILLS

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1955/154/A4



For I'll tak ma plaidie contented tae be,
A wee bittie kilted abeen my knee,
An I'll gie ma pipes anither blaw,
An I'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

Refrain:
For the Gallowa' hills are covered wi broom,
Wi heather bells an bonnie dunes,
Wi heather bells an rivers (r)aa,*
An I'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

For I say, bonnie lass, it's will you come wi me,
To share your lot in a strange countrie,
To share your lot when doon fa's aa,
An I'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

Refrain:
O the Gallowa' hills are covered wi broom,
Wi heather bells an bonnie dunes,
Wi heather bells an rivers aa,
An we'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

For I'll sell my rock, I'll sell my reel,
I'll sell ma grannie's spinnin-wheel.
I'll sell them aa when doon fa's aa,
An I'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

Refrain: (as after stanza 2).

The published version of this song by Nicholson appears in *The Harp of Caledonia, A Collection of Songs, Ancient and Modern, (Chiefly Scottish,) with an Essay on Scottish Song Writers*, by John Struthers (Glasgow 1819, vol. 1, pp. 190–1. It is directed to be sung to the tune of 'White Cockade':

O, Lassie, wilt thou gang wi' me,
An' leave they frien's i' the south countrie—
They former frien's an' sweethearts a',
An' gang wi' me to Gallowa'?

O Gallowa' braes, they wave wi' broom,
An' heatherbells in bonnie bloom;
There's lordly seats an' livin's braw*
Amang the braes o' Gallowa'.

There's stately woods on mony a brae,
Where burns and birds in concert play;
The waukrife echo answers a',
Amang the braes o' Gallowa'.

O Gallowa' braes, etc.

The simmer shiel I'll build for thee
Alang the bonnie banks o' Dee,
Half circlin' roun' my father's ha',
Amang the braes o' Gallowa'.

O Gallowa' braes, etc.

When Autumn waves her flowin' horn,
An' fields o' gowden grain are shorn,
I'll busk thee fine in pearlin's braw,
To join the dance in Gallowa'.

O Gallowa' braes, etc.

* Here Jeannie seems to be singing 'rivers raa' instead of the 'rivers aa' of subsequent refrains. This might be construed as a clouded recollection of Nicholson's 'livin's braw'.

At e'en, whan darkness shrouds the sight,
An' lanely langsome is the night,
Wi' tentie care my pipes I'll thraw,
To 'A the way to Gallowa' '.

O Gallowa' braes, etc.

Should fickle fortune on us frown,
Nae lack o' gear our love shou'd drown;
Content shou'd shield our haudin' sma',
Amang the braes o' Gallowa'.

O Gallowa' braes, etc.

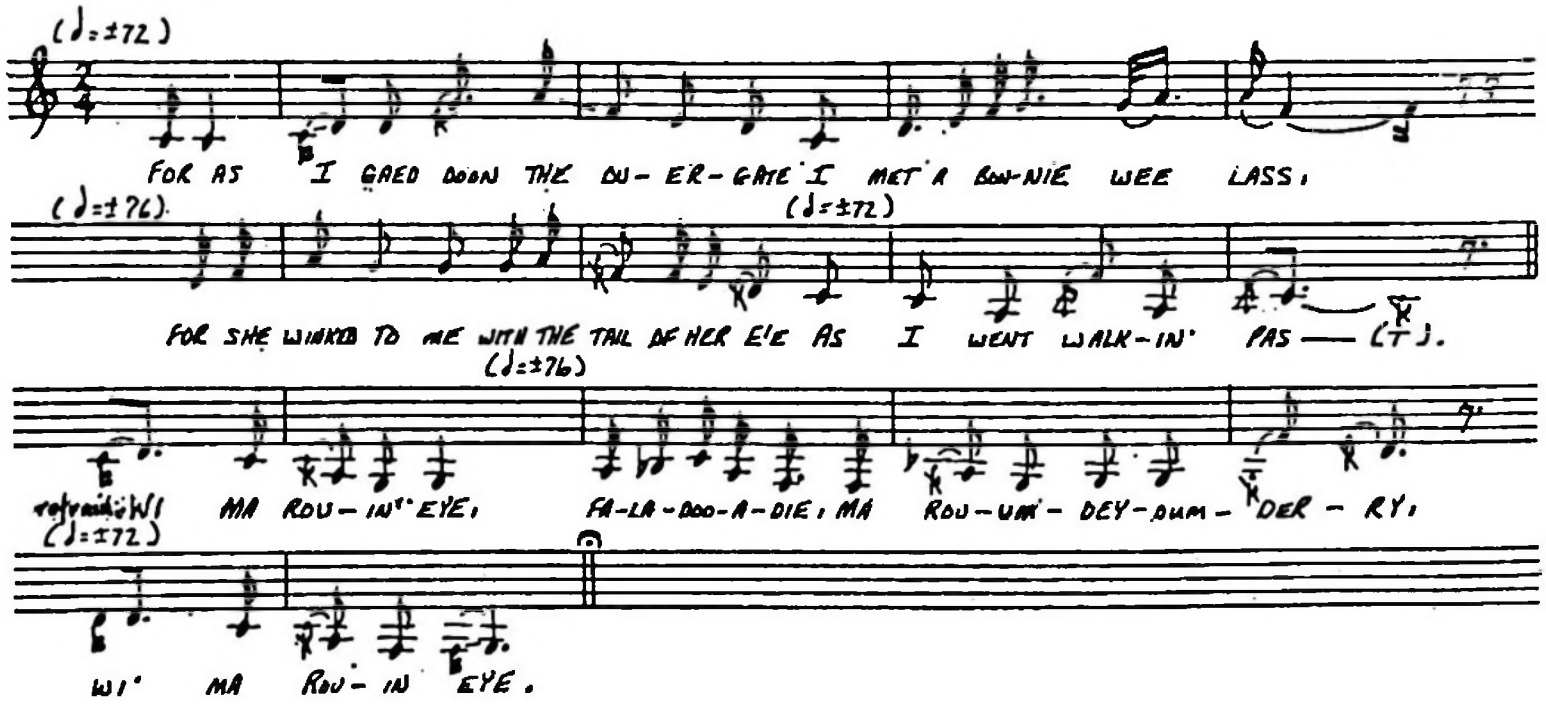
Come, while the blossom's on the broom,
An' heather-bells sae bonny bloom;
Come, let us be the happiest twa
On a' the braes o Gallowa'!

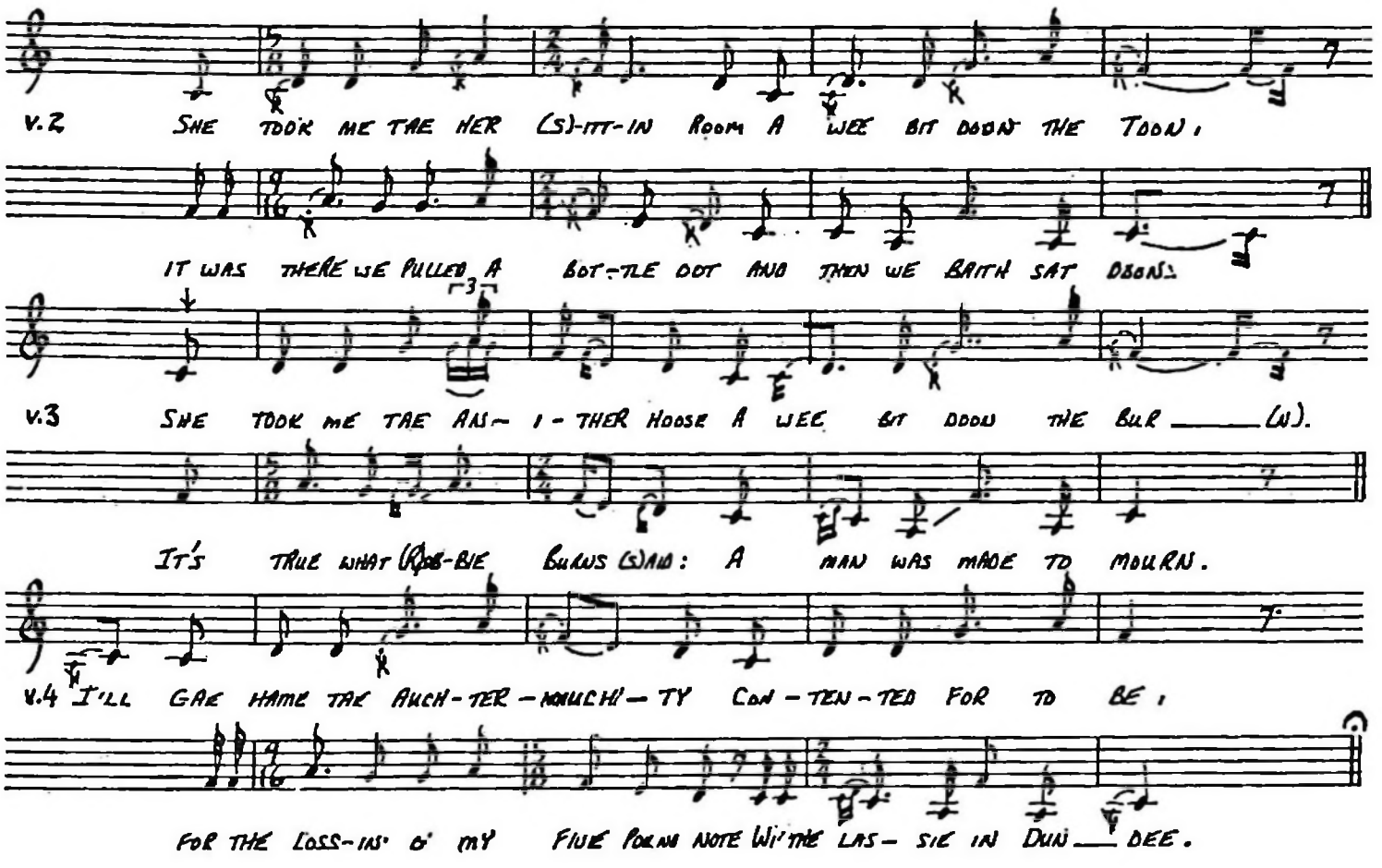
O Gallowa' braes, etc.

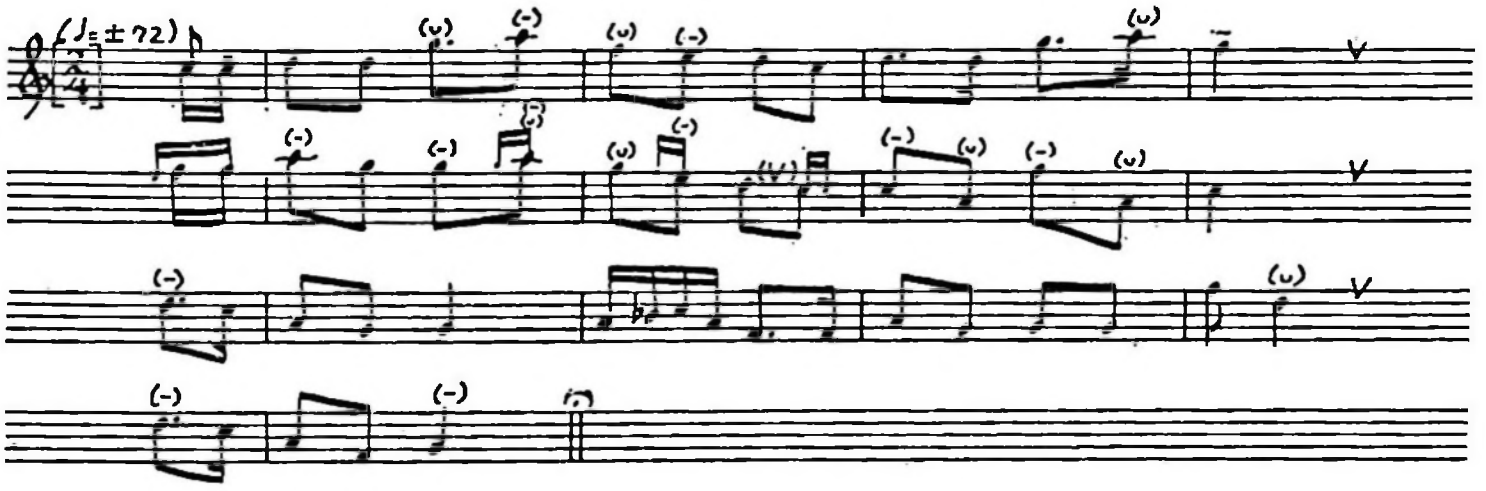
In the lack of any evidence to the contrary, it could be argued that Jeannie's version, like those recorded from other singers in the north-east, is an oral re-working of Nicholson's song. The other possibility, that Nicholson adapted a song already in oral circulation, must remain open for the moment. Nevertheless, it does seem that Jeannie's refrain is closely connected to the printed version, while her stanzas 1 and 2 show relationships with Nicholson's stanzas 5 and 1 respectively. For a note on the song's Jacobite associations, see Buchan's *101 Scottish Songs*, 154. There are two tunes and one text in the Greig MS. Another version of Jeannie's singing is recorded on Collector Records JES 1; also BBC 27808.

THE OVERGATE (1)

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1954/104/A2







For as I gaed doon the Overgate
I met a bonnie wee lass,
For she winked to me with the tail of her e'e
As I went walkin past.

Refrain:
Wi ma rovin eye, fa-la-doo-a-die,
Ma rovum-dey-dum-derry,
Wi ma rovin eye.

She took me tae her sittin room
A wee bit doon the toon,
It was there we pulled a bottle oot
And then we baith sat doon.

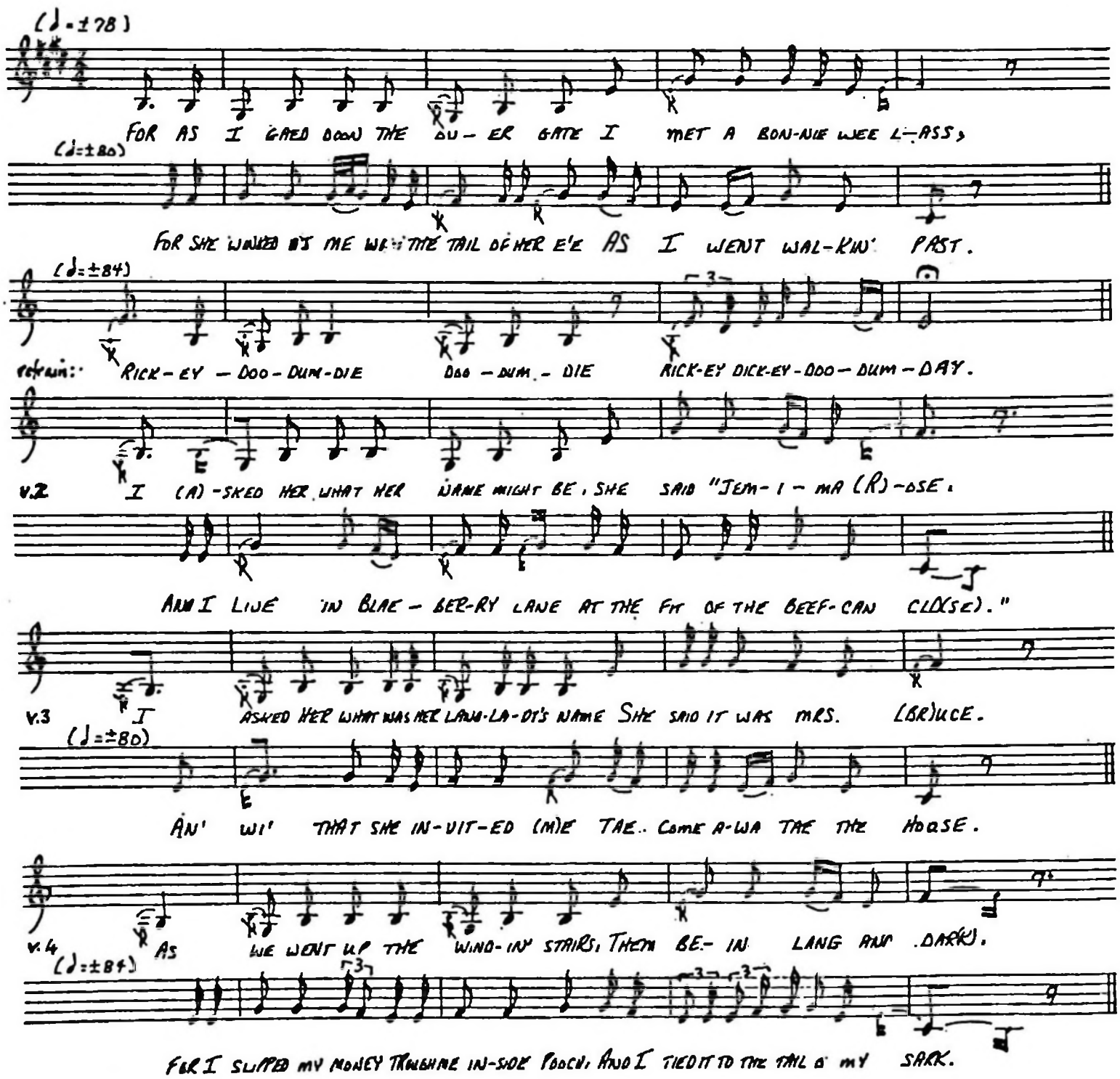
[*Repeat refrain after each verse.*]

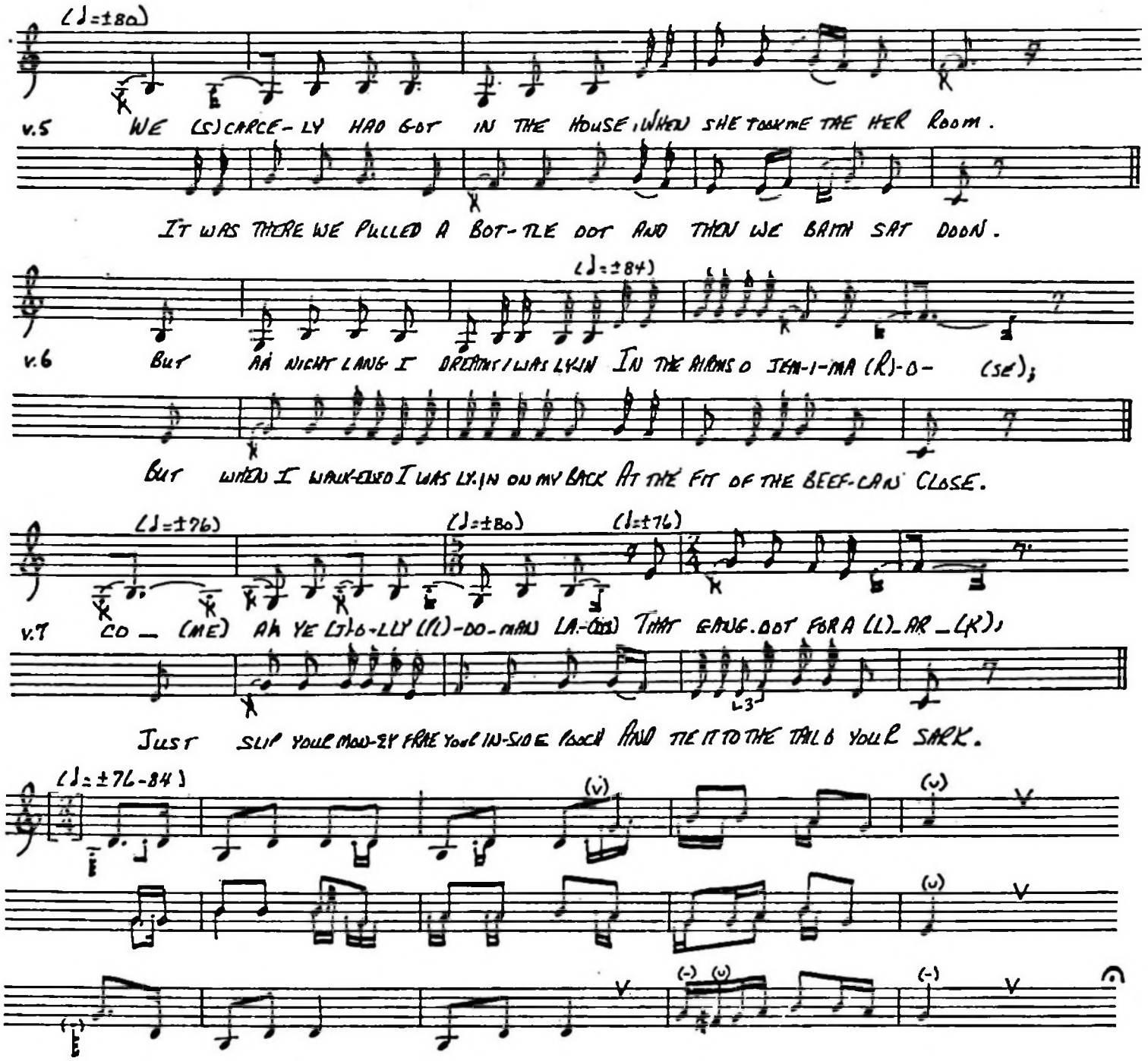
She took me tae anither hoose
A wee bit doon the burn.
It's true what Robbie Burns said:
A man was made to mourn.

I'll gae hame tae Auchtermuchty
Contented for to be,
For the lossin o' my five pound note
Wi the lassie in Dundee.

THE OVERGATE (2)

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1954/104/A3





For as I gaed doon the Overgate
I met a bonnie wee lass,
For she winked at me wi the tail of her e'e
As I went walkin past.

Refrain:
Rickey-doo-dum-die, doo-dum-die.
Rickey, dickey, doo-dum-day.

I asked her what her name might be,
She said 'Jemima Rose,
And I live in Blaeberry Lane
At the fit of the Beefcan Close.'

[*Repeat refrain after each verse.*]

I asked her what was her landlady's name
She said it was Mrs Bruce.
An wi that she invited me
Tae come awa tae the hoose.

As we went up the windin stairs,
Them bein lang and dark,
For I slipped my money through me inside pooch
And I tied it tae the tail o my sark.

We scarcely had got in the hoose,
When she took me tae her room.
It was there we pulled a bottle oot
And then we baith sat doon.

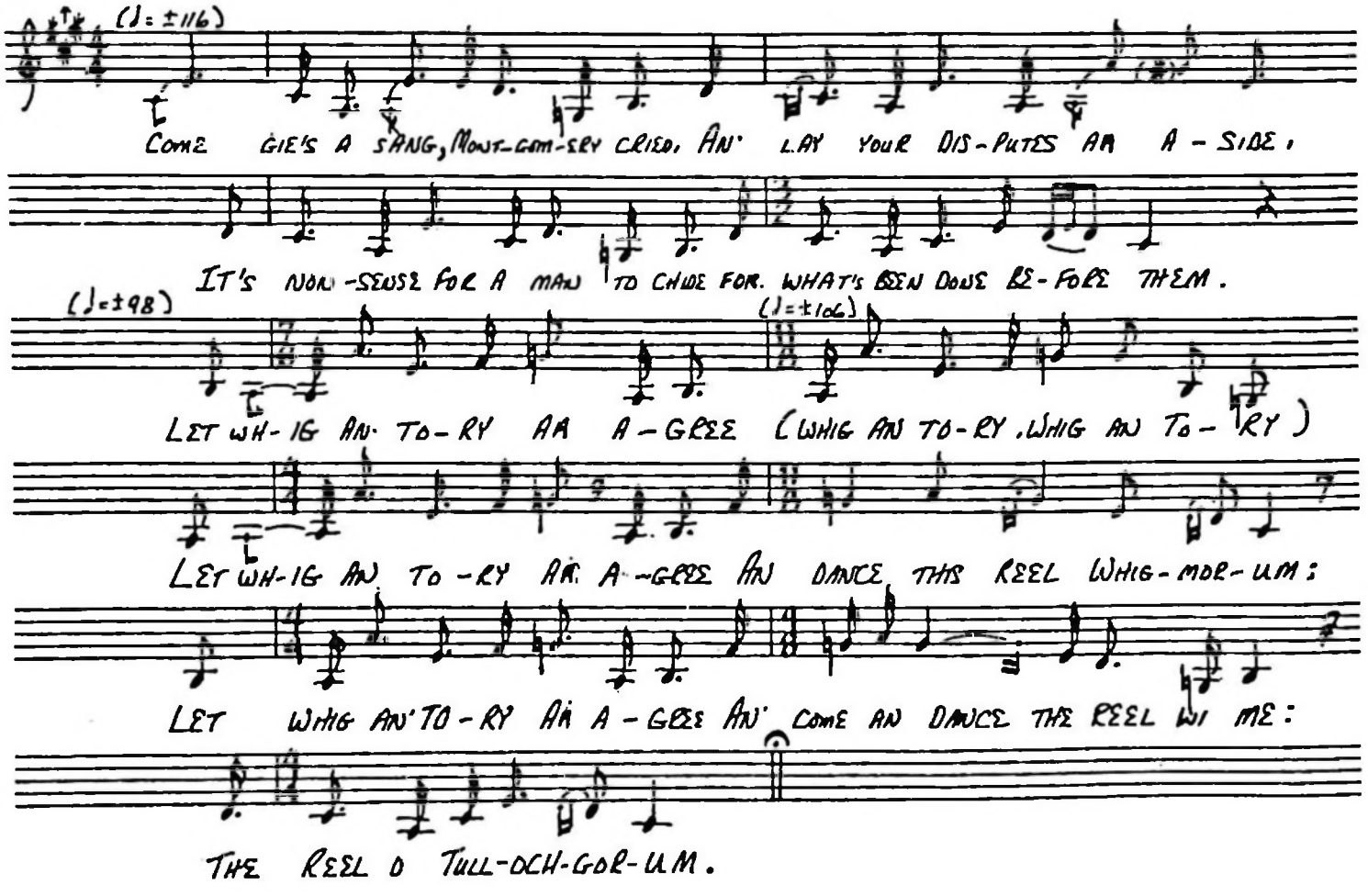
But aa nicht lang I dreamt I was lyin
In the airms o Jemima Rose, [back
But when I waukened, I was lyin on my
At the fit of the Beefcan Close.

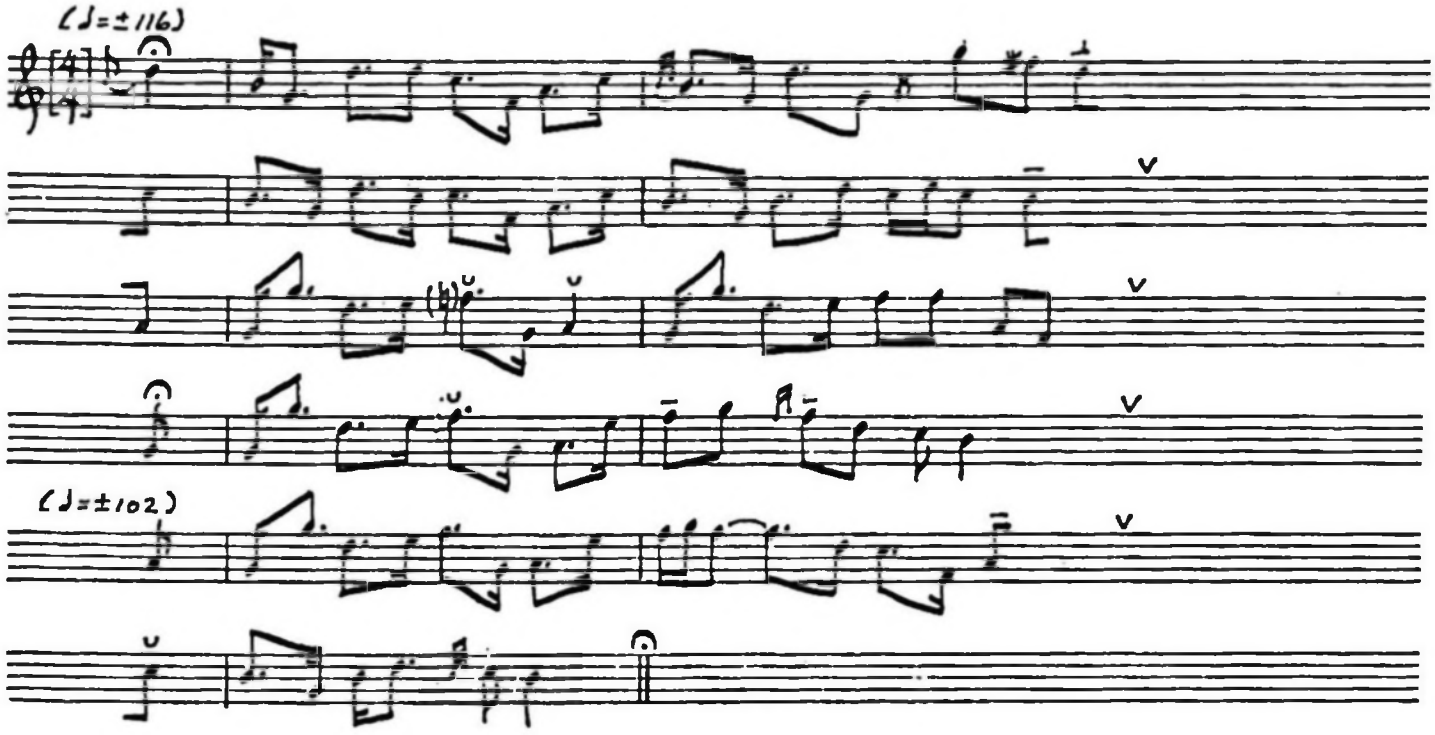
Come aa ye jolly plooman lads
That gang oot for a lark,
Just slip your money frae your inside pooch
And tie it to the tail o your sark.

'The Overgate' is associated with two distinct localities, Fife and Aberdeen. In a different, presumably 'older' form it was collected in Nithsdale by Burns. It is also well known in Perthshire and has connections, according to Ford (1899: 102–5), with one Alexander Smith, or 'Singing Sandy', an itinerant musician of the nineteenth century. Jeannie's version 1 refers to Auchtermuchty in Fife, and version 2 is localised in Aberdeenshire with its familiar 'Keech in the Creel' air. There are four textual variants in the Duncan MS, none to Jeannie's tunes. Version 1 is recorded on Collector Records JES 4 and Prestige/International 13006, version 2 on Riverside RLP 12–633, BBC 21089, 27810.

TULLOCHGORUM

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1953/246/A25





Come gie's a sang, Montgomery cried,
An lay your disputes aa aside,
It's nonsense for a man to chide
  For what's been done before them.
Let Whig an Tory aa agree
(Whig an Tory, Whig an Tory)
Let Whig an Tory aa agree
  An dance this reel Whigmorum;
Let Whig an Tory aa agree
An come an dance the reel wi me:
  The Reel o Tullochgorum.

The Rev. John Skinner adapted words to the old strathspey tune 'The Reel of Tullochgorum' while visiting friends in Ellon, Aberdeenshire. It is said that his hostess, Mrs Montgomery, named in the first line, asked him to soothe a heated political dispute among the guests by composing some verses to the old air. H. G. Reid (1859) states the song was first published in the *Scots Weekly Magazine*, April 1776, and Burns called it 'the best Scotch song ever Scotland saw'. It has found its way into popular anthologies, song books, and oral tradition. The editor of *The Scottish Minstrel*, the Rev. Charles Rogers, asserts that 'no song-compositions of any modern writer in Scottish verse have, with the exception of those of Burns, maintained a stronger hold of the Scottish heart, or been more commonly sung in the social circle.' Dauney (1838:142) traces the tune unequivocally to that known as 'Corn Bunting' in the Guthrie MS (1675–80), while also pointing to a resemblance with 'Ouir the dek (dyke?) Davy' from the 1612–28 Rowallan MS (*op. cit.*:139). Stenhouse, on the other hand, sees the tune as a relation of 'Jockie's fow and Jenny fain', published in Adam Craig's collection of 1730 (1853:282),

to which Glen (1900:180) testily comments 'Absurd!'. The first version of the tune in print under its own name, at any rate, seems to be in Bremner's collection of 1757. Ford (1900:147–50) prints the song, and Gavin Greig has the following note in his MS on the origin of the tune: 'This famous Reel takes its name from a district on the banks of the River Spey, where the Tullaich-ghorm, or green hillock, is situated, upon which the people probably assembled to join in the evening dance . . .' What may be the original Gaelic words of the song are printed by Alexander Macdonald in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 1914–19*, vol. XXIX, p. 103 (1922):

Theid mi null gu Taobh Loch-gorm,
Theid mi null, gu 'n téid mi null;
O! theid mi null gu Taobh Loch-gorm,
'S thig mi nall a màireach.

'S bòidheach, lurach Taobh Loch-gorm,
'S tuim is tulaich, glinn is mullaich;
Mill is mulain Taobh Loch-gorm—
Thig mi nall a màireach.

Diridh mi ri Taobh Loch-gorm,
Diridh mi ris, teàrnaidh mi leis;
Fàgaidh mi sin Taobh Loch-gorm,
'S thig mi nall a màireach.

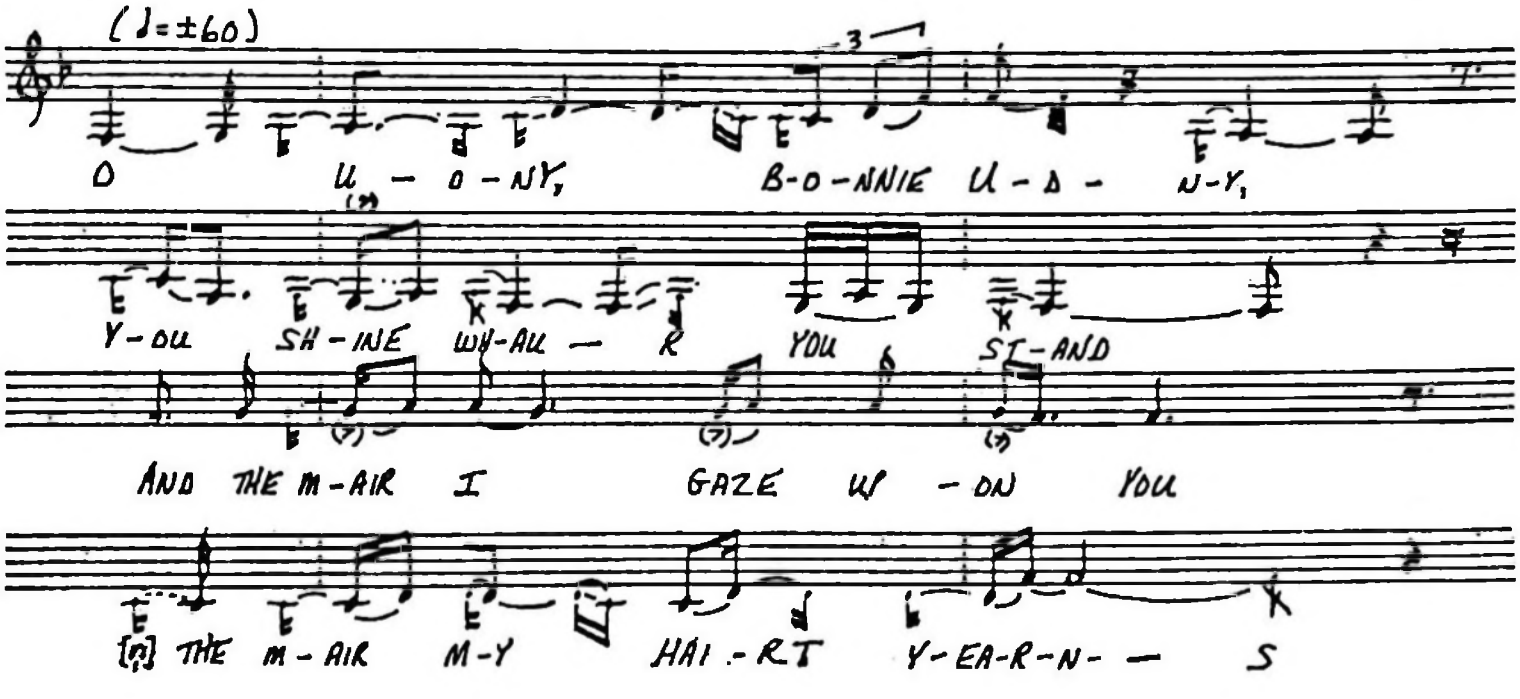
Apparently the last line of each verse on Loch Ness-side was:

'S thig mi nall am Bàna.

(See Buchan and Hall for a recent published version of the Scots song (1973:57). The song is recorded by Jeannie on Collector Records JES 1.)

BONNIE UDNY

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1955/154/A3



[ŋ] THE M-AIR I GAZE U-PO-N YOU

[ŋ] THE M-AIR M-Y HAI-RI Y-EAR-N-S.

FOR AA YER L-A-N-DS IN S-COT-LAN-D,

BO-N-NIE U-D-N-Y FO-R M-E

(♩=±60)

V.3 W-E WILL DR-IN-K A-N BE M-E-RR-Y,

WE WI-LL DR-INK AN' GANG H-A-ME [ə],

FOR I-F W-E BI-DE HE-RE D-NIE L-ANG-EE [ə]

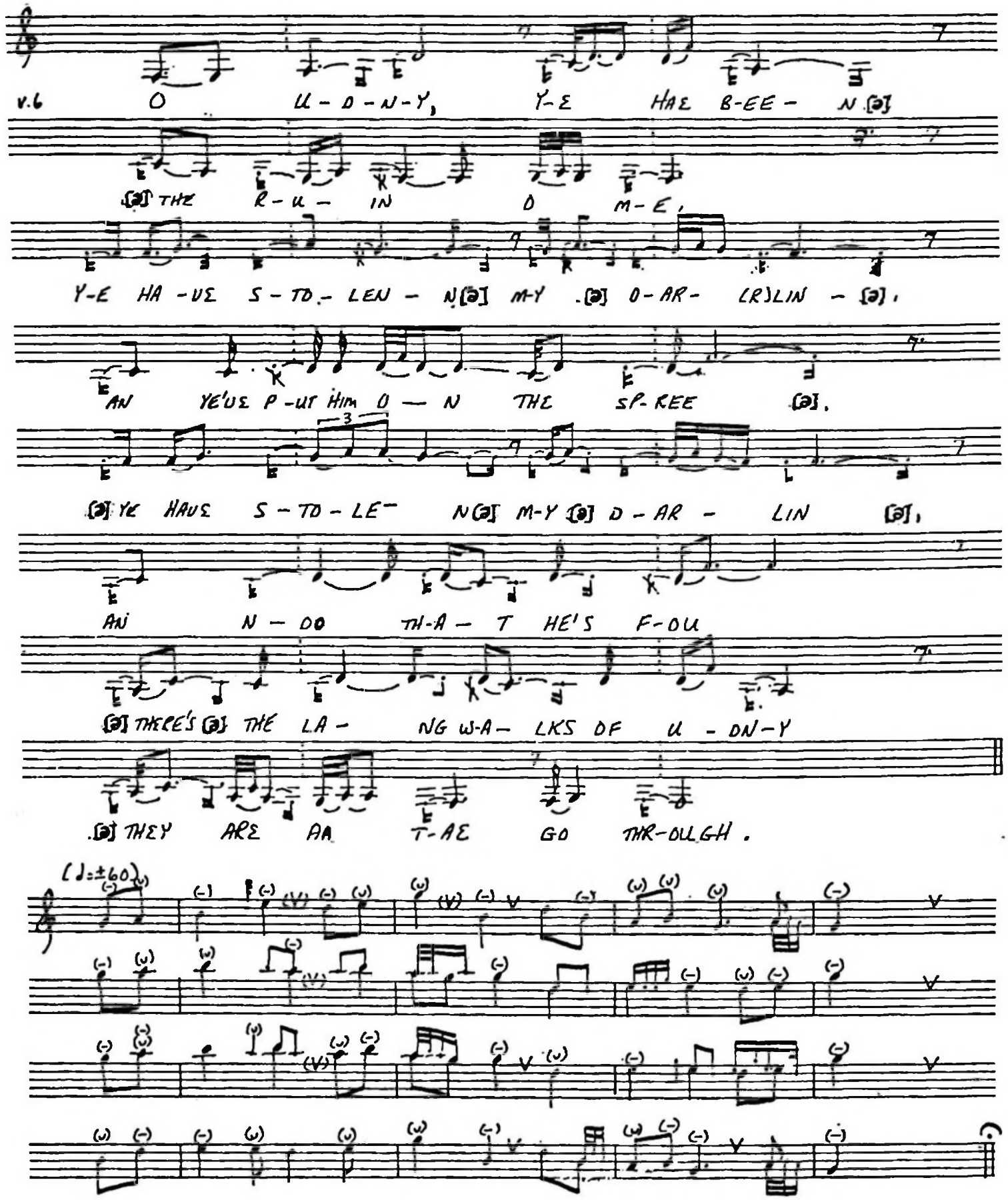
W-E- LL GET A BA-D N-A-ME [ə];

AND TAE G-ET A BA-D N-A-ME [ə] LO-VE,

FOR [ə] THA-T W-IO N-E-VER DEE,

FOR AA YER L-A-N-DS IN S-COT-L-A-ND,

BO-N-NIE U-D-N-Y FOR M-E.



O Udny, bonnie Udny, you shine whaur you stand,
And the mair I gaze upon you the mair my hairt yearns.
The mair I gaze upon you the mair my hairt yearns.
For aa yer lands in Scotland, bonnie Udny for me.

For it's you'll pull the red rose and it's I'll pull the thyme,
For it's you'll drink tae your love, an I'll drink tae mine.
We will drink tae we're merry, we will drink tae we're fou,
For there's [the] lang walks of Udny, they are aa tae go through.

We will drink an be merry, we will drink an gang hame,
For if we bide here onie langer, we'll get a bad name;
And tae get a bad name, love, for that wid never dee,
For aa yer lands in Scotland, bonnie Udny for me.

For it's you'll pull the red rose and it's I'll pull the thyme,
For it's you'll drink tae your love, an I'll drink tae mine.
We will drink an be merry, we will drink tae we're fou,
For it's [the] lang walks of Udny, they are aa tae go through.

They have stolen my sweethairt, and they've put him on the spree.
They have stolen my sweethairt, an they've teen him frae me.
And to keep my eyes from weeping what a fool I wad be,
For aa yer lands in Scotland, bonnie Udny for me.

O Udny, ye hae been the ruin o me,
Ye have stolen my darlin, an ye've put him on the spree,
There's the lang walks of Udny, they are aa tae go through.

Ritson (1784:44) prints a song with the title 'The Pleasures of Sunderland', the final verse being:

Sunderland's a fine place, it shines where it stands,
And the more I look upon it the more my heart warms;
And if I was there I would make myself free:
Every man to his mind, but Sunderland for me.

Another *refacimento* of what must be the original broadside occurs in Peter Buchan's 1828 collection, where the song 'Portmore' includes the following stanzas:

Let's drink and gae hame, boys, let's drink and gae hame,
If we stay ony langer we'll get a bad name;
We'll get a bad name, and fill oursell's fou,
And the lang woods o' Derry are ill to gae thro'.

O, bonny Portmore, ye shine where you charm,
The more I think upon you, the more my heart warms;
When I look from you, my heart it is sore,
When I mind upon Valiantny, and on Portmore.

Croker (1886:196–9) mistakenly believed Moore to be the author of the song 'The Boys of Kilkenny', and O Lochlainn (1939:73) mentions a version which his father, a native of S. Kilkenny (b. 1859), learned in childhood:

Oh, the boys of Kilkenny are stout roving blades
And whenever they meet with the nice little maids
They'll kiss them and coax them and spend their money free,
And of all the towns in Ireland, Kilkenny for me [*bis*].

Oh, Kilkenny's a fine town, it shines where it stands
And the more I think of it, the more my heart warms,
And if I was in Kilkenny, I'd think myself at home
For it's there I'd have sweethearts but here I have none [*bis*].

Moffat (1897:346) suggests Michael Kelly as the author. A variant called 'The Chaps of Cockaigny' was recovered by Sharp in Somerset in 1904 (see *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 8:23–4, also Karpeles 1974, 1:633–4), and there are three versions in the Hammond MSS, from Dorset 1905–6. Textual affinity crops up in 'Sweet Europe' (Joyce 1901:73; Baring Gould and Sharp 1906:46):

O the lads of sweet Europe they're all roving blades,
They take delight in courting and kissing pretty maids.
They'll kiss them, they'll court them, they'll call them their own
And p'raps their darlings lays mourning at home.

Greig prints two versions of the song (1914:32), discussing the many variants found throughout Britain. In his MS he notes the analogues in O'Neill (1903), Chappell (1855–9), Christie (1876–81), and Buchan (1828). The Greig MS, vol. 1, p. 45 has three tunes, none of them the present one. The text noted with the third tune runs:

A' the lads in bonnie Udny they are rovin' blades,
They tak' great delight in courtin' fair maids.
They kiss them and clap them and spend their money free,
All the lads in fair *Scotland—bonnie Scotland* [*sic*] for me.

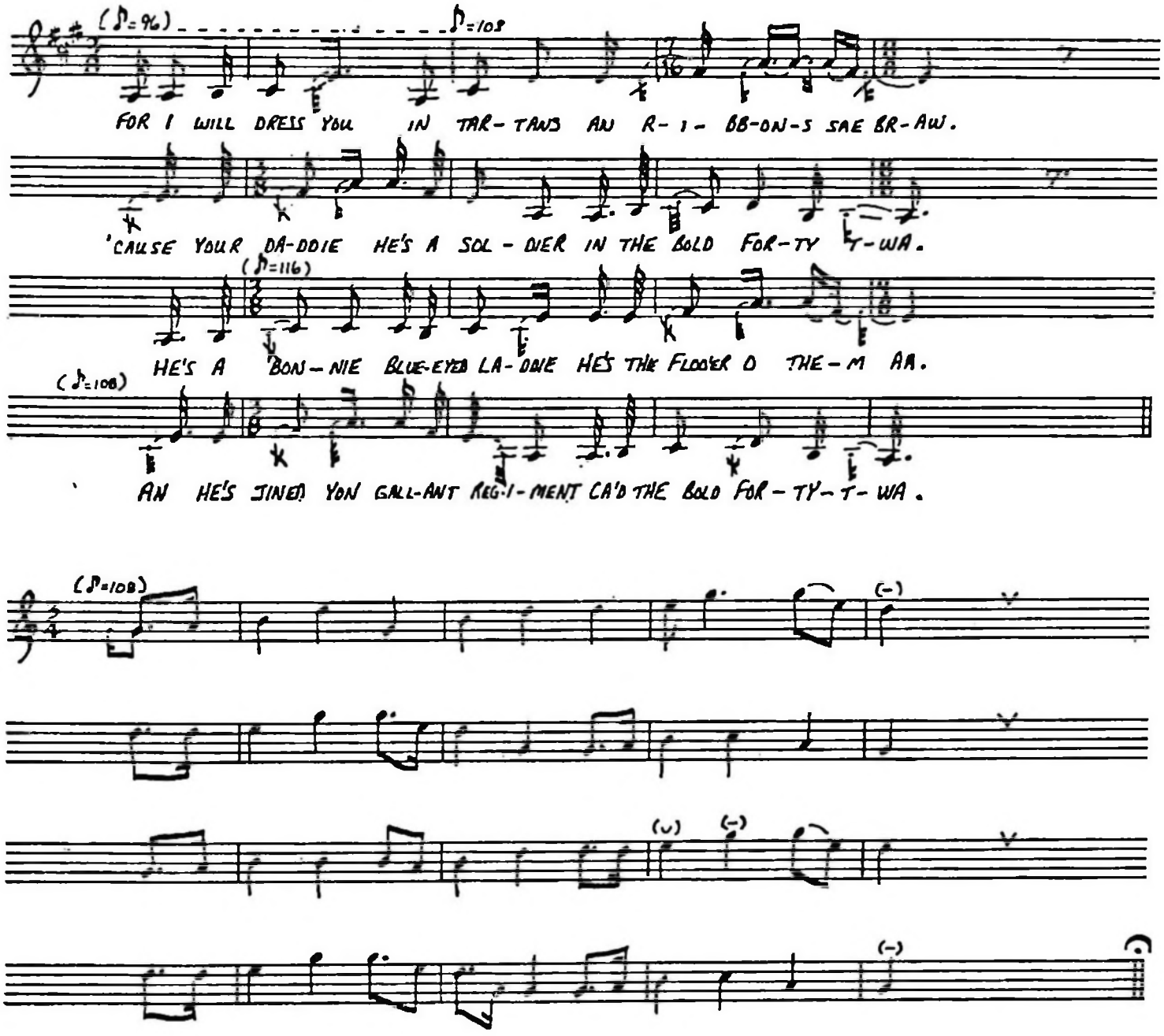
Another stanza has:

O wae to ye women that ye dinna think shame,
Ye disgrace your own bodies and spoil your good name,
Ye've disgraced the name of my high majestie,
Ye hae lain wi' your footman and shall ne'er lie wi' me.

Duncan's MS, p. 67, has 'Bonnie Wudny' with the note: 'This name is used by John Wilson, Broadmyre, Premney, who furnishes complete words. Also called "The Lang Walk o' Wudny" . . . compare this verse with "Over Hills and high Mountains", an old English song in Chappell (1859:II. 137). There are also several coincidences with Portmore in Graham (vol. III, p. 115) (also in Buchan and Christie).' The final reference is to 'O Bonny Portmore' in Christie (vol. 1, p. 263). Ord prints a text without a tune (1930:341–2), and a recent transcription appears in *A Collection of Scots Songs* (1973:103). In stanzas two and four Jeannie interpolates a short 'the' before 'lang walks of Udny'.

HE'S A BONNIE, BLUE-EYED LADDIE

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1954/104/A10

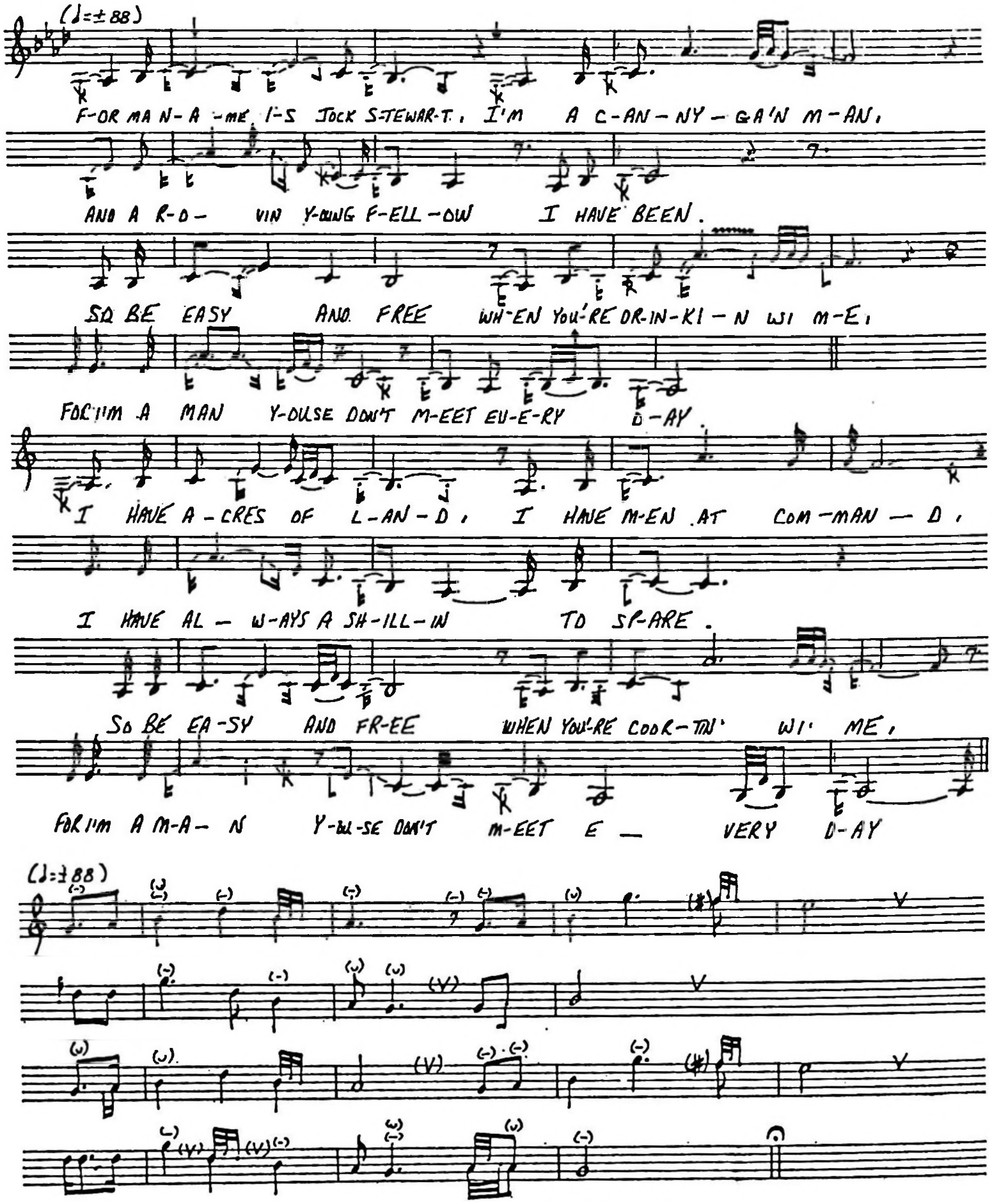


For I will dress you in tartans
An ribbons sae braw,
'Cause your Daddie he's a soldier
In the bold Forty-Twa.
He's a bonnie, blue-eyed laddie,
He's the floo'er o them aa,
An he's jined yon gallant regiment
Ca'd the bold Forty-Twa.

This fragment alludes to the Forty-Second Black Watch Regiment, which is also celebrated in 'The Gallant Forty-Twa', a short piece printed by Greig (1963:158).

JOCK STEWART

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1952/33/A16



For ma name is Jock Stewart, I'm a canny-ga'n man,
And a rovin young fellow I have been.
So be easy and free when you're drinkin wi me,
For I'm a man youse don't meet everyday.

I have acres of land, I have men at command,
I have always a shillin to spare.
So be easy and free when you're coortin wi me,
For I'm a man youse don't meet every day.

This lyric may echo an older published song in *The Harp of Caledonia*, Glasgow 1819, 436–7, untitled but directed to be sung to 'The Rock an' the wee pickle Tow':

I'm now a guid farmer, I've acres o' land,
An' my heart aye loups light whan I'm viewin' o't,
An' I ha'e servants at my command,
An' twa dainty cowtes for the lowin' o't.

It appears more likely that Scottish travellers came by the lyric from their Irish counterparts or from Irish broadsides. It may also have flourished alongside texts such as that in *Walton's 132 Best Irish Songs and Ballads* (Dublin [n.d.]):

I've a neat little cabin that's built out of mud,
Not far from the county Kildare,
I've an acre or two where I grow my own spuds,
I've enough and a little to spare,
Sure I've not come over here seeking your jobs,
But a short little visit to pay,
So be aisy and free while you're drinking with me,
I'm a man you don't meet every day.

Chorus:
Come fill up your glasses,
And drink what you will,
And whatever the damage, I'll pay,
So be aisy and free while you're drinking with me,
I'm a man you don't meet every day.

I've a neat little colleen that dwells in my cot,
Oh, happy contented is she;
I've a thumping big lad that will say to his dad,
There's a man you won't meet every day.
And when for my leisure I'm out for a walk,
The boys all stop and they stare,
And they say to each other as I'm passing by,
There's a man you don't meet every day.

In a later recording (SA 1955/154/A6) Jeannie added the following stanza after verse 1:

For I took out my gun, and my dog I did show't,
All down by the River Clare [?Kil'are],
So be easy and free when you're drinkin' wi' me,
For I'm a man youse don't meet every day.

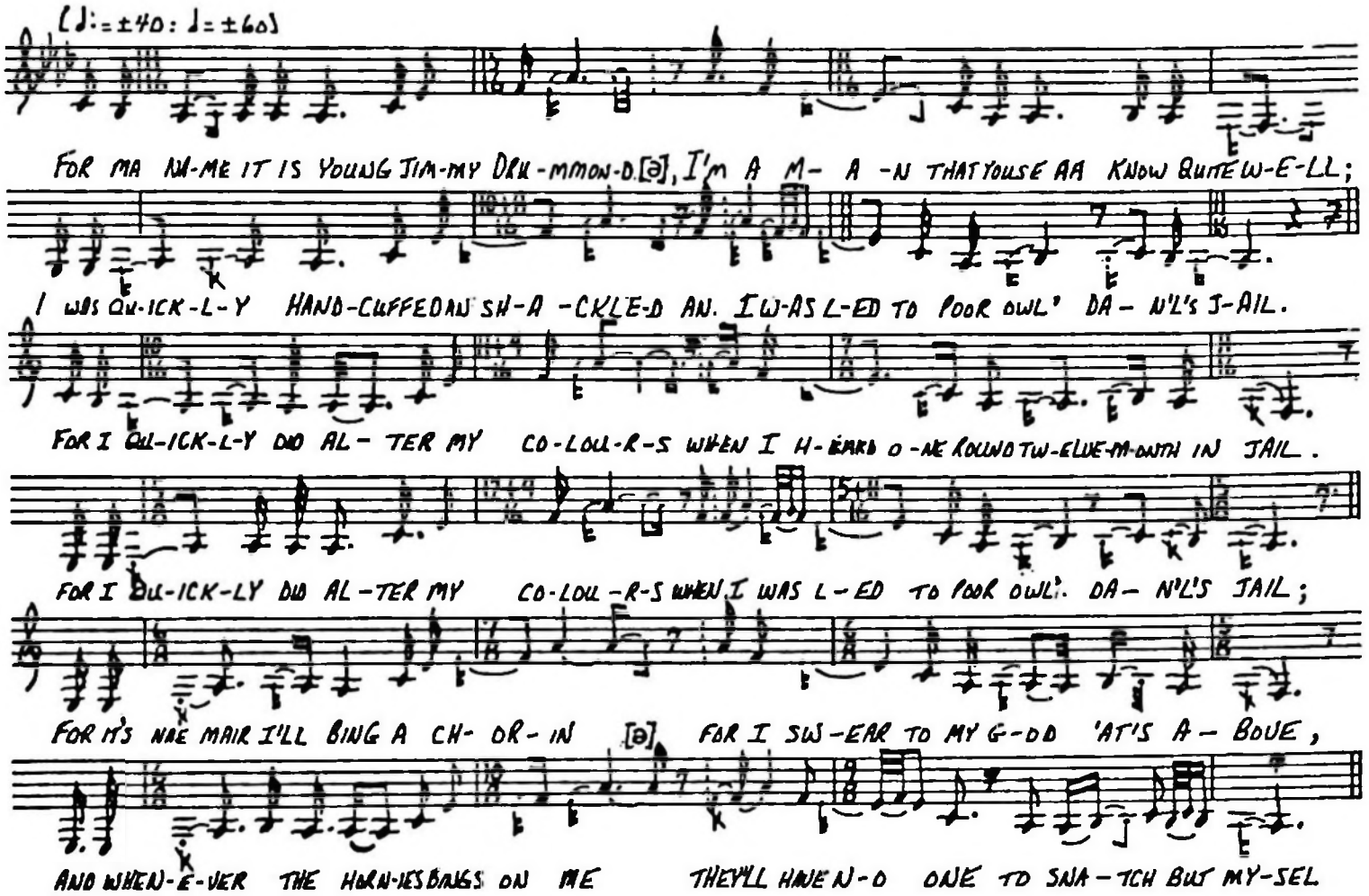
Later still, on Prestige/International 13006, Jeannie produced another verse which came second and was repeated at the end:

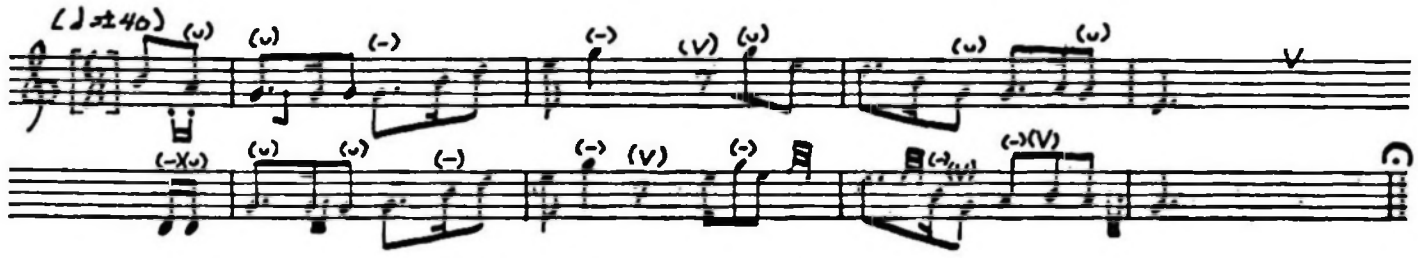
Come fill up your glasses of brandy and wine,
Whatever it cost, I will pay.
So be easy and free when you're drinkin' wi' me,
I'm a man youse don't meet every day.

This stanza is a close relative of the Irish text. In the studio recording the 'coortin' wi' me' has been replaced by a uniform 'drinkin' wi' me'. The song has no thematic or melodic connection with a song of the same title in the Greig MS, vol. I.

JIMMY DRUMMOND

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1952/33/A14





For ma name it is young Jimmy Drummond,
I'm a man that youse aa know quite well;
I was quickly handcuffed and shackled
An I was led to poor owl' Dan'l's jail.

For I quickly did alter my colours
When I heard one round twelve-month in jail;
For I quickly did alter my colours
When I was led to poor owl' Dan'l's jail.

For it's nae mair I'll bing a-chorin
For I swear to my God 'at's above,
And whenever the hornies bings on me
They'll have no one to snatch but mysel.

The composer of this song, according to Jeannie, was a man whose true name '. . . was Jimmy Drummond and he was a far-off relation of my Grannie's. He is supposed to have made the song himself and sung it in jail.' The prison referred to in the first two stanzas may be a transformation of 'Oldham's jail', 'Dublin's jail', or perhaps 'Arran's jail'. Tommy Armstrong of Tyneside (1848–1919), the bard of the Durham coalfield, composed a song called 'Durham Gaol' while in prison, but it is not related to this one. Another convict song in Brown (1952:3. 419–20) is entitled 'Durham Jail', with the note: 'As collected from E. L. Husketh, who learned it from convicts in 1890.' Again there is no connection between the North Carolina complaint and 'Jimmy Drummond'. It is similarly difficult to suppose that 'owl' Dan'l's jail' is some kind of echo of the song known as 'Bold Daniels' (Laws 34) with its theme of piracy thwarted. The only version of the song which is close to Jeannie's is that printed in Kennedy (1975:768). 'The Choring Song' was recorded from travellers at St Fillans, Perthshire, in 1956 by J. Brune:

If ever I dae gang a-chorin'
By Heavens an' I chor by mysel'
A-moolin' the ghahnees* be dozens
An' I'll hae nae-baddy wi' me to tell

An' if ever I dae gae to the stardie†
As I hope to the Lord I ne'er wull
I'll go back to my wife and my family
As true as there's Erin's Green Isle

Chorus:
An' if ever I dae gae to the stardie
As I hope to the Lord I ne'er wull
I'll meet a' my comrades an' 'lations
For they've a' gat a twelve-month in jull

* Killing the chickens. † Prison.

Although the textual relationship between this and Jeannie's version is clear, the tune is not hers, for she adapts a slow variant of the first strain of 'Rosin the Bow' (or 'Beau'). This first strain is also the air of the song associated with Islay 'Och, och, mar tha mi!' ('Alas for me') in Moffat (1895:137), who remarks: 'From the *Celtic Lyre*, by permission of the Editor, Mr Henry Whyte ("Fionn"). The Gaelic words and music of "The Islay Maiden" are ancient, and belong to Islay. The song was translated by the late Thomas Pattison, a gifted son of Islay, and appears in his interesting work, "Gaelic Bards". Mr Pattison died when his work was passing through the press, 1866.' The Islay connection is mentioned in Donald Campbell's *A Treatise on the Language, Poetry, and Music of the Highland Clans* (Edinburgh 1862, p. 5 of index to music); a related parody appears in Margaret Fay Shaw, *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist* (London 1955:178–9). The tune is widely known from the Hebrides to the south of Ireland: Joyce prints it as no. 352 (1909:162), also including variants such as no. 680, 'Youghal Harbour' and no. 422, 'When first I came to the county Limerick', and adds that the tune's first appearance in print is in Haverty's *Three Hundred Irish Airs* of 1858. See also, for example, O'Sullivan (1960:155–6), where it is the air for 'Owen Cóir', and Healy (1965:102–4), who links it with 'The Boys of Kilmichael'.

Printed as a stall ballad by Ryles of Seven Dials, the song 'Rosin the Bow' through its title may refer back to 'Now Robin, lend me thy bow', a canon published in *Pammelia* (1609). This first collection of canons, rounds, and catches to appear in England was edited by Ravenscroft; Broadwood and Fuller Maitland (1893:54–5) print the canon. Belden (1940:255–8) mentions that the song is quoted by Moros in Wager's *The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art*, which is dated by Furnivall '*ca.* 1658'. The theme of 'Rosin the Bow' concerns a dying fiddler, or toper, who instructs his comrades how to celebrate his passing. English variants are in Barrett (1891:92–3), Williams (1923:93), Henry (1924, no. 698), Karpeles (1974:2. 125), and the air is that for 'The Mammy's Pet' in Kidson (1891:93–4) along with one verse and the comment: ' "The Mammy's Pet" is but the first verse out of many, and the only one remembered by the person from whom I got the air. This was Mrs Calvert, of Gilknockie, Dumfriesshire, who first heard it sung by her grandmother, the celebrated Tibbie Shiel.' The theme of this song deals with a young woman's dowry, and Kidson later published three verses (1927); see Dean-Smith (1954:101) for analogues. Two versions of 'Rosin the Beau' with its tune appear in the Greig MS, vols. I and II, and one in the Duncan MS. The words of the Greig variant, vol. I, are:

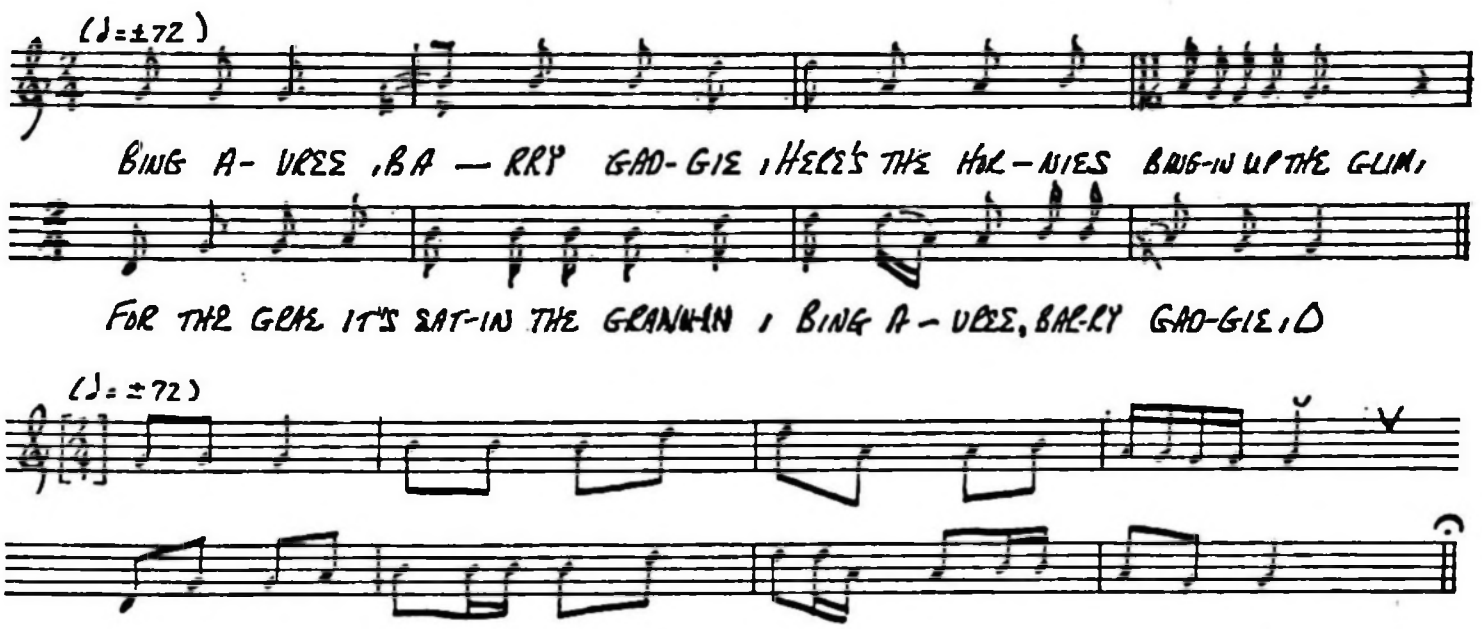
I've travelled the wide world over
And now to another must go
I know there's hot quarters awaiting
To welcome old Rosin the Beau.

The tune, as well as the song, has been found widely in North America with its familiar title. Belden remarks that it was first used for no less than four political songs between

1840 and 1875. That the influence upon the song in its American versions is Irish may be deduced from the presence of the word 'dornicks' (or 'donochs'). This is the Irish *dornòg*, meaning 'stone' or 'stones' which friends of the deceased are asked to throw on the grave. For American variants see Hudson (1936:203–5), Chappell (1939:97), Belden (1940:255–8), Ford (1940:56, 127, 392), Randolph (1950:371–3), Brown (1952:61); in Lomax (1960:267) the tune is associated with 'Rose Connelly' or 'Down in the Willow Garden'. The tune seems to have been used, finally, for songs with a tone of personal regret for misfortune, or for parodies of such an attitude. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the mood of past worldliness in both 'Jimmy Drummond' and 'Rosin the Bow' has crystallised in the adaptation of the tune of the latter for the former song, possibly by one of Jeannie's relations. In her final stanza the cant phrase 'bing a-chorin' is explained by her as meaning 'gang a-stealin'.

CANT SONG

Collector: Hamish Henderson SA 1962/75/B7



Bing avree, barry gadgie,
Here's the hornies bingin up the glim,
For the grae it's eatin the grannin,
Bing avree, barry gadgie, O.

Bing avree, barry gadgie,
Here's the hornies bingin up the glim,
For the ganny's on the glimmer,
Bing avree, barry gadgie, O.

Jeannie explains that this is a song of warning sung by a member of a travelling clan to a fellow member whose horse is grazing illegally in a farmer's field. The friend has also stolen a hen which is roasting on the fire at the time the police are seen approaching. An approximate translation is:

> Go away, good man:
> Here's the police coming up the road
> Because the horse is eating the grain, (v.2 Because the hen is on the fire,).
> Go away, good man.

REFERENCES

1 *Manuscripts*

ATKINSON MS
1694 Society of Antiquaries Library, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
REV. J. B. DUNCAN MS
1905–11 Aberdeen University Library.
GAVIN GREIG MS
1909–14 Aberdeen University Library.
GUTHRIE MS
1675–80 Edinburgh University Library.
MCFARLAN MS
1740 National Library of Scotland.
ROWALLAN MS
1612–28 Edinburgh University Library.
MARGARET SINKLER MS
1710 National Library of Scotland.
JAMES THOMSON MS
1702 National Library of Scotland.

2 *Printed Sources*

ABRAHAMS, ROGER
1969 'The Complex Relations of Simple Forms'. *Genre* II: 104–28.
1972 'Folklore and Literature as Performance'. *Journal of the Folklore Institute* IX: 75–94.
ARGO, ARTHUR ed.
[n.d.] *Chapbook*. 5 vols. Aberdeen.
BARING GOULD, REV. SABINE and H. FLEETWOOD SHEPPARD
1889–92 *Songs and Ballads of the West*. 4 parts. London.
BARING GOULD, REV. SABINE and CECIL J. SHARP
1906 *English Folk Songs for Schools*. London.
BARRETT, W. A.
1891 *English Folk Songs*. London.
BAYARD, SAMUEL P.
1957 'A Miscellany of Tune Notes'. *Studies in Folklore*, ed. W. Edson Richmond. Pp. 166–9. Bloomington.
BELDEN, H. M.
1940 *Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society*. Columbia, Mo.
BLACKIE, J. S.
1889 *Scottish Song*. Edinburgh.
BROADWOOD, LUCY and J. A. FULLER MAITLAND
1893 *English County Songs*. London.
BRONSON, BERTRAND H.
1945 'Mrs. Brown and the Ballad'. *California Folklore Quarterly* IV, no. 2: 129–40.
1954 'Habits of the Ballad as Song'. *Five Gayley Lectures, 1947–1954*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
1959–72 *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads*. 4 vols. Princeton.
1973 'Are the Modes Outmoded?'. *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 4: 23–31.

THE FRANK C. BROWN COLLECTION OF NORTH CAROLINA FOLKLORE
1952–62 Vols. II–V, eds. Newmand Ivey White, Paull F. Baum, *et al.* Durham, N.C.

BRUCE, REV. J. COLLINGWOOD and JOHN STOKOE
1965 *Northumbrian Minstrelsy*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. [First published 1882.]

BUCHAN, DAVID
1972 *The Ballad and the Folk*. London and Boston.

BUCHAN, N.
1962 *101 Scottish Songs*. Glasgow.

BUCHAN, N. and PETER HALL
1973 *The Scottish Folksinger*. London.

BUCHAN, P.
1825 *Gleanings of Scotch, English and Irish Scarce Old Ballads*. Peterhead.
1828 *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland*. 2 vols. Edinburgh.

BUNTING, EDWARD
1796 *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music*. London.

BUTTERWORTH, GEORGE S. K.
[1913] *Folk Songs from Sussex*. London.

CAZDEN, NORMAN
1972 'A Simplified Mode Classification for Traditional Anglo-American Song Tunes'. *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 3:45–78.

CHAPPELL, LOUIS W.
1939 *Folksongs of the Roanoke and the Albemarle*. Morgantown, W. Va.

CHAPPELL, W.
1855–9 *Popular Music of the Olden Time*. 2 vols. London.

CHRISTIE, W.
1876–81 *Traditional Ballad Airs*. 2 vols. Edinburgh.

COMBS, JOSIAH H.
1925 *Folk-Songs du Midi des Etats-Unis*. Paris.

COX, JOHN HARRINGTON
1925 *Folk-Songs of the South*. Cambridge, Mass.

CRAWFORD, THOMAS
1963 'Jean Armour's "Double and Adieu" '. *Scottish Studies* 7:37–46.

CROKER, T. CROFTON
1886 *Popular Songs of Ireland*. London.

DAUNEY, W.
1838 *Ancient Scottish Melodies*. Edinburgh.

DEAN-SMITH, MARGARET
1954 *A Guide to English Folk Song Collections*. Liverpool.

FMJ
1965– *Folk Music Journal*. London.

FORD, ROBERT
1899, 1901 *Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland*, 2 ser. Paisley and London.

GLEN, J.
1900 *Early Scottish Melodies*. Edinburgh.

GOWER, HERSCHEL and JAMES PORTER
1970 'Jeannie Robertson: the Child Ballads'. *Scottish Studies* 14:35–58.
1972 'Jeannie Robertson: the "Other" Ballads'. *Scottish Studies* 16:139–59.

GRAHAM, G. F.
1861 *The Songs of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
1908 *The Popular Songs of Scotland*, revised by J. Muir Wood. Glasgow.
GREIG, GAVIN
1963 *Folk Song of the North East*. 2 vols. Peterhead.
GREIG, JOHN
[1892–5] *Scots Minstrelsie*. 6 vols. Edinburgh.
GROVER, CARRIE B.
[n.d.] *A Heritage of Songs*. Bethel, Maine.
HEALY, JAMES N.
1965 *Ballads From the Pubs of Ireland*. Cork.
HECHT, HANS
1904 *Songs from David Herd's Manuscript*. Edinburgh.
HENDERSON, HAMISH
1957 ' "Peggy on the Banks o' Spey" '. *Scottish Studies* 2:246–8.
1964a 'Scots Folk-Song Today'. *Folklore* 75:48–58.
1964b ' "The Lassies in the Cougate" '. *Scottish Studies* 8:227–8.
1973 'The Oral Tradition'. *Scottish International* 6:27–32.
HENRY, SAM
1924 *Songs of the People*. Coleraine.
HUDSON, ARTHUR PALMER
1936 *Folksongs of Mississippi and Their Background*. Chapel Hill.
JEFDSS
1932–64 *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*. London.
JFSS
1889–1931 *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*. London.
JOHNSON, JAMES
1787–1803 *The Scots Musical Museum*. 6 vols. Edinburgh.
JOYCE, P. W.
1901 *Ancient Irish Music*. Dublin.
1909 *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs*. Dublin and London.
KARPELES, MAUD (ed.)
1974 *Cecil Sharp's Collection of English Folk Songs*. 2 vols. London.
KIDSON, FRANK
1891 *Traditional Tunes*. Oxford.
1927 *Folk Songs From the North Countrie*. London.
1929 *English Peasant Songs*. London.
KORSON, GEORGE
1949 *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends*. Philadelphia.
LAWS, G. MALCOLM
1957 *American Balladry From British Broadsides*. Philadelphia.
LOMAX, ALAN
1960 *The Folk Songs of North America*. New York.
MOFFAT, ALFRED
1895 *The Minstrelsy of Scotland*. London.
1897 *The Minstrelsy of Ireland*. London.
MUIR, WILLA
1965 *Living With Ballads*. London.

O LOCHLAINN, COLM
1939 *Irish Street Ballads.* Dublin.
1965 *More Irish Street Ballads.* Dublin.
O'NEILL, FRANCIS
1903 *O'Neill's Music of Ireland.* Chicago.
1907 *The Dance Music of Ireland.* Chicago.
ORD, JOHN
1930 *The Bothy Songs and Ballads.* Paisley.
O'SULLIVAN, DONAL
1960 *Songs of the Irish.* Dublin.
OWENS, WILLIAM A.
1950 *Texas Folk Songs.* Austin and Dallas.
PETRIE, GEORGE
1903 *The Complete Collection of Irish Music,* ed. C. V. Stanford. London.
PURSLOW, FRANK
1965 *Marrowbones.* London.
1968 *The Wanton Seed.* London.
1972 *The Constant Lovers.* London.
RANDOLPH, VANCE
1946–50 *Ozark Folksongs.* 4 vols. Columbia, Mo.
REEVES, JAMES
1958 *The Idiom of the People.* London.
1960 *The Everlasting Circle.* London.
REID, H. G.
1859 *Songs and Poems by J. Skinner.* Peterhead.
RITSON, JOSEPH
1784 *The Bishopric Garland, or Durham Minstrel.* Stockton.
1802 *The North-Country Chorister.* Durham.
ROGERS, CHARLES
1855 *The Modern Scottish Minstrel.* Edinburgh.
SEDLEY, STEPHEN
1967 *The Seeds of Love.* London.
SHARP, CECIL
1916 *English Folk Songs.* Selected Edition. New York.
1921 *English Folk Songs,* 2 vols. London.
SIMPSON, CLAUDE M.
1966 *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music.* New Brunswick.
SMITH, R. A.
1820–4 *The Scottish Minstrel.* 6 vols. Edinburgh.
WALKER, WILLIAM
1915 *Peter Buchan and Other Papers on Scottish and English Ballads and Songs.* Aberdeen.
WILLIAMS, ALFRED OWEN
1923 *Folk Songs of the Upper Thames.* London.

Notes and Comments

*Aonghus nan Aoir: A Case of Mistaken Identity**

WILLIAM MATHESON

Aonghus nan Aoir's speciality as a bard was the squib or petty lampoon (*aoir*); hence the designation (usually translated 'Angus of the Satires') by which he was known in Scottish Gaelic tradition. The past is the appropriate tense. It is doubtful if even his name would now be remembered[1] but for the fact that, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Rev. Donald MacNicol (1735–1802), minister of Lismore, made a manuscript collection of his spiteful rimes (Nat. Lib. MS. Acc. 2152). These were all published in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* by Dr George Henderson in a paper entitled 'Aonghus nan Aoir or an Irish Bard in the Highlands' (Henderson 1910:458–66). The reason for the alternative title is that Henderson identified the subject of his paper as the Irish poet Aonghas Ó Dálaigh (Henderson 1910:458). This identification has prompted the present enquiry.

Dr Henderson was following a lead given by MacNicol, who wrote that 'Angus nan Aoir possessed an Estate in Ireland which was forfeited in Queen Elizabeth's Reign; this change in his circumstances soured his temper and made him commence Bard or rather Lampooner' (Nat. Lib. MS. Acc. 2152). Imprecise, and even erroneous, as this statement may be, it seems likely that the reference is in fact to Aonghas Ó Dálaigh, whether MacNicol knew of him by that name or not. What MacNicol apparently did not know was the Irish tradition as to where he met his death.

Aonghas Ó Dálaigh was known in his day as An Bard Ruadh and also as Aonghas na n-Aor (O'Reilly 1820:clxxvii). He attained notoriety as the poet who composed a slanderous satire directed against the most notable Irish families of his time, including those Anglo-Norman families who had adopted the Irish language and mode of life. His conduct was foolhardy in the extreme, and retribution was not long delayed. At the end of the satire as we now have it there is appended a prose passage according to which he was murdered while a guest in the house of the O'Meaghers in Tipperary. He had the temerity to vent his spleen on the head of the family, and thereupon a servant stabbed him to death (O'Donovan 1864:84).

* This note was written as a contribution to an unpublished collection of papers by former pupils and colleagues presented to Professor K. H. Jackson in June 1976 to mark his completion of 25 years as Professor of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh (1950–75).

That a man who maligned his own people so viciously should meet with a violent end can be readily believed, having regard to the conditions prevailing at the time. Doubts have been expressed arising from the difficulty of reconciling the story of his death with a supposed contemporary reference. He has been identified as Æneas Roe O'Daly who died on 16 December 1617 (O'Reilly 1820:clxxvi), and this does not accord with a belief that the poetic circuit of Ireland (O'Donovan 1864:23) which, in the traditional narrative, ended with his murder could only have taken place between 1599 and 1602. It is thought that this was the period when the satire was commissioned by the agents of the English government as represented in Dublin by the Earl of Essex, or his successor Lord Mountjoy, and Sir George Carew (O'Reilly 1820:clxxvii; O'Donovan 1864:22). There are several untested assumptions here. But for the present purpose it is sufficient to note that, whether the Irish poet died in 1617 or at an earlier date, no one disputes that he died in Ireland.

On the other hand, it is now possible to assert with some confidence that Aonghus nan Aoir, author of the verses collected by the Rev. Donald MacNicol, died in Scotland. MacNicol himself must have believed that this was so; he quotes the bard's last words, couched in a verse the subject of which was Chisholm of Strathglass (Nat. Lib. MS. Acc. 2152; Henderson 1910:465). Dr Henderson, who was familiar with sources of information about the Irish Aonghas na n-Aor, including the account of his murder in O'Meagher's house, dismisses this piece of evidence as 'erroneous' (Henderson 1910:460). But, since he wrote, further evidence has come to light.

The Bannatyne MS, now in the muniment room of Dunvegan Castle, is a history of the MacLeods written (*c.* 1830) by Dr BannatyneWilliam MacLeod (1790–1856) of the Indian Medical Service (Mackenzie 1889:212–13; Mackinnon and Morrison 1970:74–5). Dr MacLeod was a native of Harris, and a feature of his work is that it contains a great deal of information deriving from the oral tradition of a century and a half ago.[2] In the course of his narrative he writes that 'two persons whose names are familiar to every Highlander' were contemporaries of his ancestor John MacLeod who died in 1557.[3] These were 'Angus or Aeneas nun Oeeir [Aonghus nan Aoir][4] and Kenneth Ouir [Coinneach Odhar]'.[5] And he continues:

> The former of these was a famous bard and Satirist whose verses and Sayings have been handed down by tradition from generation to generation to our own times and Display a richness of Imagery a Depth of thought and Extent of knowledge which is almost incredible as well as a terseness of Style and purity of language which we look for in vain in latter bards and Satirists of the Highlands and Isles This man was a native of Harris and born of very poor parents his father being a scallag* or Thrall of a Petty farmer. Angus when about fourteen years of age was on a Day timing† (Delving) with another man whose share in this Species of labour was to place the turf in its proper position when cut by Angus who used a kind of wooden Spade shod with Iron Angus happened to wedge his spade in the

* Gaelic *sgalag*. † Gaelic *taomadh*.

Cleft of a rock and in his endeavour to Extricate it The wooden part separated from the iron Instead of expressing himself in the usual mode He said

Thugg me Bullie huigge
Ann in Oishin Creigge
Ghag me heis i n keibb
s thugg me Nuous i maidd

[*Thug mi builie thuige*
ann an oisean creige;
dh'fhàg mi shìos an caibe,
's thug mi nuas am maide.

I gave a thrust forward
in the cleft of a rock;
I left the spade down there
and pulled up the wood.]

The other man in his astonishment turned round to Angus and said you have Composed a good Rhyme on a trifling subject. Angus replied if thats whats Called a Rhyme my delving day[s] have Ceased and Suiting the action to the word he flung the Spade away and from that hour Commenced his reputation as a bard and more especially as a Satirist. He travelled over most of Europe and Died at an advanced age at Strathglass where the Cheif of the Chisholms had him buried with all the honors and rights [rites?] of a Cheif. (Bannatyne MS: 112–13; MacLeod 1927: 108–9.)

There is of course an element of unrestrained exaggeration running through this narrative. To take up one point only, it may be doubted whether the bard's scathing tongue earned him a funeral marked by such tokens of respect. All this, however, does not affect the fact that, besides the Rev. Donald MacNicol, we have here another witness prepared to state that the Aonghus nan Aoir who figures in Scottish Gaelic tradition died in Strathglass. Given that this was so, he cannot have been the same person as Aonghas Ó Dálaigh, otherwise known as Aonghas na n-Aor; he merely shared the latter name and the sort of notoriety that it implied.

There is a tailpiece to the foregoing, and it concerns the first impromptu verse that sent Aonghus nan Aoir on his vagabond way. The following variant survives in the oral tradition of North Uist:

Tionndadh sìos
aig bonn na creige,
dh'fhalbh a' chas leam,
's dh'fhàg mi 'n caibe.[7]

Delving down
at the base of the rock,
the shaft came away,
and I left the spade.

But there is no accompanying memory of Aonghus nan Aoir: the verse is now (almost inevitably) ascribed to John MacCodrum.

NOTES

1 Dr John MacInnes, of the School of Scottish Studies, has heard a reference to *Aonghus nan Aoir, bard bhilidh*, in Skye, but what the last word is remains obscure.
2 It is possible that some of the traditions in the manuscript were recorded at an earlier date: see Grant 1959:21.
3 He is on record in 1533 and 1542 (Mackinnon and Morrison 1970:16).
4 The words 'nun Oceir' have been omitted from the published text, which has been considerably paraphrased and abridged (MacLeod 1927:108).
5 On Coinneach Odhar, see Matheson 1971:66–88.
6 For a transcript of the Bannatyne MS the writer is indebted to Mr Alick Morrison.
7 Heard in 1936 from Mr Angus Mackenzie (Aonghus Anndra), now living at Hougharry, North Uist.

REFERENCES

Manuscripts

BANNATYNE MS
Transcript of the original in the muniment room of Dunvegan Castle.

NAT. LIB. MS. ACC. 2152
The MacNicol Collection in the National Library of Scotland.

Printed Sources

GRANT, I. F.
1959 *The MacLeods: the History of a Clan*. London.

HENDERSON, G.
1910 'Aonghus nan Aoir or an Irish Bard in the Highlands'. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. XXVI. Inverness.

MACKENZIE, A.
1889 *History of the MacLeods*. Inverness.

MACKINNON, D. and MORRISON, A.
1970 *The MacLeods—the Genealogy of a Clan*. Section Three. Clan MacLeod Society. Edinburgh.

MACLEOD, R. C.
1927 *The MacLeods of Dunvegan*. Privately printed for the Clan MacLeod Society.

MATHESON, W.
1971 'The Historical Coinneach Odhar and some Prophecies attributed to him'. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. XLVI. Stirling.

O'DONOVAN, J.
1864 *The Tribes of Ireland*. Dublin.

O'REILLY, E.
1820 'IrishWriters'. *Transactions of the Iberno-Celtic Society*, vol. I, part I. Dublin.

'Mony Kings, Mony Queens' and its Possible Link with Seasonal Custom

E. B. LYLE

Andrew Crawfurd's manuscript collection of *Auld Ballats* includes the following curious piece of verse from Thomas Macqueen who derived it from his mother, Elizabeth Copland, who had it from her mother[1]:

1 Monie kings, monie queins in the land hae bein,
The dochter and the son of Killiehanghain

2 I gade to the wode and I hard a killing
I met a black dog Caus Mas and black maddy

3 He bate aff my finger he left me nae mair
A bannock of Gapgair

4 Yoke the pleuch and draw the win

5 Take hills aw snaw the muntanes ill to draw
But little Cuttie she was the foremest of thame aw

6 And whan she came to Patrick's yett
She laid her lugs down by her bare back

7 Up starts the hird wi his black bitch
Plays hirdie girdie wi the witch

8 He took her hame and shure her smaw
And put her in the pat baith gut and gaw

9 Syne little Maggie she lap out upon the halie thorn
And blest the hour that she was born

10 She gat a wee boy baith hose and shune
To tell the deed that she had dune.

I know of nothing closely comparable and the nearest parallel I am able to point to is a piece from the Isle of Man, each line of which is preceded by *Hop! ta'n oie* (Clague 1911:26–9). I give the core of it here in Manx and in the English translation and have divided the lines into lettered groups for ease of reference.

a	*Kellagh as kiark.*	Cock and hen.
	Shibbyr y gounee.	Supper of the heifer.
	Cre'n gauin gow mayd?	What heifer shall we take?
	Yn gauin beg breck.	The little spotted heifer.
	Kerroo ayns y phot.	Quarter in the pot.
b	*Vlayst mee yn vroit.*	I tasted the broth.
	Scold mee my scoarnagh.	I scalded my throat.
	Roie mee gys y chibbyr.	I ran to the well.
	Diu mee my haie.	I drank my fill.
c	*Eisht cheet ny yeï.*	Then coming back.
	Veeit mee poul kayt.	I met a pole-cat.
	Ren eh scryssey.	He grinned.
	Ren mee roic.	I ran.
d	*Roie mee gys Nalbin.*	I ran to Scotland.
	Cre naight ayns shen?	What news there?
	Yn cheeaght va traaue.	The plough was ploughing.
	Ny cleain va cleiee.	The harrows were harrowing.
e	*Va ben aeg giarey caashey.*	A young woman was cutting cheese.
	Yn skynn va geyre.	The knife was sharp.
	Yiare ee e mair.	She cut her finger.
	Lhap ee 'sy clooid.	She wrapped it in a cloth.
f	*Ghlass ee eh 'sy choir.*	She locked it in a chest.
	Ren eh sthock as stoyr.	It made stock and store.
	Three kirree keeir	Three brown sheep
	Va ec Illiam yn Oe.	Had William the grandson.

The connections in idea can be expressed as: putting an animal in a pot (a, 8), going to a place (well/wood) and then meeting a fierce animal—this expressed in the first person (b–c, 2–3), a reference to the action of ploughing (d, 4), the loss of a finger (e–f, 3) and a statement that birth or increase resulted from an earlier action (f, 10). In relation to the last it may be noted that in the *Mabinogion* it is a male child that develops from 'a small something' dropped by a young woman which is wrapped in silk and placed in a chest (Jones and Jones 1949:63–4).

Both the pieces remain puzzling, but I think at least that the connections are sufficient to justify a theory that 'Mony Kings, Mony Queens' belongs to the same class as 'Cock and Hen'. Fortunately in the latter case we are given context. Lines like these were sung by boys going round the houses in the Isle of Man on Hallowe'en or Old Hallowe'en (31 October or 11 November). The lines as given above are preceded by:

Noght oie Houney.	To-night is Hollantide Night.
Mairagh Laa Houney.	To-morrow is Hollantide Day.

and close with the petition:

My ta shiu cur veg dou,	If you give me anything,
Cur eh dou nish,	Give it to me soon,
Son ta mish laccal goll thie	For I want to go home
Lesh soilshey yn eayst.	With the light of the moon.

which is followed by a final *Hop! ta'n oie*. The song was written down by John Clague, who died in 1908. He has some preliminary remarks from which I quote the following extracts in the English translation:

> The eve of the twelfth day of the first month of winter (November) is the beginning of the year of the Celts. Young boys used to go about on that night singing an old song and rhyme "Hop ta'n Nai." An old man, called William Duke, who was learned in all old Manx stories, told me, about fifty years ago, that he thought the words were "To-night is the night," and that it was joy for the coming in of the new year. For the evening and the morning were the first day, and the evening was the beginning of the day. It is like "Happy New Year" in English. The day is called Hollantide Day. . . . In Scotland the night is called Hallow E'en . . . . "To-night is the night" ["Noght! ta'n Oie"] must be very old, for the tune is in the Dorian Mode. I took it down from the singing (voice) of Thomas Kermode, Bradda. . . . He had a wonderfully good memory, and he was good to sing, and he knew the Manx language very well. . . . He had great intelligence, and I owe him a great deal for the knowledge he has given me of the life of the Manx at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

I would suggest that Clague is right in thinking of this as a New Year song, and that its equivalent is to be found in the Gaelic-speaking regions of Scotland in the verses employed when going round the houses on Hogmanay or Old New Year's Eve (31 December or 11 January). These verses are sometimes far longer than is required to refer to the season, ask for a gift and call down a blessing or a curse. A verse from Barra, for example, which is said to be 'typical of the locally-composed poems, a mixture of local satirical references and pure nonsense, which used to be recited in the Gaelic-speaking areas by men going around the houses at New Year' (*Tocher* 20:144–5) consists of twenty-one lines ending:

> *Bha dùil aig Dòmhnall Ruadh a' Mhuilinn le 'bhalg mineadh*
> *Gu faigheadh e nighean Uilleim, bean mo ghille.*
> *'S ann a chuile latha féilleadh bhiodh i maistreadh,*
> *'S gheobhainn fhìn a' chiad cheap dheth.*
> *Thug i mach na cóig ginidhean òir as a pòca,*
> *Na cóig cearca móra fireann 's an coileach boireann*
> *'S an clàr fuineadh, 's biodh siod aig Uilleam.*
>
> Red-haired Donald from the mill with his bag of meal was hoping
> To get William's daughter, my boy's wife—
> She used to churn every holy day,

And I was the one to get the first lump [of butter] from it.
She took the five gold guineas out of her pocket,
The five great male hens and the female cock
And the baking-board, and William was to have that.

It seems possible that the use of nonsense verses in recent years stems from an earlier use of obscure rhymes that had some bearing on seasonal custom, which perhaps survived most fully in those places where one of the company wore the skin of an animal. Donald MacDonald, who went round with a group of boys including one who wore a calf skin or a sheep skin in North Tolsta, Lewis, about the years 1909 to 1914, recalls a method of delivering the seasonal rhyme which provides a strong link with the Manx piece for each line was preceded by the syllables *Hurra bhith o*! and these syllables also came at the close of the rhyme (MacDonald 1976). This is precisely the same as the placing of the repeated *Hop*! *ta'n oie* in the song from the Isle of Man. A rhyme recorded from Annie MacKenzie, Stornoway, Lewis, has the lines:

Hó ro bhi ó *Chaidh a' Righ a dh'Eirinn*
Hó ro bhi ó *A dh'iarraidh bonnach Eirinn.*

Hó ro bhi ó The king went to Ireland
Hó ro bhi ó To ask for an Irish bannock.

which may be compared with 'I ran to Scotland' (d), a line which is followed in a different version of the Manx song by 'What were they doing there?/Baking bannocks and roasting collops' (Paton 1942:78).
Another rhyme she knew has:

Bhean an taighe éirich suas
Is gearr cùl càise; na gearr d'òrdag.

Woman of the house rise up
And cut a portion of cheese; do not cut your thumb.

which may possibly relate to the incident of the young woman cutting her finger while cutting cheese (e).[2]

These similarities suggest that the Manx 'Cock and Hen' is not merely a local form but springs from a general Gaelic tradition. The likenesses, in turn, between it and 'Mony Kings, Mony Queens' may further suggest that there was a body of ideas given seasonal expression which could be phrased in quite different words. I hope that this note may lead to the production of more evidence which can be brought to bear on the interpretation of these verses.

NOTES

1 For Crawfurd's song manuscripts, see Lyle 1975:xv–xvii. As this piece occurs towards the end of *Auld Ballats* (3. 303–4) it was apparently added at a later date than the group of songs collected by Thomas Macqueen in 1827 and is probably best dated *c.* 1830. The lines in the manuscript are written continuously and without numbering but I have divided them into the couplets indicated by the rhyme and have given a separate number to the only unpaired line.

2 The rhymes from Miss Annie MacKenzie were recorded by Gordon MacLennan and are in the archive of the School of Scottish Studies (SA 1956/154/ 3 and 2). I am grateful to Ian Paterson for transcribing and translating the lines printed and for giving other assistance.

REFERENCES

CLAGUE, JOHN
1911 *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh: Manx Reminiscences.* Castletown.

JONES, GWYN and JONES, THOMAS (trans.)
1949 *The Mabinogion.* London and New York.

LYLE, E. B.
1975 *Andrew Crawfurd's Collection of Ballads and Songs,* vol. 1. Scottish Text Society, 4th ser. 9. Edinburgh.

MACDONALD, DONALD
1976 'Night of the Gifts', *The Scotsman,* 31 December, 'TheWeekend Scotsman' 1 c–e.

PATON, C. I.
1942 *Manx Calendar Customs.* Publications of the Folk-Lore Society 110. London.

Patrick Shuldham-Shaw

HAMISH HENDERSON

'Gang doon wi' a sang, gang doon'

Patrick Noel Shuldham-Shaw—outstanding collector and maker, and 'Admirable Crichton' of the post-World War II English Folk Dance and Song Society—died suddenly on 16 November 1977. He was not yet 60. His loss is a major blow not only to international folk song and folk dance scholarship but also to the still developing and expanding folk revival scene, of which he was a generous and sympathetic if at times shrewdly critical friend.

Pat was in a manner of speaking born into the EFDSS. His mother, Winifred Shuldham-Shaw, was a tower of strength in the Society in its early days, particularly on the dance side, and Pat carried her work forward with quite spectacular virtuosity. After studying music at Cambridge—his preferred instrument while he was an undergraduate was the oboe—he made pioneer collecting trips to the Shetlands in the mid 1940s and noted down a considerable quantity of previously unrecorded fiddle music.

He also 'collected' the Papa Stour sword dance, and eventually became so much part of the North Isles scene that he was several times invited to play an official role in the flamboyant Viking ceremonial of Up-helly-a, the Shetland New Year.

His greatest *coup* in the Northern Isles was, however, his recovery of a version of 'King Orfeo' (Child 19) from John Stickle of Baltasound, Unst, in April 1947 (*Scottish Studies* 20:124). Bronson expressed the importance of the discovery very well when he wrote (in Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads vol. I, p. 275): 'That a tune should in the midst of the twentieth century be recovered for this whisper from the Middle Ages was as little to be expected as that we should hear "The horns of Elfland faintly blowing".' Pat's recording of this rarest of ballads can be heard on the Topic LP 12T 160 (Child Ballads, no. 1).

In England itself he went on collecting tours into the Forest of Dean with Maud Karpeles, the principal trophy of their forays being a beautiful version of 'The Cherry Tree Carol'.

Pat's foremost preoccupation at all times, however, was the dissemination—the 'ploughing back'—of what he and others had collected. An accomplished dancer himself—morris, sword, 'country'—he carried the standard of English folk dance not only through the length and breadth of the mother country but also as far afield as the USA, where he was a much-loved figure at such institutions as Berea College in Kentucky. He composed dances in the American idiom for the mountain kids in this

college, including one "Levi Jackson"—which won a prize in a special dance competition.

Pat was also a frequent visitor to the Netherlands, where he taught English folk dance to an enthusiastic Dutch society for a quarter of a century. (He was, in fact, due to spend Christmas with these Dutch friends, and to celebrate his sixtieth birthday among them. It would have been his twenty-seventh annual visit to Holland.)

It should be mentioned, in this connection, that Pat was a marvellous linguist, and that he was capable of picking up not only new languages but also dialects and *patois* with seemingly effortless ease. (When the cast of *Umabatha*, the Zulu 'Macbeth', visited the School of Scottish Studies recently, he was heard speaking to them in their native tongue.)

Among the English dances he composed were: 'Silver for the Matthews' (in honour of the Silver Wedding of old EFDSS friends in 1955); 'Margaret's Waltz' and 'Walpole Cottage' (in the 1960s); and 'Ganiford's Meggot' (1974). He had a truly amazing facility for composing tunes in a variety of idioms; they were mostly catchy tunes, and lay as close in to their dances as the skin to the apple.

A year or two ago Pat was invited by Aly Bain to a party in honour of a newly married couple, and there was a good deal of exuberant music making. At one point Aly told Pat he would play him a tune he had picked up in Canada, and he was surprised when Pat immediately joined in on his piano accordion. Aly's find was Pat's own tune 'Margaret's Waltz'! (I can personally vouch for the truth of this anecdote which already circulates in folk variants, for I was present at the party.)

In 1971 Pat was awarded the Gold badge of the EFDSS in recognition of his services to folk song and dance, and of his contribution to the over-all work of the Society. Nan Fleming-Williams received the award in the same year.

For the past five years Pat had been working on the great Greig-Duncan collection of Aberdeenshire folksong, and it is nothing short of a tragedy that he has not lived to carry this work through to its conclusion—work for which he was uniquely fitted—or even to see the first fruits of his labours in print. His friends at the School of Scottish Studies—and there has never been a more popular adopted member of the School staff—have good reason therefore for an addedly deep and poignant sense of loss.

Pat Shaw knew that he had a serious heart condition, but he went full speed ahead to the end, fulfilling (and enjoying) his manifold self-allotted tasks. Much love went out to him in many parts of the world. His friends here and elsewhere are bound to grieve for him, but they can be quite sure he would not have wished his death to come in any other way.

Books Received

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

Folk and Farm. Essays in Honour of A. T. Lucas edited by Caoimhín Ó Danachair. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin 1976. Pp. 277+57 plates. £9.

Montrose, for Covenant and King by Edward J. Cowan. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1977. Pp. 326. £8.50.

Memorabilia Domestica. Parish Life in the North of Scotland by Donald Sage. Reprint, with an introduction by Donald Witherington. Albyn Press, Edinburgh 1976. 15+Pp. 332. £7.50.

Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands by K. A. Steer and J. W. M. Bannerman. H.M.S.O. for The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh 1977. Pp. 230+43 plates. £14.50.

The Old Songs of Skye: Frances Tolmie and her Circle by Ethel Bassin, edited by Derek Bowman. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1977. Pp. 227. £5.95.

'Unemphatic Marvels'. A Study of Norman MacCaig's Poetry by Erik Frykman. Gothenburg Studies in English, 35. Göteburg, Sweden 1977. Pp. 70. Sw. Cr. 50.

Glasgow, 1858: Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs, being Sketches of Life in the Streets, Wynds & Dens of the City. Reprint, edited by J. F. McCaffrey. University of Glasgow, 1976. Pp. 145. £1.75.

Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk by John Gibson Lockhart, edited by William Ruddick. The Association for Scottish Literary Studies. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1977. Pp. 204. £3.95.

Scotland. Historic Industrial Scenes by J. Donnachie, J. Hume and M. Moss. Moorland Publishing Co., Buxton 1977. Pp. 112 (127 photographs) £4.20.

James Watson's Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems Vol. 1, edited by Harriet Harvey Wood. Scottish Text Society (4th Series 10), Edinburgh 1977. Pp. 122.

Raasay. A Study in Island History by Richard Sharpe. Grant & Cutler, London 1977. Pp. 90. £1.50.

Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603 by W. Croft Dickinson. 3rd edition, revised and edited by A. A. M. Duncan. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977. Pp. 442. £9.75 (paper-back £4.95).

Scottish Themes. Essays in honour of Professor S. G. E. Lythe, edited by John Butt and J. T. Ward. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1976. Pp. 189. £5.

Language, Education and Social Processes in a Gaelic Community by Kenneth MacKinnon. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1977. Pp. 222. £4.75.

The Sutherland Clearances 1806:1820. A Documentary Survey, edited by David Forbes. Craigie College of Education, Ayr. Pp. 53. 50p.

Scottish Planning Appeal Decisions. January to March 1976, 1; May to June 1976, 2. The Planning Exchange, Glasgow. Pp. 20 and 18.

A Dictionary of Scottish History by Gordon Donaldson and Robert S. Morpeth. John Donald, Edinburgh 1977. Pp. 234. £5.50.

Scottish Place-Names by W. F. H. Nicolaisen. Batsford, London 1976. Pp. 210. £4.95.

A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410 by D. E. R. Watt. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1977. Pp. 607. £30.

A Social History of Germany 1648–1914 by Eda Sagarra. Methuen, London 1977. Pp. 473. £15.

Accounting in Scotland. A Historical Bibliography. 2nd edition, compiled by Janet E. Pryce Jones and annoted by R. H. Parker. The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Scotland, Scottish Committee on Accounting History, Edinburgh 1976. Pp. 107. £3.50.

Pioneers of a Profession: Chartered Accountants to 1879 by James C. Stewart. Scottish Committee on Accounting History. The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Scotland, Edinburgh 1977. Pp. 181 (illustrated). £6.50.

'The Seige of Malta' Rediscovered. Sir Walter Scott's Mediterranean Journey and his Last Novel by Donald E. Sultana. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1977. Pp. 215. £7.50.

Comparative Aspects of Scottish & Irish Economic and Social History 1600–1900 by L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout. John Donald, Edinburgh 1977. Pp. 252. £10.

Scottish Population History from the 17th century to the 1930's, edited by Michael Flinn. Cambridge University Press, London 1978. Pp. 547. £19.50.

Index

Volume 21, 1977

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