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Myth and the Legends of Lowland Scottish Saints

JOHN MacQUEEN

The tales which form the subject of this paper are legends in both the etymological and the developed sense of the word. They were appointed to be read on certain stated occasions, and they were regarded as true by the original audience. As is often the case with legends, they also have close affinities with myth—a term the boundaries of which have recently been redrawn by G. S. Kirk (Kirk 1970:2. 252–4). Myth, he declares, is characteristic of every society, not merely the primitive; he talks of 'men's endearing insistence on carrying quasi-mythical modes of thought, expression and communication into a supposedly scientific age'—the present, that is to say. (If this is so, one may add in parentheses, it is likely that the early centuries of the Christian era in Scotland also witnessed the survival, and indeed the creation, of myth). Myths, secondly,

> can possess significance through their structure, which may unconsciously represent structural elements in the society from which they originate or typical behaviouristic attitudes in the myth-makers themselves. They may also reflect specific human preoccupations, including those caused by contradictions between instincts, wishes and the intransigent realities of nature and society.

Consideration of Mesopotamian myths suggests

> that the development of nature-gods into city-gods may also have had special motives: to emphasize the limitations of human institutions and relate them to the natural environment as a whole, to establish the natural and social order as products of inevitability and divine mastery, and to elicit new conclusions about natural and human fertility, nature and culture, life and death, by the juxtaposition of separate mythical episodes.

Kirk suggests 'a simplified working typology of mythical functions. The first type is primarily narrative and entertaining; the second operative, iterative and validatory; and the third speculative and explanatory.' The myths found in the legends of Lowland Scottish saints belong substantially to the second class; they are intended to affect the lives both of readers and hearers; they were recited as part of a ritual at least once a year on the official anniversary of the saint's death, and, as I hope to show, certain aspects of society might be regarded as validated (or alternatively invalidated, which is just as important) by the existence of a myth. Other aspects are present, but these, I think, are the most important.

Myths concerning saints however differ from those discussed by Kirk in one important aspect. Greek and Mesopotamian myths are primary to their respective cultures.

The question of opposed and competing systems and solutions scarcely arises. In contrast, the replacement of one system by another is basic to the myth of the early Christian saint—by its very nature the myth is an agent in the process of acculturation, through which a new system more or less completely replaces an older one, but is itself necessarily adapted and modified to satisfy the needs which had previously given rise to the older system.

In what follows I assume that saints' legends form some part of a mythology for southern Scotland in the Dark and early Middle Ages, the period, say, from the Roman withdrawal in the south to the arrival of Queen Margaret at the court of Malcolm Canmore in the late eleventh century. The saints themselves belong to the earliest part of this period, but the documents concerning them are mostly later, in some cases much later, and vary considerably in date. The oldest is the verse *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* (W. W. MacQueen 1961; Strecker 1923), composed in Latin at Whithorn (Candida Casa) during the eighth century, and preserved at Bamberg in the eleventh century manuscript (Codex Bambergensis BII.10) of an anthology compiled on the continent by Alcuin (735–804), with whom the monks of Candida Casa maintained a correspondence. Four hundred years later a Latin prose *Life* was written by Ailred of Rievaux (Forbes 1874: 1–26, 137–57), who died in 1166. This is preserved in a twelfth century Bodleian manuscript (Laud Misc. 668), probably of English provenance, and in a thirteenth century British Library manuscript (Cotton Tiberius D. iii) which according to Planta (Planta 1802) in 1801 had been 'burnt to a crust' in the Cottonian fire, but from which a later editor, Bishop Forbes, was able in 1874 to produce variant readings. Forbes also refers vaguely to a volume of Lives of the Saints in the Burgundian Library at Brussels (now part of the Bibliothèque Royale), in which Ailred's *Life* appears in abbreviated form. He gives no precise reference.

Verse and prose *Life* alike were based on a lost Anglian original, probably written in Latin, which in turn was an enlargement of an earlier British (Cumbric) *Life*, most probably to be dated in the seventh century.[1] Nynia himself died somewhere between 400 and 450.

The extant *Lives* of Kentigern or Mungo (the date of whose death is given as 612 in *Annales Cambriae*) are based on lost sources, the oldest of which, on one theory (J. MacQueen 1956; 1959), belongs to the eighth century, on another (Jackson 1958) to the late tenth or early eleventh century. The material (Forbes 1874: 29–133, 159–252) survives in two main redactions. First is the fragmentary *Life*, composed perhaps by a foreign-born Tironensian monk of Kelso, during the episcopate of Herbert in Glasgow, that is to say, between 1147 and 1164. With it is probably to be associated at least one of the two Lailoken narratives (Ward 1893), preserved together with the *Life* in a fifteenth century British Library manuscript (Cotton Titus A. xix), probably of English provenance. The relevant section, folios 63–80, is primarily devoted to the exploits of Merlin, with whom Lailoken is usually identified. The Offices of Kentigern, preserved in the late thirteenth century Sprouston Breviary (N.L.S. MS.

18.2.13b) and in the *Aberdeen Breviary* (Maitland Club 1852; 1854), printed in 1510, seem to preserve other fragments of the Herbertian *Life*.

Second is the more complete, but also more bowdlerized *Life* by Jocelyn of Furness, composed probably before 1185 and during the episcopate (1175–99) of another Jocelyn in Glasgow. This is preserved in two thirteenth century manuscripts. The more interesting is Marsh's Library, Dublin, 24.5.5, which contains a *Life* of Servanus as well as Jocelyn's *Life*; this, almost certainly, is the *Vita sancti Kentigerni et sancti Servani in parvo volumine*, recorded in 1432 as part of the fairly extensive library of Glasgow Cathedral. The manuscript is thus probably of Glaswegian, or at least Scottish, provenance; it may well have been written in Glasgow Cathedral. The other manuscript is British Library Cotton Vitellius C. viii, probably of English provenance.

The third major saint is Servanus (Skene 1867:412–20), who lived at some time during the period from 450 to 700, most probably perhaps in the first half of the sixth century. As has been noted, his *Life* is preserved in the Marsh's Library manuscript. A single reference (Forbes 1874:167) shows that when Jocelyn wrote his *Life* of Kentigern, the *Life* of Servanus was already in existence; the early history of the text is otherwise obscure.

Other material of some importance is preserved in a fifteenth century Scottish vernacular manuscript, Cambridge University Library Gg.II.6 (Metcalfe 1896), and in the *Aberdeen Breviary*.

Myth forms part of the intellectual and cultural history of a people. In Scotland that history has to a considerable extent been governed by geography, the position of the country to the north and west of the British Isles and Europe. Most cultural movements are from the centre to the periphery, and the usual post-glacial experience in Scotland has been adaptation to changes emanating from outside. And while Scotland as a geographical unit has tended to exist on the European cultural frontier, the geological structure of the country has ensured that internally a number of lesser cultural frontiers have also developed. The most obvious is the fault-line dividing Lowland and Highland, but on occasion others have been of substantial importance. In early historical times, the major frontier would seem to have been, not the Highland Line, but the Clyde–Forth isthmus, where the construction by the Romans of Grim's Dyke, the Antonine Wall, was a factor of lasting importance. To the south, in the region between Grim's Dyke and Hadrian's Wall from Tyne to Solway, the Celtic-speaking peoples had been subjected to considerable Roman influence; northward that influence was much weaker. Nor was Roman influence confined to the period between the establishment in AD 81 of Agricola's line of forts and the abandonment of the wall, perhaps a century later; if anything, it increased after the withdrawal of Roman forces to the more southerly frontier. This may well have resulted from the establishment of several client states in the area between the two walls;[2] one, for instance, which formed the nucleus of the future kingdom of Strathclyde; another which developed into Lothian; still others, possibly, in the Tweed valley, Ayrshire and Galloway. The Celtic language of these states eventually developed into Cumbric, closely related to Welsh, (Jackson 1953:9–10) but in some ways the people, or at least their rulers, seem to have been more Roman than the Romans. Their kings bore Roman or Romanized names like Caelius, Marcianus, Urbigenus, Eugenius and Constantinus (Wade-Evans 1938:101–14), and seem to have regarded themselves and their people as *cives*[3]—citizens, that is to say, of the Roman Empire, and thus to be sharply distinguished from the barbarian Picts and Scots to the north and west; later also from the Angles to the south and east. Their bards developed a vernacular panegyric poetry which has distant affinities with the panegyrical verse and prose of the rhetorical schools of the later Western Empire, with the work, let us say, of Sidonius Apollinaris and Claudius Claudianus (Chadwick 1954; 1955). Grim's Dyke marked the northern frontier of this civilization, and the importance of the wall is indicated by the later place-names which have preserved references to the rampart. Duntocher, Kirkintilloch and Kinneil[4] are the most important. Equally for the people of the north, the wall remained a symbol of oppression and hostility. In the long run, it was the northern tradition which prevailed, and it is significant that Grim's Dyke, the name of the wall in vernacular Scots, contains a reference not to the builder of the wall, but to Grim, the legendary northerner who destroyed it, and who was ultimately, if inaccurately identified as the founder of the Anglo-Norman Graham family (Skene 1871; 1872:III.v.; Chambers and Batho 1938; 1941:VII.9). As late as the sixteenth century, the ruins at Inchtuthil in Perthshire, well north of Grim's Dyke, were regarded not as the remains of a Roman legionary fortress, but as the traces of a Pictish town abandoned and destroyed by its inhabitants when they adopted a scorched-earth policy in face of the advancing army of Agricola (Chambers and Batho 1941:IV.13). The chief distinction between the Britons, who lived south of Grim's Dyke, and the Picts, who lived north of it, was, I suggest, the presence or absence of a conscious degree of Romanisation.

So far, the situation is relatively straightforward. It is complicated by a further development—the fact that in the fourth century the terms Roman and Christian became virtually synonymous. In southern Scotland, as might have been expected, the results were not long in showing. The oldest known Christian establishment in Scotland, Candida Casa at Whithorn in Wigtownshire, was founded by AD 450, and is situated in the south-western part of the British territory between the walls. Effects further north, however, were almost as swift. A reasonably well-documented tradition links the founder of Candida Casa, Nynia or Ninian, with a successful missionary journey to the Picts beyond Grim's Dyke (MacQueen 1961:20–28). The names of other missionaries from the south, in particular Servanus and Kentigern, are also associated with this area, and it seems fairly certain that, although southern Pictland had decisively rejected Roman military and civil imperialism, it rapidly accepted

Romano–Judaic Christianity, almost certainly well before Columba's missionary expedition from Ireland to the northern Picts, which began in 563.

Some of the evidence for this is archaeological; much, however, is derived from the saints' legends already mentioned. None of these, it is clear, is a scholarly biography by a near-contemporary; their value, rather, is as documents in cultural history, and the features which upset most historians—the ubiquity of the miraculous, the improbabilities and impossibilities, even where miracles are not involved, the apparently random repetition and transference of material from one *Life* to another—these, paradoxically enough, are the very features which render the *Lives* important for the cultural historian and the student of myth. We find in them a late record of the effect the saints, with their alien cultural ideals, had on societies which they influenced, an effect which inevitably, because these were the features most affected, to a considerable extent became expressed in terms of pre-Christian, and indeed pre-Roman, ideals and assumptions, in terms, if you like, of the folk-lore and folk-belief, the mythology and traditions which were superseded by the work of the individual saints. Equally inevitably, the form taken by the *Lives* differed significantly in the more and less Romanised areas under consideration, in Cumbric, that is to say, and in Pictish territory.

In what follows, I shall take the leading features of Christian Roman society for granted. Irish and Welsh sagas and poetry have preserved a reasonably full version of late Iron-Age Celtic society and its beliefs (Sjoestedt 1949), of which in this place only the briefest outline is possible. It was organised round an elaborate system of kingships, with tribal and provincial kings of predominating influence. Kingship depended on ultimate descent from a divine being. Kings and certain powerful individuals who with their followers sometimes operated outside the tribal system, had a particularly close relationship with the supernatural Otherworld. The Otherworld, in turn, was not so much a different world, as a different face, the supernatural aspect of *this* world, and the two came into joint view at certain seasons of the year—Hallowe'en and Mayday especially—and in certain places or in relation to certain objects; trees, springs, mounds, to name no others. Otherworld beings exercised their powers in terms of the natural world. Marriage or fruitful sexual union between people of the two worlds was an accepted part of general belief, an exceptionally gifted mortal being often regarded as the offspring of such a union. Insular Celtic beliefs, it is clear, were very different from most current in the later Roman Empire and from Christian doctrine, but on the periphery of the Roman world they survived (as medieval Welsh saga illustrates) to a surprising degree, and beyond the Roman frontier, in Ireland and (one presumes) Pictland, they retained much of their pristine vigour. Christianity everywhere in the Roman Empire entailed a very considerable 'cultural shock'; in Britain the evidence seems to suggest that the shock was at its mildest during the pre-monastic fourth century, and in proximity to the secular organisation of the Empire; with increasing distance, the passage of time, and the triumph of monasticism, the effect was magnified. Everywhere it was necessary for the old beliefs and assumptions to reach some kind of cultural accommodation with the new faith. The extent of the shock and disturbance is a measure of the power of the new ideas.

Elsewhere (J. MacQueen 1962) I have written on the significance of the documents which deal with the earliest saint of southern Scotland, the *Lives* of Nynia or Ninian. Here only a few points need be added. Nynia is the most Roman, and in some ways the most secular, of these saints, and operated in what was by local standards a highly Romanised context. It seems possible that his mission belonged to the actual time of the Empire in Britain—the late fourth and early fifth century—and that Candida Casa was chosen as the centre of his operations at least partly because of its position north and west of Hadrian's Wall, but within relatively easy distance of Roman Carlisle (*Luguvallium*), a town which retained its importance even after the end of the Western Empire[5]. To judge by the most characteristic of a saint's myths, the miracle stories, the cultural achievement of Nynia included the establishment of a working relationship between the tribal or provincial king and a church based on moderate monastic ideals, the acceptance of monastic ideals as a new way to power over nature, and so to power over human society, and the establishment of new and more secure methods of pasture and agriculture, with a corresponding decrease in the number of cattle-raids which form so striking a part of early Celtic story-telling, and so presumably of early Celtic society. The saint's bull, which in the *Lives* kills the leader of the raiding party, is a less colourful version of the Brown of Cuailnge, the great Ulster bull which dominates the Irish epic *Cattleraid of Cuailnge* (O'Rahilly 1970), but whereas in the Irish the bull is guarded by an invincible hero, Cú Chulainn, in the *Lives* the saint merely draws a line round the herd with the point of his crozier. No other protection is necessary. Once the raiders have entered the charmed circle from which they are unable to escape, the bull itself deals with them. The initial stage of the replacement of physical strength by abstract legal and moral sanctions here finds appropriate mythical expression.

The crozier, the symbol of the bishop's authority, soon became regarded as an instrument of supernatural power,[6] even when separated from the bishop. The saga of Nynia contains the story of a truant boy pupil, who stole the crozier. By its power he was enabled to escape across the sea to Ireland in a coracle frame which had not yet been equipped with its outer leather cover. This remarkable fact filled him with so much veneration that, when he reached Ireland he planted the crozier, which at once became a wonder-working tree with a healing spring welling up from its roots. Tree and spring both belong to the older stratum of myth, but they have been Christianised and Romanised, or rather the Christian ideals of the late Empire have been made acceptable by the process of acculturation, in terms of which Nynia's exotic crozier has been credited with the virtues once believed to inhere in tree and spring—or rather the virtues inherent in tree and spring have become simple consequences of the power inherent in Nynia's exotic crozier. The process closely parallels that seen in the episode of the cattle-raid.

These are processes within society, and for the most part the traditions connected with Nynia are concerned with such activities. He is associated, however, with the eremetical figure of St Martin of Tours,[7] and the most obvious departure from the social norm previously accepted is the emphasis laid on celibacy as a religious ideal, an emphasis which in Britain as elsewhere in the Roman Empire was sometimes felt to threaten the very existence of society. The conflict between Nynia and the local king Tudwal may be a mythological representation not so much of conflict between Christian and pre-Christian beliefs and attitudes as between pre-monastic and monastic Christianity in a society which under Roman influence had already moved some distance from Celtic paganism. The myth of the newly-born child speaking to clear a celibate priest accused of the paternity points in the same direction. In Celtic lands generally monastic celibacy came to be fully accepted only with the recognition of the saint as head of a monastic body which existed apart from secular society, and which on occasion might altogether withdraw in a way roughly parallel to that of the dedicated hero outside society, the secular Finn and the Fenians or possibly Arthur and his warrior companions. For part of the time at least the home of the saint was the wilderness, and it is as a consequence of this fact that the characteristically early Irish poetry of wild nature is normally either monastic or Fenian. The monasticism of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts had already given a precise form to the religious impulse away from society; this was adapted to more northerly conditions, and the word *desertum* is not uncommon among place-names of early ecclesiastical origin (Watson 1926:256–57); in Scotland, the best-known example is Dysart in Fife, where the most striking feature is the cave inhabited for a time by St Servanus. The word *Desert* has not survived in connection with Nynia, but his cave in Glasserton parish on the coast of Luce Bay contains signs of early ecclesiastical occupation, and is mentioned in the oldest extant form of the saint's *Life*.

Another saint, in late records associated with Nynia, is Medana, the patroness of the two Kirkmaidens in Wigtownshire; she too has her cave on the west side of Luce Bay, more or less directly opposite that of St Nynia. Her myth, incidentally, illustrates (Maitland Club 1854:fos. 158^{v}–159^{r}) another method of acculturation; it is a variant of the international folk-tale type A.T.706 'The Maiden Without Hands', classified as A.T.706B 'Present to the Lover', and summarised by Stith Thompson (Aarne and Thompson 1961:242) in these words: 'Maiden sends to her lecherous lover (brother) her eyes (hands, breasts) which he has admired.' Myths of this kind, we must assume, were already familiar in secular versions, which centred perhaps on the fear of incest, and could easily be adapted to express the new ideals which, by this very fact, themselves became the more acceptable.

The *Life* of Nynia is the quietest, the least sensational of all the early Scottish legends and this, I suggest, results from the proximity in time and space of Nynia's

Candida Casa to the civic actualities of the Christian Roman Empire. The myth of Medana stands in marked contrast, and it is worth noting that although her church-sites are in the neighbourhood of Candida Casa, the saint herself is presented as a refugee from unRomanised Ireland, forced into exile as a result of her adherence to monastic ideals. The element of mythical wonder-story is still more increased when we turn from these southern *Lives* to that of the more northerly saint, Servanus. The difference, I suggest, is to be explained by the greater distance from the Roman cultural centre of the society affected by the labours of Servanus. He is the saint of the westerly part of the area round the Forth estuary, which in early Christian times fell into three main territorial divisions. To the north, entirely outside the Roman frontier, lay Fife, later one of the seven provinces of the kingdom of the Picts, and itself originally perhaps a separate Pictish provincial or local kingdom. To the west lay Manaw,[8] consisting of the county of Clackmannan and the eastern part of Stirlingshire, with the Stirlingshire parish of Slamannan possibly marking the southern boundary. Manaw lay partly inside, but mainly beyond the Roman wall. South of the estuary and east of the river Avon lay Lothian, represented by the modern districts of East, Mid and West Lothian and Edinburgh. This area was entirely Romanised, and included such important centres of Roman activity as Cramond and Inveresk, each the site of a Roman fort, commemorated in the first element, *caer*, of the place-name Cramond.[9] In terms of his legend, the missionary activities of Servanus are almost confined to the western and northern areas of this region—to Manaw, that is to say, and Fife. He is a saint of the un-Romanised Picts rather than of the Britons, and although his historical period is not known with any precision, he is certainly a later figure than Nynia.

His *Life* falls into two main sections, both of which it is interesting to compare with parallel episodes in the various *Lives* of Nynia. The latter, for instance, is described as a native Briton, whose first-hand knowledge of Rome was gained during a single, comparatively brief, visit. Southern audiences, it is clear, had sufficient confidence in their own status as *cives* to require no more than a minimum token of imperial recognition for their saint. On and beyond the frontier, in Manaw and Pictland generally, additional reassurance was required—clear proof that the credentials of the local saint were not themselves merely local, but derived from the cultural centre. Very few Pictish saints are said to have been Picts. The most notable incomer, of course, is the apostle Andrew (Skene 1867:138–40, 183–93, 375–7), who later became patron saint of Scotland, with his seat at St Andrews in Fife. Regulus, who brought the relics of the apostle to St Andrews, is described (Skene 1867:140, 183, 375) as a Greek from Constantinople or the great monastery of Patras in the Peloponnese. Boethius, the patron of Kirkbuddo in Angus, was an Irishman who had spent long years in Italy.[10] Adrian, who suffered martyrdom on the Isle of May, was a Pannonian, a Hungarian (Skene 1867:424–5). Apart from Andrew and Servanus, Bonifatius, who founded Restennet near Forfar in Angus, has the most impressive dossier (Skene 1867:421–3). He is described as an Israelite, descended from the sister of the apostles Peter and Andrew, who had been Pope before he set out to evangelise Pictland. On his journey from Rome, he was accompanied by six other bishops (one presumably for each Pictish province), among whom was Servandus, perhaps the same as Servanus, and if so, presumably the patron-designate of Fife, or at least Manaw.

A quite different story is told in the first part of the *Life* of Servanus, which gives the myth of the saint's life from conception to his sixty-seventh year. He was born by a miraculous conception, the elder twin son of the king and queen of Canaan. He was educated and made his monastic profession at Alexandria in Egypt, after which he spent twenty years as bishop of Canaan and seven as patriarch of Jerusalem. During the latter period, an angel made him a crozier with wood cut from the tree which had provided material for the True Cross, while he himself carved three other staffs from the wood of the same tree. Thereafter, he spent three years in Constantinople, and seven years as Pope in Rome, after which he made the journey to Britain, finally arriving at the island of Inchkeith in the Firth of Forth. Everything and every place that might redound to the ecclesiastical credit of Servanus is included in this part of the narrative. At the same time, the narrator exhibits an essential geographical vagueness—he does not, for instance, know the position of Canaan, which he seems to confuse with Libya; he invents an island of the Saviour somewhere between Constantinople and Rome, while between Rome and the English Channel he places a Hill of Tears and a Valley of Beasts, in the latter of which Servanus routs a company of diabolical animals. The landscape is more that of the Otherworld than of the Christian Roman Empire. The aim of the narrator is fairly obviously to awe and inspire the simple inhabitants of a remote territory.

This however is not his sole aim; he wishes also to persuade his hearers or readers that Servanus was intimately associated with them, with their immediate surroundings, their daily lives and needs. Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Canaan—these are names which lend *numen* to the narrative. Flesh and blood is provided by names more local and familiar such as Kinneil, Culross, Loch Leven, Dysart, Tullibody, Tillicoultry, Alva, Aithrie and Dunning. Of these nine, Kinneil is in West Lothian at the eastern extremity of Grim's Dyke; all the others are in Pictish territory, Fife, Perthshire or Manaw. By contrast with the miracles in the earlier narrative, many of the later ones are homely, even humble, concerned with matters likely to interest a community of hill farmers and their dependents. At Tullibody, Servanus cured a man afflicted with an insatiable hunger. At Tillicoultry he restored life to the still-born twin sons of a poor little woman. In Alva one evening a peasant farmer sacrificed his only pig to provide a meal for the saint, but found it alive on his domestic altar the next morning. Servanus had a pet ram which was stolen and eaten by a thief who attempted to deny his crime. The ram however gave him away by bleating from his stomach. The subject-matter of these myths stands at a long remove from the wood of the tree of the True Cross, or the monsters in the Valley of Beasts, but equally it comes very close to the business and bosoms of people in Dark Age Manaw. The figure of Servanus unites in itself the numinous authority and domestic immediacy necessary for the adaptation of Pictish society into the Romano-Christian cultural community of western Europe.

The second part of the legend contains no geographical uncertainty; the author knows the exact location of each place mentioned, and on occasion—sometimes in a slightly disguised fashion—provides additional individualising touches. In Culross, for instance, which he obviously knew well, he singles out two features. One is the actual meaning of the name, 'holly-wood'.[11] This is present in the text, but is concealed beneath the remark that Servanus came to Culross 'and cleared away all the thorns and thickets which abounded in the place'. At some point in transmission, one presumes, an additional remark such as 'and that is why the place was called Culenros' has dropped out. The myth, that is to say, belongs to Kirk's third speculative and explanatory type. The second local feature emphasised in the presence at Culross of a remarkable apple-tree 'which among the moderns is called Morglas' ('Sea-green'?). This apple-tree, it is explained, grew from a staff which Servanus threw across the Forth estuary from Kinneil in West Lothian, a more than Olympic distance of some 2½ miles. One is at once reminded of the miracle of Nynia's staff, and the importance of trees in pre-Christian Celtic belief. Kinneil stands at the end of Grim's Dyke, and the name itself means 'Wallsend'. Servanus threw his staff from Romanised into non-Roman territory, where it took root and became a tree, in the vicinity of which Servanus, as he was told by an angel, was destined to be buried. The importance of the move from known Roman into unknown non-Roman territory could scarcely be given more powerful and at the same time entirely mythical expression. The narrative does not actually say so, but it is tempting to identify the staff with one of those hewn by Servanus from the tree of the True Cross.

It is more certain that the crozier with which Servanus effortlessly slew the hitherto invincible dragon of Dunning in Perthshire is to be identified with the one cut for him by the angel. In the *Lives* of Nynia and Servanus alike, the image of the crozier, the sign of episcopal authority, seems above all to come into its own when the influence of the bishop is extended into new territory beyond the frontier; in the case of Nynia, Ireland; in that of Servanus, Manaw and Pictland generally. The effect is made mythic by the transformation of crozier into living tree, or by its successful use as a weapon against the monstrous powers of evil.

On the evidence of the miracle stories, the mission of Servanus was essentially to the community of Manaw. Fife, Kinross and Perthshire seem to be regarded as circumjacent desert regions, ideally suited for spiritual retreat or solitary encounters with the powers of evil. St Serf's Isle of Loch Leven, Kinross, is a typically Celtic island sanctuary; it was in a cave at Dysart in Fife that Servanus had his celebrated theological encounter with the Devil, and at Dunning in Perthshire that he fought the dragon. But the mythopoeic heart of the narrative is Manaw, its Pictish inhabitants and their spiritual and physical needs.

However interesting the distinction between Cumbric and Pictish ecclesiastical myth, it is less important than the non-Christian Celtic heritage, shared by both. I have already mentioned the late Iron-Age belief that kings and heroes stood in a particularly close relationship to the supernatural Otherworld. The prosperity and fertility of the land depended on the maintenance of this relationship, and exceptionally powerful or beautiful wild animals were regarded as possible intermediaries between the two orders of existence. Thus, in *Manawydan son of Llŷr* (Jones 1949:46; Williams 1930:55), the third of the four more or less mythical Welsh tales which form the *Mabinogi*, Manawydan himself and his step-son Pryderi during a hunt encounter a shining white wild boar.

> And they pursued the boar until they could see a huge lofty caer all newly built, in a place where they had never seen either stone or building, and the boar making swiftly for the caer, and the dogs after him. And when the boar and the dogs had gone into the caer, they marvelled to see the caer in a place where they had never before seen any building at all. And from the top of the mound they looked and listened for the dogs. However long they remained thus, they heard not one of the dogs nor aught concerning them.

When Pryderi and his mother Rhiannon (the personified sovereignty of Manawydan's territory, Dyfed in south-west Wales) rashly entered this obviously preternatural caer, they were captured by the Otherworld enchanter Llwyd son of Cil Coed, who had already magically devastated Dyfed, and now thought that by the capture of Manawydan's wife and son, he would remove all possibility of recovery. The interest of the episode is partly the fantastic development of events, but the underlying mythical significance is clear. The white boar initiates contact between the two world-orders, in this case with apparently disastrous results.

With the arrival of primitive monastic Christianity in Scotland, as elsewhere, the saint as a figure in myth took over many of the functions which had previously belonged to the heroic warrior. Natural fertility still was felt to depend on the relationship between king and an Otherworld now substantially Christianised, but the relationship was protected and fostered by the new monastic hero. When in the *Life* of Nynia, for instance, the king Tuduvallus, quarrels with the saint, the land at once loses its fertility, and Tuduvallus is disqualified from office by incurring the physical blemish of blindness. Tuduvallus,

> despising the admonitions of the man of God, alike secretly depreciated his doctrine and manners, and openly opposed his sound teaching, so that the earth seemed rejected and nigh to cursing, in that, drinking in the rain that came oft upon it, it brought forth thorns and thistles and not wholesome herbs. But at a certain time, when he had been more than usually hostile to the man of God, the heavenly Judge suffered no longer that the injury to his servant should go unavenged, but struck him on the head with an unbearable disease, and broke the crown of the head of him that walked in his sins. To such an extent did his

> sickness prevail that a sudden blindness darkened those haughty eyes, and he who had opposed the light of truth lost the light of sense (Forbes 1874:12).

The failure of the crops and the blinding of the king are two aspects of a single situation, the break between the natural order usually subject to the king, and the supernatural, with which king and saint alike have contacts, although only the saint keeps them in proper order. It is not the saint who invokes the curses of infertility and blindness; they are the inevitable consequences of the king's behaviour. Only the saint, however, can mediate a remedy. Compare in Jocelyn's *Life* of Kentigern how an Old Testament quotation (*Deuteronomy* XXVIII, 22, 23) is used to describe the devastation of Strathclyde which results from the expulsion of Kentigern by King Morken. 'All men have departed, all the cattle died, the heaven above was as brass, and the earth as iron, devouring the inhabitants thereof; and a consuming famine prevailed for a long time over all the earth' (Forbes 1874:88). In *Manawydan son of Llŷr*, the devastation of Dyfed, which resulted from the ill-considered action of Manawydan's predecessor, Pwyll, is described in very similar terms.

> And when they looked the way they were wont before that to see the flocks and the herds and the dwellings, no manner of thing could they see: neither house nor beast nor smoke nor fire nor man nor dwelling, but the houses of the court empty, desolate, uninhabited, without man, without beast within them, their very companions lost, without their knowing aught of them, save they four only (Jones 1949:43).

Supernatural animals—a shining white boar, for example—often figure in those myths where the saint functions as the new heroic intermediary between the worlds. Chapter XXIV of Jocelyn's *Life* of Kentigern describes how in the course of his exile Kentigern founded the monastery of Llanelwy in Wales.

> With a great crowd of his disciples along with him, he went round the land and walked throughout it, exploring the situations of the localities, the quality of the air, the richness of the soil, the sufficiency of the meadows, pastures and woods, and the other things that look to the convenience of a monastery to be erected. And while they went together over abrupt mountains, hollow valleys, caves of the earth, thick-set briers, dark woods and open glades in the forest, as they went along, they discoursed as to what seemed necessary for the occasion, when lo and behold a single white boar from the wood, entirely white, met them, and approaching the feet of the saint, moving his head, sometimes advancing a little, and then returning and moving backwards, motioned to the saint and to his companions, with such gesture as he could, to follow him. On seeing this, they wondered and glorified God, who worketh marvellous things, and things past finding out in his creatures. Then step by step they followed their leader, the boar, which preceded them. When they came to the place which the Lord had predestinated for them, the boar halted, and frequently striking the ground with his foot, and making the gesture of tearing up the soil of the little hill that was there with his long tusk, shaking his head repeatedly and grunting, he clearly showed to all that that was the place designed and prepared by God. Now the place is situated on the bank of a river which is called Elgu, from which to this day, as it is said, the town takes its name (Forbes 1874:76).

This boar is as friendly an intermediary as the one in *Manawydan son of Llŷr* was hostile, but his function is virtually identical, to establish contact between the natural and the supernatural order. It is notable that in both examples a 'mound' or 'little hill' is mentioned. There can be little doubt that this is a fairy-mound, a place which contains, and belongs primarily to, the Otherworld, but which also has natural terrestrial dimensions.

Llwyd son of Cil Coed, it is suggested, exercised his power from the interior of the mound; Llanelwy was built on a fairy-mound, and thus gained for the monastic church the virtue which had once been thought to reside in pre-Christian Otherworld localities.

Myths also have survived in which the saint wards off famine by maintaining the fertility of the land—on one occasion quite literally by harnessing the resources of the wild which subsists on the frontier of the Otherworld. When Kentigern found himself with no domestic animals to pull the monastic ploughs, he summoned a herd of forest deer to take their place. When one was killed by a wolf, the wolf in turn was yoked with a surviving stag, and so formed a plough-team which kept up the good work. When the land had been ploughed, no seed was available, and the saint was forced to sow grains of sand, which of course produced a miraculously abundant harvest.

In most respects, belief in the power and authority of the king were unaffected by the transition from pre-Christian to Christian society—always provided that the Christian king treated the honour of the saint with the same consideration which his non-Christian predecessor had extended to the honour of the warriors. The saint in turn might behave like a warrior; the stories of Nynia's bull and Servanus's dragon-fight show how on occasion ecclesiastical myth might parallel, or even parody, its heroic equivalent. Elsewhere in the British Isles such parodic ecclesiastical myths are not uncommon, for example, in the generally discreditable stories about Arthur which occur in some Welsh *Lives* of saints (Wade-Evans 1944:26–9, 68–73), or in the apparently heroic treatment of Christian material found in such Anglo-Saxon poems as *Andreas* (Krapp 1906). The adult life of a saint, however, particularly of one who did not suffer martyrdom, offered relatively few opportunities for such treatment. Fortunately for ecclesiastical myth, many secular heroes were credited with remarkable stories of their birth and boyhood deeds, stories which often followed a more or less set pattern.[12] Cú Chulainn's parentage and birth, for instance, is mysterious, perhaps incestuous; during the first seven years of his life, he performs three major sets of feats, the first of which establishes him as the king's fosterchild at the court of Ulster, the second of which gains him his warrior-name, Cú Chulainn, 'the hound of Culann', and the third of which celebrates his acquisition of weapons. Lleu, the hero of the fourth branch of the *Mabinogi*, after an incestuous birth, first has to earn himself a name, second, win himself arms, and third, find a wife. The clearest ecclesiastical parallel to all this occurs in the most elaborate among the saints' legends of lowland Scotland, that of Kentigern. Like that of Cú Chulainn and Lleu, his birth was complicated and mysterious in its circumstances. I shall turn to them in a moment. He was not reared by his parents, but fostered at Culross by Servanus, who also gave him the three names by which he is known, Mochoe, Mungo and Kentigern. During his childhood at Culross, he performed three major feats, the restoration to life of Servanus's pet robin, the miraculous rekindling of the extinguished holy fire, and the raising of the dead monastic cook. To me it seems not impossible that the three names of the saint might originally have been connected with his three boyhood deeds.

It is the birth-story of Kentigern, however, which links him most firmly to heroic myth. As I have attempted to show elsewhere (J. MacQueen 1956), it is a variant version of the international tale, now classified as A.T. 934C, Man will Die if he ever Sees his Daughter's Son, a Greek version of which is the myth of Acrisius the tyrannical King of Argos and his daughter Danae. She, with some help from Zeus, and much against her father's will, becomes the mother of Perseus. In accordance with prophecy, Perseus eventually kills Acrisius, and so restores order to Argos. In Irish, the same story survives as part of the Mythological Cycle. Balor is king of the Fomorians, who have established a tyranny in Ireland. MacKineely, a young man of the oppressed Tuatha Dé Danann, gains access to Balor's well-guarded daughter, Ethne, who thus becomes the mother of Lugh, the chief hero of the Tuatha Dé when eventually they overthrow the Fomorians and kill Balor. In the birth story of Kentigern, as preserved in the fragmentary *Life*, the corresponding figures are Leudonus, the tyrannic and irreligious king of Lothian (*vir semipaganus*), and the young prince Ewen, by whom Thaney, the daughter whom Leudonus keeps in seclusion, becomes the mother of Kentigern. In each case, the subject of the myth appears to be the restoration of kingship to a proper relation with the society for which it is responsible. The birth-story of Moses in *Exodus* may well be an adaptation of the same tale-type: here the figures are the tyrannical Pharaoh, who oppresses the Israelites, and his daughter who, in effect, becomes the mother of Moses, the Israelite prince who eventually kills Pharaoh and restores good order to his people.[13]

The good order restored by Kentigern differs very considerably even from that found in the Old Testament version of the myth, and is best seen, I suppose, in chapter XXXIII of Jocelyn's *Life*, where King Rederech of Strathclyde pays homage to Kentigern, 'and handed over to him the dominion and princedom over all his kingdom, and willed that he should be king, and himself the ruler of his kingdom under him as his father' (Forbes 1874:94). The appropriateness of this act is recognised when Rederech's queen, Languoreth

> long bowed down by the disgrace of continued barrenness, by the blessing and intercession of the saintly bishop, conceived and brought forth a son, to the consolation and joy of his whole kindred; and the saint baptizing him called him Constantine. . . . He grew up a boy of good disposition, in stature and grace, beloved of God and man, and by hereditary right, when his father yielded to fate, succeeded him in the kingdom, but always subject to the bishop, like his father before him. And because the Lord was with him, he overcame all the

> barbarous nations in his vicinity without bloodshed, surpassing all the kings that had reigned before him in Cambria, in riches, glory and dignity, and, what is better still, in holiness. So that, famed for merit, and finishing his course in peace, he was deemed meet to triumph over the age, and to be crowned with glory and honour in heaven; so that to the present day he is called St. Constantine by many (Forbes 1874:95).

The myth of Kentigern's birth is an ecclesiastical version of a Cumbric myth which has also been preserved in more secular form. In chapter I of the fragmentary *Life* the anonymous author introduces the father of Kentigern as Ewen, the son of Erwegende, to which he immediately subjoins a parenthetic gloss, 'in the stories of the minstrels he is called Ewen, son of King Ulien'. The reference is to vernacular poems or tales, and Ewen son of King Ulien is the same as Owein son of Urien of Rheged, a historical figure, for whom the poet Taliesin composed an elegy somewhere before the year 600. (Williams 1968:12; Bromwich 1954:87–8).

The soul of Owein ap Urien,
May the Lord have mind to its need.
The Prince of Rheged, whom the green turf covers,
It was honourable to sing his praise.
The hero famed in song lies in a narrow vault;
His keen-edged spears were like the wings of the dawn!
Never again will be found the like
Of the brilliant lord of Llwyfenydd,
A reaper of his enemies, a marauder,
In nature like his father and his grandfather.
It was nothing to Owein to slay Fflamddwyn,
He might have done it in his sleep!
The host of broad England sleeps
With the light (shining) in their eyes,
And those who would not flee
Were bolder than they had need.
Owein punished them soundly
Like a pack of wolves after sheep.
A fine man in his many-coloured gear
Who gave horses to his dependents.
Though he might gather wealth like a miser
He relinquished it all for his soul.
The soul of Owein ap Urien
May the Lord have mind to its need.

In the course of oral tradition, the historical Owein became a hero of saga, whose central mythical exploit was developed and preserved in two versions, one ecclesiastic (the birth-story of Kentigern), and one secular. The latter became attached to the Arthurian cycle, passed to the Continent, and was given permanent artistic form by Chrétien de Troyes in his *Yvain* (*Le Chevalier au Lion*) (Roques 1967), a verse romance composed in the last quarter of the twelfth century, perhaps about 1185. During the next fifty years, a cognate Welsh prose version, known generally as *The*

Lady of the Fountain (Jones 1949:155–82), also made its appearance. In both, style and atmosphere differ strikingly from the fragmentary *Life*, still more from Jocelyn's emasculated version. Many of the significant incidents, however, parallel details from the fragmentary *Life* in a way characteristic of the oral tradition, which can scarcely be coincidental. In isolation, some of the correspondences might appear fortuitous: in combination, they are much more convincing. I quote first the incident from the fragmentary *Life* and follow with that from the romances. Ewen, the name in the fragmentary *Life* is the same as the romance forms Yvain and Owein; all three occur in primary Welsh documents. The other parallels are these:

1 (a) Thaney is the daughter of Leudonus.
  (b) Laudine, the lady of the fountain, is the daughter of Laudunet.

2 (a) Leudonus hands Thaney over to the humiliating safekeeping of a swine-herd.
  (b) A monstrous herdsman directs Yvain to the magic fountain, which protects Laudine from the attentions of wandering knights.

3 (a) Ewen sends a woman, who unsuccessfully tries to persuade Thaney to marry him.
  (b) Laudine's serving-woman, Lunete, acts as a successful intermediary between Yvain and her mistress.

4 (a) Ewen eventually finds Thaney by a spring.
  (b) Yvain defeats and mortally wounds Laudine's husband at the magic fountain, and in pursuit of him, comes to Laudine's stronghold and falls in love with her.

5 (a) Ewen makes Thaney pregnant when, disguised as a woman, he comes to her at the spring.
  (b) Lunete gives Yvain a ring of invisibility, which enables him to enter Laudine's stronghold and so eventually to become her suitor and marry her.

6 (a) Ewen deserts Thaney.
  (b) Yvain deserts Laudine.

7 (a) The swine-herd kills Leudonus.
  (b) Yvain mortally wounds Laudine's first husband at the fountain.

The relationship of these narratives to A.T. 934C is most clearly established by the fragmentary *Life* in the punishments inflicted on Thaney, when she is found to be pregnant. She is first hurled from a rock, as was the new-born Gilgamesh, and when this does not bring about her death, like Danae the mother of Perseus, she is set adrift in a rudderless boat. (Gilgamesh and Perseus were each destined to kill their maternal grandfather). The romances, on the contrary, preserve no hint of Laudine's pregnancy, much less that she was punished for it, a feature which, on the hypothesis here put forward, is central to the original myth, but which no doubt was felt to be alien to the ethos of courtly romance. Although Laudine's father, Laudunet, is mentioned, he plays no part in the romances, and it may be that at some stage the mortal combat between Yvain and Laudine's first husband has become a substitute for his death. The death of Leudonus, though at the hands of the swine-herd rather than the saint, has been retained in the fragmentary *Life*.

The birth-story also differs from the romances in that it preserves much mythical material of Kirk's third speculative and explanatory type, material which is primarily intended to explain features of Lothian life and the Lothian landscape. When Thaney is sentenced to death, she is first pushed over the edge of the hill Kepduf in a waggon—perhaps in order that the guilt of her death may be attached to the vehicle rather than to the human executioners. She reaches the foot of the cliff unhurt. The pole of the waggon becomes fixed in the earth, and when it is drawn out 'a most limpid fountain straightway began to gush forth, which has not ceased to flow to the present day. Moreover the ruts of the two wheels in the hard flint still present a great miracle to the beholders' (Forbes 1874: 129). She is next set adrift at a place called Aberlessic (perhaps Aberlady or the mouth of the Lothian Tyne)

> that is, the Mouth of Stench, for at that time there was such a quantity of fish caught there that it was a fatigue to men to carry off the multitude of fish cast from the boats upon the sand, and so great putrefaction arose from the fish which were left upon the shore, where the sand was bound together with blood, that a smell of detestable nature used to drive away quickly those who approached the place (Forbes 1874: 130).

The fish however deserted Aberlessic and followed Thaney's rudderless boat when it was towed out to sea as far as the Isle of May.

> And the river-mouth, so prolific in fish as mentioned above, because it received the young girl unjustly condemned, remaineth unproductive unto the present day; but the fish who followed her remain where she was abandoned. From that time until now the fish are found there in such great abundance, that from every shore of the sea, from England, Scotland, and even from Belgium and France, very many fishermen come for the sake of fishing, all of whom the Isle of May conventionally accommodateth in her ports (Forbes 1874: 131).

Two standing stones, one carved and superimposed on the other, about a mile to the south of Dumpelder (Traprain Law), mark the spot where Leudonus was killed by the swineherd.

I noted already that the mythopoeic heart of the *Life* of Servanus was Manaw and the spiritual and physical needs of its inhabitants. Lothian and the Firth of Forth, correspondingly, is the heart of the birth-story of Kentigern. By comparison, the mythical content of the romances is poor, even poverty-stricken. If myth is in any sense still an appropriate term, it belongs almost solely to Kirk's first type, the narrative and entertaining; almost nothing is left of the operative, iterative and validatory, or of the speculative and explanatory. The Lowland saints' *Lives* in general are specimens of living myth, the romances derived from the same tradition scarcely even corpses.

NOTES

1 J. MacQueen 1961: 3–6. Bede, it should be added, almost certainly did not receive the material about Nynia in the form in which it appears in *Historia Ecclesiastica* III. iv. Traditions about saints were transmitted in a very different form, better represented by *Miracula* and Ailred. I wish

therefore to withdraw the statement in *St Nynia* that 'it is by its quality as history that it' (Bede's account) 'is to be distinguished from a hagiographical poem, the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*, written later in the eighth century, and from Ailred's *Vita Niniani*, written in the twelfth'. Bede's narrative represents the historicisation of hagiographical tradition, rather than the historical foundation for hagiographic elaboration.

2 See particularly H. M. Chadwick, 'The British Kingdoms' in *Early Scotland* (Cambridge 1949) pp. 137–58. Chadwick suggested a fairly late re-extension of Roman power north of Hadrian's Wall. 'The evidence seems . . . to point to some transaction on the part of a later *Dux Brittaniarum*, whereby he handed over to native princes what was left of the northern frontier army, with its equipment and stores. That might be Maximus, or the officer whom he left in charge. Or it may be that native princes had succeeded to the command, and transformed the army into dynastic forces.' For a more recent view, see S. Frere, *Britannia* (London 1967) p. 165: 'Under Commodus a new phase opened in which Roman influence was accepted in the Lowlands in return for local autonomy, and the tribes could accordingly be used as a buffer between Hadrian's Wall and the North.' p. 352: 'Much greater reliance came' (*i.e.* after AD 369) 'to be placed upon the federate tribes of the Lowlands; there were now no Roman forces north of the Wall. This change probably marks the inception of a new arrangement under which the Votadini were granted more complete independence with client or federate status, and the assumption of responsibility for frontier protection under their own leaders. . . . A similar arrangement may possibly have been made with the dynasty of Strathclyde.' It is now commonly held that the new province of Valentia, established in 369, was northern and centred on Carlisle in Cumberland. The first hint of this was provided in J. C. Mann, 'The Administration of Roman Britain', *Antiquity* xxxv (1961) 316–20. If the location is accepted, it is likely to be important in any consideration of the career of Nynia.

3 See, *e.g.* St. Patrick's *Epistola ad Milites Corotici* 2, in A. Marsh, *Saint Patrick's Writings* (Dundalk 1961) p. 23: *non dico civibus meis neque civibus sanctorum Romanorum sed civibus daemoniorum*: Nennius, *Historia Brittonum* 63, in F. Lot, *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum* (2 vols., Paris 1934) vol. I pp. 202. *Deodric contra illum Urbgen cum filiis dimicabat fortiter—in illo autem tempore aliquando hostes, nunc cives vincebantur.*

4 Duntocher is Gaelic, and means 'fort on the causeway', *i.e.* Grim's Dyke itself or perhaps more probably the Military Way which ran immediately to the south. See W. J. Watson 1926:486. The fort itself is now called Golden Hill; see Anne S. Robertson, *The Antonine Wall* (revised edn., Glasgow 1973) pp. 85–8. Kirkintilloch is a hybrid Cumbric-Gaelic name meaning 'fort at the top of the hill' (Watson:348). Kinneil is another hybrid Cumbric-Gaelic or Pictish-Gaelic name (Watson:346–8), and means 'end of wall', corresponding precisely to Wallsend in Northumberland at the eastern extremity of Hadrian's Wall.

5 C. Thomas, *Britain and Ireland in Early Christian Times AD 400–800* (London 1971) pp. 78–80. The suggestion in the *Lives* that the area round Whithorn was already Christian before Nynia became bishop is supported by the fact that 'it was entirely unknown in the ancient church for a bishop to be sent to a place where there was no flock for him to minister to'. (R. P. C. Hanson, *Saint Patrick, His Origins and Career* (Oxford 1968) p. 54. *Cf.* E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfilas* (Oxford 1966) p. xvii. As late as 685, Cuthbert on a visit to Carlisle was taken by his hosts to see the Roman walls and the Roman fountain. 'There is no positive ground for thinking that the continuity of its occupation was broken between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon times.' (P. Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge 1956) p. 280.

6 In terms of the Stith Thompson *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (6 vols., Bloomington and Helsinki 1932 ff.), Magic crozier is motif D1277.1 (T. Peete Cross, *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature*. Bloomington n.d.). Other motifs in the miracle stories mentioned include: (*Lives* of Nynia): B.182.3, Magic bull; *D1272, Magic circle; D1294, Magic footprint; D1567.5, Saint's crozier produces fountain; D1673, Magic staff blossoms; D1841.4, Man proof against wet from rain; F952, Blindness miraculously cured; *F971.1, Dry rod blossoms; F971.7, Sowing and reaping same day; Q451.7, Blindness as punishment; Q552.3, Failure of crops during reign of wicked king; Q466, Embarkation in leaky boat; T585.2, Child speaks at birth; (*Life* of Medana): D1524.3, Magic stone serves as boat; (*Life* of Servanus): A2711.2, Tree blessed that made the cross; *D954, Magic branch;

D1318.7.1, Flesh of animals reveals guilt; D1524.1.2.1, Saint casts staff to distant island; D1817.0.1, Magic detection of theft; D1817.2*, Saints magically detect crime; E32, Resuscitated eaten animal; E168, Cooked animal comes to life; M416.1, Curse; appetite of twelve men; Q572, Sickness as punishment remitted; T540.1, Supernatural birth of saint; V224.2, Food (animals) eaten by saint miraculously replaced. The motifs preserved in *Lives* of Kentigern are too numerous for listing here.

7 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.iv, is the earliest authority for this connection, which may have more substance than I was inclined to allow in *St. Nynia.*

8 Manaw is not the same as the territory of the Gododdin or Votadini, as seems to be assumed, for example, by S. Frere (*op. cit.* p. 381). See rather K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin. The Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh 1969) pp. 70–5. The phrase 'Manaw of the Gododdin' is on record once only, in Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, 62 (F. Lot, *op. cit.* vol. I p. 202, where Lot falls into the same error as Frere). Professor Jackson suggests that it is called 'of the Gododdin' to distinguish it from Manaw, the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea. If the position of Manaw in relation to Grim's Dyke is significant, the name may in effect mean rather 'that part of Manaw south of Grim's Dyke and so subject to the Gododdin', as opposed to the more northerly portion which was not so subject. It is also worth noting that the only place-names in Scotland commemorating the powerful tribe of the Maeatae, Dumyat and Myothill, both occur in the Stirlingshire area of Manaw north of Grim's Dyke (Watson 1926: 56–9). It is usually assumed (as by Watson, *loc. cit.*, and Frere, *op. cit.* p. 164), that when the early third century historian Dio Cassius, as abbreviated in the eleventh century by Xiphilinus, refers to the Maeatae as living 'close to the Wall which divides the island into two parts' (LXXVII, 12), he is referring to Hadrian's Wall, reconditioned by the emperor Severus in or about the year 205, some twenty years, perhaps, after the final abandonment of Grim's Dyke. The place-name evidence strongly suggests that this is erroneous, that Manaw was the original tribal territory of the Maeatae, even possibly that Servanus was their first bishop. The *oppidum* may have been Stirling. Glasgow, the Strathclyde episcopal centre, is situated at much the same distance from the *oppidum*, Dumbarton, as Culross from Stirling.

9 It seems improbable that the first element in another place-name, Carriden in West Lothian, is *caer.* See Watson 1926: 370; A. Macdonald, *The Place-Names of West Lothian* (Edinburgh and London 1941) pp. 25–6; K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin* pp. 75–8. The Roman fort at Carriden is three-quarters of a mile from the east end of Grim's Dyke; see Robertson, *op. cit.* pp. 42–3. Cramond means 'fort on the river Almond' (Watson: 369). Compare such names of Roman sites in Wales as Caernarvon, Carmarthen and Caerleon (also Kirkintilloch; footnote 4 above).

10 Skene, 1867: 410–11. For the name Kirkbuddo, Carbuddo, see Watson: 313–14. A Roman marching camp of first century date is situated nearby.

11 Watson 1926: 497. Watson understood the name to be Gaelic; it may however have been Gaelicised from a Pictish or Cumbric original, compounded from elements cognate (as is the Gaelic) with Welsh *celyn*, 'holly' and *rhos*, 'moor'. There is no obvious 'point' at Culross.

12 See J. G. von Hahn, *Sagwissenschaftliche Studien* (Jena 1876); A. Nutt, 'The Aryan Expulsion-and-Return Formula in the Folk and Hero Tales of the Celts', *Folklore Record* 4 (1881) pp. 1–44; O. Rank, *Der Mythus von de Geburt des Helden* (2nd ed. Leipzig and Vienna 1922); V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* (Leningrad 1928); Lord Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama* (London 1936); J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (2nd printing New York 1953); J. de Vries, *Betrachtungen zum Märchen* (Helsinki 1954).

13 W. J. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy* (Cardiff 1928) pp. 368–72. Gruffydd's book is sometimes over-ingenious, but it remains a very important study of some manifestations of A.T. 934 C.

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Lewis and the Hudson's Bay Company in the Nineteenth Century

PHILIP GOLDRING

I

In June 1832, ships bound for York Factory on Hudson Bay touched at Stornoway to take on board 37 working men under contract to the Hudson's Bay Company. It was the first such visit for over a decade, and the chamberlain of Lewis wrote enthusiastically to The Honourable Mrs Stewart MacKenzie of Seaforth on the occasion:

> The Hudson's Bay squadron have been in this harbour for the last 4 days. They have taken on board 40 young men and sailed last evening—besides this advantage they have taken outfits of Beef, Pork poultry &c.—and have left a considerable sum of money in this place. I have taken upon myself as a present from you to have sent on board the ships a small supply of vegetables from the Lodge Garden, for which they were thankful and I showed them all the little attention that laid in my power.[1]

This was the second year in a row that the HBC had conferred on Lewis the 'advantage' of hiring her young men, for in 1831 a smaller contingent of 12 men sailed to the Bay *via* Stromness, traditionally the last European port of call for the Company's vessels. Orkney had provided the bulk of the Company's land-based contracted servants until 1810 (as much as 87 per cent in 1799) but the Napoleonic Wars inflated the price of labour in Britain, and competition with the Montreal-based North-West Company drove up the HBC's demand for men. Therefore the years from 1810 to 1821 saw sporadic recruiting in such other areas as Canada and Lewis. But in 1821 the two great fur companies merged, and the lists of forts and of men shrank suddenly.[2] In 1827, the workforce began to swell again as the losses from competition were recouped and trade expanded into new areas of the Company's continent-wide domain. Although North America itself provided the majority of the 'wintering servants' in the important Northern Department after 1821, the Company never again let itself depend on a single labour pool. The HBC spread its demand around and by recruiting largely in Rupert's Land where the inhabitants had little other market for their labour, it was able to hold wages below their inflated 1821 level for almost forty years. In this situation, Orkney no longer met the Company's demand for men in Britain.[3] For the rest of the century the HBC rotated or spread its recruiting in Europe round Orkney, Lewis, Zetland and Inverness. But except for a

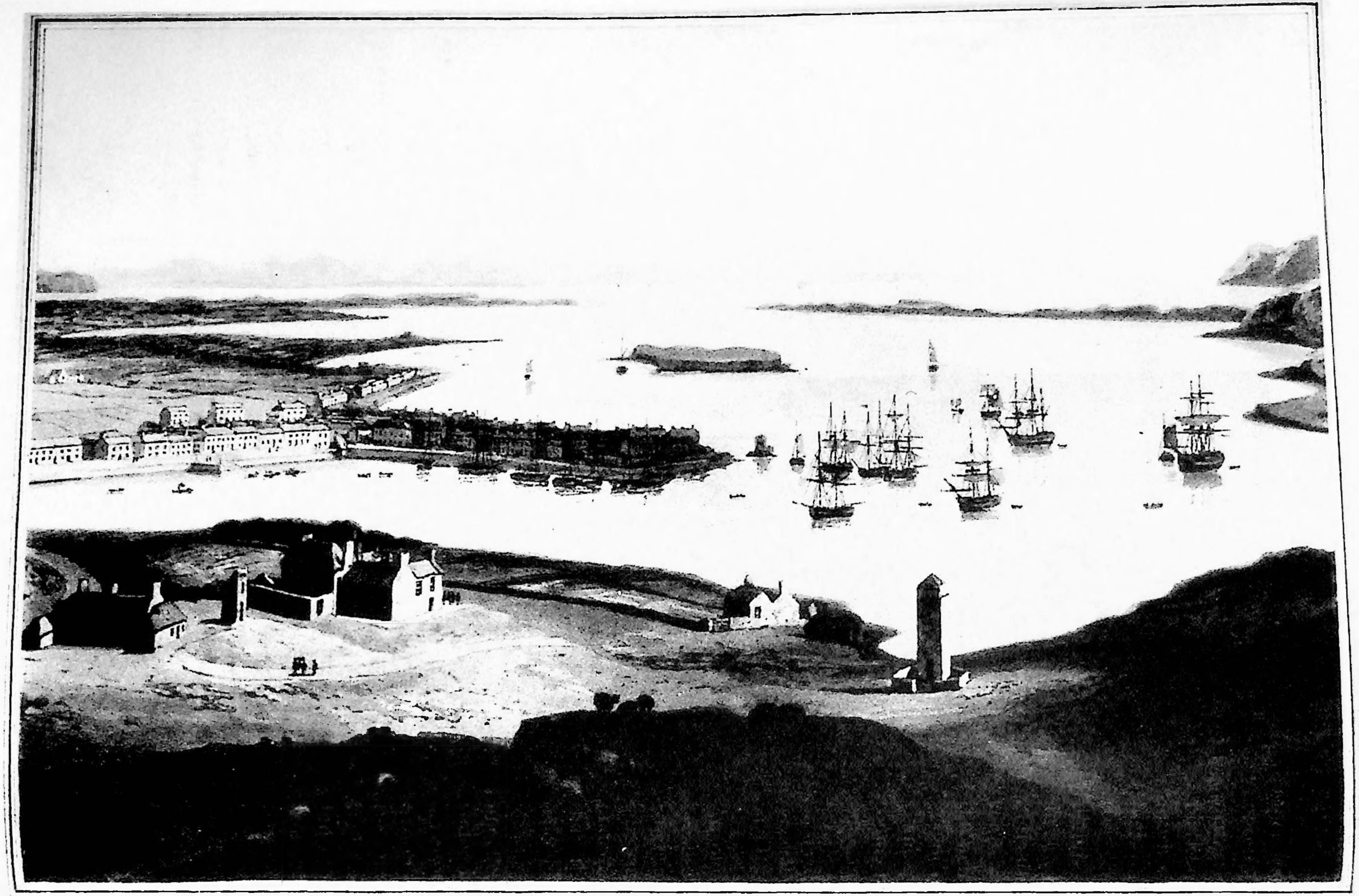

Fig. 1 View of the town and bay of Stornoway, Lewis, by William Daniell, published in 1819. (Seaforth Lodge, in the foreground, was rebuilt in the 1840s when the estate was bought from the MacKenzies by Sir James Matheson.)
Reproduced from a coloured engraving, by courtesy of Edinburgh City Libraries.

few years in the 1840s, and in the mid-fifties when Norway was resorted to, the strongest European rival to Orkney was Lewis.

The island estate of the Seaforths was by 1830 in many ways an ideal source for the small numbers of men required annually to replace the Company's retiring European servants. Like many other parts of the north-west of Scotland, Lewis felt the tensions of rising population and falling economic opportunities. The price of kelp touched bottom in 1826–7, leaving tenants without an exportable commodity except the traditional one, cattle, while landlords searched for some other commodity to augment rent rolls. The Seaforths were far too poor to help 'surplus' tenants reach the colonies, so contrived the expedient of clearing small farms to be consolidated as large grazings, locating the victims of this 'improvement' on small crofts, and encouraging them to fish for a cash income so that croft rents could in some degree compensate the landlord for lost income from kelp. By the 1840s, therefore, substantial areas in the two southern parishes of Lochs and Uig had been put under sheep; crofting townships had been laid out further north, particularly at Ness at the northern tip of the island, and around the port of Stornoway. In 1841 about two-thirds of the island's population lived on 1,913 small crofts rented at £3.3*s*.9*d*. a year. Emigration did not appeal to Lewismen in great numbers; the Seaforths (and until 1851 Sir James Matheson, who bought the estate in 1844) tried to employ displaced tenants within Lewis, and the people themselves were rarely inclined to leave. There were no big emigrations between 1811 and 1832 (76 and 248 people respectively) and the departure of about 70 people from Uig in 1838 was mentioned as an exceptional incident by factor Knox in 1841.[4] In 1851, Matheson began encouraging emigration with threats and inducements, and from then until 1855, 1771 people emigrated. This cut the decade's rate of population growth to 4.7 per cent, but in every other decade from 1811 to 1871 population rose by 14 to 21 per cent, and it doubled from 12,231 in 1811 to 25,485 in 1881.

The loss of cultivated lands and of revenue from kelp was therefore not mitigated by falling population, and the result was alike distressing to the people, who were far worse off in 1851 than in 1821, and to the landlords. The owner was also threatened with having to provide for tenants in years of crop failure. Sir John McNeill reported in 1851 that if crops were normal people could get six months' subsistence from their crofts, and with income from other sources like fishing could live and pay the rent. But in such years of scarcity as 1836–7, factor Knox asserted, relief might have to be provided for up to a third of Lewis' 17,000 people. This prediction was fulfilled during the potato famine of the 1840s. Despite the vulnerable state of this large portion of the population, the islanders were generally considered to be fit and healthy, and it was usually asserted that they did not consider their poverty intolerable.[5] From the 1840s onward most families sent at least one member to the Caithness fishery which garnered in a typical year around 1850 from £2 to £4 a man, and a minimum of £7 by 1876. An upsurge in fishing activity from Lewis ports after

1856 also provided employment nearer to home. With a good crop of potatoes and the annual sale of a cow or two, the great majority of Lewis crofters were prepared to remain in their native island (even if removed from their native parishes), believing that life was endurable and hoping it would get no worse. The HBC therefore did not have unlimited applications from the 'stout active young People' it sought to enlist on five-year contracts for service anywhere in British North America.[6] Occasionally quotas no bigger than average—15 to 20 men—proved difficult to fill; and unhealthy men, or men without certificates of good character from their ministers, were slipped in to make up numbers. Joining the HBC was not as final a step as emigration, but in a sense it was a greater step, for it separated men from their immediate families. Even when father and son enlisted together, they might be sent to serve a thousand miles apart, and never meet again.[7]

In the passages which follow, three aspects of Lewis participation in the HBC labour system have been studied: first, the Company's decisions with respect to recruiting in Lewis; second, the position of the agent in Stornoway; and third, the inducements (and disincentives) to enlistment. This last section has been drawn from the Company's correspondence with its agents, and from a detailed statistical analysis of the careers of the 46 men enlisted in 1831–2. Their unusual choice of employment left their experiences exceptionally well documented, and therefore well suited for an attempt to broaden our understanding of the lives of some ordinary people of Lewis towards the middle of the last century.

II

The Company's demand for labour from Lewis fluctuated from year to year. In the 1830s men were taken only in 3 years. Recruiting resumed in 1840–1, then the combined contributions of Orkney, Zetland and North America shut out Lewis from the Company's hiring activities for four years. From 1846 onwards there was heavy but intermittent hiring, inhibited during the 1850s by the men's reluctance to come forward. The Company responded in 1858 by making the first substantial improvement of payscales since 1821, and despite frequent disparity between the number of men sought and the number found, the recruitment of men for Hudson Bay was an annual feature of life in Stornoway through the 1860s and 1870s. It is difficult to calculate the actual number who enlisted over the century, for the data is scattered through the records of four geographical departments of the fur trade. But there must have been 500 men at least from 1830 to 1890—more than went from Zetland, though fewer than were recruited in Orkney and far fewer than the numerically dominant group of servants, the métis ('half-breed' or 'mixed-blood') inhabitants of the HBC chartered territory, Rupert's Land. But by the early 1840s Lewismen were to be found in most districts of the huge Northern Department, in the Southern Department around James Bay and Lake Superior, and in the Columbia Department on the Pacific coast.[8]

As long as the Company sought European labour, it had good reasons for recruiting in Lewis—the relative convenience of the island to the Company's traditional transport route to the Bay, and the availability of men, willing to work for the wages offered, who never altogether lost the reputation for 'steadiness, sobriety and obedience to their masters' earned before 1822 (HBCA: A.5/8 fo. 139, Secretary to Rae, 10 Jan. 1828). One factor worked against Lewis: the Company preferred to deal with only one hiring agent in Europe. Oddly enough, the Hudson's Bay Company was not unduly troubled by the fact that Gaelic-speaking Lewismen might not fit conveniently into a workforce which functioned in English, French, and various Amerindian languages.

The convenience of having a single agent in the North was demonstrated late in the eighteenth century at Stromness, and the advantage of channelling all recruiting correspondence through one agent was obvious, so long as that agent could meet the demands upon him. In the late twenties the Stornoway firm of W. & R. Morison applied to the London headquarters of the HBC to be accredited as hiring agents, but they were merely advised to work through John Rae, agent in Stromness. Rae was reluctant to share the business with Lewis, but he was unable in 1830–1 to provide satisfactory men from Orkney; so the Morisons were put on an equal footing with Rae in 1831 and were offered all the hiring in 1832. Dissatisfaction with the Lewis recruits of 1831–2 was expressed by the HBC's overseas governor, George Simpson, so it was not until 1836 that the Company decided to try Lewis again as Rae's successor, Edward Clouston, fell short of his quota. There were further calls on Stornoway in 1840 and 1841, when Clouston was warned that recruiting might end altogether in Stromness. If this threat was meant seriously it was extremely rash, for there were several complaints about the men sent by the Morisons in 1840–1. The rivalry to supply the Company was extended in 1842 when a retired HBC surgeon living in Zetland began to hire with sufficient success to see a third agency established at Lerwick until 1877. Less important agents were also named at various times in Inverness (which provided highly unsuitable men) and in 1858–9 at Lochmaddy, North Uist, which provided no men at all.[9] The decision to spread the demand around northern Scotland coincided with the improvement of mail connections in the late 1840s, and a general routine evolved. After the Company's ships returned from the Bay in October the Company's secretary in London asked the agents to report on prospects in their districts; the Orkney agent was sometimes canvassed first. Early in the new year each agent was informed of the total number of men he was expected to provide for the ships sailing in the ensuing June. This routine was convenient in Stornoway, for as the Morisons put it in January 1850, they wished to know the Company's needs by 'the earliest information in your power as other engagements such as the Herring Fishing may interfere with us towards the middle of March'.[10] Agents would report progress intermittently to London and if the rough local quotas were not being met the demand would be assigned to other agents. Occasionally more men were hired than were needed, a fact which did not greatly trouble the HBC since uncertain proportions of the recruits were apt to be found unfit and sent home prematurely from the Bay. A more careful approach was taken to avoid over-hiring of blacksmiths, coopers, boat-builders and sailors ('sloopers') who were required in much smaller numbers. The agents still competed against each other to find these high-priced hands, but needed individual permission from London before signing contracts. The recruitment correspondence attests to the rather local character of the islands' economies, for it was not unusual for a shortfall in one port to be balanced by an easy recruitment in another. Although the Company continued in theory to prefer Zetlanders to Lewismen and Orkneymen to both, by 1850 it was fully launched on the course of encouraging several agents in Scotland, in place of the old tendency to work through a single recruiter.[11]

One might imagine that the prevalent use of Gaelic in Lewis would discourage the Company from hiring there, but this does not seem to have been the case. It was commonly said up to the 1850s that there was a little English spoken in Stornoway but none anywhere else, and Sir John McNeill in 1851 drew attention to the fact that

> in the deputations that met me, there were always some persons who spoke English, and generally more who understood it; but there were others, frequently the most intelligent and the best informed, who were acquainted with no language but their own.[12]

An old servant seeking re-enlistment in 1841 asked for exceptionally high wages because his 'experience in the Country & knowledge of the English & Canadian languages should render him an useful Man'. It is unclear whether the 'Canadian' language was French or Cree, but English was presented as a noteworthy asset, not a prerequisite. It was not until 1853 that the Secretary mildly suggested to the Morisons that 'those who understand the English language are to be preferred, as inconvenience has sometimes arisen from the Lewes recruits being ignorant of that language'. Yet a few years later the Company encouraged the Morisons' proposal to have recruiting circulars translated into Gaelic. It also acceded to their request to appoint a few young Lewismen as apprentice clerks, hoping that the prospect of a Gaelic-speaking superior might encourage men to enlist at the lower levels.[13] There was always at least a sprinkling of Highland gentlemen in the upper levels of the Company's service, but the middle-level servants who managed the important boat crews and outposts of the trade were almost entirely métis, the North American-born descendants of mixed Indian and white alliances. It is striking how quickly and how thoroughly the métis replaced the French Canadians—who in turn had displaced the Orkneymen—as bowsmen, steersmen and guides for the boat brigades. Some of these higher servants had Highland or Hebridean ancestry and probably had some Gaelic, but in general no recruit going out to Rupert's Land could count on being stationed near another Gaelic-speaking person above his own level. Although language is scarcely mentioned in the recruiting correspondence before 1853 or after 1858, it undoubtedly contributed to an early report by the Company's fur-trade officers that Lewismen were difficult to deal with.

When Governor Simpson weighed up his subordinates' opinions of the new Lewis servants in 1832, he wrote to London (too late to affect the large enlistment in Stornoway that summer) that Orkney should be preferred: he spoke highly of the Lewismen in all respects except one: 'we find them exceedingly stubborn and difficult of management and so clannish that it is scarcely possible to deal with them singly.' This aversion was recanted in 1839. By that time the French Canadians had largely priced themselves out of the Company's market, the 'inefficiency and private character' of recent Orkney recruits were deplored, and the Company was therefore obliged to look to Lewis to avoid becoming altogether dependent on the métis. Simpson therefore advised that 'the Servants required for next year be brought from the Lewis Island, as altho' stubborn and difficult of management in the first instance, they generally turn out trusty well conducted men'.[14] Circumstances in Orkney compelled the London office to act on Simpson's advice, but a few noticeably unfit men in the 1840–1 consignments hurt the prospects of Lewis in the early 1840s. But by this point the Company was writing regularly to the Morisons on the affairs of existing servants, and the link remained intact despite occasional years of low demand or poor supply. From 1840 to 1870 Lewismen continued to make up from 16 to 34 per cent of the Scottish contingent in the permanent workforce of the Northern Department, while Scots as a whole held between 25 and 40 per cent of all jobs (particularly at the lower levels) in the same Department.[15] The relationship between the HBC and Lewis was not always easy, however, as problems arose which eventually cost the Morison firm its agency in 1866.

III

The problems the Morisons experienced over four decades as agents of the Hudson's Bay Company reflect interesting aspects of the affairs of both Lewis and the Company. Temporary agencies had been held by James Robertson, Comptroller of Customs, in 1811, and for a few years after 1816 by Donald McKenzie Jr. When the Morisons were eventually given the agency in 1831, they received the usual allowance of £2 for each man hired, provision for expenses such as stationery and advertising, and a commission of *6d.* in the pound (2½ per cent) on all sums disbursed for the Company.[16] This last item put the agent at odds with the HBC, for it was to an agent's advantage to spend as much as possible, particularly in advancing money to new recruits. The commission came to *4s.* on advances to labourers before 1857, and *5s. 6d.* thereafter if the agent limited the recruit to the customary advance of six months' pay to clear local debts and outfit himself for the Bay. The company tried to enforce this limit, but it was not in the agents' interest to comply. Yet the agency business also carried risks: the agent lost hiring fees and became personally responsible for trying to recover money from men who failed to reappear at shiptime after taking wages in advance. In 1849 the Morisons lost a recruit on the eve of sailing, and received neither cash nor sympathy from London when they asked the Company to share the loss. From 1858 to 1863 not a year passed without at least one man absconding with his advance. When one deserted in 1862 the Morisons threatened to have him 'apprehended & punished'; but this did not deter a further eight from failing to sail the following year.[17] In rough terms the loss of one man could wipe out the profit on four others, besides giving the agency a bad name in the Bay where shortfalls could be severely inconvenient. When the Morisons lost the agency in 1866 their surly letter of resignation let the HBC know that 'our regret now is, that we held the Agency so long' (HBCA: A.10/65 fo. 396, 19 March 1866). The sentiment was probably sincere; and it invites an examination of the advantages an agent enjoyed in addition to the irregular amounts from hiring fees and commissions.

The firm of W. & R. Morison (which passed into the hands of a younger generation without changing its name in 1863) was a diversified partnership of a sort likely to be found in outlying districts where capital is scarce. At different times while the firm held the HBC's agency it also acted as agent for one of the mainland banks; it owned a distillery and as an importer of spirits was among the larger suppliers to 'spirit cellars'; the Morisons were deeply involved in purchasing the catches of local fishermen, both at Ness and at Stornoway; and they ran a general store, chiefly to outfit the fishermen-crofters.[18] This last activity eventually got them into trouble with the HBC. In 1854 the Secretary warned of reports

> made to the Company's officers by some of the people engaged by you, that they are obliged to receive goods from your stores to the amount of their advances instead of being paid in Cash, and I am instructed by the Governor & Committee to request that this practice be discontinued in future, as such a system is not only unfair to the men, but it brings the service into discredit...when they compare notes with the Servants engaged elsewhere.

The Morisons replied that some of the men had been supplied, but 'on the best terms' and at their own request.[19] As the complaints came from three thousand miles away there was little the Company could do. But nine years later, when the Secretary asked Sir James Matheson to propose another person to act as agent, the general complaints about the poor quality of recent recruits were followed by this specific warning:

> Probably it might be as well that the H.B. Agent should not keep a retail shop for the supply of the class of men who usually engage as servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, as some of the evils attributed to Messrs. Morisons management are supposed to be connected with their traffic (HBCA: A.5/30 pp. 224–5, Secretary to Sir J. Matheson, 7 Nov. 1865).

Matheson wrote back that 'my friend Mr. Morison' could exonerate his firm from any specific charges: 'none of the Hudson's Bay Men were invited to make purchases at his

Store, & were quite free to buy wherever they liked.'[20] The fact remained that both officers and men had lost confidence in the Morisons as agents. Before recruitment began for the 1866 ship the agency was given to a local medical practitioner, Dr Roderick Millar.[21]

A certain sympathy is due to the Morisons on the question of advances. They were never able to establish at Stornoway the system in effect at Stromness, where new men were given bills payable three days after they sailed, such bills finding general acceptance around the town. Merchants in Stornoway refused to advance goods on such conditional notes and the Morisons (and Millar after them) were always obliged to make the advances on their own responsibility.[22] They may actually have lost money on one or two years' recruitment in the early 1860s. It is understandable that they tried to reap a large share of the profit on servants' advances, and to limit their losses to the wholesale rather than the retail value of goods supplied, since local circumstances prevented them from spreading the risks.

Dr Millar did rather better than the Morisons during the remainder of the 1860s. He was harassed for two years by some members of the Stornoway business community, who tried to usurp his commission on retired servants' bills, and who twice had recruits' possessions impounded aboard ship because of debts owed in Lewis. These petty annoyances stopped in 1869 and problems over both the quality of the men and last-minute desertions fell off sharply under the new agent. Millar's only evident side-interest was in having his partner, a Dr McRae, carry out medical examinations for the Company before the men went aboard ship. With this very modest perquisite and the normal commissions and allowances, Millar continued as agent with profit to himself and the HBC for over a decade. A review of the numerous complaints made against the Morisons over the years, including cases in the 1840s when men were sent out with unsigned contracts, suggests that the Company's agency was probably too small a concern for active businessmen like the Morisons, and that unless the agency—and the men it hired—could be exploited to the limits of the economic opportunities available, it was not worth the Morisons' time to handle it. Certainly the Company's affairs were better conducted by professional men like Dr Cowie at Lerwick, the long-serving Stromness agent Edward Clouston, and Dr Roderick Millar of Stornoway.[23]

IV

It remains to be asked, what were the attractions of service with the HBC to the labouring classes of Lewis? Enlistment with the Company, like emigration, was affected by local circumstances and overseas opportunities, but also by individual preferences, even whims. Correspondence between Lewis and the HBC in London, and a close view of some 46 men who were hired at Stornoway in 1831–2, reveals considerable diversity in the descriptions of the men themselves, and in their behaviour once they joined the service. The Company's records largely deal with money and therefore provide a lopsided picture of the sorts of subjects which social history normally tries to explain. The HBC's domain of Rupert's Land was, except at the Red River Settlement, virtually a closed commercial system wherein a large part of the economic behaviour of the Company's own employees was systematically recorded. By contrast, family life can be glimpsed only haphazardly in the effort to distinguish the few dozen men who enlisted every year from a thousand eligible ones who did not.

The first point to be noted is that opportunity cost—the value of advantages foregone by enlisting—was not an effective deterrent to potential recruits. The Company paid European servants £16 or £17 a year on first contracts as labourers from 1830 to 1858, and £24 including a special allowance for luxuries from 1858 to 1875. In 1875 a more flexible scale including signing bonuses and performance pay was acceded to by the London office for the first time since 1821 under pressure from the Winnipeg office and the northern agents. Skilled boatmen ('sloopers') earned a few pounds more than labourers, and tradesmen got up to £40 a year, but generally under £30 on a first contract. Very rarely a tradesman might earn more in Scotland than the Company offered, but this can hardly have been the case for labourers.[24] A Lewis crofter engaged in the cod-fishery might conceivably have earned £17 in money or its equivalent, but only in a remarkably good season for both fishing and agriculture. Much more normal would be the situation described by Malcolm Gray:

> The addition of all the incomes that came into the crofting household would at best no more than stretch to cover fixed obligations and basic necessities; a drop in cattle prices...partial failure of the grain or potato crop, would pull the tenant into debt, and once there he would find it hard to recover. Arrears and debts of many sorts would drag on for years. The effect was to destroy the economic independence of the peasantry.[25]

In Rupert's Land in the 1830s and 1840s labourers frequently *saved* five or ten pounds a year, perhaps more than the gross earnings of their counterparts who stayed at home. The recruits of 1831–2 spent only 61.6 per cent of their earnings during service up to 1851.[26] The average savings across the whole group amounted to £51.33 per man—£6 per man per year of service: if the same calculation is made only for the 33 men who returned to Lewis, the average saving rises to £7.75 a year. So there is no evidence that opportunity cost, in cash terms, could deter enlistment. There may still have been a non-cash economic deterrent in the shape of capital invested in a fishing-boat or equipment, which the owner would be reluctant to sell or lend during his absence. Tenure of a croft could also have been a deterrent: the uncertainty of tenure without leases would make many who actually held crofts think long and hard before absenting themselves from Lewis for five years at a time. Such considerations would have pressed more lightly on cottars or on unmarried men, especially younger sons.

This is not to say that crofters with a stake (however meagre) in the land or in fishing equipment did not enlist with the HBC, particularly under pressure of debt or, one may surmise, under threat of eviction for arrears. Yet it is clear from the studies of Hunter and Gray that debt was ever-present, and its sheer pervasiveness makes it unlikely to have been, by itself, a strong determinant of enlistment. But particular cases must have pressed harder than others: the rather late engagement of 27 men in 1853, after Matheson's factor accompanied Morison on a tour of the west side of Lewis, may have represented several such cases in point.[27] There are other evidences of indebtedness: labourers' debts often cropped up as a bone of contention between the Company and creditors in Stornoway, as in 1841 when the hard-hearted tacksman of Gress, Lewis McIver, sought payment on account of four men who sailed for the Bay owing him money. (The Company refused to make advances.) In 1849 and again in 1859 the Morisons drew particular attention to being 'under the necessity of exceeding the advance to some of the men to prevent their being detained' by suspicious creditors.[28] Dr Millar experienced worse problems in 1867–8. 'I have to explain to you how I exceeded the prescribed advances. . . . The day before the men left their clothes were arrested in the Sailors hands so I had no alternative but either lose both my advances & men and being in a fix I promised to pay the amount of the arrestments.' In 1868 the sums involved were 16*s*. and £2.11*s*.9*d*.[29] There is a strong suggestion in the pattern of money remitted to Britain by the recruits of 1831–2 that their remittances were to pay debts. Of the 46 recruits, all but 13 sent money home within their first two years of service. Remittances after the second year tended to be fewer and larger, and only 20 men were involved. Six remitted no money at all. Bills in the first two years averaged just under £4 each, within a range of £2 to £8, and amounted to 45 per cent of the total £287.75 remitted to Britain by absent servants down to 1851. Although the money may simply have been gifts, the evidence shows that 70 per cent of men enlisted with some immediate need for cash at home; and debts, owed personally or by a close relative, seem the most likely short-term need to be met in that fashion.

Sir James Matheson in the 1850s, like factor Stewart in the '30s encouraged recruiting by the HBC to remove excess population; but most of the men themselves did not see enlistment as a step towards emigrating.[30] The HBC's recruits were not seeking either a life-long career in the fur trade, or access to the land at Red River which could until 1862 be obtained by retired servants in lots far larger than a croft in Lewis. Of the 46 recruits of the early '30s 80 per cent had returned home (or died in the service) by 1850. Those who stayed had all served at least three years beyond the required term, and one is known to have married in Rupert's Land. In 1857 the Company added to its standard European contract a promise of 25 acres of land free at Red River for servants completing a normal contract; but enlistment dropped to nothing in Lewis that year. Five years later the land grant was abolished, and the change aroused no disappointment in the island.[31] Men continued to return to Lewis at the end (or, with distressing frequency feigning illness, to return *before* the end) of the stipulated term. Some returned servants did subsequently emigrate, and their savings may have been important in paying their passages out of Lewis with their families. When the government in 1859 offered medals to five Lewis-born veterans of official Arctic expeditions, the Morisons could find none—three were still in Rupert's Land and the other two had emigrated to Canada from Back. On the other hand, the Morisons often received applications for re-employment, some by men who had been out of the service for a dozen years.[32]

Considerations of material gain do not go very far to explain the enlistment of Lewismen in the HBC. Enlistment was an abnormal act, undertaken by men who on the surface seem to have little to distinguish them from thousands who stayed at home. By the late 1840s family tradition probably influenced enlistment to some extent, but it is beyond the resources of this researcher to sift through the McDonalds, Morrisons, McIvers, McKenzies, McLeods and others who were hired intermittently from 1810 onwards. Every recruit who was not motivated by financial pressure must have had at least a curiosity, if not a lively desire for adventure in foreign parts, and some undoubtedly had more than their share. A sturdy character recorded only as 'Murdo the Horse...who fell over a cliff only to spoil the sea-beach, and relieved the tedium of life fighting all comers in Hudson's Bay' was of this sort. So was Roderick Campbell, a boy of a tacksman family who joined the Company as an ordinary labourer in 1859 and became a literate, much-travelled Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.[33] What Campbell lacked was the fixed attachment to his native place which stamped most Scots in the HBC's service. This attachment is evident in reports from officers in charge of York Factory, who sometimes tried to re-engage retiring servants if the annual ship brought too few recruits. Colin Morrison, a cooper from Stornoway due to retire in 1837 extorted a rise of £5 a year when the ship failed to provide his replacement; and during a shortfall in 1839 Chief Trader Hargrave complained that several labourers 'avowed their willingness to re-enter the Service, after that they have revisited their relations and native land'.[34] In 1867 Dr Millar warned the HBC not to send recruits to Orkney by way of Thurso: 'the men on getting on shore at Thurso may play hide and seek....you are not aware of the difficulty your agent here has to get those engaged to ship away from their homes & friends.' At the last moment Millar found himself 'forced to accompany the men myself to Stromness as the man with whom I had bargained & agreed with to deliver them to the agent here became frightened when he saw the men excited with drink and parting with their relations—just before the Steamer was leaving'. Millar inquired into three men sent home by the surgeons at York Factory in 1870 and found one had stopped coughing the moment the ship left York Roads; one had tried to evade sailing after taking his advance and 'he completely deceived the Dr & acted the old soldier' in Rupert's Land; yet a third had nothing wrong with him 'but a disease that Highlanders are very subject to viz "Maladie du pays"'—homesickness.[35]

Few men were seriously tempted by the HBC's wages and allowances as such, or by the prospect of adventure in the New World, at least by the 1860s. Granted their motive for engaging was chiefly financial, but it was not just a function of the general economic conditions of Lewis. The movement of kelp, fish and cattle prices, the yield of grain or potato crops, the variable harshness or leniency of the landlord—these were the crucial elements in the crofting economy, but they do not alone explain the choices of individual recruits for the HBC. In them one might do better to look for such obscure domestic incidents as the lengthy illness or sudden death of a parent; damage to a boat or fishing equipment; or a careless cow straying off a cliff. Crises in an intimate circle, mixed in variable proportions with desire for adventure, must explain what pushed (and in a few cases, led) several hundred men to leave the insecurity of Lewis for the substantial gains of service in the Hudson's Bay Company territories over the course of the nineteenth century.

V

A few reflections remain to be made on the general character of the Lewis servants and apparent changes in that character over the course of the century. One may begin with Malcolm Gray's comments on habits of acquisitiveness among Highland crofters engaged in the fisheries.

> Growth was based upon modest capital accumulation by...men who would persist season after season, plough back their earnings into better equipment, or perhaps into purchase of a fuller share in the boat, and who, although they retained some hold upon the land, concentrated upon fishing as a main task. This was not the Highland way; and, indeed, there were formidable obstacles to the west Highlander following such a course (Gray 1957:159–60).

The Hudson's Bay servant lost, at least in the medium term, his hold on the land, but he also escaped some of the worst aspects of the tendency (as Gray put it) of 'Debts due on the land [to] sweep off any small accumulations before they could fructify' (*op. cit.*:160). It has already been mentioned that the recruits of 1831–2 saved almost 40 per cent of their wages over twenty years. One Roderick McLeod, a labourer from Cromore, Lochs, spent less than one quarter of his £163 wages during nine years overseas. This remarkable record may be used as a yardstick of how much it was *possible* to save while providing oneself with clothing and luxuries in addition to the food and lodging supplied by the Company. (McLeod presumably remained unmarried and he was stationed in the Mackenzie River district, where servants could get no liquor.) It might be argued that Lewismen were unaccustomed to having such sums and saving was easy when wages were only an abstract entry in a ledger; but the fashion in most of the workforce was to grumble if there was insufficient opportunity to spend wages.[36] Yet accumulation of considerable savings came easily to the bulk of Lewis servants in the 1830s.

There can be no doubt that the labourers recruited in 1831–2 were from crofter or cottar families. The prevalence of men who could not sign their names, the menial occupations for which they were hired, the fact that the son of an impoverished tacksman (John McDonald of Crobeg, Lochs) was hired in 1837 as a clerk and hence a gentleman, not a servant—these factors all indicate that the recruits (apart from five tradesmen, all from Stornoway) were from the poorer classes of Lewis society.[37] Yet they showed a strong acquisitive streak which suggests that the 'Highland way' of which Gray wrote was at that time largely the result of the structural factors he identified, and not intrinsic to the cultural traits of Lewismen.

But the commendable frugality of the early recruits changed. The officer in charge of York Factory in 1866 complained that saving was 'formerly common, especially among the Orkneymen & Shetlanders'—no mention of Lewis—but was 'now exceptional' throughout the workforce. Analysis of the accounts only partly bears out the complaint. The 83 Lewis servants in 1865–6 did indeed spend a little more in the country than their Orkney and Zetland fellows, but only to the extent of 5 per cent of gross earnings—62.9 per cent compared with 57.2 per cent (Orkney) and 56.8 per cent (Zetland).[38] The difference was made up not in greater savings by the men from the Northern Isles, but in their larger or more frequent remittances to Britain. Even here the behaviour of Lewis servants in 1865 is in marked contrast to that of the recruits of 1831–2. Of the Northern Department's 38 Lewismen in the 1830s, as many as 68.4 per cent remitted money home in the second year of service, but only negligible numbers did so in the third to fifth years—5.6, 2.9 and 3 per cent. By contrast in 1865 92.8 per cent remitted in the second year, 52.2 per cent in the third and 25 per cent in the fourth. Certainly communications were slightly better in the 1860s and economic changes in the Highlands had given Lewismen more experience in handling monetary rather than barter transactions; nevertheless remittance patterns strongly suggest that servants' wages had become an integral part of their families' earnings (and expenditures!) whereas thirty years earlier they had been regarded as a capital fund, slowly accumulated for some particular purpose. And this is not inconsistent with the Company's feeling that the recruits of the '60s were less tractable and less committed to the service than their predecessors had been.

In 1857 a Stornoway blacksmith named George McDonald was sent home before his contract expired because his presence at York Factory 'has always been, highly injurious to the service; in consequence of the improper language used by him when speaking of the Hon. Company, and his influence among his Countrymen, who look up to him as a Leader, in causing discontent among them'.[39] Unrest was difficult to check: 'However well disposed recruits may be on their arrival from Europe, the advice & example of the old hands soon render them as dissatisfied as the latter' (HBCA: A.11/118 p. 581, Wilson to secretary, 25 Sept. 1866). But the bad influence of surly old servants was not new in the '50s—it had been noted in the context of Lewis recruits in 1832.[40] It seems that the recruits of the '50s and '60s were of the same social class as those of 1831–2, but not of the same character. The demoralizing hunger of 1836–7 and 1846–7, the forced emigration of a tenth of Matheson's crofters in the early '50s, the disrepute into which the Morison's peccadilloes had brought the HBC in Lewis by the '60s—all these factors seemingly contributed to a coarsening of the type of men hired by the HBC.

Desertions before shiptime, feigned illness on arrival, disobedience and some overspending were the results. But the general character of Lewis and its people ensured that a steady trickle of recruits would continue to board the Company's ships at Stornoway or Stromness. There was even an attempt by a Captain of the Highland Rifle Militia in 1875 to check the flow—an interesting sequel to the cheerful acquiesence of the factor in 1832 (HBCA: A.10/94 p. 313, 29 June 1875).

The information at hand does not allow decisive conclusions on some significant questions. Issues that remain to be explored include the family circumstances of recruits before enlistment—for instance, surviving letters on individuals' affairs seem disproportionately to concern remittances to aged or widowed mothers; but such evidence is too sketchy to warrant more than a note in passing.[41] To whom, precisely, did the remitted funds go, particularly the heavier remittances characteristic of early service? And how successfully were returned men integrated back into the crofting townships or the town of Stornoway after an absence of five years or more? Did the factor and landlord manage to skim off part of retired men's savings, as happened in Orkney in the eighteenth century, and as landlords manipulated so profitably the labour of the kelpers and, to a lesser extent, the fishermen? It has been possible in this survey to outline the structural aspects of the recruitment, and to describe some significant trends in detail; but many questions about individual behaviour and motivation remain. What does emerge is that enlistment with the Hudson's Bay Company was an individual choice, forcing a break with the emotional security and economic instability of crofting society in Lewis. But enlistment stopped short of the hazardous, ambitious act of renouncing one's native place and emigrating. Labour in the fur trade may be viewed as a stable kind of migratory employment, and as such was a forerunner of the practice, common in the Western Isles in this century, of joining the merchant navy. By medium-term expedients such as these, Hebrideans managed to escape the worst consequences of geographic isolation: high prices, narrow opportunities and over-crowding at home. Conversely, they were not compelled to break up close-knit communities; and they avoided the harsh choice of giving the name 'home' to foreign and distant places.

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NOTES

1 S.R.O. GD 46/1/530, Alexander Stewart to Hon. Mrs Stewart MacKenzie, 26 June 1832. The log of the *Prince Rupert* listed 30 servants as passengers: one was from Harris, two were rejected by the Company's surgeon at York Factory, and one appears not to have sailed. See Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA) C.1/923 fos. 1–2. The *Prince of Wales* took 8 men to the more southerly port of Moose Factory. These 34 men, with 12 recruits sent *via* Stromness in 1831, make up the 46 servants mentioned at various points in this article. Unless otherwise noted, subsequent references to HBCA A.5 are to letters from the Company Secretary in London to the agent in Stornoway; and references to A.10 are to the agent's letters to the secretary.

2 For eighteenth-century background see Clouston 1936 and 1937, and Glover 1948; for 1820s see Rich 1959: 482–5; for 1831 see HBCA A.5/9 fo. 127, secretary to John Rae (Stromness) 30 March 1831.

3 Origins of servants were tabulated by computer analysis of abstracts of servants' accounts kept annually at York Factory; data were collected for every tenth year from 1830–70 (HBCA B.239/vols. 10, 20, 30, 40, and 47). For Simpson on Canadian wage demands and Métis labour see HBCA D.4/100 p. 2, Simpson to Governor and Committee, 21 July 1834; also a passage in the exhaustive study of the Métis by Marcel Giraud (1945 : 968–71).

4 For Seaforth management see Hunter 1976:43–5; kelp prices, *ibid.*, and S.R.O. GD 46/13/134; for Knox see *PP* 1841 : 174; for emigration see Macdonald 1978 : 165–70. Sir John McNeill reported that in 1851 2,628 crofting families in Lewis paid an average £2.12*s*.2*d*. rent a year (*PP* 1851 : 917).

5 For Matheson, see Hunter 1976 : 80–1; for population abstracts see *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* (London 1883), vol. 4, p. 508. For Knox and definitions of poverty as perceived in Lewis, *PP* 1841 : 177–8; for general health conditions, *PP* 1851 : 1041–2; also *op. cit* : 917 for ability of crofts to give half a year's subsistence.

6 For descriptions of men needed, HBCA A.5/5, fo. 32, secretary to Charles McLean, 4 Dec. 1810; for Lewis fisheries, *PP* 1851 : 917; fishing incomes, *PP* 1841 : 179; also *PP* 1866 : 717–31, and Macdonald 1978:91–107. For a sample HBC contract see Cowie 1913 : 69–72; with minor textual changes the same contract form served the Company for most of the century.

7 For a missed quota see HBCA A.10/43 pp. 344, 452, 588 and 720, April to June 1858; this shortfall followed a rise in wages of £5 a year. Four men sent home in 1841 included two from 1840 and two of 1841 (see A.5/13 p. 253, 29 Oct. 1841). A man sent home in 1849 was 'a notorious thief, ferocious and brutal. He belongs to the Isle of Skye' and no effort had been made to check his character (A.5/16 p. 183, 5 Nov. 1849). A father and son, both named Donald McDonald, left Carshader (Uig) together in 1831. The father was seconded to a government expedition inside the Arctic Circle in 1833–4; the son was assigned to the Pacific Coast, and died there in 1834 (B.239/g/14, fos. 33, 50).

8 The Northern Department engagement register (HBCA B.239/u/1–3) showed over 500 Lewismen, 1831–93. While some are duplicate entries, the Northern Register omits Southern Department and Labrador servants.

9 The first Orkney agency is described in Hon. D. Geddes, 'David Geddes, Whom You Pronounced a Dunce...' (n.d., n.p.) typescript in Orkney County Library. For agencies 1828–58 see HBCA A.5/9, fos. 70, 122 and 158, secretary to W. & R. Morison, 23 Dec. 1829, 26 Feb. 1831 and 11 Nov. 1831; A.5/10, p. 5, 13 June 1832; A.5/11, p. 310, 29 Dec. 1836; A.5/12, p. 18, 29 April 1837; A.5/13, pp. 38 and 46, 12 March and 1 April 1840; *op. cit.* p. 117, secretary to Edward Clouston (Stromness), 4 Nov. 1840; *op. cit.* p. 313, same to John Cowie (Lerwick), 18 March 1842; A.5/22, pp. 173–6, Circular to Clouston, Cowie, W. & R. Morison, John Adam (Lochmaddy) and Duncan McTavish (Inverness), 1 Dec. 1858.

10 For mail service, *PP* 1851 : 918; for herring fishery, HBCA A.10/28, fo. 224, 21 Jan. 1850.

11 For disparate hiring conditions see for instance 1840 correspondence cited above, note 9; HBCA A.5/37, pp. 39, 56 indicates a local shortage of labourers at Lerwick and Stornoway, but not Stromness in 1871; A.5/40, pp. 382, 465 shows shortages at Lerwick and Stromness, but not Stornoway, in 1875.

12 *PP* 1851: 903. The *New Statistical Account* noted in the 1830s that the Gaelic of Stornoway parish was corrupted with a good deal of English; in Uig the Gaelic was 'as generally and purely spoken' as forty years before, and in Lochs 'a few of the males can speak broken English' (vol. 15: 128, 154, 168).

13 For languages see HBCA A.10/12, fos. 287–8, 8 April 1841; A.5/18, p. 37, 14 Jan. 1853; A.10/44, fo. 808, 8 Dec. 1858: 'Alexr. Matheson Esq., Ardross... handed me a copy of the Circular which we recommended to be translated & printed in Gaelic of which he approved.' Matheson was one of the Committee (*i.e.* Directors) of the HBC, a friend and distant kinsman of Sir James Matheson, and a great Ross-shire landowner himself. For Gaelic-speaking clerks see *ibid.* and A.10/45, fo. 32, 14 Jan. 1859. Lewismen without English were hired at least as late as 1866 (Cowie 1913: 122–3.)

14 HBCA D.4/99, fo. 3, Simpson to Governor and Committee, 10 Aug. 1832; D.4/107, fo. 13, same to same, 12 Aug. 1839.

15 HBCA A.5/13 pp. 38, 46 and 253, 12 March and 1 April 1840, and 29 Oct. 1841; D.5/6, fo. 60, Hargrave to Simpson, 20 Feb. 1841.

16 HBCA A.5/5, fos. 46 and 115, 20 May 1811 and 17 Jan. 1816. Agents' compensation is defined in A.5/10, pp. 300–2, secretary to Clouston, 6 Dec. 1834.

17 For 'lost' recruits see HBCA A.10/26, fo. 432, 28 June 1849 and A.5/16, pp. 142–3, 12 July 1849. Also A.10/43, fo. 720, 23 June 1858; A.10/45, fo. 635, 20 June 1859; A.10/47, fo. 663, 25 June 1860; A.10/49, fo. 827, 25 June 1861; A.10/52, fo. 50, 9 July 1862; A.10/55, fo. 61, 6 July 1863.

18 For the Morisons' enterprises see next two notes, and the following: banking, HBCA A.5/22, p. 173, 1 Dec. 1858; distillery, A.5/12, p. 96, Secretary to Clouston, 16 Nov. 1837; importing spirits, *PP* 1851: 1046; fishing station at Ness, S.R.O. GD 46/1/545/4, W. McGregor to Hon. Mrs Stewart Mackenzie, 3 Mar. 1841. McGregor referred to the Morisons and two other concerns as 'taking as much advantage of the People as they can, nothing else can be expected as there is no opposition... among the fish curers that would rise the price of Fish and sale the fishing materials reasonable'. For death of Roderick Morison, A.5/26, p. 267, Secretary to Alexander Morison, 2 Feb. 1863.

19 HBCA A.5/19 p. 79, 31 Oct. 1854; A.10/36, fo. 368, 7 Nov. 1854.

20 HBCA A.10/64, fos. 202–3, Matheson to Secretary, 15 Nov. 1865, enclosing (fos. 203–4) Alexander Morison to Matheson, same date.

21 Millar appeared before the McNeill commission in 1851 as medical officer for Lochs, Barvas and Stornoway (*PP* 1851: 1041–2). He was appointed agent 28 March 1866 (HBCA A.5/31, p. 64).

22 The Stromness system was explained to the Morisons by the secretary on 9 March 1848 (HBCA: A.5/15, p. 307). For failure to implement that system in Lewis see A.10/44, fo. 61, 12 July 1858; A.10/71, fo. 359, 7 Sept. 1867; and A.5/43, pp. 316–18, 17 July 1878.

23 For harrassments see HBCA A.10/70, fo. 576, 29 June 1867; A.10/72, fo. 227, 11 Nov. 1867; A.10/75, fo. 34, 6 July 1868; A.10/76, fo. 233, 21 Nov. 1868; *op. cit.* fo. 331, 4 Dec. 1868. Dr McRae is mentioned in A.10/81, fos. 641–3, 3 Dec. 1870.

24 Wages were recorded beside contract details in the Northern Department Engagement Registers (HBCA: B.239/u/1–3). See also A.5/21 p. 206, 19 Jan. 1858, '... in consequence of the rise which has taken place in the value of labour in this Country the Company have resolved to increase the rate of pay for labourers in the Indian Country'. Later the same year rations of tea and sugar were offered gratis for the first time, because these 'luxuries are... used by the labouring classes in modern times'; see 'Private Instructions for the Company's Agents, 22 Nov. 1858 (A.5/22, p. 176). For flexibility after 1875 see A.5/40, p. 809, secretary to Stanger (Stromness), 2 Nov. 1875.

25 HBCA A.10/39, fos. 523–4, 14 May 1856, 'The demand for labour consequent on the extension of the Fisheries and the aboundance of food operates against Emigration'; A.10/51, fo. 252, 26 Feb. 1862, 'We can procure the number of Labourers & Sloopers you state... or even a larger number if required as food is scarce in the Island'; also Gray 1955: 62.

26 Total earnings of 46 men 1831–51, £7,585.60; mean £164, standard deviation £97.88. These figures include neither the earnings after 1851 of Hector Morrison (retired 1886) nor the second HBC careers of men afterwards re-engaged at Stornoway. The average of income spent (61.6 per cent; standard deviation 19.4 per cent) is distorted by a few heavy spenders, since 60 per cent of the

group spent below the mean level. A few servants detached on Arctic exploration had virtually double wages, with gravely curtailed spending opportunities. Amount of income spent has been determined by subtracting servants' purchases *from the Company* from total earnings. Outside Red River Settlement, other opportunities either to earn or spend were slender. Assignments of cash in Britain are *not* counted as money spent. Source of all data is HBCA B.239/g/11–31 (Northern Department abstracts of servants' accounts) and B.135/g/15–24 (Southern Department abstracts). The accounting year of the HBC began on 1 June.

27 HBCA A.10/33, fo. 553, 18 May 1853: 'Mr. J. M. McKenzie [factor or chamberlain of Lewis] accompanied the Writer, to the West side of the Island and altho he used every exertion to aid us, we have only 20...engaged.'

28 HBCA A.5/13, p. 249, Secretary to Lewis McIver, 27 Oct. 1841; for advances to clear debts see A.10/26, fo. 432, 28 June 1849, and A.10/46, fo. 17, 6 July 1859.

29 HBCA A.10/70, fo. 576, 29 June 1867; A.10/75, fo. 34, 6 July 1868.

30 HBCA A.10/39, fo. 475, 28 April 1856, mentioned Matheson's offer of a 20*s*. signing bonus; A.10/40, fos. 532–3, 29 Nov. 1856, 'Sir James...is anxious that some of the Young Men would go abroad.'

31 Two 1831 recruits from Leurbost, Lochs, retired to Red River in 1841. Angus McLeod was unmarried, but William McDonald was reported in the 1843 Red River census to have a wife and one son under 16. In 1847 he had three sons and the following property: a house, three stables and a barn, two horses, six oxen, seven cows and three calves, nine hogs, 30 sheep, a plough and harrow, three carts and ten acres under cultivation (PAC:MG 9 E 3, vol. 1, pp. 255, 288). For 1857 land offer see HBCA A.5/20, p. 254, 28 Jan. 1857 and reply, A.10/41, fo. 313, 21 April 1857; for abolition of land grants see A.5/26, pp. 139–41, 23 Sept. 1862, and replies, A.10/53, fos. 60, 255, 7 Jan. and 16 Feb. 1863.

32 Arctic medals, see HBCA A.5/22, pp. 226–7, 24 Feb. 1859 and reply, A.10/45, fo. 228, 11 March 1859. Applicants for re-engagement often asked for exceptional wages or privileges. Donald Buchanan of Sandwick (Stornoway) went out on three separate occasions and each time stayed beyond the minimum term: 1832–46, 1849–57, 1859–66 (HBCA B.239/u/1, no. 113, and u/2, no. 83; also A.5/22, pp. 250–2, 23 March 1859).

33 Among the recruits of 1831–2 surnames were divided as follows: McDonald, 8 (Uig, 4; Lochs and Barvas, 2 each); McLeod, 7 (Stornoway, 5; Lochs, 2); Morison, 4; McLean, McLennan and McKenzie, 3 each; McMillan, Matheson, McKay, McIver and Smith, 2 each; McAulay, Murray, Gunn, Cameron, Martin, Buchanan, McPhail and Ferguson, 1 each. Parishes reflect residence at time of enlistment, so the Stornoway and Barvas men possibly included Lochs and Uig men who had not successfully re-established themselves after removal from the southern parishes. For 'Murdo the Horse' see Smith 1875: 33. Roderick Campbell published an autobiography (1901) of which pp. 1–44 deal with childhood and impressions of Lewis in the 1850s.

34 HBCA A.11/118, fos. 57 and 67, officers in charge of York Factory to secretary, 13 Sept. 1837 and 7 Sept. 1839.

35 HBCA A.10/70, fo. 440, 5 June 1867; *op. cit.* fo. 538 (from Stromness), 22 June 1867; A.10/81, fos. 641–3, 3 Dec. 1870.

36 Thomas 1978:17; for McLeod see sources in n. 26, above.

37 Of 46 recruits only 12 (all 1832) signed their contracts (HBCA A.32, servants' contracts.) Three of five skilled tradesmen signed; seven of 15 men from Stornoway and five of 19 from Uig signed. Four from Barvas and eight from Lochs did not. There was no significant correlation between ability to sign and spending habits, career duration, or retirement patterns. For education in Lewis see Macdonald 1978:140–58. Signing and reading were very different: the minister of Lochs remarked in 1833 that 'There are only 12 persons in all the parish who can write; but half the inhabitants from twelve to twenty-four can read the Gaelic language' (*NSA* Ross and Cromarty, p. 168). For Angus McDonald's engagement as clerk see HBCA A.5/11, p. 333, secretary to McDonald, 16 Feb. 1837; A.10/4, pp. 313–14, 22 April 1837; A.10/12 p. 482, McDonald to secretary, 26 June 1841. This family was related to Chief Trader Donald Ross, a prominent officer who joined the HBC at Stornoway in 1816.

38 HBCA A.11/118, p. 582, J. W. Wilson to secretary, 25 Sept. 1866. Northern Department servants' accounts for 1865 (B.239/g/42, fos. 252–92) were analysed in detail for information on remittances.

39 HBCA A.11/118, p. 337, Hargrave to secretary, 12 Sept. 1857; Hunter (1976: 100) noted that 'blacksmiths seem to have been especially prominent' in chiliastic religious movements in the Highlands earlier in the nineteenth century; a similar point could be made about discontent in the Company's service.

40 HBCA A.5/4, pp. 26–7; Chief Factor J. L. Lewes wrote (19 Dec. 1832) that the new Lewis recruits 'are all employed seperated a mong the old Hands...they are one and all industrious labourers and well be haved young Men...they will be first rate Men provided none of the evel disposed among the old Servants corrupt them'.

41 For example, HBCA A.10/46, p. 543, 23 Nov. 1859; A.10/44 p. 302, 25 Aug. 1858. But when Philip McKay of Uig died in 1845 his heirs proved to be a brother still living at Miavaig and a sister-in-law in Cape Breton (A. 10/23, p. 179, A.10/30, p. 560).

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Legends Long Since Localised or Tales Still Travelling?

ALAN BRUFORD

This paper is designed to kill several birds with one stone: to correct some errors in an earlier note of mine in *Scottish Studies* 17("'The King's Three Questions' in Scotland"); to draw attention to a body of newly-collected Scots folktales not previously noticed in this journal; and to anticipate some conclusions of a long-delayed catalogue of Scottish fairy legends. It is primarily provoked, however, by some surprising statements in Dr David Buchan's analysis of 'The Legend of the Lughnasa Musician in Lowland Britain' in *Scottish Studies* 23 (Buchan 1979). The catalogue section of his paper is undeniably useful though not exhaustive.[1] Some of its conclusions, on the other hand, seem to me to betray a brand of romanticism which I should be sorry to see appearing in this journal unchallenged.

The title itself is misleading. Máire MacNeill's *The Festival of Lughnasa,* undoubtedly an 'exhaustive study', actually contains only *one* story in which a piper (and companions) disappear in a cave or passage underground, that from Teltown which Buchan calls 'the fullest of the Irish versions' (MacNeill 1962:668). Despite the implication in MacNeill's introduction to this, quoted by Buchan, that a similar though less complete motif has turned up 'at several sites', the only other conceivably relevant story mentioned in the book, that is to say the only one where a mortal musician disappears underground, is one from Slieve Rushen, Co. Cavan, where 'many years ago a fiddler went into the cave to play a few tunes and was never seen again, but sounds of fiddler's music and fairy dancing are heard from inside . . .' (MacNeill 1962:175). The fact that after a thorough search of the Irish Folklore Commission's manuscripts no other version was found connected with any of the 195 'Lughnasa sites', and these include many of the important places in Ireland otherwise associated with the fairies and over twenty caves (mostly inland) or supposed underground passages, surely suggests that our story may well be *less* common in Ireland than in Scotland, where we know of at least thirty versions. On present evidence, in fact, it seems more likely to have been imported from Britain to Ireland, not necessarily very long before the Teltown legend was noted by O'Donovan in 1836, and attached to a couple of 'Lughnasa sites' and no doubt to other places: much less likely that it came from Ireland to Britain with the invading Scots or later. There is thus no reason to associate the legend, at least as known in Britain, with the rites and beliefs belonging to the festival of Lughnasa or Lammas, or to postulate a lost myth of a raid on an underground treasury led by a piper.[2]

There is also no reason to think that Gaelic versions are necessarily older than Lowland Scots ones: bagpipes of some sort can be traced back as far in the Lowlands as they can in the Highlands, and the number of Highland locations for the legend is actually less than the Lowland ones. This is not clear from the article by Daniel Melia (1967) which links MacNeill to Buchan: Melia is less careful than either of the others about assigning legends to 'sites', and draws only on accounts accompanying some versions of the two songs, *Uamh an Oir* (The Cave of Gold) and *Cha till MacCruimein* (MacCrimmon will never return), recently dealt with in this journal by Virginia Blankenhorn (1978), and on the chapter dealing with the legend in W. L. Manson's *The Highland Bagpipe* (Manson 1901:247–56).

The songs all appear to be associated with Skye sites. In fact there seem to be at least three sites for *Uamh an Oir* in Skye, two of them in MacDonald rather than MacLeod territory, which suggests that the legend may have been taken over by the MacCrimmons, pipers to MacLeod of Dunvegan, from the MacArthurs, pipers to MacDonald of Sleat. A good many versions even from Skye do not call the piper a MacCrimmon, and at least one account (MacGregor 1947:169, located at Bornasciotaig—see below) calls him a MacArthur, though some recent oral versions set in other islands, including two out of three from Islay, make the piper there a MacCrimmon. Over the past century and a half no other family of hereditary pipers has had such a share of the limelight, and naturally they get more than their share of the stories too. K. N. MacDonald (1901:48) gives both a 'MacLeod country version', which agrees with the account given by Frances Tolmie (1911:157), and may derive from her, and a 'Trotternish version'. According to the first the cave is at Harlosh, which answers Manson's vague location 'four miles from Dunvegan', but to the south-east rather than the south-west as Miss Tolmie says. In the Trotternish version the cave is near Monkstadt: according to the first version this is actually the other end of the Harlosh cave. It seems doubtful whether this can be the same as the cave marked on the 1 inch Ordnance Survey map as 'Uamh Oir' (NG 372719), near Bornasciotaig in Kilmuir, as mentioned by MacGregor and by Martin Martin in the seventeenth century, which is over two miles north of Monkstadt House. Martin gives it no name but makes it the site of the legend, but he mentions another Uamh an Oir in Sleat, no doubt running from shore to shore of the peninsula, which may well once have been associated with the legend also:

> There is a big cave in the village Bornskittag, which is supposed to exceed a mile in length. The natives told me that a piper, who was over-curious, went into the cave with a design to find out the length of it; and after he entered began to play on his pipe, but never returned to give an account of his progress. . . .
>
> The Golden Cave in Sleat is said to be seven miles in length, from the west to the east. (Martin 1934:204, 205).

Without giving a catalogue, it may be worth listing the other Highland sites. Melia only mentions three of Manson's sites, Skye (Harlosh), Mull (Gribun), and [mainland] Inverness-shire (Glen Nevis). In fact Manson's chapter also mentions legends from Dundarave near Inveraray, Durness in Sutherland, and two non-Gaelic versions overlooked by Buchan from Keill in Kintyre and Glasgow Cathedral,[3] as well as a version of his Edn 1. Except for the Glen Nevis site he quotes enough to make it clear that in all these versions the piper finally disappears, though in one from Dunnet Head, Caithness (a variant of Buchan's Cai 1) he escapes after a year, as in a different legend discussed below. To the supplementary list given by Buchan (1979:36) which covers versions from Arran, Barra, Colonsay, mainland Argyll and Wester Ross as well as variants of those already mentioned, and his West Perthshire versions (Per 1, 2, 3 in Buchan 1979:29) which are clearly originally Gaelic though the third is normally a different story,[4] we may add his reference to 'School of Scottish Studies Archives', though in fact recordings so far indexed only add one further site, near Port Askaig in Islay. Finally we must mention a story from Kintail, recorded by Ian Paterson from Mrs Kate Dix, Berneray, Harris (SA 1968/255 A7): though this is not a version of our legend, since the musician involved is a fairy set to discourage intruders, it does for once include the element of the party which disappears having set out to rob the fairies in the cave of their treasure, and would surely delight Buchan, Melia and MacNeill.[5]

Dispassionately viewed, therefore, the legend of the piper in the cave is a fairly ordinary migratory legend type as defined by Christiansen (1958) and may well be paralleled outside the British Isles, though it is not mentioned by Christiansen himself or in the very comprehensive Finnish legend catalogue of Simonsuuri (1961). More precisely, perhaps, it is a migratory motif used to add narrative substance to what may often be pre-existing traditions about caves, which fall into three main groups. The one found in most of the island variants and occasionally inland maintains that a cave on one side of an island, peninsula or mountain range runs right through it and comes out at the other side: the piper's death in trying to verify this serves as a warning to take the tradition on trust, but the emergence of his dog at the far end may be added to show it is true.[6] The belief is known as far north as Orkney and Shetland: I have heard it in North Ronaldsay and Mrs Saxby (1932:51–2) gives an example from the furthest north point of the British Isles, Burrafirth in Unst. Here the Will-Helyer is a cave filled by the sea, so the warning legend is of a boatload of young men vanishing, but the wreckage of their boat being found on the far side of the island at Norwick. The inland tradition is usually of a secret passage leading into a castle or other ancient monument, or linking two such places: it is common without the legend attached. There is also a third group where the cave is simply of unknown length: in most cases these are coastal caves and Manson's implied suggestion that the story was put about by smugglers to discourage investigation (Manson 1901:251) is very reasonable.

It certainly does not seem likely that the legend has always been attached to its 'sites' since pagan times: since the Gaels were Christian before they reached the great majority of the Scottish 'sites' for the legend, and there is no evidence for the cult of Lug in Pictland, there is indeed no reason why the legend or its postulated mythic precursor should have been attached to them *in* pagan times. Thus it is wild romanticism to suggest that non-Gaelic versons 'come from some deep-down stratum of the region's cultural history. A time-span that in the case of the English versions must stretch back for the legend's Celtic roots to a time before the Saxon invasions of [the] fifth century AD is really rather striking' (Buchan 1979:22). What I want to consider in the following pages is whether there is ever any justification for talking in such terms of *any* demonstrably migratory tale (one must of course rule out those based on undoubted historical fact or personal experience, or confined or overwhelmingly linked to a single place.) Can we speak of major plot elements, rather than surface details, as 'Celtic' rather than Germanic? Dare we attempt to date the arrival in a country or region of a legend or international tale-type (*Märchen*), and suggest where it came from, or is this just an amusing waste of time? Are stories still migrating, did they move more or less freely when storytelling was commoner but travel was rarer, and has *any* legend not fixed by print been associated with one place for 1000 years or more?

All these questions cannot be answered here, but some examples may help to suggest probabilities. Taking the undeniably mobile international tale-types first, we need not adopt the modern extremist position—denying that tale-types exist, or at least are of any interest, and concentrating solely on each telling of a story as a unique creative event—to realize that some ideas which were gospel fifty years ago have gone forever. The 'ripple theory' of diffusion, for instance, is just too simple to fit many cases, and von Sydow's original use of the botanical term 'ecotype' for national variants which he saw as often having split off from a parent type during an age of migrations before the Christian era (von Sydow 1948:55–9) must be amended in scale and date on the basis of reliable type studies, even if the ideas of racial purity which can be glimpsed behind it were not now discredited. In fact my study of native Gaelic tales showed that something akin to ecotype on a local rather than national scale can easily develop in stories derived from romances written as recently as the sixteenth century—and so, incidentally, can the sort of linking with a site in the storyteller's own locality typical of migratory legend (Bruford 1965*a*:13–22; 1969:82, 93 *etc.*, 216).

One tenet of the Finnish School which has stood the test of time rather better is that *Märchen* at least move easily from one language to another, so that a well-known Irish variant of AT 875 whose hero is the Gobán Saor could be recorded in English in Victorian Deptford as 'The Gobborn Seer' (Jacobs 1894:54). Stories may easily travel much further than that, not necessarily in 'ripples' or along obvious routes. When writing my note on 'The King's Three Questions (AT 922) in Scotland' (Bruford

1973: 149) I had difficulty in accounting for the element of the skull in the version of the type, 'Domhnall Ruadh and the Skull', printed there in full as recorded from Donald John MacKinnon, the Barra bard. In fact this story of the skull, which speaks only to say 'Speaking sent me here' and then says nothing so that the man who asked how it came there is branded a liar, is unknown in Europe but common in several parts of Africa nad among negroes in America,[7] though in these versions speaking usually means that the skull's interlocutor too is put to death as a liar rather than set a further task of answering riddles. However and wherever the African tale was combined with AT 922, it reached Barra, perhaps with a Hebridean seaman who had sailed on an American ship with negroes in the crew. Certainly it can hardly have been in Barra since Celt and Bantu diverged from a parent stem!

It must not be assumed, either, that while stories stay in the same place they cannot change quite considerably in a short time. I can illustrate this while correcting another error of omission in the same article. I had failed to realise that John Stewart and Andrew Stewart were father and son, so that this 'redaction' was exemplified by versions from a single family's tradtion. In fact similar versions of 'The King and the Miller' have been recorded since from Scots-speaking travellers, among them other members of this family, including Andrew's older brothers Alec and John and Alec's wife Belle Stewart, well-known as a singer. The versions from Alec and Belle[8] show an interesting development of the original text from John Stewart (senior) recorded in his old age in 1955 and now printed in *Tocher* 21: 169–71. Alec seems to have made the fundamental changes, turning the king named in the title of his father's version into a more realistic young landlord, and developing his father's suggestion that he 'had a notion of' the miller's daughter: he threatens the miller therefore with eviction (rather than execution) if he cannot answer the three questions. The young shepherd who volunteers to answer them is unknown to the miller's daughter in John's version, where she says, 'I'll marry him if he'll save your life, but not, father, till your life's saved': Andrew makes him into the ubiquitous traveller hero 'Silly Jack', but Alec improves the motivation by making him already the girl's fiancé. Belle's further development consists of making this love interest and the rivalry between landlord and shepherd for the girl's hand the most important part of the story, and the clever solution of the problem which was originally the point of it now becomes a mere appendage to the romance which occupies some three-quarters of her telling.

The creative attitude to storytelling which this exemplifies is typical, alongside a seemingly contradictory respect for a repertoire inherited from their own family and race, of the travelling people (tinkers). Regular readers of this journal will know of the remarkable song repertoire of Scots-speaking travellers and their gifts in interpreting it, and a few fine stories collected from them in the 1950s have appeared here: but it is worth remarking on the enormous increase in the number of tales recorded in the 1970s and still to be recorded from talented traveller storytellers from the edge of the Highlands—Argyll, Perthshire, Angus, Aberdeenshire—like Stanley Robertson, Bessie Whyte, Duncan Williamson, John Stewart and Willie MacPhee. Some of them have listed literally hundreds of tales they can tell, and have already recorded scores of them, many of them international tale-types previously unknown in Scots or British English. Sometimes there are close resemblances to versions collected by the Brothers Grimm, and there is little doubt that some stories are handed down ultimately from a printed original. Many, perhaps the great majority, of the *Märchen* cannot come from Grimm or Andersen: 'The King and the Miller', for instance, though it resembles a German 'redaction' (Bruford 1973: 149), is nothing like the very brief Grimm text where the miller character and the disguise do not appear at all. On the other hand undoubted Andersen stories such as 'The Valiant Tin Soldier' and 'The Tinder-Box' definitely appear in the repertoire of Duncan Williamson. Duncan can normally say without hesitation where he heard a story, and even tell two different versions of a long tale such as AT 461 as he heard it from two different storytellers. He has done very little reading himself, but indicates possible ways in which stories from books could have reached the basically non-literate traveller community: in his own school-days the teacher quite often read aloud stories which Duncan remembered and can tell, and his great-grand-uncle, who was 'reared in the Home School' and could evidently read with some fluency, both read aloud stories from books to his family and other travellers and re-told stories he had read. The Andersen stories, however, come neither from his teacher nor through his father from his great-grand-uncle, but from one of his main sources, 'old Johnnie MacDonald', a cripple who often earned his keep by minding the children of other travellers who were out at work— on farms, hawking or trading—and was thus the nearest thing to a professional oral storyteller to be found in Britain after the Second World War. He himself could neither read nor write, but his exceptionally large repertoire of tales seems to have included many of those which at some time passed into the traveller stock from printed sources.

In this context we may consider some very ancient tales which are still told by travellers. On pages 89–105 in this volume of *Scottish Studies* Sheila Douglas studies a story told by John Stewart (brother of Andrew and Alec mentioned above) which undoubtedly derives from the Old Irish *Immram Máile Dúin*. The details seem to me to point to P. W. Joyce's translation in his *Old Celtic Romances*, published a century before the story was recorded, as the only means by which the story can have reached modern oral tradition, though it is just conceivable that it could have come through Irish from the same source as the only Irish folk version of such a tale known to me— Fr. O'Growney's Modern Irish re-tellings in the *Gaelic Journal* (Bruford 1969: 58–9). Even more ancient material appears in Duncan Williamson's repertoire: the stories of Jason and the Golden Fleece, of Midas and of the Minotaur. Bessie Whyte also has recently recorded a story, learned from her mother, whose nameless characters can be identified as Europa—carried off by a bull—and Cadmus—who pursues her with his brothers, is told by an underground voice to follow a cow, kills a dragon and sows its teeth which become men. Bessie's story adds a happy ending to round off the shapeless origin-myth more satisfactorily with Cadmus finding his sister. Similarly Duncan's Jason, who tends to be called Jack more and more as the story goes on, abandons his classical wanderings for a series of typical *Märchen* adventures. Again, Duncan learned these tales not at school but from Johnnie MacDonald, and a third story from the same source, 'Quicksilver', betrays the common printed source. It is a re-telling of Ovid's tale of Philemon and Baucis, in which the god Mercury appears under the name of Quicksilver, recognisably 'The Miraculous Pitcher' from Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Wonder Book*. Midas ('The Golden Touch') is from the same book, and 'The Minotaur', 'The Golden Fleece', and 'The Dragon's Teeth'—the story of Cadmus, where as in Bessie's story Europa is represented as a little girl and the Delphic oracle as an underground voice like a 'sighing gust of air'—are all in its sequel, *Tanglewood Tales*. The two books appeared in Britain almost simultaneously with the first American editions dated 1852 and 1853, and went through many editions thereafter[9]; again, there has been plenty of time for the stories to pass somehow into traveller oral tradition, and judging by the changes in them they have been there for some time.

Here, therefore, we have been dealing, not with centuries-old oral tradition, but with the receptivity of a lively modern oral tradition to narrative of all sorts, regardless of subject-matter or origin. In fact the Scots traveller storytelling tradition does seem to accept plots but reject names, whether they be Cadmus or Fionn (as in the case of another of Bessie Whyte's stories which probably does have a history of several centuries in oral tradition, but in Gaelic),[10] and this applies also to place-names: this wandering population seldom attaches the same importance to localised legends as those for whom they are part of the history of their own parish, and when they do tell them the scene, unless it is a known camping-ground or gathering-place for travellers, tends to be described in fairly general terms—a place 'on Deeside', or 'in the Isle of Skye', or even 'in the Highlands somewhere'. In fact their repertoire of legends, especially fairy legends, seems to be limited in comparison with their wide range of *Märchen*, 'fairytales' in the other sense, set in a 'Land of Enchantment' with no precise location. *Märchen* have always been difficult to date just because of this imprecision, and the 'historic-geographic' studies of the Finnish School have generally had to rely on the distribution of variants known in writing—indeed for the most part only published variants—rather than internal evidence as a basis for deducing the dates and places where such tales originated. It may be possible in time to decide that in other tales than AT 922 Gaelic versions are related through Ireland to France and Scots ones to Germany or England; if so this would suggest that they came to Scotland in the later Middle Ages, when there were regular trade relations in these directions, though the Scots tales could have arrived later than this by the East Coast route, or the Gaelic ones with returning Jacobites! There is no literary evidence for the existence of any recognisable complete *Märchen* in Scotland before 1600, though at least one (AT 910B, 'The Three Wise Counsels') was used as the basis of the greater part of the 'Irish Odyssey', *Merugud Uilix meic Leirtis*, in Ireland about the twelfth century. This in itself does not prove that there were not *Märchen* known in Scotland much earlier; and there is no reason to discount the possibility that some *Märchen* types may have travelled from a birthplace in Ireland or even Scotland to France rather than *vice versa*, particularly in cases such as AT 709 (Snow White) or AT 303 (The Twins) (see Appendix A, p. 55). But the *Märchen* as we now know it in Europe seems to be mainly the creation of the later Middle Ages, and this is as true in Scotland as anywhere else.

My study of native Gaelic hero-tales, generally like *Märchen* in their conventions except that the characters are given names, showed that it was possible for such a tale to become as popular, and as much varied, as all but the half-dozen commonest *Märchen* in Ireland or Gaelic Scotland, when there is no reason to doubt that it was originally a literary composition of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Though tales whose original form can be dated seven or eight centuries earlier do turn up, they generally do so in the shape in which they were still being copied, by Scottish scribes in many cases, in post-mediaeval paper manuscripts, and are most likely to have reached oral tradition by being read aloud from such manuscripts: the Ulster cycle tales which have become folktales in Scotland, even the *Táin*, are in paper manuscripts, apart from the part of the Deirdre story which tells of Deirdre's birth (Bruford 1969:93, 103–4), and since the only complete version of that tale from Scotland (Carmichael 1914) is not free from editorial interference,[11] it may be safer not to build too much on that point.

However, it was with a legend that this argument began, and it is time to come back to the question of dating those tales which are normally linked with real places and people of some significance to the teller. Unfortunately legends are if anything less likely to be attested in mediaeval writings than *Märchen*, and any attempt to date them must rely mainly on internal evidence or distribution patterns. The persistence of Old Irish patterns of thought, at least, is more marked in Scottish Gaelic historical legends, which for the most part are tied firmly to local heroes and events of—again—the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, than in the more fantastic hero-tales. Certainly the ideas concerned were also contained in stories being copied by Scottish scribes about the time that the events to which they became attached were enacted, and must have been known to the professional *seanchaidhs* who surely helped to shape the legends of their clans; but in this case I feel that what was passed on was not merely a literary cliché but a way of thinking, principally an idea of the hero which was important enough to transcend mere fact. The proportion of truth to recurrent fiction in Gaelic historical legends deserves a separate and exhaustive study: here I want to quote only a couple of examples of which I mean.[12] Von Hahn's 'Aryan Expulsion-and-Return Formula', used of numerous semi-mythical Irish kings such as Labraid Loingsech and Lugaid macCon, is so firmly entrenched in the Gaelic consciousness that it can be applied to any excluded heir: in an extreme case to a middle-aged chief of Lochbuie, kept out of his lands for a year or so by an uncle, who is metamorphosed according to a tradition still well-known in Mull into a child born to a father already imprisoned by a rival chief, smuggled into hiding and eventually overseas, to return twenty years later with a following of Irish swordsmen and recapture his castle (*Tocher*; 24:292–7; MacCormick 1923:92–102). A more exclusively Gaelic development of the motif of the Fated Death, where a hero such as Cú Chulainn or Conaire Mór meets his death as the immediate and inevitable consequence of breaking a personal taboo (*geis*) or a series of such taboos, also persists. The best-known instance is the legend of Eoghan a' Chinn Bhig, warned by a *bean-nighe* that he would die in next day's battle unless his niggardly wife put butter on the table without being asked for it: this is told of others too, including the last of the MacCrimmons.[13] (The inconsequential nature of the taboo, its concern with food and perhaps the difficulty of avoiding it—since either asking or not asking and not getting would be a breach—are typical of the older tradition, but its announcement at the last moment is a modern development.) More impressive is the series of three prohibitions given by a witch to Sir Lachlan MacLean of Duart before his death at the Battle of Gruinart in 1598: one, not to circle a knoll or island widdershins, broken in deliberate defiance; another, not to land on Thursday, broken by the accident of a sudden storm; and the last, not to drink from the well of Niall Neònach, broken in ignorance of the name—followed at once by the prophesied death as he stooped to drink at the well. Not only is this tradition still well known in Islay, but it is mentioned in an almost contemporary manuscript source which includes the two latter taboos.[14]

Supernatural legends are a much more diverse body. While there is little quite like the Gaelic clan legends in Scots, even in the clan ballads of the North-East, migratory legends of the supernatural seem to cross linguistic boundaries even more easily than *Märchen*, and many if not most of them can be found in both languages of Scotland. The movement may have been from Scots to Gaelic as often as Gaelic to Scots: many witch legends must have spread with the witch persecutions from the Lowlands, and the half-jocular stories have persisted while the beliefs involved never took root like the older beliefs in the Evil Eye and the taking of profit. English words in a Gaelic narration, or at least a Lowland-style social background to the story, demonstrate this in two cases (Bruford 1967:14–15). In other cases (Bruford 1967:22 (Type 6), 24 (Type 8), 31 (Type 31)) the story involves very ancient motifs, none of them specifically 'Celtic' but capable of being paralleled throughout Europe. The first case, the girdle placed on a standing stone or bush instead of a person whom it would have killed, is certainly reminiscent of Balor's head in *Cath Maige Tured*, as I suggested, but there are actually closer parallels involving a girdle presented by a supernatural being and put round a tree in German tales:[15] I cannot point to a classical original but it would not be surprising if one appeared. In the other two cases there are certainly variants to show how the Scottish legends are linked in time and space with their

Greek or Latin prototypes: Child's notes to his Type 6 are sufficient to illustrate how widespread tales of childbirth delayed by magic are, while the three knots raising the wind are attested in a similar form—a development of the prototype in the *Odyssey*—at least from the Baltic to Ireland.[16] One of the most popular witch legends seems to have been extracted from a *Märchen* which the authoritative study (Ranke 1934:376–7) considers too complex in its developed form to be very old, by implication put together at least since AD 1000—but it is conceivable (see Appendix A) that the Scottish legend is actually one of the sources of the international tale.

However, if we are looking for legends which might be expected to have survived for a thousand years or more in the same place, we must surely look among the legends of fairies and other supernatural beings. This is the category to which, for convenience, I would assign the legend of the piper with which we began (though in fact in many versions fairies or supernatural beings of any sort make no overt appearance). Moreover, nobody with a knowledge of Gaelic storytelling can deny that there is a continuous development of the fairies (*sìdhichean, daoine sìdhe*) from the Tuatha Dé Danann (*aes síde*) of early Irish literature, who are simply the gods of pagan Ireland as represented by Christian writers—as a conquered race of human beings with manifestly superhuman powers. At the same time they are not a specifically Gaelic concept, and in fact most of the nations and tribes of mankind, including those who have never given up their pagan gods, seem to have, or once to have had, a belief in beings, of whatever stature or appearance, who hover like the fairies of recent times on the fringes of official belief and function in the same way as representatives of wild nature, sometimes helpful, sometimes frightening, most often serving as scapegoats when something inexplicably goes wrong (*cf.* MacDougall 1978:ix). So the legends are often migratory and even international. In fact there seems to have been disappointingly little investigation of the international parallels to British fairy legends—at least published in English—since Thomas Keightley brought many of them to light in his *Fairy Mythology* over 150 years ago. Apart from the two types so widespread that they are catalogued as *Märchen* (AT 500 (Rumpelstiltskin) and AT 503, the story of the two hunchbacks) and the universal trick where the fairy's opponent gives his or her name as 'Myself' (motif K602), Keightley gives evidence of the distribution throughout Europe of such legends as that of the fairy midwife; the changeling detected by pretending to brew in eggshells; the brownie 'paid off' with clothing or moving house along with the family who are trying to get away from him; the theft of a fairy cup; the final departure of the fairies, and so on.[17] Recent catalogues add a few, such as the fairy coming to complain of a mortal's drain emptying into his house or the like (Christiansen 1958:No. 5075; Simonsuuri 1961 No. M 76, M 342), but close parallels to Scottish types seem rather few.

One relevant feature of the distribution of fairy legends in the British Isles is the situation in Orkney and Shetland. It is now thought that the Norsemen who settled the islands from the ninth century onwards did not wipe out the native 'Pictish' inhabitants (though their language disappeared almost without trace) and possibly even intermarried with them. Any influx of population since the later Middle Ages has been from mainland Scotland, and the modern dialect is basically Scots, though including many Norse words, especially in Shetland, where trade with Norway for boat-timbers and other wooden objects was regular in the last century, and close contacts at least with Norse fishermen continued into this. Out of Christiansen's catalogue (Christiansen 1958), which presumably includes all the important recurrent legend types dealing with fairies (*huldre*) in Norway, if we disregard the types already mentioned which seem to be common to a great part of Europe at least, there seem only to be two which can be recognised in Orkney and Shetland but not elsewhere in Scotland, and may therefore go back to the fifteenth century or earlier, when the islands were still a Norse dependency. One of these, Type 6000, 'Tricking the Fairy Suitor', is only known to me from a single variant I recorded in South Ronaldsay, the nearest of the islands to the Scottish mainland (*Tocher* 26: 100–1). I have pointed out elsewhere (Bruford 1979: 156) that this story, where the fairy suitor's advice on protecting a cow from a fairy bull is applied to the girl he is courting, is virtually a reversal of the way in which in other Scottish tales the lover's charm is misdirected so that a cow or the like falls in love with him; and indeed have found a Gaelic tale since which parallels the Norwegian type almost as closely in a different way.[18] The second case is less doubtful: type 6070A, 'Fairies send a Message', is known in Fetlar and was known in Foula in a form whose very words, at least in the message itself, still include Norse names for fairies and were once almost completely in the older Norse speech of Shetland. But even here the issue is clouded by resemblances to Gaelic legends on the one side and the existence of a parallel local, non-migratory 'memorate' on the other (Bruford 1979: 159–60). We can discount the parallels to Type 3080, 'The Finn Messenger', where in Shetland versions (*e.g.* Nelson 1971) the 'Finn man' or 'Norway Finn' is clearly a Lappish magician as in the Norwegian ones, not one of the sea-fairies with whom the Lapps, because they could turn into seals, sometimes became confused. Nearly all the other fairy legends of the Northern Isles can more easily be paralleled in Gaelic Scotland.[19]

Even what is generally felt to be a typical Nordic legend—the story of the man who captures a seal-woman's skin and marries her until many years later she finds the skin and goes back to the sea—is not Norwegian and may well be Irish in origin. It is well-known round most of the coasts of Ireland and Scotland—alternating with a form where a mermaid and her 'slough' (Gaelic *cochull*, meaning apparently a scaly tail which comes off to reveal human legs) replace the seal and her skin—common in Orkney and Shetland, known in Iceland and the Faeroes, but although assigned a number (4080) by Christiansen (1958: 75), he can only quote one Norwegian version.[20] The Northern Isles are more likely to be a staging-post on a journey from West to East, in this legend's case, than on one from East to West: possibly, but not probably, they are the centre from which the story spread in all directions and where it was invented, or rather adapted from the international motif of the swan-maiden (D361.1) which in that form is known from Greenland to Polynesia and must be the primary form. But leaving aside the possibility that one or two Shetland or Orkney legends might be home-grown products, why are more of them paralleled in the Highlands than in Norway? The romantic may be tempted to see this as meaning that the Picts handed on their legends, though not their language, to Gaelic-speaking and Norse-speaking invaders alike. There is some support for this in a general impression, which I cannot yet fully substantiate, that a good many Northern Scottish fairy legend types are unknown or at least uncommon in Ireland (and *vice versa*), and that some of them may be easier to parallel from England or Wales, as well as Lowland Scotland, regions where the population of 1500 years ago were speakers of P-Celtic like the Picts. (The story of the piper in the cave, incidentally, is a notable example.) A more sober interpretation of the evidence may be that the Highlanders have been accumulating legends over the past millennium from many sources—Irish, English and others—and no doubt inventing some themselves; and that since the fifteenth century the settlers and fugitives who have made names like Tulloch and Fraser, Mackay and Leask common in the Northern Isles, along with visiting merchants and fishermen, have carried the legends on to take root again there. The fact that the term for a fairy in the North Isles is 'trow' (from the Norse *troll*) in most districts, the English or Scots 'fairy' in others, along with some synonyms such as 'hill-folk', but never anything related to the modern Norse term *huldre*,[21] certainly suggests that Norse concepts of the fairies have become confused with the passage of time and overlaid with Scottish ideas, and the stories surely cling to the beliefs.

Let us conclude by looking more closely at one legend with a distribution pattern of this sort, regularly associated with existing 'sites' and closely related to the story of the piper, since it also concerns the disappearance of a mortal, in some versions a musician, into the fairy hill. I have never come across an Irish version, though it looks like a story which might easily fit into the Irish tradition, and has features in common with an international type, AT 471A 'The Monk and the Bird', generally thought to be of Irish origin; but it is not in some major collections or the only available catalogue,[22] and indeed if it were associated with 'fairy hills' in Ireland as it is in the Highlands enough of them would surely be 'Lughnasa sites' for it to be in Máire MacNeill's book somewhere. The story is normally about two men going for whisky to celebrate New Year (or a christening) who see the fairy hill with its door open, lights blazing and music playing: one is tempted in and joins the dance, the other stays outside and the door closes. A year later he goes back, finds the door open once more and drags out his companion, who is convinced he has hardly finished the first reel he was dancing, and that with the full cask or jar of whisky strapped on his back; but the state of his boots, or the fact that the child who was to be christened is now walking, may help to change his mind. Versions are known at least from Easter and Wester Ross, several parts of Inverness-shire, Lorne and almost every parish of Highland

Perthshire, from the islands of Lewis, Harris, Benbecula and South Uist, Barra, Skye, Raasay, Iona and Islay, the mainlands of Orkney and Shetland, and Yell.[23] In some versions the men are described as fiddlers or pipers, and Shetland versions may be conflated with a separate legend of a fiddler invited to play for a fairy wedding (and not kept for long: *Tocher* 28:202–3): in Shetland and Iona a basket or string of fish may replace the whisky (but in Iona the fish rots, in Shetland it is still fresh after a year!). Occasionally, too, the dancer comes out of his own accord not after one year but a hundred: Orcadians claim that the original idea for Rip Van Winkle came from a version of this story told to Washington Irving by his parents, who were born in Shapinsay.

Many versions of this legend—probably all the older ones—are associated with the *sìdhean* or fairy hill of the locality: this may be a natural hill or knoll, a prehistoric chamber tomb or tumulus, or even (as in the best-known Orkney example, which prefers it to a multitude of chambered cairns in the neighbourhood) the grass-grown ruins of an Iron-Age broch. With the possible exception of the last type it seems quite likely that these sites have been sacred places since pre-Christian times, and if the legend has a long association with each one of them it must be old indeed. The lack or at least rarity of Irish parallels suggests that it could have been in the Highlands before the Gaels arrived there. There are apparently no Lowland versions, perhaps because there are not recognised fairy hills of the same sort in the Lowland regions. In fact, however, the closest parallels outside Scotland lack the element of the fairy hill. There are a number of versions from Wales[24] very like the Scottish legends except that the dancer carries no load of whisky or fish, and does not go into a hill because the dance takes place out of doors in a fairy ring, and the dancers simply vanish for a year. So have we a very ancient British or P-Celtic legend here from before the English came? Or since the motif of the supernatural lapse of time in the Otherworld, which is the basis of the story, is much more widespread, should we not wait and see if there are versions outside these islands again? Keightley (1850:124–5) certainly prints something very like our legend from Denmark: if it is at all common there we may have to concede that this legend too, like most other migratory types, could have travelled within Scotland or even arrived in Scotland within the past millennium.

APPENDIX A

Even now too few of the Irish and Scottish Gaelic tales, collected in their thousands over the past 120 years, have been published in translation to be sufficiently taken into account in comparative studies, and while the Indian end of the area which Stith Thompson defined as 'From Ireland to India' (Thompson 1946, title to Part Two) is acknowledged as the birthplace of some, if no longer all, *Märchen* types, the Gaels have to be content with the occasional fumble by an Arthurian scholar looking for 'Celtic' motifs. But if French romances used material which may have come from Ireland or even Pictland, why not the many *Märchen* whose first recorded appearance may be in French? Certainly if Snow-White's stepmother consults a trout in a well rather than a mirror on a wall (Bruford 1965*b*: 154, 162–5, 172–3) it is both a less modern concept and one deeply rooted in Gaelic lore, and indeed in traditional practice, since a trout, eel or other fish was regularly kept in wells to purify drinking water in various parts of the British Isles until recent times: the burden of proof would be on those who wished to show that this Gaelic form of the motif was *not* the original one. In 'The Twins', assigned tentatively to a mediaeval French origin (Ranke 1934:374–7), the argument is less certain: since the witch part of the story is well established in Scotland as a local legend (Bruford 1967:18), it seems unlikely to derive from a story which reached Scotland late. It can hardly be the original form, since the hero who is told to bind his hounds with a hair, and deliberately does not, needs the contrast of the brother who obeyed and was destroyed to bring out the point of the request. But among both Scots and Gaelic-speaking travellers especially, this episode, following immediately from the miraculous birth and upbringing of the twins without the intervening dragon-slaying sequence of the standard international type, is regularly told as a separate story, even by narrators who also know the dragon-slayer type (AT 300). The stories are known separately in other countries, but they perhaps do not occur so regularly, and it seems just possible that the witch-and-twins tale already existed in Scotland before it was put together with the dragon-slayer type (in Scotland or nearby) by the compiler who most probably created AT 303.

NOTES

1 See below and note 3. I owe to Stephen Miller, a student in Oral Literature and Popular Tradition 1, a reference to an unusually detailed version from the parish of Cairnie in Aberdeenshire, where a piper, his daughter and a cow all vanished into a cave on the Binn Hill known as the Elf-House (Pirie 1906: 134–5): Mr Miller has heard this in local oral tradition. There are also likely to be versions in the Archives of the School of Scottish Studies as yet unindexed. I do not intend to say anything about the 'B versions', at least those which deal just with an attempt to recover treasure, since they are relevant only to the supposed Lughnasa myth and not to the tale of the piper; moreover they are too few to be of much help to students of the vast field of traditions about treasures.

2 Such a myth seems fundamentally unconvincing. If the piper represents the god, or demigod, Lugh (Melia 1967:371) he should emerge triumphant after harrowing the underworld, not vanish forever —and in any case, the idea that myths derive from vanished rituals is surely long since discredited. The usual pattern of raids on the gods in known mythologies either follows the type in which fire is stolen from heaven, or—more relevant here—the attempt, generally unsuccessful, to free a mortal from the nether world. (Early Irish tales in fact mention the *successful* recapture of women such as Étaín, and sometimes of other booty, from the *síd* or otherworld simply by digging into the fairy hill.) Neither of these provides any parallel to the usual form of the legend, and it seems very possible that the mention of treasure in the Teltown story was inspired more by tales of actual hoards dug up at ancient sites than anything to do with 'fairy gold' (which in any case notoriously turns into leaves or dung in daylight). In fact there seems to be nothing but the bare name of the 'Cave of Gold' to suggest that a quest for treasure is involved in any of the Scottish versions of our story—the cave is explored simply 'because it is there' (but see note 5).

3 The Kintyre story includes the rhyme 'I doubt, I doubt/I'll ne'er get out' in English. The source of the tunnel from Glasgow Cathedral to Rutherglen, dug by the Picts coming to build the cathedral (!), is given as Hugh MacDonald's 'ramble' *Rutherglen and Cathkin*.

4 The usual story of the cave of Weem, as given by Mackay 1954:207–8 and 182, concerns two stepsisters, one of whom went into the cave in search of a lost calf, was captured behind the nine gates and eventually found dead in Loch Glassie. References to versions of this from printed sources and Lady Evelyn Stewart-Murray's manuscripts will be found in *Tocher* 33:211–12 (explaining the version of the associated song printed in *Tocher* 27:178–9). I am grateful to Dr Buchan for drawing

my attention to the printed sources. The better-known piper tale was probably substituted in this case when the details of the original story began to be forgotten.

5 The story, heard by Mrs Dix's father when apprenticed to a tailor on Loch Long-side, was that a sobbing sound used to be heard on dark nights from a cave in the hills near there, which was therefore called Uamh na h-Ochanaich (The Cave of the Sobbing). At last a local lad ventured to go there for a wager and discovered that close to, the sobbing sounded like sweet music: it was made by an old fairy man sitting in the mouth of the cave playing a 'Lochaber Jews' harp' (*tromb Abrach*) to frighten away intruders while his companions held their revels further in. When this was discovered the able-bodied young men of the community all gathered to raid the cave for the fairies' money (or silver—*airgiod*) but were never seen again.

6 So in the Mull version (MacCormick 1923:79–81) and the sources cited by Buchan 1979:36 from Wester Ross, Colonsay and Arran at least. In other cases the dog may be remembered but the reason for his presence forgotten, and he comes out the way he came in: only in Buchan's *Kin 1* is his howling heard from above like the lowing of the Cairnie cow (note 1). The dog emerging hairless is a feature of other Gaelic stories, where for instance Fionn and Bran his dog go inside a monster to kill it (*e.g.* MacLellan 1961:11). This could be rationalised as a result of entering the monster's digestive juices, and the parallel with emergence from a cave is obvious; but in fact dogs return hairless from other violent encounters with the supernatural, as in witch type 3 (Bruford 1967:19).

7 Dorson 1967:146–8 gives three American variants and references to others in America and Africa: one of his versions is a similar combination with a well-known international type, AT 1791. I cannot easily refer to a catalogue of African types, but have heard several oral re-tellings: one by Dr Roy Willis, giving the Scottish Oral History Group an example of tales he had collected among the Fipa of Tanzania, first drew my attention to the wanderings of the type.

8 Alec Stewart's recent and much mourned death, preceded by several years of serious illness, has meant that his excellent storytelling has been little recorded when he was at his best. Some cassette recordings have been made recently by Mrs Sheila Douglas, and in the sixties by Maurice Fleming (unfortunately erased after transcription), and I am grateful to Mr Fleming for a transcription of 'The King and the Miller'. I recorded Belle telling the story, the first she volunteered when asked if she could tell any stories, in Edinburgh in November 1977 (SA 1977/161 A1).

9 Hawthorne 1972:375–6, 384–5 (British editions); see *op. cit.*:40, 118, 183, 234, 330 for the tales cited.

10 'The Princess and the Pups' (*Tocher* 23:258–61) is a version without names of the 'Finding of Bran' episode of the Fenian romance *Feis Tighe Chonáin*, a late mediaeval literary use of the folk motif of the wonderful helpers, which has returned to the folk realm and seems to be catalogued by O Súilleabháin and Christiansen (1963:135) simply under the international type AT 653; see also Bruford 1969:118 and note. It was in fact a request to tell this story, which Bessie had half-forgotten since first recording it, that led to the recording of another story about an abducted princess, her Cadmus story (SA 1980/41 A).

11 The title for a start seems to be Carmichael's own invention, and with it goes Carmichael's note that 'the form Deirdire seems to be confined to the tale, and the form Dearduil to the poems on the lady' (Carmichael 1914:135). Both forms are used in poems and prose introductions printed in *Leabhar na Féinne* (Campbell 1872:19–29). In fact the fair copy of the story as Carmichael took it down (Edinburgh University Library, Carmichael-Watson MS 154:4–29) calls her Dearduil except for the portion of the story from her elopement to her return to Ireland, where for some reason she becomes Deairdire. As in the majority of folk versions, the story is not called by her name (*cf.* Bruford 1969:103), but is 'Eachdraidh Chlann Uisne'. Naoise is Naoisne throughout (assimilated to his patronymic); Deirdre's father is Golam, not Colum, Cruitire; and the editor has apparently changed Loch Ness to Loch Etive on the strength of Argyll tradition and supplied names for the three sons of Fergus (Fearchar) from the written romance. This is not the place for the full comparison which should be made: but the text has been expanded and rewritten throughout, and the entire discussion with Fergus, Deirdre's dream—suggested no doubt by the lay—and the two very strange-looking poems (Carmichael 1914:62–75) have been interpolated where the manuscript has five sentences of dialogue and narration.

12 These have been cited in unpublished papers I have read at two International Congresses of Celtic Studies, at Edinburgh in 1967 and Galway in 1979, and I have often used them in lectures, but the subject deserves extended treatment in print.

13 The fullest account in print is perhaps that in Campbell 1902:115–17 (the footnote at the end refers to the other Lochbuie story just mentioned). The MacCrimmon tale, which predictably makes Domhnall Bàn a volunteer on the Jacobite side, not part of a Government levy (*cf.* Blankenhorn 1978:46), was recorded by the late Dr Calum Maclean for the Irish Folklore Commission in Skye (reference mislaid).

14 Recent traditions have been recorded but not printed, apart from two private productions of very full accounts of the Battle of Gruinart: (English translation only) School of Scottish Studies teaching booklet, *Scottish Traditional Tales* (1974): 143–5; (Gaelic only) an anonymous publication from the Dewar MSS, presumably the few copies in the National Library of Scotland among the Campbell of Islay MSS, headed: *Ian Og Ile/, MS. VII, Ian Deoir/ Earrann 1/ Blar Traigh/ Ghruinneaird* (John Grant, Edinburgh 1950). The contemporary account—probably by Sir Robert Gordon, but I have not established whether this manuscript of 'Feuds and Conflicts of the Clans' is simply taken from his History of Sutherland or is a parallel source—is published by MacGregor 1907:134–5 (who also refers to a publication in vol. XI of the *Celtic Magazine*): 'Maclean had three responses from a witch before he undertook this journey into Isla; first, desiring him not to land there upon Thursday; the next was, forbidding him to drink of a well beside Gruinart; and thirdly, she told him that one called Maclean should be slain at Gruinart. The first he transgressed unwillingly, being driven into that island by a tempest on a Thursday. The second he transgressed negligently, and drank of that water before he knew the name of the place, and so he died at Gruinart, as was foretold him, but doubtfully, and as commonly all such responses be.'

15 Mackensen 1934–40:675, *s.v. gürtel*, refers to the girdle bringing death or destruction, given by a forest fairy (*Waldfee*) or giants, which as a precaution is first placed round a young tree, as a motif more typical of *Sage* or legend but presumably also found in Märchen. See *Tocher* 28:206–7 (*cf.* note 18) for a further Scottish version where it is a fairy who gives the girdle and, as in the Old Irish tale, a stone and not a tree round which it is put—but in the treeless Hebrides this is hardly surprising!

16 See Hole 1957:132 for a reference to this tale, as fact, of the Isle of Man, from Higden's *Polychronicon* (and *op. cit.*:128 for a more general discussion of the motif, unfortunately with few sources cited). The only Irish version I have come across (Ó hEochaidh 1954:209–10) is about a breeze raised to cool peat-workers, but no doubt more typical versions can be found. For Danish versions see, for instance, Kristensen 1901:414–16, Nos. 1220, 1222–4, and for Finnish ones see Taylor 1927:42 and n.3—who refers to the story as a 'medieval tradition'. I should add that non-Gaelic versions from Northern Scotland are common in fact (*cf.* Bruford 1967:31).

17 The following page numbers and nationalities are those of examples of the legends mentioned in the enlarged 'new edition' of Keightley's book (1850). AT 500: 116, 232 (Danish, German); AT 503: 364, 439, 461 (Irish, Breton, Spanish); 'Myself': 313, 396, 477, 489 (English, Scottish Gaelic, French); midwife to the fairies: 122, 261, 275, 301, 311, 353, 388, 506 (Swedish, German, three English, Lowland Scots, and a Jewish parallel told of a male circumciser); eggshells: 126 note, 365, 436, 473 (German, Scots, Irish, Breton, French; also imperfect parallels 125, 416, Danish and Welsh); 'paid off' (*ausgelohnt*): 229, 296, 358, 395 (German, English, Scots, Gaelic); 'we're flitting': 140, 307, 369, 491 (Danish, with mention of German parallel, English, Irish, Polish); cup: 88, 109, 237, 283, 284, 399 (2 Danish, German, 2 English, Manx); fairies depart: 127, 224 ff., 257, 273, 356 (Danish, several German, Swiss, Scottish). Other seemingly widespread types are the story of the wish for fairy food or drink (Christiansen 1958 type 5080; Keightley 1850:352); and the story of the knife thrown at an animal or whirlwind and later found in a fairy (or Lappish) dwelling (Simonsuuri 1961 type D 1101 ff.; *cf.* Taylor 1927:25).

18 *Tocher* 28:204–7—another case of the charm to delay childbirth mentioned above, caused by a jealous fairy lover not a witch, replaces the love charm, but the cure as in the Norwegian tale is by a herb, pearlwort (*mungan*). For the 'reverse' cases, involving love charms used both by mortals and by fairies, see *Tocher* 1:11–13 and 20:128–9.

19 I am indebted to my colleague D. A. MacDonald for drawing my attention to a legend from the *Western* Isles which, exceptionally, may have survived there since Norse times. The story of a bull 'Tarbh na Leòid' (not *Mac*Leod's bull, though modern storytellers may interpret it this way, but perhaps Ljót's bull?) which fights a water-horse to the death is widely known in North Uist. It is set at a loch in the island of Heisker called Loch Snigreabhad, which Mr MacDonald suggests probably derives from Old Norse **nykra-vatn*, 'loch of the water-horse'. This does not of course prove that this story was known there from Norse times, but there is a partial resemblance to Christiansen's Type 4085, 'The Seahorse and the Seaserpent' (Christiansen 1958:75–7), which is not otherwise paralleled in Scotland.

20 For the Irish distribution my evidence is oral information from Professor Bo Almqvist on the results of a survey of material in the archives of the Department of Irish Folklore, University College, Dublin, by students under his direction; these have not to my knowledge been published. For Scottish evidence I rely on the Central Index of the School of Scottish Studies and my own fieldwork. There may be more Danish versions than Norwegian: the only one I can cite at the moment is one referred to by Christiansen, Kristensen 1893:148, No. 16, a very brief summary.

21 It has sometimes been claimed that trows and fairies in the Northern Isles were identical, but there seem to have been memories that trows were a coarser breed: see Marwick 1975:32–46, and Tom Tulloch in *Tocher* 30:370. As the latter says both terms were known in Yell (and possibly the other North Isles of Shetland), 'fairies' being the commoner, 'trows' a more earthy type of being. In South Ronaldsay, James Henderson (*Tocher* 26:102) felt that 'trows' was the older term, but 'fairies' or 'fairags' was the usual one by the time of his youth (born 1903). The latter form borrows an ending from Gaelic which is originally feminine, though in the South Isles and East Mainland of Orkney diminutives in -ag or -ock can apply to either sex, and in fact seems to be collective or feminine, since a male fairy was called an elf. It may be in fact that the modern Norse term *huldre(-folk)*, meaning 'hidden (people)', has only replaced forms such as *alver*, 'elves', as the general term for fairies since regular comings and goings to Orkney ceased; this probably *has* happened since the Northern Isles were first settled, though the late Ernest Marwick suggested that there might be a trace of the usage in the place-name Hildival and a once-noted compound 'hilderbogie' (Marwick 1972:198). So it is possible that 'trow' was adapted in Orkney and Shetland at the same time as *hulder* was being adopted for the same purpose in Norway and 'fairy' was being brought in by the Scots settlers.

22 Ó Súilleabháin 1942:450–70 has two slightly relevant entries among hundreds: 'two men who enter a room under a hill where a dance is being held wake up in the open next day' (p. 470) and 'woman who spent two days dancing in a fairy place thought she had been there only a few minutes' (p. 466), but the time-scale at least is hardly the same. One of the most comprehensive modern collections of Irish fairy legends (Ó hEochaidh 1954: the enlarged new edition with translation, Dublin 1977, was not available to me) has no trace of it. Keightley 1850:125 n., under a Danish parallel, refers to 'the Irish legend of Clough na Cuddy, so extremely well told by Mr. C. Croker', but I cannot trace this in Croker 1888, which is said to include all but the Welsh and German matter in the third volume of the rare first edition.

23 Some printed versions are in Grant Stewart 1823:91–102; Campbell 1900:61–3 (including the Iona version cited); MacDougall 1978:28–30; Mackenzie 1914:266–7; as well as journals such as *Folk-Lore* (11:442–3); *The Celtic Review* (5:169) and *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (29:272–4) which certainly include other versions that I cannot now cite.

24 See, for instance, Keightley 1850:415–6 (abridged from Croker's third volume referred to in note 22); Sikes 1880:70–9; Owen 1896:36–44 (each of these with four versions: the total, allowing for overlaps, is seven).

REFERENCES

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The Highland Parishes in 1698: An Examination of Sources for the Definition of the Gaidhealtachd

C. W. J. WITHERS

Any definition of the geographical area of the Scottish Highlands will reflect whatever criterion is used. This area has often been defined on the basis of the Gaelic language: the Highlands have corresponded to the Gaidhealtachd—the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland. Dividing the Gaidhealtachd from the non-Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland (notwithstanding the urban areas of Gaelic speech both past and present) has been the concept of the Highland Line. This has often been taken as the border of the Gaelic language area (Speitel 1980). The Highland Line was considered by W. F. Skene (1881 : 3.285–6) to run from near Balmaha to Aberfoyle and on to Callander; from Callander it followed the Grampians to Crieff and Dunkeld; crossing the River Isla north-west of Alyth, it proceeded along the west side of Glenmuick to Ballater; northwards still, it embraced Strathdon and Strathavon and, passing through Strathspey, it reached the sea at the mouth of the River Nairn (see Fig. 2, p. 86). Earlier assessments of the area of the Highlands seem to have been based more on prejudice than on fact. The Gaidhealtachd was often equated with 'barbarity and incivilitie' (Reg. Privy Coun. X. 671–2). Several sources do exist, however, the study of which provides some knowledge of the geographical extent of the Highlands as a language area for the last few years of the seventeenth century. It is the examination of these sources that is the basis of this paper.

The Sources Outlined

The sources are in the form of lists. They are four in number and have been reproduced in Tables I to IV respectively (pp. 65–73). The two source lists of particular interest here are entitled 'An Account of the Parishes in the Highlands. 1698' (hereafter A.P.H.), which constitutes Table III, and 'A More Particular List of the Highland Parishes' (hereafter M.P.L.H.P.), which makes up Table IV. Both these lists appear in the Kirkwood Collection in New College Library, Edinburgh (Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.2.: 24–31). They have also been transcribed at a later date in the Irish Bible MS in the National Library of Scotland (N.L.S. MS821). Table I appears in the Irish Bible MS and in Maclean (1924). Table II appears only in the Register Minutes of the Synod of Argyll for 1693 in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

It is here suggested that they are all related sources and are primarily concerned with the distribution and delivery of the Irish Bible in Gaelic Scotland in the last years of the seventeenth century. Through the examination of these lists, the paper has two objects. The first, of less importance, is to add a little to our knowledge of the processes and patterns behind the distribution of the Irish Bible in Scotland in the late seventeenth century (Durkacz 1978). The second, of more importance, is to outline what is thought to be the earliest formal representation of the Gaidhealtachd or Gaelic-speaking Highlands in Scotland.

The two people involved most deeply with the delivery of these Irish Bibles were James Kirkwood and Robert Kirk (MacLean 1924). The Kirkwood Collection is, in part, the papers and correspondence of the former. It is here argued that the A.P.H. and M.P.L.H.P. lists are a form of checklist for this distribution, originating through Kirk, but more significantly, as the paper hopes to show, probably used only by Kirkwood after the death of Kirk in 1692.

Tables I and II are additional evidence to support the claim that the A.P.H. and M.P.L.H.P. sources were compiled as 'checklists' to supervise the distribution of the Irish Bibles. It is the examination of these later lists, themselves based on the information in the earlier sources, that provides the basis for an understanding of the spatial extent of the Gaidhealtachd in the late seventeenth century.

Background to the Sources: The Irish Bible in Scotland

Before turning to an examination of the extent of the Gaidhealtachd for this period, some background to the sources is necessary. Robert Kirk, a Gaelic scholar of great standing, was minister at Aberfoyle in Perthshire. Kirk it was who was largely responsible for implementing the distribution of Bishop Bedell's Irish Bible and Donellan's New Testament[1] (Maclean 1924:*passim*). Links with these Irish scriptural texts had been through Colin Carwhin, writer to his Majesty's signet in Edinburgh. It was Carwhin who first received 207 Bibles in the Irish type-face in July, 1688 (Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.1.fo.5). Difficulties arose with their distribution, even of so small a number (Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.1., 4 Sept. 1688), and indeed only 108 of the 207 are known to have reached their destination (Maclean 1924:342).

Kirk, aided by Kirkwood, Carwhin and others, realised the importance of a Bible for every Gaelic-speaking pulpit in the Highlands, but some parties did not. Kirkwood's reply to the doubters was his *Answer to the Objections against Printing the Bible in Irish, as prejudicial to the Design of Extirpating the Irish Language out of the Highlands of Scotland* (Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.2). It convinced many sceptics of the need for widely available scriptural texts in the Gaelic language. Once financial problems had been overcome, Kirk, in January 1688, began the task of transcribing Bedell's Bible and Donellan's New Testament, both in Irish type-face, into the Latin type. By mid-1689, Kirk was in London supervising the printing of the Latin-type

Irish Gaelic Bible for use in the Highlands. By 1690 the General Assembly had approved an 'Overture anent the Irish Bible' (Acts Gen. Ass. 1843:XI.227; Durkacz 1978).

Kirk was directing distribution of these Irish Bibles by 1691 (Maclean 1924:349). As late as 1697, however, many ministers in the north were still unaware of how to obtain the Bible (Maclean 1924:351). Kirkwood's response was his *Memoriall About the Irish Bibles* (1697) which informed many ministers of the procedures for procural of Kirk's Bible. The *Memoriall* led to the circulation of 1770 Bibles, 420 New Testaments, and 540 Catechisms (Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.1.; N.L.S. MS821:224–5. See Table I). Altogether 3,000 Bibles, 1,000 New Testaments and 3,000 Catechisms were printed. It is from this period that these sources date.

TABLE I*

Account of Books Already delyvered. Anno 1698

	Bibles	New Testaments	Catechisms
To Synod of Argyle	1000	300	000
Presbeterie of Dumbarton	0060	20	120
to Culloden for 6 parishes near Inverness	0060	000	000
Item to my Lord Murray	0100	000	120
Item to the Presbeterie of Tayne	0100	000	100
Item to Sir John Monroe for the Presbeterie of Ross	0150	000	000
Item to ye Parishes in Perthshire, Dumbarton and Caithness	0300	100	200
	1770	420	540

*(N.L.S. MS821:229; Maclean 1924:366)

The Sources Examined

Table I shows the number of texts distributed and the places to which they had been delivered by 1698. As this Table suggests, the distribution of the Irish Bible was probably proportional to the demand within the Gaelic-speaking parishes. It may also have been a decision on behalf of the central distributing authorities, in response to demand from each local area. In one instance, we even know the individuals to whom the Bibles were ultimately delivered, as the Kirk Session Records of Kingarth Parish in Bute note the receipt of '. . . twentie small Irish Bibles . . . and one big one for the Church itself, from the store at Inverary' (S.R.O. CH 2/219/1, 28 June and 26 July 1696).

That the Synod of Argyll seems to have been the administrative centre for the distribution of these texts in the western Highlands and Islands is suggested by the information contained in Table II, the 1693 'Argyll List'.

The information contained in Table II appears in the Register Minutes of the Synod of Argyll for 26th of June 1693 (S.R.O. CH 2/557/3:113). It states unequivocally that it is a list to be used by the 'Committee appointed for Distributing ye Irish Bibles . . .', and directs them to send twenty bibles '. . . to each parioch following . . .' *i.e.*, those listed in Table II. This source provides reasonably good evidence that such parish-by-parish lists were part of the mechanism

TABLE II*

Parishes within the Synod of Argyll that were to receive the Irish Bible, post-1693.

[Enumeration and spelling as in the original MS.]

Argyll Presbyterie
1. Clachandysart
2. Kill___________ [name illegible]
3. Inveraray
4. Killmichael of Glasrie
5. Killmartine
6. Craignish
7. Knapdaill

1. Kintyre Presbyterie

2. Killcallmonell
9. Killean
10. Campbelltoune
11. Southend
12. Kilbride in Arran
13. Kilmorrie yr
14. Killbaroio in Ila
15. Killdalton yr
16. Jura e Colonsa

Cowall Presbyterie

Lochgoill head	17
Strathghuire	18
Killmodan	19
Killfinan	20
Dunoone	21
Innershilan	22
Rothesay	23
Kingarth	24

Lorne Presb.
25. Killmellford
26. Killbrandon &c
27. Killmore &c
28. Ardchattan &c
29. Lismore &c
30. Killmalie in Lochaber
31. in Lochaber
32. Killcolumkill in Mozbern
33. Ardnamurchan ________ &c
34. Killninian in Mull
35. Killfushyane in Mull
36. Kirkaboll e Soroby on Tyrie.
Sky and Lewis Presb.

37. South Uist
38. North Uist
39. Hares
40. Stornnay in Lewis
41. Ness in Lewis
42. Killmory in Trotonish
43. Snizort
44. Brascadall
45. Glenelg
46. Kilmorie in Duirinish
47. Sleit

*S.R.O. CH 2/557/3., 26 June 1693 (p. 113) for the distribution of the Irish Bible. Such lists were probably drawn up at the behest of administering Synods and Presbyteries, themselves perhaps operating under command from a centralised authority. Twenty-one Bibles were allotted to Kingarth parish: if, on that analogy, we suppose that was the number allowed for each of the forty-seven listed places in Table II, this totals 987—an estimate not far removed from the total of 1,000 listed alongside the Synod of Argyll in Table I. Using only this information here, it is reasonable to suppose that about twenty may have been the usual number for delivery to each parish. This point, and the place of these earlier source lists, are discussed below. Let us now turn to a consideration of the A.P.H. and M.P.L.H.P. lists (Tables III and IV).

The source list entitled 'An Account of the Parishes in the Highlands' (Table III) gives a total of 180 parishes under 14 separate districts. A note below this particular source makes it clear, however, that it omits a great many 'transition parishes', the population of which areas must have been at least partly Gaelic in terms of language. The M.P.L.H.P. list (Table IV), gives the actual names of the 180 parishes presented only by district in Table III. In many cases, the M.P.L.H.P. list also includes the ministers of those parishes. (This information is absent from both the 1693 'Argyll List' and the A.P.H. 1698 source.) Using the parish and ministers' names, it is possible to build up a composite picture of the Gaelic-speaking parishes for 1698. It will be seen, however, that these sources, especially the 'More Particular. . .' list (Table IV), contain several curious anomalies. Close attention needs to be paid to them before understanding their actual geographical extent.

TABLE III*

An Account of the Parishes in the Highlands. 1698

In Argyle and the Isles	82
In Pearthshyre	09
In Caithness	04
In Badanoch	04
In Strathspey	08
In Southerland	08
In Strathnaver	03
In Ross	21
In Murray	17
In Lochaber	02
In Brae of Marr	03
In Monteith	06
In Strathern	07
In Dumbartonshyre	06
(Total)	180

* N.C.L. Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.2.:23; N.L.S. MS821:249–50.

TABLE IV*

A More Particular List of the Highland Parishes. 1698

[This table follows as closely as possible the form of the list in the Kirkwood Collection, except for the addition of the right hand column which gives the modern parish name and, where necessary, a number to locate it on the map (Fig. 1, p. 85).]

Cowall Presbyterie

	[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]	
1	Killmorich	Mr Hugh Browne	Kilmorich	1
2	Lochgoyl's head		Lochgoilhead	2
3	Stratheurre	Vacant	Strachur and	3
4	Strathlauchlane		Strathlachan	4
5	Killfinan	Vacant	Kilfinan	5
6	Killmodan		Kilmodan	6
7	Killmune	Mr Campbell	Dunoon and	
8	Dunoon		Kilmun	7 & 8
9	Inverchaolan	Mr Bruce	Inverchaolain	9
10	Rothesay in Bute	Vacant	Rothesay	10
11	Kingarth in Bute	Mr J. Stewart	Kingarth	11

Kintyre Presbyterie

1–4 The Isle of Arran has 4 parishes served by two Ministers; at present there is but one Minister Mr Alex Maclean at Kilbride.

In Kintyre itself are ten parishes, viz.

5	Killblean		—	Parts of Southend	
6	Killkallumkille		Mr Douglas Campbell	parish	
7	Killchorran in Cambletoune		—	Parts of Campbeltown	
8	Killchislane and Kilmichall		vacant	parish	12
9	Kilkeneth			Pt. of Killean & Kilchenzie	
10	Saddell		Mr John Cunisone	Saddell & Skipness	13
11	Killean			Pt. of Killean & Kilchenzie	
12	Killkallumonell			Pt. of Kilcalmonell & Kilberry	
13	Skipnish		vacant	Skipness & Saddell	14
14	Kilberry			Pt. of Kilcalmonell & Kilberry	
15	Killernadall in the Isle of Jura			Jura	
16	Colinsa		Mr John McSuine	Colinsay	
17	Gigha			Gigha & Cara	
18	Kilmarna		Mr David Simpsone	Kilfinan	15
19	Killchoman	In Islay		Kilchoman	
20	Killdalton			Kildalton	
21	Killnastan		vacant	Killarow	

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* N.C.L. Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.2.:24–31; N.L.S. MS821:251–63.

TABLE IV (*contd.*)

Argyle Presbyterie

	[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]	
1	Kilmichael in Inverlussa		North	16
2	Killmhivocarnock	Mr Duncan Campbell	Knapdale	
3	Killmichael in Glasrie		Kilmichael Glassary	17
4	Killimuire	Mr Daniel Campbell	In Kilmichael Glassary?	18
5	Lothgear		In Kilmichael Glassary?	19
6	Killmartin	Mr Dougal Campbell	Kilmartin	20
7	Killchrenan		Kilchrennan and	21
8	Dalaich	Mr John Lindsay	Dalavich	
9	Clachandysart in Glenorchie	Mr Dougall Lindsay	Glenorchy & Inishail	22
10	Inverary	Mr Patrick Campbell	Inverary	23
11	Craignish	Mr John Darrock	Craignish	24

Lorn Presbyterie

1	Killatan	vacant	Kilchattan and	25
2	Killbrennan		Kilbrandon	26
3	Killinver		Kilninver and	27
4	Killmelford	Mr Pat McLauchlane	Kilmelford	28
5	Killmore		Kilmore and	29
6	Killbride	vacant	Kilbride	30
7	Killespickayroll		Muckairn (and	31
8	Ardchatan	Mr Colin Campbell	Ardchattan)	
9	Kilmaluag in ye Isle of Lismore		Lismore and	32
10	Appine	Mr Alex McKalman	Appin	
11	Kilmali		Kilmallie	33
12	—	vacant	Ardgour	
13	Killkallumkill		Morvern	
14	Kinlinver	vacant	Morvern	

There are but these two parishes in the great countries of Morvine and Kingerloch. In Ardnamurchan, Sunard Mudart and Morire 2 parishes viz,

15	Killchoan			Ardnamurchan
16	Islandinan		vacant	Araisaig
17	Killinichan			Kilfinichen and
18	Killvicewin	in Mull	vacant	Kilviceon
19	Killmoire			Kilninian and
20	Killnemair		vacant	Kilmore
21	Tirrye			Tiree
22	Iona ye Cathedral of the Isles			Iona (incl. in Kilviceon)
23	Coll		vacant	Coll

TABLE IV (*contd.*)

Skye Presbyterie and Long Isle Presbyterie (those marked*)

	[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]
1	Southmost Isle*		S. Uist
2	Barra Isle*	Mr Angus MacDonald	Barra
3	N. Uist*	vacant	N. Uist
4	Dunvegan		Incl. in Duirinish
5		Mr Dougall McFerson	Duirinish
6	Brackadall		Bracadale
7	Killmuire	Mr John Beton	Kilmuire
8	Snizirt Raasa		Portree
9	Slait		Sleat
10	Strathwordail	Mr Martin McFerson	Strath
11	Egg with adjacent Isles		Small Isles
12	Harris*		Harris
13	St. Kilda* with ye pendicells	Mr John Campbell	(Incl. in Harris par.)
14	Nesse*	Mr Donald Morisone	Barvas
15	Eye (in Lewis)	Mr Kenneth Morisone	Stornoway
16	Glenelg	vacant	Glenelg

In Caithness

1	Lochron	Mr Nicol Beaton	Latheron
2	Hakerig	Mr N. Cuming	Halkirk
3	Thurso	Mr Innes	Thurso
4	Rea	Mr John Munro	Reay

Southerland

1	Downan	Mr James Hey	Kildonan
2	Loth	Mr Hector Pape	Loth
3	Clein	vacant	Clyne
4	Golspy	Mr Walter Dennie	Golspie
5	Rogart	Mr John Mcley	Rogart
6	Dornach	vacant	Dornoch
7	Creich	Mr Hugh Ross	Creich
8	Culmaly	vacant	Incl. in Golspie 35

Strathnaver

1	Farr	vacant	Farr
2	Durness		Durness
3	Kintail	Mr Hugh Munro	Kintail (in Tongue par.) 36
4	Assine	Mr Alex Cray	Assynt

(All these are in the Dioccss of Caithness)

TABLE IV (*contd.*)

In the Diocess of Ross, Tain Presbyterie

	[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]	
1	Losquin	—	Rosskeen ?	
2	Kincardin	Mr Hector Fraser	Kincardine	
3	Eddertoun	Mr Arthur Sutherland	Eddertoun	37
4	Tain	Mr Robert Ross	Tain	38
5	Tarbet	vacant	Tarbat	
6	Fern	Mr Duff	Fearn	
7	Nigg	Mr James McKenzie	Nigg	
8	Loggy	Mr Kenneth McKenzie	Logie Easter	39
9	Killmuire Easter	Mr Donald Forbes	Kilmuir Easter	40

Chanony Presbyterie

1	Cullicacken	Mr James Houstone	Resolis	41/42
2	Suddy	Mr Thomas Fraser	} Knockbain	43
3	Kilmuire Wester	Mr John McKenzie		44
4	Kilornan	Mr John McKenzie	Killearnan	45
5	Ardersire	Mr Lachlin McKlean	Ardersier	46

Dingwall Presbyterie

1	Alvies	Mr John Fraser	Alness	
2	Kiltern	Mr Wm. Stewart	Kiltearn	47
3	Dingwall	Mr John McLay	Dingwall	48
4	Fotterty	Mr John McKenzie	Fodderty	49
5	Contain	Mr Angus Mousone	Contin	
6	Urray	Mr George Cuming	Urray	50
7	Urqhurt	Mr Andrew Ross	Urquhart & L. Wester	51
8	Killmorack	Mr Wm. Fraser	Kilmorack	

Murray Diocess that hath these presbyteries viz Inverness Presbyterie

1	Kill-chuimnan	Mr Robert Irvine	In Boleskine and Abertarff	52
2	Bolloskin	Mr Thomas Houstone	Boleskine & Abertarff	
3	Dorris	Mr Thomas Fraser	Dores	53
4	Urqhart	Mr Robert Courin	Urquhart & Glenmoriston	54
5	Gleorritly	Mr Hugh Fraser	Kiltarlity & Convinth	55
6	Wardlaw	Mr James Fraser	Kirkhill	56
7	Inverness	Mr Hector Mackenzie	Inverness	57
8	Petty	Mr Alex Downie	Petty	58
9	Kroy	Mr Hugh Fraser	Croy & Dalcross	59
10	Daviot	Mr Michael Fraser	Daviot & Dunlichty	60
11	Moy	Mr Alex Cumin	Moy and Dalarossie	61

Forres Presbyterie

1	Kalder	vacant	Calder	62
2	Ardclach	Mr Pat Grant	Ardclach	63
3	Edincilly	Mr Dow Cuming	Edinkillie	64

TABLE IV (*contd.*)

Presbyterie of Abedar containing Badanoch and Strathspey

	[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]	
1	Laggan	vacant	Laggan	
2	Alva	Mr Tho. Mcpherson	Alvie	
3	Kingusich		Kingussie	65
4		Mr Donald Tailor	(Kingussie)	
	(All these are in Badenoch, ye 8 following are in Strathspey)			
5	Rothiemurchus	Mr Donald McKintosh	Rothiemurchus	66
6	Duthell	Mr D. M. above supplies	Duthil	67
7	Kincardin	vacant	Abernethy and	68
8	Abernethy	vacant	Kincardine	69
9	Cromdal	vacant	Cromdale	70
10	Inverallan	Mr Thomas Grant	Pt. of Cromdale	71
11	Knockando	supplied to the said Mr Thomas	Knockando	72
12	Inveraven and Strathdoun	vacant	Sep. parishes of same name (Strathdon)	

The Lordship of Lochaber hath 2 parishes

1			Kilmallie	
2		vacant	Kilmonivaig	

Perthshire

1	Killin	Mr Robt. Stewart	Killin	
2	Kenmuire	Mr Comrie	Kenmore	73
3	Farthingall	Mr Robertsone	Fortingal	
4	Weem	Mr Duncan Menzies	Weem	74
5	Logaret	Mr Mungo Murray	Logerait	75
6	Blair	Mr Robt. Campbell	Blair Atholl	
7	Kirkmichael	Mr Jon Pearson	Kirkmichael (Perth)	76
8	Muilline	Mr Balnares	Moulin	77
9	Dow	Mr McCarter	Dowally in Dunkeld & Dowally?	78

Dumbartonshire

1	Inchcallioch		Buchanan	79
2	Tarbart		Arrochar	80
3	Luss		Luss	81
4	Row		Rhu	
5	Roseneath		Roseneath	82
6	Drymen		Drymen	

Brae of Marr in the Presbyterie of Kincardin of Nile

1	Glen-muick		Glenmuick, Tullich	
2	Tullich	Mr Ja. Robinson	& Glengairn	
3	Brae Marr		Crathie and Braemar	

TABLE IV (*contd.*)

Montieth in Dumblane Presbyterie

	[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]	
1	Balquhidder	vacant	Balquhidder	83
2	Aberfoill	vacant	Aberfoyle	84
3	Callender	vacant	Callander	85
4	Buchanan	these 3 last need ane Irish preacher tho they have none	Buchanan	86
5	Kilmadock		Kilmadock	
6	Port		Port of Menteith	

Strathearn in ye Presbyterie of Auchferarder

1	Comrie		Comrie	
2	Monivaird		Monzievaird & Strowan	87
3	Monzie	Most of ye people of these 6 parochs doe not understand ye English, tho they have no Irish preachers.	Monzie	
4	Foulls		Fowlis Wester	88
5	Muthill		Muthil	89
6	Strowan		Monzievaird (Pt. of)	
7	Crieff		Crieff	90

As stated above, the A.P.H. list includes fourteen separate geographical areas of the Scottish Highlands, totalling 180 parishes (Table III). Most of these areas are easy enough to identify today in terms of the parishes contained within them, even though boundaries have changed over time. *Lochaber*, for example, while it roughly corresponds to the parishes of Kilmallie and Kilmonivaig, is an area that seems to be defined more by local custom and understanding than by 'outside' parochial or county limits. One finds a similar situation when trying to identify the parishes included in *Badenoch*, *Menteith*, or *Strathspey*, all of which were areas whose boundaries were understood rather than officially defined. It is fortunate in these latter cases that the M.P.L.H.P. list (Table IV) notes which parishes were included in the relevant districts.

The M.P.L.H.P. source is the more detailed and on closer examination, seemingly the more riddled with inconsistencies. This larger list should probably be seen as the aggregate of other such smaller and perhaps more regularly occurring lists drawn up by the respective Synods of the Church of Scotland. In examining both the 1693 'Argyll List' and this larger source list, we must not assume that the status of Gaelic and the extent to which it was being spoken at this period was the same throughout these listed parishes. The use of Gaelic as a devotional language is not necessarily evidence that it was used outside that domain. It is reasonable to suppose that regional variations in the extent of Gaelic-speaking would have existed in the Gaidhealtachd of this period, especially along the border areas. For example, despite Gaelic being the language of the majority of the people, English was preached at Kilmorack in 1651, Contin in the 1650s, Kiltearn in 1654, Dores in 1671, and Wardlaw (Kirkhill) in 1672 (Mackay 1925:43). Related to this is the important question of the different social status of the languages. The point here is simply that the Gaidhealtachd was not monolingual in Gaelic, and regional and social variations existed. Kirkwood in his *An Answer to the Objection. . . .* makes this point with reference to several parishes which have '. . . corners of Gaelic speech . . .' in the Central Highlands (N.L.S., MS.821:219. See also S.R.O., CH 1/2/24/1, part 2, ff. 66–8). Of those he mentions, only Little Dunkeld is absent from those parishes listed in the *Dumbartonshire, Monteith in Dumblane Presbyterie,* and *Strathern in ye Presbyterie of Auchterarder* sections of the M.P.L.H.P. list (Table IV).

To return to this list in particular, two main questions are at once evident. Firstly, why was the compiler seemingly so unaware of the merging and dividing of parochial names and boundaries that occurred in earlier years of the seventeenth century? Had the compiler been involved in Scottish Church, and especially Highland Church, affairs, he would surely have known of at least some of the changes in the parish names in, for example, the Kintyre peninsula, and should also have been aware of the merging of parishes in the Ardnamurchan area. The uniting of some of the Highland parishes was a response to the shortage of administering clergy, particularly Gaelic-speakers, despite attempts by the General Assembly to provide incentives for Gaelic-speaking divinity students to administer in the Highlands (Durkacz 1978). Persons concerned with the distribution of the Irish Bible to the Highlands would surely have known of some of these changes. Had the compiler been someone in the position of Kirkwood, however, it is quite conceivable that he would have had to ask advice about the places which should receive the Irish Bible. It is here suggested that it was Kirkwood who was responsible for the distribution of the Irish Bible in Scotland in so far as he probably drew up the M.P.L.H.P. source list. Kirkwood it may have been, who, as the motive force behind the 1698 list, erred in recording chapels and existing churches of which some were not parish churches *per se.* We must not, however, apportion 'blame' too readily, for the compiler of the 1698 list, be it Kirkwood or not, may have done no more than copy from earlier lists the contents of which would naturally have reflected local knowledge of suitable sites for the receipt of scriptural texts.

Further, when one considers the extent of the Gaelic-speaking areas in the Highlands as shown by later sources for periods in the eighteenth century, the M.P.L.H.P. list omits several areas included in these later compilations (Selkirk 1806:App. V, lvi–lxi; Walker 1808:28–9. See also Price 1976–8:561–8; 1979:234–47). The Sutherland of 1698 is complete but for an area corresponding to Lairg parish (Fig. 2). Absent also are several parishes in the Wester Ross area, despite the fact that churches existed there at this period. One possible reason for their non-inclusion in the M.P.L.H.P. list for 1698 may be that the Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland appears only to have existed from 1693 to *c.*1700, and in its short life was much involved in the local aspects of Presbyterianism (Maclean 1935). It is possible that this presbytery's Bible 'distribution-delivery list' was never written, or that it never arrived, or that the ministers never received notice of the availability of the Bibles. It is also possible that the area as a whole was recognised as *terra incognita* by the centralising authorities for the distribution of the Bibles. Any of these possibilities is conceivable. It does, however, seem unlikely that Kirk's Bible never reached these parts, despite the ungodliness that appeared to be the pressure behind the formation of the Presbytery of Gairloch in 1724 (Murchison 1966).

Another area one might reasonably have expected to be included in the M.P.L.H.P. list is the Banffshire parish of Kirkmichael in the East Central Highlands (see Fig. 2). It may, however, have been included in the transitional parishes mentioned but not named as a footnote to the A.P.H. list (see above, p. 67). Certain parts of eastern and central Perthshire are other areas that one might have expected to be in the Gaidhealtachd at this period. It is possible that these were the 'border parishes . . .' to which Kirkwood referred.

The M.P.L.H.P. list thus repays close examination. Several corroborating sources have been used in the study to check the parish name and the name of the minister at the given date of 1698. Two of the major sources for verification of name of both parish and minister are Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiania Scotia* (New Edition 1915–28) and Cosmo Innes' *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (2 volumes in 3, 1851–5). The examination of, and the evidence for criticism of, the inconsistencies in the M.P.L.H.P. list is derived largely from these two sources. (The verifying references are abbreviated in parentheses immediately following the parish name to save a proliferation of footnotes). McKinlay (1894), Watson (1904), and McKerral (1948) have also been used in the examination of this source.

The comparison with Scott's *Fasti* (F.E.S.) and Innes' *Origines* (O.P.S.) show that inconsistencies arise from the fact that several parishes in the total of 180 were united by the early or middle years of the seventeenth century. They also arise from the compiler's recording not the actual parish *per se,* but the number of administered chapels and churches within one parish. Such administrative misrepresentations may, as suggested above, be in accordance with someone in the position in which Kirkwood found himself after the death of Kirk in 1692.

The 'More Particular List of Highland Parishes' Examined

The parishes are examined in the order in which they appear in Table IV, itself as near a copy of the original as is possible. Some of the parish names are obvious and need no comment. The numbers in the extreme right hand column correspond to the number on the parish base map (Fig. 1, p. 85).

Killmorich parish was united to Lochgoilhead before the sixteenth century although it is not a united parish now (F.E.S.:4.37; O.P.S.:II(I), 82). *Stratheurre* and *Strathlauchlane* appear to have been united about 1650 (F.E.S.:4.44), yet they are here listed as separate parishes. This is possibly because they both retained parish churches within the one united parish after the merger, which again suggests that the list was a form of check for the distributors of the Irish Bible who would send Bibles to each *administered place of worship*. That local 'Committees for the Distribution of the Irish Bible' did exist is shown by the evidence presented in Table II. The possibility of these Committees being responsible to a central authority—perhaps directly to Kirkwood himself—and the fact that the central authority drew up the lists as 'parishes' in the M.P.L.H.P. may be one reason behind the incorporation of all places of worship within the term '*Highland parishes*'. This may, for example, explain why Arran has four 'parishes' in the list served by one minister, Mr Alex Maclean, at Kilbride, although the maps in Innes' O.P.S. show only two parishes, but four chapels and four 'parish' churches.

The first of the parishes listed under the *Kintyre Presbyterie* section presents an interesting problem. In 1617 a Commission of Parliament united the three parishes of Kilcholumkill, Kilblaan, and Kilchievan which today make up the south end of Kintyre (F.E.S.:4. 66–7). In 1671 Kilchievan was severed from this union and was joined to Kilchiaran, Kilchuslan, and Kilmichael. Since then, the two united parishes of Kilcholumkill (Killkallumkille in the M.P.L.H.P. list) and Kilblaan have been commonly known as Southend. The others formed what was to become Campbeltown parish. As early as 1621, the parishioners of the three old parishes had petitioned Parliament to get a new church built to serve all three congregations. (McKerral 1948:40). This again suggests that some of the names recorded in the M.P.L.H.P. list of 1698 are the names of chapels and churches to which a minister came irregularly, rather than actual parish churches to which one minister of the administering clergy was formally attached. It is also thought likely that the Acts of Union and dis-Union of some of these parishes were almost at once 'dead letters' in the sense that no new parish church was built to serve the new congregations. The continued use of some places of worship that had, prior to their union, been autonomous parishes, may have misled the final compositors of the 1698 list into including all sites of religious worship rather than the parish church. The Argyll list for 1693 seems to list all extant congregations in the Kintyre region, although it also uses the names 'Campbelltoune' and 'Southend'.

Kilkeneth is Kilchenzie, as Mr. John Cunisone was minister in the latter from 1672–87, and again from 1692–7 (F.E.S.:4. 59). Kilchenzie was united to Kilmarow in Kintyre at the time of the Reformation, and united to *Killean* before 1636 (O.P.S.:II(I). 20). This is another parish that should have been incorporated under a different parish name by 1698, yet remained apart from such incorporation at least in the list, if not in terms of local knowledge.

The western portion of *Killkallumonell* and *Kilberry* are now united and in 1753 the other half of Killcallumonell was united with part of Killean to form Saddell and Skipness. The list records *Saddell* and *Skipness* as separate parishes when they were not strictly so. Again the list is recording the names of chapels and churches *within* parishes rather than parishes *per se*. No obvious parish of that name exists today. There is only one *David Simpsone* (Simson), minister, who fits the date of this list, even though, as Table II shows, the date for compilation of the list or lists which may have provided the basis for the M.P.L.H.P. source is not necessarily fixed at 1698. The David Simson in question was admitted to Southend in succession to his father on the 25th of February 1690 (F.E.S.:4. 73). The father was minister at Southend from 1672–86 and died there before the 31st of July 1697. The David Simson here was admitted to the charge at Kilchoman in Islay on the 22nd of May 1692, and died there on 9th of May 1700. *Kilchoman* is here listed as included in Islay. It is, however, unlikely that *Kilmarna* was Kilchoman or was even on Islay at all. The evidence suggests an Argyll location (Watson 1926:291). Watson in quoting from the *Old Statistical Account* (XIV:258) states that '. . . Ardmarnoch in Kilfinan parish, Cowal, had a chapel of St. Marnock with a churchyard . . .'[2] This must remain the most likely location for *Kilmarna* in the list. It has been positioned as such in Figure 1 (p. 85, no. 15). The relation of David Simpsone to this parish or chapel must however remain unsolved here.

Kilmichael in Inverlussa, in the Presbytery of Argyle, was a mission station in the parish of North Knapdale, itself here listed as *Killmhivocarnock* (F.E.S.:4. 15). Scott's *Fasti* gives the name '. . . North Knapdale, or Cill Mo Charmaig', and states that at '. . . Drumnacraig near Kilmichael Inverlussa are the remains of an ancient chapel of St. Michael' (F.E.S.:4. 15). There were two parish churches, one at Kilmichael Inverlussa and the other in the parish at Tayvallich. This lends further support to the hypothesis that the compiler was in some cases taking the number of administered churches as indicative of parishes, rather than the actual number of parishes proper.

Killimuire and *Lothgear*, administered to by Daniel Campbell, present another point of interest. Daniel Campbell was minister at Kilmichael Glassary from 1691 to 1727 (F.E.S.:4. 6–7). A chapel is marked at Kilbride near Lochgair on Innes' O.P.S. map. Scott's *Fasti* lists three chapels in the parish of Kilmichael Glassary of which the above is one. The others are at Killevin near Crarae on Loch Fyne and St. Columba's at Cill and Iubhair on Loch Awe (F.E.S.:4. 6–7). *If* Lothgear is Loch Gair today and Lochger on the O.P.S. map, and there seems little reason to doubt this, then it is again conceivable that the compiler or copier of the 1698 list is including chapels within his lists, and not strictly parishes. This would give Lothgear the status of a mission station or chapel within the then existing and listed parish of *Kilmichael Glasire* (Kilmichael Glassary). *Killimuire* has perhaps the same condition attached to its inclusion as *Lothgear* as a 'Kylmor' is marked as a chapel two miles south-east of Lochgoilhead in the same parish of Kilmichael Glassary (O.P.S. maps). *Killimuire* and *Lothgear* have been included as such in Figure 1, numbers 18 and 19.

Kilchrenan and Dalavich (*Dalaich* in list) were united in 1661 by the Act Recissory (F.E.S.:4. 91). *Dalaich* was confirmed as Dalavich by F.E.S.:4. 91 which gives John

Lindsay as minister there from 1652 to 1669, and again from 1692 to 1699. *Clachandysart* was the old name for Glenorchy (F.E.S.:4. 86). Glenorchy and Inishail were united in 1618, but severed again in 1650 until 1661. Until 1668 they formed part of the Presbytery of Inverary, of old called the Presbytery of Cowal. On the 12th of May 1668, these parishes were annexed to the Presbytery of Lorn. The 1693 'Argyll List' (Table II), makes the error of including Clachandysart in 'Argyll Presbyterie', when by terms of formal statute, it should be included in the Presbytery of Lorn. No explanation is forthcoming except that it may be the case that the compilers of both the 1693 'Argyll List' and the 1698 M.P.L.H.P. list were unaware of these changes, or that the changes themselves had little actual meaning locally and probably even less in terms of which parishes were to receive the Irish Bible. It is also possible that the 1698 list perpetuated an error made in the earlier 1693 listing.

The first two entries in the M.P.L.H.P. list for the Presbytery of Lorn are *Killatan* (Kilchattan) and *Killbrennan* (Kilbrandon), united sometime in the seventeenth century (F.E.S.:4. 88). *Killinver* and *Kilmelford* were united sometime before 1550 (F.E.S.:4. 96). They are further examples of the seeming unawareness of parochial mergings on the part of the compiler. Interest in the actual date of compilation of the 1698 list is increased by the fact that the listed minister Pat McLauchlane (McLauchlan) was deposed in 1697 for failing to conform at the Revolution, and the Synod declared the parish vacant from 26th October 1697 to sometime in 1702. This is further evidence to suggest that the list was compiled, if only in a rough form, some time before 1698, and possibly from a number of lists similar to the 1693 'Argyll List'.

Killmore and *Killbride* were united soon after the Reformation but each retained their churches, suggesting again that extant chapels and churches were being recorded here rather than actual parishes (O.P.S.:II(I). 108). *Killespickayroll* was the old name for Muckairn and was united to Ardchattan in 1637 (O.P.S.:II(I). 132). *Kilmaluag* included Appin (excluding Glencoe), the island of Lismore, and the district of Kingairloch in Morvern, and the part of Appin here called Elainmunde is now divided between Lismore and the parish of Kilmallie. *Killkallumkill* and *Kinlinver* are the two parishes which are '. . . in the great countries of Morvine and Kingerloch' (Table IV). The two parishes *Killchoan* and *Islandinan* correspond to the two parishes mentioned in the statement 'In Ardnamurchan, Sunard Mudart and Morire 2 parishes' (Table IV). Ardnamurchan occurs as Kilchoan in 1623, 1667 and 1671 in the *Argyl Inventory* and in the 1695 *Retours* (O.P.S.:II(I). 194). Elanfinan (*Islandinan*) is given as being co-extensive with Sunart. (O.P.S.:II(I). 198). Arisaig appears to have consisted of the districts Mudart, Arisaig, and South Morar and was at one time united to Ardnamurchan (O.P.S.:II(I). 200).

Killinichan and *Killvicewin* occur today as Kilfinichen and Kilviceon on the Island of Mull (O.P.S.:II(I). 314). It seems likely that the next two names in the list, *Killmoire* and *Killnemair* are what is today the united parish of Kilninian and Kilmore on Mull, which would have included Ulva (F.E.S.:4. 114; O.P.S.:II(I). 317, 320). Early in the seventeenth century, the three parishes of Kilfinichen, Kilviceon, and Kholumkill (Iona) were united (F.E.S.:4. 110). This may again suggest that the compilation included names still in local use and also places to which the clergy administered although the churches may not have had formal status as parish churches. The absence of the Mull parish of Torosay is puzzling. It is possible that neighbouring clergy had some form of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this parish. It is surely the case that Torosay received the Irish Bible. Although Gaelic was undoubtedly the dominant language at the time here, this parish has not been represented as a 'Highland parish' here defined (see Fig. 2).

The remainder of the 1698 list is less difficult to deal with as the names are almost in their modern form or are recognisable as such. Where this is not the case, the provision of the minister's name proved invaluable in tracing the parish concerned. In the section entitled *Skye Presbyterie and Long Isle Presbyterie*, the *Southmost Isle* is here South Uist. The presence of the name *Dougall McFerson* enabled the un-named parish below this to be identified as Duirinish, where a Dugald McPherson was minister from 1684 to 1717 (F.E.S.:7. 168). *Killmuire* on Skye was anciently named Kilmaluag (O.P.S.:II(I). 349). The M.P.L.H.P. list is correct in uniting *Snizirt* and *Raasa* (Snizort and Raasay) for not until 1726 was Raasay disjoined, and with a part of Snizort, formed into the parish of Portree (O.P.S.:II(I). 346). The parish of *Eye* (in Lewis) is included in Ness parish. Together they form the modern parish of Stornoway (O.P.S.:II(I). 381). It is likely that Stornoway, Gress, Ey(e), Lochs, and Uig were all one charge at this time (F.E.S.:7. 203). They have been represented as such in Figure 2.

Although the spelling of *Lochron* and *Hakerig* is confusing, they have been identified, through the minister's names, as Latheron and Halkirk in Caithness. The parish of *Downan* administered to by *James Hey* is the Sutherland parish of Kildonan, whose minister was James Hay, a native of Morayshire, from 1673 to 1705 (F.E.S.:4. 90). The last entry of the section entitled *Southerland*, that of *Culmaly*, is another possible incorporation of a parish church within the lists without the compiler being aware of the mergings. F.E.S.:7. 86 has '. . . Golspie, of old Culmally . . .'; and the map at the end of O.P.S.:II(I) makes Culmally contiguous with what is now Golspie. McKinlay (1894:113) records that 'Kilmallie' church was the parish church of Golspie until 1619.

The parishes of *Farr* and *Durness* are roughly the same as today's parishes of those names. Mr Hugh Monro (Munro) is given as the minister for Durness from 1663 to 1698 (F.E.S.:7. 102), although he appears in the 1698 M.P.L.H.P. list alongside *Kintail*. The *Kintail* in this list is not the modern parish of that name in Wester Ross, which had a minister called Donald MacRae for the period in question (1681–1719) (F.E.S.:7. 152). The *Kintail* here included in the *Strathnaver* section of the M.P.L.H.P. list is Ceanntail 'Ic Aoidh (Kintail of Mackay), a chapel between the Kyle of Tongue and Loch Craggie in Sutherland. It appears as 'Kuntail' in the map of Strathnavernia in Blaeu's *Atlas of Scotland* (1654 edition). It is possible that at the time that the 1698 list was drawn up Mr Hugh Monro had some sort of jurisdiction over the *Kintail* here enumerated.

The name *Losquin* suggests no easy modern counterpart. It was at first thought to be a corruption of Lochbroom, Lochalsh, or Lochcarron. Occurring as it does, however, in the section *Diocess of Ross, Tain Presbyterie*, is likely to be in Easter Ross. Watson (1904:69) citing evidence from Irish place-names, suggested the possibility of the *-quin* suffix being derived from an Irish Gaelic root *cuinche* (the arbutus tree). It is possible given this etymology and its listed position that *Losquin* is a corruption of 'Loscuin' or 'Roscuin' and that it is equivalent to the modern parish of Rosskeen. This must, however, remain uncertain.

James Houstane is given as the minister of the united parish of Cullicudden and Kirkmichael which together now form the parish of Resolis in Ross-shire (O.P.S.:II(I). 552). These two parishes were united in 1662 (Acts Parl. Scot.:VII. 439–40). This again raises a question about the compilation of the M.P.L.H.P. Does the compiler mean us to include Kirkmichael when listing Cullicudden as *Cullicacken*? The same may be asked above of Inishail with regard to the listed name *Clachandysart*—should we understand *Clachandysart* to include Inishail? We may consider whether it was generally understood that the parish was a united one and is listed only by the first constituent name or whether the compiler was genuinely unaware of these parochial unions and was thus not acquainted on a detailed level with particular parishes in several of these areas. It is, of course, impossible to be correct upon these questions, but it is probably the former: that the name should be read as including the parish with which it was united. Certainly *Moy*, which was united to Dalarossie about 1500 (F.E.S.:7. 475), and *Daviot*, united to Dunlichity in 1618 (F.E.S.:6. 450), are here listed without their constituent partner names. Unless we are to argue for an unrealistically early date of compilation for these lists and the 1698 list in particular—and we have seen this to be unlikely—it seems that the given listed name subsumes its partner name within it. This is the more reasonable if we allow that the 1698 list was composed from several smaller lists such as the 1693 'Argyll List'. The authors of these local lists would probably not have used the full terminology for particular chapels or churches.

Alvies is Alness in Ross-shire, James Fraser being minister there from 1695 to 1711 (F.E.S.:4. 26). *Kill-chuimnan* in the *Murray Diocess . . . Inverness Presbyterie* section is another interesting name. The *Kill-chuimnan* here included in the 1698 list is the modern parish of Boleskine and Abertarff. It is not Glenelg parish which was at one time also known as 'Kilchuimen' or 'Kilchuimin' (McKinlay 1894:88), for the simple reason that Glenelg appears earlier in the M.P.L.H.P. list. In 1688, Killchuimin was joined a second time to Boleskine having been disjoined from it in 1676 and originally united with Dores and Boleskine in 1616 (F.E.S.:6. 445. See also Groome 1894–6:1. 90). *Gleorritly* is the parish of Kiltarlity and Convinth in Inverness-shire, Hugh Fraser being minister there from 1672 to 1712 (F.E.S.:6. 469). *Donald Tailor*, entered alongside a gap in the 1698 parish listings, was a session clerk at Foveran in February 1678. Although he officiated as a preacher in Kingussie till 1701, he was never minister there (F.E.S.:6. 365). This is an example of recording administering clergy rather than actual *quoad sacra* parishes. The gaps under *Lordship of Lochaber* correspond to the parishes of Kilmonivaig and Kilmalie. The similarity of general format and this individual case in particular between the 1693 and 1698 sources, *i.e.* the gap in both lists alongside *in Lochaber* which corresponds to Kilmonivaig, is further evidence to support the hypothesis that the 1698 list was compiled from earlier local lists of which the 1693 'Argyll List' may be a good example.

The Perthshire parishes are easily identified apart from *Dow* which has here been included as Dowally in east central Perthshire. No 'McArters', 'MacArthurs', or McArthurs' appear in *Fasti* for this period or place, but its position in the list may warrant its tentative inclusion as Dowally. It has been included as such in Table IV, and in Figures 1 and 2.

Inchcallioch in Dumbartonshire is the last parish to present difficulty. Innes (O.P.S.:I. 32) writes that, '. . . Inchcailyoch (*sic*) gave its name to an ancient parish, including the whole of the present parish of Buchanan . . .' Buchanan parish is also recorded in the 1698 list under the section *Monteith in Dumblane Presbyterie*, yet is elsewhere recorded as 'Buchanan of old Inniscailloch' (F.E.S.:3. 333). The lands of Buchanan were taken from Luss in 1621 and annexed to Inniscailloch. In 1643, the parish church was removed from its site on an island in Loch Lomond and erected in a more accessible situation at Buchanan. It is again likely that the compiler or co-ordinator of the list was not familiar with the actual parishes in question, and that he was recording all administered places of worship.

The suggestion made above that the 1698 M.P.L.H.P. list enumerates some of the united parishes only by their first name is further substantiated when considering *Glen-muick* in the list. This is properly 'Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn' so it is possible that it was listed solely as *Glen-muick* on the understanding that the reader would know it by the full name. The remaining parishes listed present no difficulty in recognition.

Conclusions and a Note on the Maps of the Highland Parishes in 1698

Let us review the problems associated with the source entitled 'A More Particular List of Highland Parishes', and attempt to weave together some of the loose threads resulting from the examination of these sources. Firstly, the compiler in listing separately several parishes which had been united for some time before 1698, and in recording administered places of worship as actual *parishes* whether or not they were parish churches, seems to have been unaware of much of the geography of the Highlands. It is true, however, that old territorial names often lasted beyond their date of supposed legal extinction as in the case of the name 'Shire of Tarbet' which lasted until 1705 in the records despite its having been removed for administrative purposes in 1633 (Mitchell 1886:47–8). Such seeming ignorance should not, as we have seen, be necessarily directly attributable to the compiler of the 1698 list, as he may have copied from earlier and more locally derived lists.

Secondly, local names or terms do not appear and whilst this is a relatively minor point, it may suggest that the authors of the earlier lists upon which the 1698 M.P.L.H.P. list was probably based were aware of the need for conciseness and precision in their lists, particularly if they knew that their lists were to be drawn up into a master-copy by someone less familiar with the Highlands.

Thirdly, the use of the first name when the parish is a united one may suggest a form of 'short-hand' but may also suggest the reliance of both sets of list-authors on the intuition of the persons for whom the lists were intended. Fourthly, and to return to an earlier point on the likely number of Bibles for each parish, the total edition number of 3,000 is too small if we allow that each parish received about 20 Bibles, as was the case in the Kingarth example (see above, p. 65). In one other case, the united parishes of Aberlour and Abernethy also received twenty Irish Bibles together with twenty-four New Testaments (S.R.O.:CH2/271/4. 187). The allocation of this number of Bibles thus occurred in at least two instances. An allowance of about twenty per parish throughout the Highlands would, however, give a total of 3,600. It is probably the case that each area (Synod or Presbytery) received a number of Bibles proportionate to its individual needs. But it may be that some parts of the Gaelic-speaking Highlands did not receive the Bible at all; so it is difficult to say whether the twenty delivered to Kingarth in 1696 and to Aberlour and Abernethy in 1707 are representative of a Highland-wide pattern. In passing, it is also interesting to note that however aware of the problems of transport or delivery and distribution such Committees may have been, many of these Bibles did not arrive at their destinations until nearly a decade later, and the time-lag may have been greater the further North one went (S.R.O.:CH 1/2/25/2, fo.221(1704); fo.223 (June 13 1706)).

An assessment of the actual date of compilation of the M.P.L.H.P. list would then place it between 1693 and 1698. In view of the probable impetus given both to the ministers concerned, and to those actually distributing the texts by Kirkwood's *Memorialls*, it is likely that the 1698 date for the M.P.L.H.P. list is what we would now understand as the 'official report' date and that the seeds, in the form of smaller lists such as the 1693 'Argyll List', had been sown some five or six years earlier. It is curious nevertheless, that both *Killfinan* and *Killmodan* are listed in Table IV as vacant, yet John McLaurin was minister there until his death in March 1698 (F.E.S.:4. 30). Daniel McLaurin was admitted to the charge at Killmodan sometime after the 26th of September 1698 (F.E.S.:4. 44). These two facts suggest that the period in which the M.P.L.H.P. list was drawn up may have been between March and late September of 1698.

It is unlikely that the actual compiler of the 1698 list will ever be known—it may, of course, have been Kirkwood himself, or more likely, someone under his direct supervision. In view of the consistency with which some 'errors' were copied from earlier to later lists, *i.e.*, from the 1693 to the 1698 list, it is thought likely that earlier enumerations must have provided the basis for this more extensive compilation. Despite the several inconsistencies, and some of the doubts attached to its analysis, these sources, and particularly the 1698 M.P.L.H.P. do give an idea of the processes of distribution of the Irish Bibles and of the geographical extent of the Gaidhealtachd (even if only in part) for the last years of the seventeenth century.

Mapping the parishes from the M.P.L.H.P. was made more difficult in view of the problems of assessing the position of the parish boundaries. Using the maps at the back of Innes' *Origines*, it was possible to correlate today's parish boundaries with those of the seventeenth century, and thus to postulate the likely position of parochial boundaries for 1698. The Argyll-shire maps in particular proved very useful in plotting the parishes listed under the Presbyteries of Cowall, Argyll and Lorn and the section for the Kintyre district. As has been noted above, one or two of the parishes in north Scotland and Ross-shire that one might legitimately have expected to be in a list of Highland parishes for this period have not been incorporated in the list (see above, p. 74). These areas, usually understood to be part of the Gaidhealtachd, have been here incorporated in Figure 2 as 'Highland parishes, possibly under ecclesiastical jurisdiction from adjacent Synods or Presbyterys'.

To make it easier to identify the extent of these 180 or so 'parishes', Figure 1 is a parish base map of the M.P.L.H.P. names. It also shows the 1698 Gaidhealtachd boundary, or Highland Line, as does Figure 2. The numbers in Figure 1 correspond to the numbers to the right of some of the parishes in the M.P.L.H.P. listings in Table IV. Such enumeration was necessary to ease legibility in Figure 1. It should be noted that the numbers in this column of the 1698 list (Table IV) correspond *only* to the numbers in Figure 1 and not to the numbers on the left of the various sections in Table IV which appear in the original manuscript. The crosses in Figure 1 refer to the probable site of the relevant chapel or church.

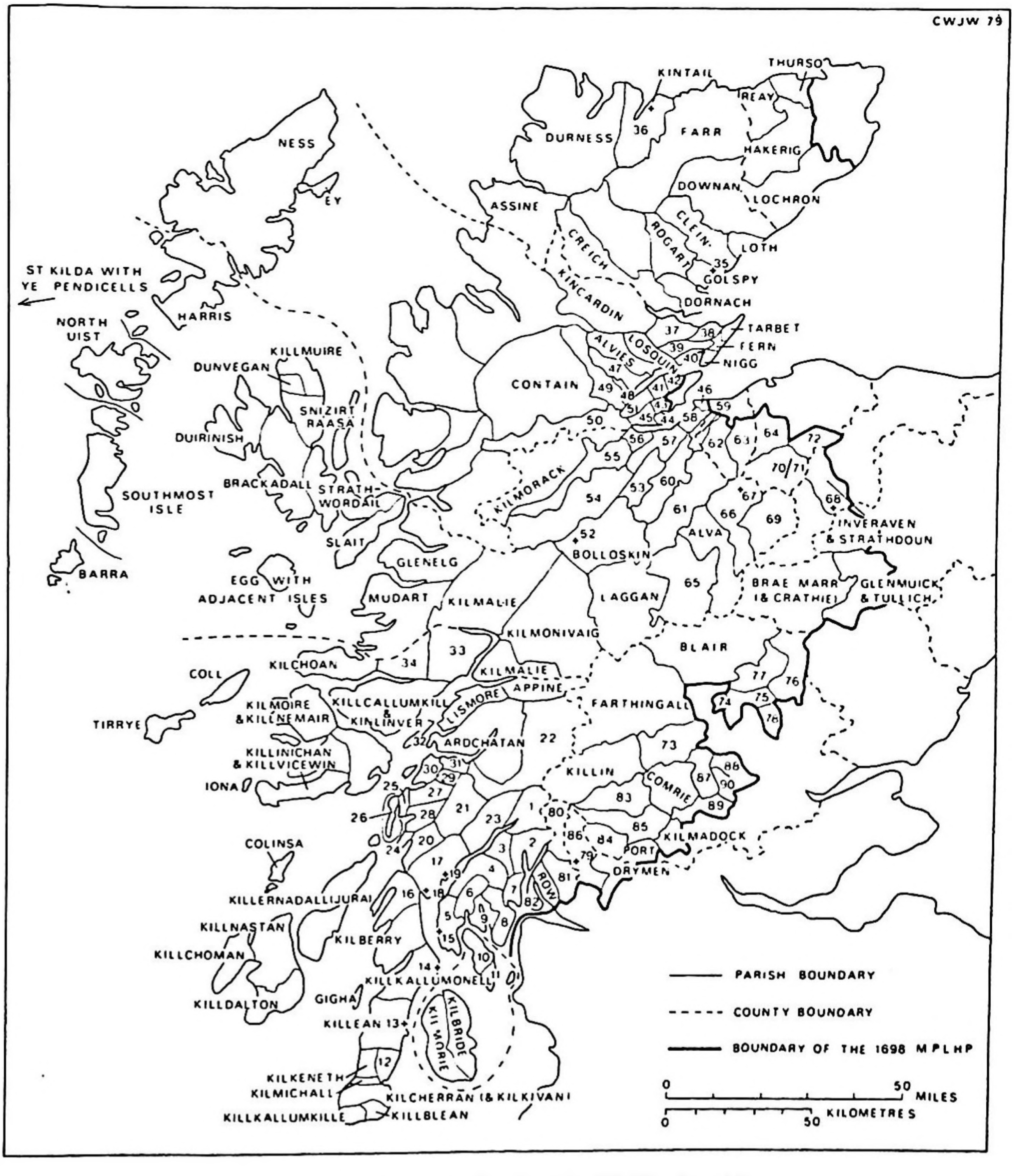
The Gaidhealtachd boundary or Highland Line derived from consideration of the 1698 'More Particular List of the Highland Parishes' is, as may be seen from Figure 2, reasonably consistent with Skene's line especially for Dumbartonshire, Stirlingshire and south east Perthshire, but it is perhaps less so as it moves through north east Perthshire and into the east central Highlands. However, it again follows Skene's general positioning until it reaches the sea near Ardersier.

The examination of the historical geography of the Highlands of Scotland is important enough in itself. It is hoped that this paper has provided a useful assessment of what is probably the earliest source material for understanding the geographical extent of the Gaelic-speaking parishes in Scotland. Despite the several inconsistencies, it is here argued that the 'More Particular List of the Highland

Parishes', and the maps derived from its study, should be taken as the earliest formalisation of the geographical position of the Gaidhealtachd.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to thank the staff of the Scottish Record Office, the National Library, and New College Library, for their generous assistance. I am particularly grateful to Ian Fraser and Daphne Hamilton of the University of Edinburgh for their invaluable advice upon an earlier draft of this paper. I am also grateful to Dr John MacInnes of the University of Edinburgh for the reference to Ceanntail 'Ic Aoidh, and to Dr Robin Glasscock of the University of Cambridge for additional comment and criticism. The author acknowledges also the financial assistance of the Vaughan Cornish Memorial Research Institute, Cambridge.


CWJW 79
KINTAIL
THURSO
REAY
DURNESS
36
FARR
HAKERIG
DOWNAN
LOCHRON
ASSINE
CLEIN
ROGART
LOTH
35
GOLSPY
CREICH
KINCARDIN
DORNACH
37
38
TARBET
FERN
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NIGG
ALVIES
LOSQUIN
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CONTAIN
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KILMORACK
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68
61
66
69
52
ALVA
INVERAVEN
& STRATHDOUN
BOLLOSKIN
65
LAGGAN
BRAE MARR
(& CRATHIE)
GLENMUICK
& TULLICH
NESS
EY
ST KILDA WITH
YE PENDICELLS
NORTH
UIST
HARRIS
KILLMUIRE
DUNVEGAN
SNIZIRT
RAASA
DUIRINISH
BRACKADALL
STRATH-
WORDAIL
SOUTHMOST
ISLE
SLAIT
BARRA
GLENELG
EGG WITH
ADJACENT ISLES
MUDART
KILMALIE
KILMONIVAIG
33
34
KILCHOAN
COLL
BLAIR
KILMALIE
APPINE
KILMOIRE
&KILLNEMAIR
KILLCALLUMKILL
&
KINLINVER
LISMORE
FARTHINGALL
77
76
74
75
78
TIRRYE
32
ARDCHATAN
22
73
KILLINICHAN
& KILLVICEWIN
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KILLIN
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COMRIE
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IONA
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89
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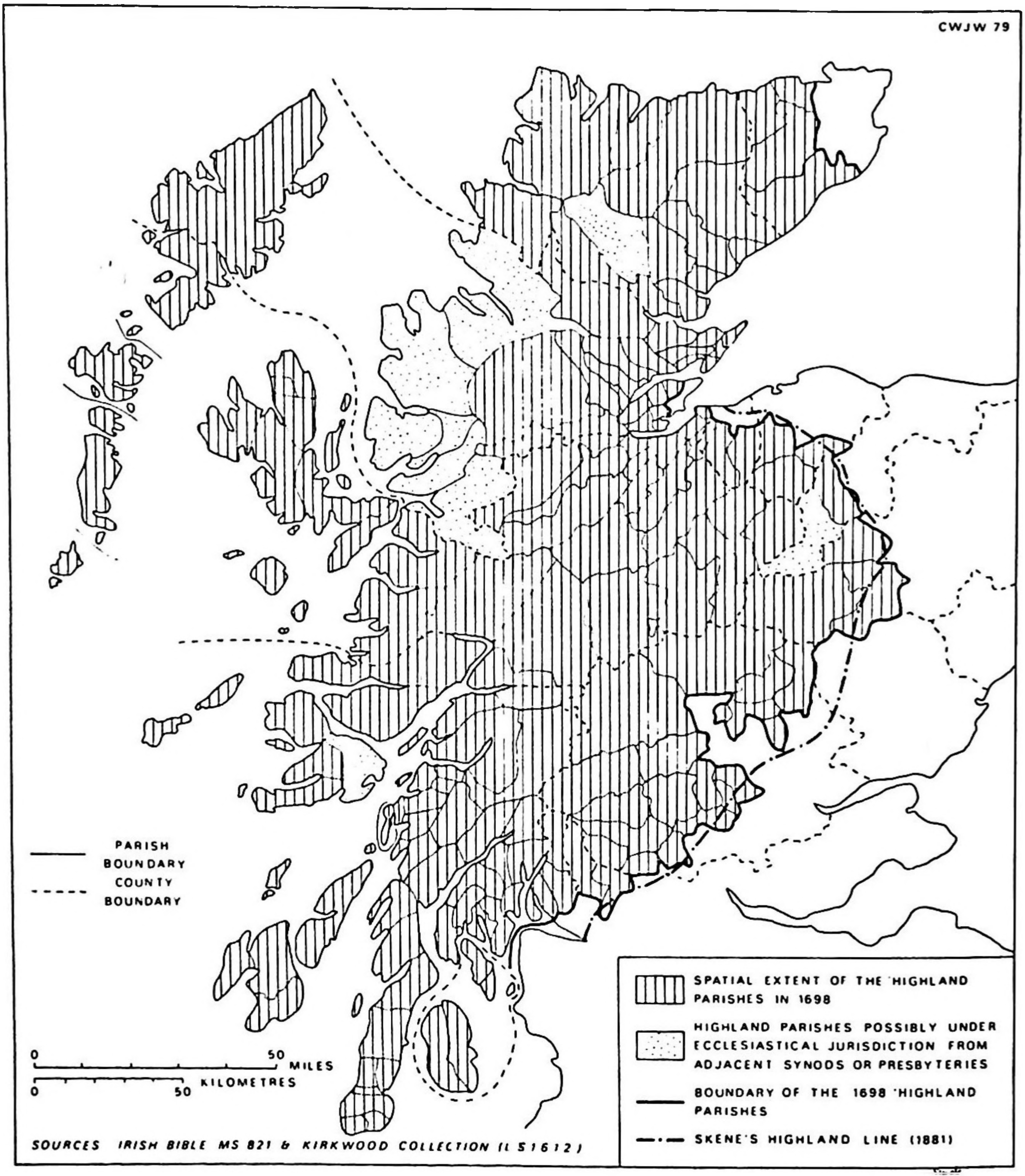
21
23
1
80
85
COLINSA
24
20
86
84
2
KILMADOCK
3
79
PORT
17
19
4
DRYMEN
KILLERNADALLIJURAI
16
18
6
7
81
ROW
82
5
9
8
KILLNASTAN
KILBERRY
15
KILLCHOMAN
10
14
11
KILLKALLUMONELL
KILLDALTON
GIGHA
KILBRIDE
KILLEAN 13
KILMORIE
12
KILKENETH
KILMICHALL
KILCHERRAN (& KILKIVAN)
KILLKALLUMKILLE
KILLBLEAN
PARISH BOUNDARY
COUNTY BOUNDARY
BOUNDARY OF THE 1698 MPLHP
0
50
MILES
0
50
KILOMETRES

Fig. 1. Parish base-map for the 1698 Highland parishes


CWJW 79
PARISH BOUNDARY
COUNTY BOUNDARY
0
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MILES
KILOMETRES
0
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SOURCES IRISH BIBLE MS 821 & KIRKWOOD COLLECTION (L 51612)
SPATIAL EXTENT OF THE 'HIGHLAND PARISHES' IN 1698
HIGHLAND PARISHES POSSIBLY UNDER ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION FROM ADJACENT SYNODS OR PRESBYTERIES
BOUNDARY OF THE 1698 'HIGHLAND PARISHES'
SKENE'S HIGHLAND LINE (1881)

Fig. 2. The geographical area of the Highland parishes in 1698

NOTES

1 The New Testament was published in Irish Gaelic by Nehemiah Donellan in 1603, and the Irish Bible (Old Testament) by Bishop Bedell in 1685 (Maclean 1924:337).

2 I am grateful to Mr Ian Fraser of the School of Scottish Studies, the University of Edinburgh, for help in tracing the Cowal location as the most likely for *Kilmarna* in the M.P.L.H.P. 1698 list.

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A Scots Folk Version of 'The Voyage of Mael Duin'

SHEILA DOUGLAS

In the course of work on the songs and stories of a group of Perthshire travellers, whom I have known for some years, an interesting parallel has come to my notice.

In March 1979 I recorded from John Stewart, aged 70, living at that time in Perth, a story which he called 'Jack and the Seven Enchanted Islands'. In April 1980 I read an account (Rees & Rees 1961: 318–22) of an Irish *Immram* or voyage tale, dating back to the ninth century, called 'The Voyage of Mael Duin', part of which bore an uncanny resemblance to John Stewart's tale. The reference given for it led me to Whitley Stokes' translation of the voyage tale (Stokes 1888–9). Comparing the translation with 'Jack and the Seven Enchanted Islands', I found forty-seven points of resemblance between the two, which is too high a number to be mere coincidence. It seemed, then, that here was an Irish tale, written down a thousand years ago in a scholarly manuscript, now in the mouth of a twentieth-century travelling man from Perthshire.

More recently Dr Alan Bruford has drawn my attention to another translation of the tale in *Old Celtic Romances* translated from the Gaelic by P. W. Joyce (Joyce 1879). The text is based on the Yellow Book of Lecan which contains the most complete version of the *immram*. A comparison of the Jack tale with this version has produced fifty-eight points of resemblance.

In an interview with John Stewart on 3 July 1980, he gave the following information:

> That story, I heard my father telling it . . . and I'm nearly sure he got it off that old worthy, Mosie Wray in Ireland, Donegal, in a wee place called Carrigans . . . I heard Mosie Wray at it, for Mosie used tae come intae our house and talk for hours.

John's father and his family went to Ireland during the First World War, and travelled there for many years. Belle Stewart, John's sister-in-law (who is also one of my informants) remembers Carrigans and the old man Mosie Wray and his wife Martha, who were the Stewarts' neighbours when they had a house there. This must have been in the 1920s when John was in his 'teens. He says that his father never told the story very often and eventually seemed to have forgotten it, as he tended to tell the stories that had been handed down in his family, like 'The King of the Black Art' (AT 235) and 'The King of the Liars' (AT 852). For John to have remembered the story in so much detail over such a long period of time indicates not only a remarkable memory, but also a remarkable degree of interest.

The transcription of John's story follows, before further discussion. (To avoid the difficulty of printing parallel texts, brief extracts of the corresponding passages from 'The Voyage of Mael Duin' as translated by Joyce (1879) are presented in notes immediately after the story, p. 99).

Jack and the Seven Enchanted Islands

This is a story 'at happened in a country—I couldnae tell where the land is. In this country there was a queen that was very good tae her subjects, and one thing and another like that. An not far from her castle, a lot of her people lived, maybe three or four mile from her. This man and wumman lived, and he was one o' the queen's main kind o' men for doing work about the palace and the castle and one thing and another like that. And his wife used tae work away too. Till one day, there was invaders came and invaded that part o' the country, and this man was killed, ye see.[1] Killed a lot o' the queen's people, this invading pirates o' some kind. And not long after the invasion the woman gave birth tae a son, ye see?[2] So the boy was about two year old or that, an the queen heard o' it, that this wumman whose man that had been killed, had had a child. She says, 'Well go,' she says, 'and tell her tae send the boy up tae the castle,' and she says, 'and I'll rear him along with my two sons,[3] the princes, and he'll get a good education, and he can always go up and down and see his mother.' So the wumman was too glad o' the chance, tae let her son go up, ye see. It wasn't that far away. So he went up there and he lived at the castle wi' the princes.[3] When he come tae be aboot the size o' these boys here [*points to grandsons*], oh, he could do anything better than any man around the castle, and a' the people round about was admiring him,[4] the size he was and the things he could do, ye see.

So when he come up tae be about eighteen or twenty, he started tae wonder aboot who his father was.[5] He never was told his father was killed, or anything like that. An he asked one o' the auld men o' the army o' the castle, who was his father: could he tell him who his father was? 'Oh,' he says, 'I wouldn't like tae tell ye,' he says. 'Why not go back,' he says. 'and ask your mother about that?'

'Well,' he says, 'I think I will,' he says.

Now, when the queen heard this she got on to him and didn't want him to go at all, down to the mother and ask these questions,[6] ye see? But he says, 'I will go,' he says, 'nothing 'll keep me back.'

So he jumps on his horse's back an he gallops away down to the house where his mither wis, and argues with her and torments her, and asks her and torments her, who 'is father was,[7] how he was killed, and a' like this.

'Well,' she says, 'he wasnae actually killed here,' she says. 'He was killed further north,' she says, 'when the invaders landed,' and she says, 'I don't know who the invaders were.'

He wanted to know who they were. 'Well,' he says, 'I'll get them,' he says, 'should A follae them tae the ends o' the earth.' So he says, 'I'll get them.'

So he went away on his horse's back, tae make a long story short, away in the direction he was told the invaders landed,[8] and he travelled for about two nights and two days, and he came to this wee scattered kind o' a village. In them days, it was just wee hovels, thatched wi grass and rushes an anything ye could get to cover the houses, ye see? An there was an old church place, kin' o' half in ruins.[9] So he went up tae this church, an a man says, 'Ye can't come in here,' he says.

He says, 'How?'

'Well', he says, 'this is sacred ground,' he says, 'because,' he says, 'out there,' he says, 'your father was killed,' he says to him.

And the boy says, 'Who are you?'

He says, 'I'm the man that looks after this place,' he says, 'and looks after everything about the church.'[10] And when he turned roon, he had a humph on his back, half the size o' this hoose. An ugly man, he was a Kashimoto [Quasimodo].[10] Ye see? An great big feet. So the villagers told him, if he saw that man, no tae interfere with him at all, because he'll put bad luck on ye, ken? So, he says, 'Yes,' he says, 'your father was killed there.[11] Where you're standin,' he says, 'they took their swords out, and they *hacked* him to pieces,' he says. 'They hacked him to pieces.'

'Well,' he says, 'how am I—could you tell me,' he says, 'who done it? Have ye any idea,' he says, 'where these invaders came from?'

He says, 'No. I couldn't tell you that.' But he says, 'If ye go away down the coast', he says, 'to the last wee house,' he says, 'he mightn't be in wee house', he says, 'he might be in the cave, staying.' He says, 'Ye'll get an old gentleman down there, he's a druid. Wan o' the old druids.'[12] He says, 'He's a far seer,' he says. 'He's like a fortune teller, an,' he says, 'he can tell ye anything ye want to know.' Ye see?

So away Jack goes down this—makes away along the coast till he came past this wee old tumble-down house. This auld man wasnae there. He went round the end of the rocks and here was a great big cave and an ol' fire kennled, and this old man stannin, ye see? A great big long beard. So he says to the auld man, he says. 'Good evening,' he says, 'old man,' he says.

'Good evening,' says the man, he says. 'Ye'll be lookin for me, or ye wouldnae be doon here.'

He says, 'Yes I'm looking for you,' he says. 'I want to know,' he says, 'about the pirates that landed here,' he says, 'several years ago,' he says, 'maybe eighteen, seventeen or eighteen years ago,' he says, 'and invaded this country, and killed a lot o' people,' he says, 'because my father was killed with it.'

He says, 'Oh,' he says, 'I know,' he says, 'your father was killed with it. But,' he says, 'I would advise you,' he says, 'not to go and look for them,' he says, 'because,' he says, 'ye'll only get yoursel into trouble.'

He says, 'I'll not,' he says. 'I *must* go,' he says, 'an look for who killed ma father.'

'Well,' says the old druid, he says, 'if that you're that desperate to go,' he says, 'ye'll have to take . . . five men with you—no, seven men, with you,' he says—like that, an odd number, an he says, 'Ye'll have to build a boat,' he says, 'of bull hide,[13] because,' he says, 'the places that you would have to go wi a boat,' he says, 'a big, heavy wooden boat wouldn't do ye.'

Well, in them days, nearly all the boats were hide boats, light-framed boats and they pulled them wi oars, see? So he says, 'That's all right, then,' he says, 'I'll do that.'

An he says, 'When ye leave,' he says, 'keep goin into the settin sun.' An he says, 'That's all I can tell ye.'

So Jack says, 'Thanks very much,' he says, 'I'll go.' So he went back to the place where he was reared, tae his mother's place, an he got five men along wi himself, ye see, to go wi him. Great big strapping lads from the place, ye see? An they packed their bits o' things, an away they went, and they went doon tae the tannery place, where they killed the cattle, you know, for food, and they got all these auld skins, and one thing and another like that, and they got wood, and they carted away tae where the auld hermit was, an they builds and starts buildin this boat, making the bows like that an puttin the bull hide on it, puttin things in for the rowlocks for the oars. So it took them about oh! very nearly two months, tae finish this, this boat.

So him and the five men then get intae the boat and their stuff and their oars, and they're just gonnae oar away, when the auld man came oot. He says, 'Have ye got your amount o' men?' he says.

'Yes,' he says, 'I've got seven.' Five, no, six men, an hisself was the seventh. So they're away oot on the water aboot two or three hundred yards, up the coast, and they hears this roarin at them, shoutin an bawlin an roarin at them, ye see. An this was the two princes fae the castle, where he'd been reared. An they're roarin tae him that they're wantin tae come too, ye see.[14]

Jack says, 'A can't take yese. A've got ma certain quota o' ma men an A can't take any more,' he says. 'It's unlucky. The old druid told me it's unlucky tae take any more than the seven.'[14] Ye see?

He says, 'Well,' he says, 'if you don't come in for us,' he says, 'we're gonnae swim out.' An the two o' them jumps intae the sea. Noo Jack has tae stop, wait till they swim out an they pulls them intae the boat.[14]

'Well,' he says, 'maybe the old druid,' he says, ' 'll not know,' he says, 'that we've got a more number we've got than we were told tae take.' Ye see?

So they a' sits there, and they're rowin away and rowin an rowin, an rowin, an rowin, an each takin a rest, an changin seats an one thing an another, you know. Well, they rows an rows and rows for about a week, goin always by the settin sun. So the wan kin' o' stormy kin' o' night, they were keepin close tae an island that they came tae, kin' o' close tae it, for shelter. But they comes on up this shore an on up this shore, an at the break o' daylight, they stoppit for a rest, and they were jist about a hundred yards off the beach. An Jack says, 'There's a great big, big castle there,'[15] he says. He says, 'We could dae wi some more victuals and that,' he says, 'tae eat,' he says, 'an fresh water.' He says, 'Come on, we'll go in,' he says, 'there an see if we can get something.'

So they all gets off, seven, eight o' them. There was wan odd one. So over they came tae this big castle, an oh! they sees a lot o' people outside the big gates, all yapping away through thon'er, men, women an that. An they didnae want tae go up right away, 'Because,' he says, 'ye never know what they might do.'

He says, 'We'll sit here, on the place goin intae the castle,'[16] he says, 'till we weigh them up first, till we see what like they are.'

So, the lot o' them's sittin there an they sits there for aboot ten minutes or so, then they sees this horse comin, and a lady on it, and she must have been a queen 'cause she had a crown on her head, lovely green silk an satin clothes an—ye ever see yon red satin boots?—on her.[17] An this horse is all bells an rings on its reins an that. So she came up past and she looked at them like that, an she never paid attention and never spoke tae them, and she went straight on up, and intae the castle, ye see? He says, 'Did ye ever see a better lookin wumman than that? That's the queen, oh, it must be a queen. Aye, oh yes.'

So just like that, a woman came oot, a girl, and she came down to them, and she says, 'The queen wants tae see youse.'[18] So Jack and them got up an they walkit in, and they went intae this great big room, like an hall they were ushered intae, and there were a great big sofa, and there were seven cups, wine cups, a' sittin down this long table, and decanters o' wine, an bread an fruit upon the table, ye see?[19]

So Jack says—he counted the seats—and on this couch, he says, 'Seven seats! She must ha' known we were comin, but she doesnae know there's an odd wan. But,' he says, 'we'll try an roll him any anyway, an they'll no' notice.' Ye see?

So Jack says tae one o' them, 'Sit beside me there,' an so they all got down an they drank away there, as much wine as they wanted, and food, an the queen's talkin away tae them. Oh, she was very nice tae them, ye see? Nex' day comes. She says, 'Oh just stay here,'[20] she says, 'you're doin no harm.'

So they stayed, and they're wanderin about the place, an carryin on wi the girls, huntin on this big island an that, ye see. 'Now,' she says—they were there a month! And she says this day, 'Look,' she says, 'I'm goin away for a wee while,' she says, 'to the plains, to see some of ma people.'[21] An she says, 'Yese'll be all right here, an A come back,' she says. 'Don't leave the island,' she says. 'Everything's here that ye want,' she says, an she says, 'I won't be long.'

So Jack says, 'That's quite all right,' he says, 'queen, ye can go when ye like.' So the queen, she goes away. Now the queen has two daughters, an they're entertaining these men, an oh! everything at their hand they had in this castle. But the queen goes away, an one week rolls in, an another week rolls in, and another week rolls in, and another week rolls in, till there's two month passes. Noo the men's gettin fed up, an they're startin tae argue wi one another. 'Says, 'Maybe Jack,' he says, 'is in love wi the queen,'[22] he says. 'Maybe that's how he doesnae want tae go.'

So they went tae Jack. He says, 'What about goin?' he says tae Jack. 'We had ither things to do,' he says. An he says, 'We dinnae want tae stay here any more.'[23]

'Well,' says Jack, he says, 'she's a long time coming back,' he says, 'it's near about three months since she left.' He says, 'Let's go then.'[23]

So away they went. They got stuff in at the castle an packed it up, an away down tae their boat, an they put it in the boat, jumps in the boat, an they starts rowin. An they're just twenty or thirty yards from the beach, when the queen comes home. And she's down at the waterside wi her two daughters, an the two daughters is tearing their hair. 'Come back! Come back!' Ye see? An the queen's shoutin on them tae come back. But Jack says, 'Keep rowin,' he says, 'keep rowin.'

But she pits her hand intae her pocket an she takes oot a ball o' golden thread, ye see? An she catches the wan end o' the golden thread like that, an she takes this ball an she throws it at the boat, and it flew across, and it come tae Jack and Jack done that, and caught it wi his hand. An he went tae lay it down. but it stuck tae his hand like glue. He couldnae lay that golden ball o' thread down. An the queen pulled like that on the thread, an she took the boat straight back in again.[24] She says, 'Why were you leavin?' She got the ball from him. She says, 'Why were you leavin?'

'Well,' Jack says, 'we got fed up.'

'Well,' she says, 'look. Ye'll never get another place like this! Now,' she says, 'come on home,' she says, 'you and your men.' An she says, 'Ye've all ye want here. I told ye I'd be back.'

So away they goes back, wanders aboot, an mucks aboot in roon the castle, doing this an doing that, but aw, they got fed up o' bein in the one place, ye see.[25]

So, 'Are ye goin, Jack? If ye dinnae come we'll go ourselves. We know ye're tryin tae—are ye in love wi that queen?'[25]

'No,' says Jack, 'I'm not in love wi the queen.'

'Well,' they says, 'Come on! I think ye only made a fool o' us, thon time, about the golden ball, when she threw thon golden ball.'

Jack says, 'Well, *you* catch it this time,[26] if we go doon, an we go away on the boat,' he says tae one o' his brothers, that were like his brothers, the ones he was reared wi, the princes.

So they says, 'All right, I'll catch it this time.' So away they goes down tae the boat, pushes it out fae the side, an jumps in an gets an oar each, an away they starts pullin out, ye see, out intae the water.

Haha! She's down, her an the two daughters, shoutin at them again, roarin an shoutin they'd tae come back, they'd no business leavin, and the girls is cryin an greetin an tearin their hair. So wi that the queen pits her han' in her pocket, an she's out wi the golden ball, and she flings this golden ball, and this boy catches it wi his hand, ye see?[27] An it stuck tae his han', ye see. An the queen's pullin it back in, but Jack pulls his sword, an it was a real sharp one, and he *slashed* the thread! An it was that strong a thread, he cut it, but his sword bounced off it, and he nearly fell overboard intae the water, ye see? An the thread was left in the queen's hand, and she's roarin an screamin and the girls is dancin wi rage, ye see?[28]

So Jack says, 'Keep goin now! Keep goin!' So they oars and oars and oars and oars, and they rows an rows an rows. Next day, they floats about takin a rest, takes a drink o' water an a bite o' meat, and away again. An they rows an rows an rows, over this sea, far intae the settin sun.

So, through the night, they're rowin away jist at their ease, lettin the boat swing along, ye see, an they sees a glow. An Jack says, 'What's that?' he says. 'It's like something on fire on the sea.' So they rows an rows and rows an rows up tae it, an this is another island, an it's surrounded by flames o' fire, ye see. Flames o' fire a' roond it. An the folk's a' sittin at tables, an they're enjoyin theirsel an they're laughin, and they're drinkin, and dancin and drinkin, ye see.[29]

An Jack says, 'Don't none o' youse go in there,' he says, 'tae that island,' he says, 'because,' he says, 'I don't like it at all,' he says. 'Keep goin, men! Keep goin!' Ye see?

So they rows away, and on an on they went, wi this boat, for about another two days, and they spies another island, and they come in kin' o' close tae it. An when they stood up, a' stan' up tae look at this island, it was the loveliest island ye could see. There was a lovely green valley like that, an a lovely brae like that, an grass on it. An there was an oul' church, an this side there was a lovely wood o' silver birch trees and there were sheep grazin on these wee slopes. An in the bottom there was a wee lake, like the shape o' a harp, ye see?[30]

Jack says, 'That's a lovely quiet place,' he says. 'Pull in', he says, 'tae get some fresh water an that.'

So they pulls in, an they walks across this lovely green grass, tae the bank went down tae this lake, and they sits down. An they looks up towards this oul' church place, an there's an oul' man wi a long beard, ye see. And he comes wanderin down tae them, asked them were they there just for tae stay.

He says, 'Ye can stay here, you know. It's a lovely island.' He says, 'Ye'll hardly ever get old here.' He says, 'Ye can live off the sheep of the island,' he says, 'and there's plenty o' fruit an stuff,' he says, 'an plenty o' water.' An he says, 'Ye'll be quite welcome here.'

So he turns an he goes away back up tae this oul' church again, he goes away inside this oul' church. Now, they're sittin there. The weather was that good, they just lay out at night. Oh, an they killed a sheep an had mutton, roast mutton every day, an had fruit, an lovely fresh water, ye see.

But they're sittin like that, this day, an Jack's lookin away oot, that way, an he sees this thing comin in the sky. An one o' the men says, 'What's that comin, Jack?'

An Jack says, 'I don't know,' he says, 'it's an awful size.' An when they did eventually see it right comin tae them, it was a bird! An it was the size o' a boat. It had a wing span o' about fifty or sixty yards, this bird.[31] An it come right down like that. An something told Jack it was the old man, in his ain mind. But he didnae say tae the men, ye see.

So this big bird landed. just up above the lake, no far from them, and it has in its claws a branch aboot the size o' a young tree. An this branch is full o' rid fruit, like between a plum and a grape. An they were pure blood red, this great young tree, ye see.[31]

So it sits there, an it's pickin away at the fruit. An it never seemed tae—looked at them, or went tae interfere wi them and Jack an them went back close tae it an back from it—never looked at them, ye see.

So the next day, they looked, and here's another two comin, but they werenae actually as big as the first wan, and they werenae carryin any branch or anythin like that. It was like, as Jack thought, two younger birds. An they landed beside the big wan. An they sat beside it, an Jack an his men were watchin them an the two younger birds started pickin the feathers from the big wan.[32] An they picked an they picked an they picked an they picked and they picked, tae they'd pickit *every* feather oot o' this giant bird. It was like a giant bare turkey ready for the oven, ye see. Jack says, 'That's the funniest,' he says, 'ever A seen in ma life,' he says, 'how them birds pickit a' that auld yin,' he says, 'till they'd pickit every feather oot o' t.'

Noo when the last feather was picked oot, it got up an it gied itsel a shake, like that, an it strode away down tae this lake, an it jumped intae the lake, and it splashed aboot in the lake for about an hour. An it come back up again, an sat beside this big branch wi the berries on, it started eatin.[33]

Well the next mornin, when Jack an them looked at the bird, it had a new coat o' feathers, like ye never seen the like in your life! An the other two birds placed a' the feathers, an were peckin it an preenin it, and makin it bonnie, ye see. So it sat there till it was well done, an near the afternoon, it picks the big branch up, and the two young ones flew away in front o' it, and then hit rose up in the air, and away they went, ye see.[34]

Jack says, 'That's the funniest ever A see in ma life,' he says. The men couldnae get over it either.

But still Jack knew within his own self, it was the old man fae the church that was the bird. So Jack walks doon tae the big, tae this big, this lake kin' o' place, the shape o' the harp, an he looked in, and the water was a kin' o' a pinky red, after the bird washin itself. So he took his claes off, boy, and he jumps in, and he's splashin an swimmin roon aboot, ye see. An he comes oot an feels greatly refreshed. He was a new man.[35] So he pits his claes on, and he comes up tae the men, an he says, 'I think,' he says, 'tomorrow,' he says, 'we'll go on again,' he says. He says, 'We cannae sit on this island a' the time,' he says, 'although,' he says, 'it's a lovely island. But,' he says, 'I'll need tae go,' he says, 'and see if I can catch up wi the man that killed ma father,' he says.

So they goes doon, gets in their boat, puts food in the boat an water, and away they goes again, rowin an rowin, and rowin and rowin and rowin, ye see, till they come tae anither island. An, 'We could dae wi some fresh water again.'

'Aye.'

'Pull in here, and some o' us 'll get off and go off and get water, and come in again.' Ye see. So they pulled right in close tae the shore like that, as close as they could. An they were gonnae jump in the water, some o' the men, an wade ashore, but they looked an they sees this great big, big, big, thing. It was like an elephant but it had the wings o' a bird, an an elephant's trunk, and feet like a horse, and it was a *giant* o' a thing.[36] An hit starts prancing in front o' them, like a [?] fae the boat. It's lyin on its side, an it's waggin its tail, and it's playin itsel, this mountain o' a thing! An the men says, 'Oh, it wants us tae mak fun wi it.' Two or three o' the men was gonnae get in the water and wade ashore, an see an go owre an mak fun with this thing, ye see. Jack says, 'Don't do that!' he says. He says, 'Come on,' he says, 'we'll get away,' he says, 'I don't like that at all,' he says. 'Come on.' An they jumped intae the boat, and Jack makes them row away quick, and here it got up, an it was in a fury, an it was gonnae plunge intae the water tae wide efter them. An it didnae. It started flingin stanes wi its feet. But it couldnae aim very well, ye know. An it was in a terrible rage. It started flingin these big stones efter them.[37] But luckily none o' them hit the boat.

So they keeps rowin away an rowin away an rowin away an rowin away, till they runs oot o' water, an they runs oot o' grub. An Jack says, 'If we dinnae get food,' he says, 'shortly,' he says, 'or water,' he says, 'we're all gonnae die.'

But oh! at the break o' daylight they comes tae this other island. And there was a lovely little river gaun up, ye see. An the salmon was goin up this wee burn in dozens, silver fish.

Jack says, 'Right,' he says, 'we'll get fish,' he says, 'plenty o' fish,' he says, 'and we'll get water.' He says, 'Come on,' he says. So they're all out and pulls the boat close tae the thingmy, jumps out in the river an oh! they're catchin fish. Pits a fire on an they've got boiled salmon first [?] ye see?

Now, they goes away up this water tae the top o' the bank, and there's a valley, kin' o' valley gaun doon, and anither river comin intae that wan. So they comes up there an they looks, an here's the loveliest castle ye ever saw in your life, over this bank. An it's at the far side o' this wee river, an there's a crystal bridge gaun across, glass bridge made o' crystal.[38] An the crystal bows on the bridge, y' know. On the far side, there was like ramps, iron comin down ye would think, but it was crystal, and it was all hung with silver bells. And whenever ye went near it and went tae touch the bridge, a' these bells rattled, ye see?

'How are we gaun tae get water?' An they were a' sittin there, sittin there, sittin there, but eventually at the far side o' the bridge, the door opens in the castle, and out comes this lassie, this girl, a princess. An she's a beaten gold, silver band on her hair, lovely jewellery on her neck, an oh! she—just a real beauty she was, you know. Blonde hair down her back, just like Granny there [*points to Maggie*].[40]

Now, now Jack says, 'Look at that,' he says, 'did ever ye see a bonnier lassie than that in your life?'

She comes oot an she goes tae the bridge, and one o' the boards lifts up like that, an she dips her bucket in an lifts water oot, and goes back in the castle wi't.[39] But when they wad go tae dae that, a' the bells wad ring,[41] and the board wad—the board at this end wadnae rise, ye see.

So, the men says, 'The next time she comes out, Jack,' he says, 'roar tae her, tae see if she could gie ye water. She maybe never saw us when she was oot.'

'All right,' says Jack, he says. 'We'll have tae take a chance on it.'

So when she comes oot again, Jack roars 'Coo-ee,' and she looks up, and Jack says, 'Wad there be any chance of you havin somethin we could carry water in for our ship?' He says, 'We're needin a big vessel for tae carry water in.'

She came across an she was talkin away tae them. She says, 'Oh yes, I'll give ye something.' She gave them a big earthenware jug, and they filled it wi water, ye see, and left it at the side. She says, 'Stay here for two or three days,' she says. 'There's plenty o' fish there.'

Jack says, 'I know,' he says, 'we *were* using water out o' the little river,' he says, 'and we used a lot o' your fish.'

'Oh,' she says, 'that's all right,' she says. 'Take plenty,' she says, 'I'll bring ye some fruit too.' An she fetched apples an fruit tae them an everything, ye see.[42] An they were there for, oh, about a fortnight, having a good rest up, ye see. An one o' the men was kiddin Jack on, this day. He says tae Jack, he says, 'Why dae ye no marry her, Jack?' He says, 'She's a lovely princess, that,' he says. He says, 'You an her wad make a lovely pair.'[43] Ye see?

Now Jack says, 'Naw,' he says, 'A wadnae do that.'

The men says, 'How? Are ye feart? Come on! Ask her the next time she comes.'

'All right,' Jack says, 'the next time she comes out,' he says, 'I'll ask her,' he says, 'tae marry me.'

So the next day, the girl came out again, came across an was speakin tae Jack an that, Jack follaed her by herself, an he says, 'Listen,' he says, 'what about marrying me?' he says. 'An I'll stay here,' he says, 'and we could rule this place ourself.'

So she looked at him and she started laughin. She says, 'I couldn't marry you', she says.

'Why not?' says Jack.

She says, 'You'll know tomorrow morning,' ye see.[44]

'Oh,' says Jack.

An she's laughin away like that an bid him goodnight and she went away across the bridge, intae her castle, ye see.

In the morning—no, that night when Jack went back down tae them, for they were a' lyin on the grass an that, makin theirsel comfortable for the night. They says, 'Did ye ask her, Jack?'

'Aye,' Jack says.

'What did she say? What did she say?'

'She told me that I wad know in the mornin.'

'Oh good. She'll be comin tae tell ye.' Ye see?

Now, the mornin comes. They gets up and gies theirsel a stretch, an looks up like that, an there was no castle an no bridge! There was nothing! Blank! Ye see?[44]

Jack says, 'That's why she wadnae marry me. She's no the same as us at all. She must be some kin' o' an invisible bein fae anither place.' See? Jack says, 'I know now how she said, "Ye'll see in the mornin, that I can't marry you,"' Jack says, 'I know now.' So they fills this cask o' water that she gave them, an they got intae their boat an they're away again. Ye see?

An they're rowin an rowin an rowin.

Now, they come tae a—past an island. They passed one island, and they rows and they rows and they rows, and in the middle o' the night, the boat seemed tae stand still. It wouldnae move. Ye would actually think it was up against something. Ye see? Jack says, 'We'll need tae wait tae daylight,' he says, 'tae see,' he says. 'We don't even know,' he says, 'whether we're aground,' he says, 'or not.'

So when daylight came, they were right up against a rock, and the rock was just up out o' the water like that, wi a flat top on it. And on this rock stannin, wi a big long gown on him, and a beard tae that, was an ould, ould, man, ye see?[45]

He says, 'Oh,' he says, 'ye eventually arrived,' he says.

Jack says, 'Yes.' He says, 'What are you doin here?'

'Oh,' says the old man, he says, 'I've been here for years and years an years. I forget the time I've been here,' he says, 'and it was my own fault that I am here.'

'How's that?' says Jack. They were sittin in the boat, speakin tae him, just up against the rock.

He says, 'I was on an island back there.'

Jack says, 'I think we passed that island.'

He says, 'Oh, ye likely would.' He says, 'I was on that island,' he says. 'There's a big—there's a good congregation on that island,'[46] he says, 'and a good size of a village.' An says, 'I used tae work there.' An he says, 'I couldnae get enough o' money,' and he says, 'I started thievin.' He says, 'I would go intae a' the big shots' houses, take away their gold, their antiques an everything they had,' he says. 'I even had tunnels made fae my own house out up under their houses tae get in,' he says, 'tae get their money and their jewels and that.'[47] He says, 'I was sittin,' he says, 'the richest man,' he says, 'on that island.'[48] And he says, 'I was still the worker,' he says, 'the grave-digger.'

'Oh,' says Jack. He says, 'That was funny, that.'

But he says, 'I'll tell you how I'm here noo.' He says, 'There was a man tae be buried wan day. An he was a real bad man, this,' he says. An he says, 'They told me,' he says, 'tae go down and open a grave,' he says, 'for tae get this man buried.'[49] An he says, 'I gets ma pick an ma shovels and things, and I went away down to the graveyard,' he says, 'and picks a spot,' he says, 'for tae bury this man.' So he says, 'I started diggin an diggin an diggin an diggin,' he says, 'till I got down,' he says, 'a certain distance.' An he says, 'I must ha' been on top o' another— I know now I *was* on the top o' another grave. Because a voice came,' he says, 'up out o' the earth sayin, "Don't bury that man on the top o' me because I'm a good spirit, and I'm light. Don't put him in here."'[50]

So . . . this old man says, 'I didnae know where the voice was comin from.' An he says, 'I told him I didnae believe in that at all,' he says, 'an one thing an another like that. "Oh," he says, "I know you don't believe in it," he says, this voice said. "But," he says, "I know what you are, and if you don't change your ways, you're headin," he says, "the wrong way, ma man!" He says, "I asked ye," he says, "not to bury that man on top of me. Now," he says, "if you don't believe me," he says, "look down!" So,' he says, 'I looked down,' he says, 'and where I was diggin clay,' he says, 'was pure, white, dry sand.'[51] And he says, 'The dry sand was moving like that!'

An he says, 'When A saw that,' he says, 'I stoppit diggin.' An he says, 'I jumped out o' the grave,' he says, 'an A filled it in.' An he says, 'A took this other man's body further down the graveyard, and buried him in another place altogether.[52] Now,' he says, 'I took fright,' he says, 'and I stopped the thievin. An,' he says, 'I didn't know what tae do,' he says, 'tae recompense whatever kin' o' thing had frightened me.' But he says, 'Wi drinkin,' he says, 'and one thing an another like that,' he says, 'oh,' he says, 'A soon started tae forget about it,' he says, 'an A went back tae ma old ways again.'

An he says, 'I was doin that,' he says, 'when the voice came tae me an says, "Well," he says, "I'm puttin you out," he says, "tae stand on that rock! . . . I'm puttin you away," it says, "an you wouldnae take a chance, when ye were gettin it! But I'm puttin you to a place where you won't do any harm."[54] And,' he says, 'he put me out here,' he says. 'Whatever it was put me out here,' he says. 'I woke up,' he says, 'and I was standin here,' he says. 'And I had seven oatcakes wi me for ma food, and,' he says, 'a bowl of water, a cog o' water.'[55] An he says, 'I've been here—the first seven year I was here,' he says, 'there were two seals come an brought me salmon.[56] An,' he says, 'I lived on them,' he says, 'for another seven year. Then,' he says, 'they came then,' he says, 'and gave me a brown loaf a week, along wi a wee bowl o' ale.' And he says, 'That's what I'm livin on now,' he says.

An he says, 'That shouts an roars ye hear,' he says, 'up in the sky,' he says, 'them's evil demons.'[53] An he says, 'I'd advise ye,' he says, 'tae go,' he says, 'as fast as ye can,' he says, 'because,' he says, 'I'll be here forever.' So he gave them a brown loaf tae help them on their way. They had no meat now. He gave them a brown loaf an some o' this ale out o' his wee bowl.

So they oared away, and they rowed an they rowed an they rowed an they rowed. for about a week, and they were in starvation nearly, ye see. An they were haggard and tired, and every one had beards on them right doon tae there. But they were passing close tae another island, and they saw this big old square house.

Jack says, 'There's a house up there, men,' he says. 'If we could manage up there,' he says, 'wi the last o' wir strength,' he says, 'we'll maybe get as much meat,' he says, 'and water,' he says, 'as'll take us on wir journey.'

So they all got oot and they went up tae this hoose, this castle place. An they heard a noise comin oot o' it, men arguin. An they looked in and this men was all drinkin, all drinkin, ye see? An Jack an them stood at the door, an this great big man wi a black beard, he was tellin the rest o' the men aboot killin Jack's father, ye see.[57] Now, when Jack heard this, he drew his sword, and he rushed in among them, bleachin an strikin at this man. But there were too many there for them. An Jack was knocked to the ground, an under [a hundred?] cuts on him, bleedin like a sheep! An the rest o' the men was all killed. An they throwed them out on to the grass, at the side o' the brae. An these invaders and pirates then all buckled up and off they went![58]

Now Jack's lyin unconscious, moanin there, cuts fae heid tae fit. The rest o' the men was all dead. He was the only one wi a spark o' life in him. An out o' the sky came this—the great big bird, carryin this young tree wi a' the fruit on it. And it landit doon beside Jack, and it took the berries in its mooth, an it squeezed the juice intae Jack's mooth off o' these big fruits on this tree. And after about a couple o' hours, Jack was as good as ever he was.

So, tae make a long story short, it told Jack tae sit on the branch—in among the branches o' this tree it was carryin, the fruit tree. And Jack got in among the branches, and it caught the tree in its two feet and away it went up in the air. An it flew an it flew an it flew, and eventually it landed doon on an island. An it was the island where they landed where it had washed itsel in the pool, the pool wi the shape o' a harp. So it left Jack down there, and it says tae him, 'Wait here now, I'll be back in a wee while.'

So away it went, and Jack waited for about an hour or so, and he looked and looked and watched, and then he saw it comin, flyin again, still with this big branch in its talions, in its claws. An it landit down, and who was sittin on the branch but the girl he asked for tae marry, where the crystal palace had vanished. It took her back for him! And Jack built hissel a nice bit o' a wudden house there, and the two, the prin—. . .Jack and the princess married and lived happily ever after on that island.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Comparative passages and their page numbers in P. W. Joyce's *'Old Celtic Romances'* (see explanation on p. 90).

1 The spoilers . . . slew him [Ailill Ocar Aga] (p. 112).
2 Not long after Ailill's death a son was born to him (p. 113).
3 The queen took him to her . . . and he was brought up with the king's sons, slept in the same cradle with them, was fed from the same breast and the same cup (p. 113).
4 As he grew up to be a young man . . . he surpassed all the youths that came to the king's palace and won the palm in every contest (p. 113).
5 One day . . . a certain youth . . . grew envious of Mael Duin and he said, ' . . . an obscure youth of whom no one can tell who is his father and mother.' Mael Duin . . . until that moment . . . believed that he was the son of the king . . . and the queen who had nursed him (p. 113).
6 She [the queen] tried to soothe him and said, 'Why do you worry yourself, searching after this matter?' (p. 114).
7 The queen . . . brought him to his mother . . . and he asked her to tell him who his father was. 'You are bent on a foolish quest, my child. . . .' 'Even so,' he replied, 'I wish to know who he was.' So his mother told him the truth (p. 114).
8 Mael Duin then set out for his father's territory (p. 114).
9 Some time after . . . a number of young people in the churchyard of Dooclone—casting a handstone . . . over the charred roof of the church (p. 115).
10 A foul-tongued fellow named Brickna, a servant of the people who owned the church . . . (p. 115).
11 . . . the man that was burned to death here . . . Ailill Ocar Aga, your father . . . plunderers from a fleet slew him and burned him in this church (p. 115).
12 So he went without delay to Corcomroe to the druid Nuca (p. 116).

13 The druid gave him full instructions . . . the day he should begin to build his curragh . . . and he was very particular about the number of the crew . . . So Mael Duin built a triple-hide curragh (p. 116).

14 . . . he saw his three foster brothers running down to the shore, signalling and calling to him to return and take them on board. . . '. . . You cannot come with us: for we have already got our exact number'. . . the three plunged in and swam after the curragh . . . and he turned the vessel toward them and took them on board (p. 117).

15 Near the sea shore stood a great high palace (p. 152).

16 After landing they went towards the palace and sat to rest on the bench before the gateway leading through the outer rampart (p. 152).

17 . . . a rider appeared . . . coming swiftly towards the palace . . . a lady, young, beautiful and richly dressed . . . a blue rustling silk head-dress, a silver fringed purple cloak . . . close-fitting scarlet sandals (p. 152).

18 . . . another of the maidens came towards Mael Duin and his companions and she said . . . 'the queen has sent me to invite you and is waiting to receive you' (p. 152).

19 They followed the maiden into the palace: and the queen bade them welcome . . . a plentiful dinner was laid out (p. 153).

20 Next day the queen addressed [them]. . . 'Stay here, in this country' (p. 153).

21 'Every day I go to the Great Plain to administer justice and decide causes among my people' (p. 153).

22 They began to have an earnest desire to return to their native land. . . . 'It is clear,' they said, 'that Mael Duin loves the queen of this island' (p. 154).

23 'We will return to our own country.' Mael Duin would not consent to remain after them, and told them that he would go away with them (p. 154).

24 . . . [she] returned with a ball of thread in her hand . . . she flung the ball after the curragh, but held the end of the thread in her hand. Mael Duin caught the ball as it was passing and it clung to his hand . . . the queen . . . drew the curragh to the very spot from which it had started (p. 155).

25 The voyagers abode on the island much against their will for nine months longer . . . the men held council . . . 'he loves this queen very much' (p. 155).

26 ' . . . he [Mael Duin] catches the ball whenever we try to escape.' Mael Duin replied, 'Let someone else attend to the ball next time . . .' (p. 155).

27 . . . flung the ball after them as before. Another man of the crew caught it and it clung to his hand . . . but Diuran, drawing his sword, cut off the man's hand, which fell with the ball into the sea (p. 156).

28 When the queen saw this, she began to weep and lament, wringing her hands and tearing her hair: and her maidens also began to weep and cry aloud . . . (p. 156).

29 They came to a small island, with a high wall of fire round it. . . . And this is what they saw: a great number of people . . . feasting joyously and drinking . . . (p. 164).

30 Island . . . yew trees and great oaks . . . grassy plain . . . with one small lake in the midst . . . a small church not far off . . . and numerous flocks of sheep (p. 157–8).

31 . . . an immense bird . . . and he held in one claw a branch of a tree . . . laden with clusters of fruit red and rich-looking like grapes but much larger (p. 158).

32 . . . they saw in the distance two others . . . they alighted in front of the first bird . . . began picking the old bird all over . . . plucking out the old feathers (p. 160).

33 After this the old bird plunged into the lake and remained in it, washing itself till evening. . . . The three began plucking the fruit off the branch and they ate till they were satisfied (p. 160).

34 . . . he had lost all the appearance of old age; his feathers were thick and glossy. The two younger birds set about arranging his feathers. . . . Then . . . rose in the air and flew away. . . . The old bird . . . rose again . . . and was soon lost to view (p. 161).

35 Diuran said, 'Let us bathe in the lake' [*earlier it says,* The water became red like wine, *from the juice of the red fruit*]. So he plunged in . . . he came out perfectly sound and whole . . . suffered not from disease or bodily weakness of any kind (p. 161–2).

36 . . . they saw a huge, fearful animal standing on the beach. He was somewhat like a horse in shape: but his legs were like the legs of a dog and he had great sharp claws of a blue colour (p. 121).
37 and when the animal observed them drawing off, he ran down in a great rage to the very water's edge and digging up large round pebbles with his sharp claws, he began to fling them after the vessel (p. 121).
38 . . . a palace on it, having a copper chain in front, hung all over with a number of silver bells. Straight before the door there was a fountain spanned by a bridge of crystal, which led to the palace (p. 139).
39 They saw a very beautiful young woman coming out of the palace with a pail in her hand: and she lifted a crystal slab from the bridge, and, having filled her vessel from the fountain, she went back into the palace (p. 140).
40 On the fourth day she came towards them splendidly and beautifully dressed with her bright yellow hair bound by a circlet of gold . . . a white mantle . . . (p. 140–1).
41 After this they began to shake the copper chain and the tinkling of the silver bells was soft and melodious (p. 140).
42 The woman gave to them from one vessel, food . . . (p. 141).
43 'This woman would make a fit wife for Mael Duin,' said his people (p. 141).
44 'Tomorrow,' she said, 'you will get an answer to your question.' When they awoke next morning . . . they saw neither the woman, nor the palace of the crystal bridge, nor any trace of the island where they had been sojourning (p. 142).
45 . . . a man. He was very old . . . and he was standing on a broad, bare rock (p. 165).
46 'I was cook to the brotherhood of a monastery' (p. 165).
47 'I made secret passages underground . . . into the houses . . . and I stole . . . great quantities of golden vestments . . . and other holy and precious things' (p. 165).
48 'I soon became very rich . . . nothing was wanting in my house' (p. 165).
49 'One day I was sent to dig a grave for the body of a rustic' (p. 166).
50 'I heard a voice speaking deep down in the earth beneath my feet . . . "Do not dig this grave . . . I am a devout and holy person and my body is lean and light"' (p. 166).
51 'How do you know this, and how am I to be sure of it? "The grave you are digging is clay. Observe now whether it will remain so. . . ." These words were scarcely ended when the grave was turned into a mass of white sand before my face' (p. 166–7).
52 'I brought the body away and buried it elsewhere' (p. 167).
53 'All the space round about you . . . is one great towering mass of demons' (p. 168).
54 '"The first solid ground that your curragh reaches, there you are to stay . . . a small rock level with the surface [of the sea]"' (p. 169–70).
55 'He gave me seven cakes and a cup of watery whey' (p. 169).
56 '. . . an otter brought me a salmon out of the sea' (p. 170).
57 When they drew near, they heard the sounds of merriment and laughter and the shouts of revellers intermingled with the loud voices of warriors boasting of their deeds. . . . 'It was I who slew Aillil Ocar Aga . . .' (p. 117–8).
58 [Mael Duin does not kill his father's murderer]. 'They were welcomed . . . feasted and rested' (p. 176).

The number and nature of the resemblances between the stories are significant for several reasons. Firstly and most obviously they suggest a connection between the oral version of the story and the translation which appeared in *Old Celtic Romances*. Between 1879 and the 1920s it could have spanned three generations, or have been spread amongst contemporaries, as an oral tale which someone got from a literary source.

On a recent visit to John Stewart (23 August, 1980) he showed me a paperback of James Reeves' adaptation of Joyce's translation of the tale (Reeves 1974) which they had just come across, and had forgotten they had in the house. John's failing eyesight means that he has not read much in recent years, but he used to read a lot. I think he had read the paperback, and it must have brought his father's story back to his mind, but the version he tells is so much in the style of his father's other stories that I cannot believe that the paperback had much influence on his telling. He remarked that the version in the book had a lot more islands in it than his, but he told it as he had heard his father tell it. Two minor details do appear to have come from the paperback: the softening of cutting off the hand of the man holding the golden thread to merely cutting the thread (*cf.* 27) and the description of the lake shaped like a harp (*cf.* 30); but more important details such as the selection and order of the islands, the new end of the story, and the loss or change of names, seem too fundamental to be the result of one storyteller's unconscious or even deliberate adaptation within the space of five years or less—especially since this is not one of the tales he told often, probably not one he had ever attempted to tell before.

The question may also be asked whether the story could have been passed down in Irish Gaelic as well as its English form. The Irish poet, Hayden Murphy, who now lives in Edinburgh, tells me that he heard a version of 'The Voyage of Mael Duin' in Gaelic from his grandmother in Co. Roscommon when he was eleven, and it was a story passed down in the family. Alan Bruford points out, however, that when he was looking for folk versions of the early Irish literary tales in the great collection of the Irish Folklore Commission in the 1960s, he only found one substantial version of any voyage tale, and that was almost certainly learned from hearing a modern Irish version by Fr O'Growney read aloud from the *Gaelic Journal* (see p. 48 of this volume of *Scottish Studies*). There was a similar version of 'Mael Duin' in the Journal which could have circulated among Gaelic speakers, and might have influenced a Donegal storyteller like Mosie Wray. (But Mosie Wray himself evidently did not tell the story in Gaelic, whether he was a Gaelic speaker or not; nor does it appear that the story was collected from him.) However, this is actually a later literary source than Joyce's version and there is no good reason to suggest that a thousand years of continuous oral tradition lie behind John Stewart's story, already so well acclimatised to the English language that his father, he is quite sure, told it as a 'Jack tale'.

On 3 July John mentioned two others of the 33 islands in 'The Voyage of Mael Duin': one with another kind of monster, and one with a laughing throng of people who trapped one of the voyagers into coming ashore and staying with them, as in 'The Voyage of Bran' (see Joyce 1879: 127, 163). These were in John's father's version, so John himself must have reduced the islands to the magic number seven. It may be relevant that they both come close to episodes of the original tale which were remembered. But one may ask whether there is any significance in the choice of episodes which survive in John's version, apart from the random forgetting which is bound to affect such a rambling story over three or more generations of oral transmission. After all, storytellers like John Stewart, who are not exceptional in his family, or rare among the travellers in general, can hold very long, complicated stories in their heads, though they are normally more logically structured than this one.

One reason for the selective nature of John's version could be that, as experience has shown me, the Perthshire travellers have a preference, whether conscious or unconscious, for tales that lend themselves to a useful psychological interpretation and function. This is clear when one views the content of their stories in the context of their lives. The descriptions of islands John includes in his version of 'Mael Duin' are not just weird fantasies, but are full of symbolic features, whose interpretation has a bearing on the life of the travellers, and indeed on human life in general.

To begin with, the hero is Jack, a character with whom the traveller likes to identify himself: the man of humble or mysterious origins, sometimes the despised youngest brother, who must go on a journey or attempt some difficult task, to prove himself. The driving force behind this is usually family loyalty, which among the travellers is of paramount importance. The druid here is like the old man in the wood who gives advice and helps the wanderer, another common character in travellers' tales and an archetypal figure in folktales generally.

The first island in John's story, the island of the queen and her daughters, shows a symbolic picture of the power of erotic love—the golden thread—which irresistibly holds the wanderers from their quest. The richly dressed people on the island ringed with fire represent a way of life inaccessible to travellers. The green island paradise is a popular Celtic vision. In John's version, he identifies the great bird, a common symbol for the soul, with the old man in the church, who stands for wisdom and spiritual power. The monster, whose friendly appearance changes as they move away, can be taken as a warning not to be tricked into risky encounters—good advice, on the road. The palace with the crystal bridge and the princess represent a more romantic kind of love, although there is sexual symbolism in the well from which Jack wants to draw water. The whole thing vanishes like a dream. The old hermit on the rock represents the wisdom of age and experience, or the wisdom of ancestors, greatly respected by travellers.

Viewed in this way, the various episodes of the tale all appear to contain something of symbolic value that makes the story not only an entertainment, but also a source of wisdom. Among travellers, stories are not just a form of escapism from the problems of life: on the contrary, so many of their stories deal with the sort of experiences and difficulties that the travellers have to meet in their lives. I am not sure to what extent they consciously interpret their stories to help them cope with their problems: I am inclined to think that, rather as children intuitively grasp the meaning of fairy tales (which were not always stories just for children), the travellers apprehend the wisdom transmitted through their stories in a direct and unselfconscious way.

The significance of the differences between John Stewart's tale and 'Mael Duin' does not lie in the order in which the islands are visited, which may be marginally more logical in John's case, but in the shaping which a born story-teller gives the story, in contrast to the literary version, in which aesthetic considerations are sacrificed to those of Christian morality. The long scene with the hermit on the rock which is clearly cautionary, but in the Jack tale is not made to seem relevant to Jack himself in the same way as it is to Mael Duin, in both cases precedes the hero's return to the island of his father's killer. In the early Irish version, Mael Duin comes to that island first, but is driven off by a storm before he can even land on it: he returns, after visiting the other islands, a sadder and wiser man, and follows the Christian teaching of forgiveness, rather than the customs of his society, by leaving him in peace—which makes a very weak ending to the tale by folk-tale standards. This clearly Christian framework, supplied, no doubt, by a clerical author, is rather nullified by the large number of wonders crammed into it, most of them derived from pagan ideas of the otherworld, or travellers' tales, rather than Christian sources, which suggests that the most important part of the story pre-dates the coming of Christianity.

John Stewart and his predecessors have reversed the process by extracting episodes of psychological significance from the middle of the story with a sure hand, while supplying a totally different end, dramatically more satisfying because the meeting between the two enemies is kept to the end. They provide the happy ending obligatory in folk tales of this sort by returning Jack to the island of the great bird and marrying him to the princess from the island with the bridge. This also knits these two episodes more firmly into the structure of the story, but completely avoids the Christian moral by allowing the conventional combat to take place. It seems to belong to an earlier morality that sees revenge as justice, and the fact that Jack has at least tried to avenge his father, as something to be said in his favour. In the end he lives, and the others die, because he is Jack, the hero, the one the audience is supposed to care about and identify with.

The final comparison which might be made is between the style of Joyce's translation and the totally different style of John Stewart's narration. The one is formal, even stilted, as one might expect of a Victorian translator. The other is a purely oral style, using a vigorous demotic Scots, with some disregard of grammar, and a lively style of narration which makes it easy for the hearer to visualise such scenes as the great bird having all its old feathers plucked out and its new ones 'made bonnie', the beautiful island queen on horseback with her red boots, or the fairy-like crystal bridge with its silver bells. As Professor Kenneth Jackson has written of Celtic tales of magic (Jackson 1971 : 142), they take place not in 'a half lit world of inexpressible mysteries', but in 'the high sunlight of the Celtic vision' where the characters seem real and the wonders that surround them just as real. The oral artistry of John Stewart, using a different language in a different country though he may be, succeeds in re-creating that vision of the original author of 'Mael Duin' or his sources more vividly than any of the written texts that span the time between them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Professor Séamus Delargy

ANGUS McINTOSH

Professor James Hamilton Delargy, who was made an Honorary Fellow of the School of Scottish Studies in 1955, died in Dublin on 25 June at the age of eighty-one. This is not the place to attempt an evaluation of his enormous contribution to folklore studies in Ireland or even of the great influence he had on their development in England, Wales and the Isle of Man. But the part he played in the deliberations leading to the founding of the School of Scottish Studies merits special mention because it was crucially important and because he brought to bear on the problems involved a remarkable (and characteristic) combination of hard-headedness and of passionate devotion to the subject to which he had dedicated his life.

By the summer of 1949 there was already in Edinburgh a certain awareness of the desirability of embarking on the serious and systematic investigation of Scottish folklore and folk life but all the difficulties of bringing a workable university organisation into being lay dauntingly before us. At this point it became vital to turn for guidance and support to eminent folklorists elsewhere. Accordingly, at the end of that summer I wrote to Delargy in Dublin: he was at that time Professor of Irish Folklore in University College and Honorary Director of the Irish Folklore Commission. This led, on 11 October, to a warm and positive letter of encouragement and at the very end of that year I found myself staying as a guest in his home and discussing in detail and at length the numerous problems that lay ahead. There followed, in the summer of 1950, at the Viking Congress in Shetland, further talks with him and also with another warm supporter of the School, Professor Dag Strömbäck of the University of Uppsala. By the end of that year an exploratory committee had been set up in Edinburgh University and Delargy was invited to come over and give his views and advice to its members. He did this in late February and in his inimitable fashion succeeded in reinforcing in a powerful and fruitful way a sense of the urgency and importance of going ahead. The outcome need not be elaborated here.

Delargy took a continuing interest in the welfare of the School and, as was pointed out in his obituary in the *Times* on 4 July, its first archive accession was the gift of 10,000 microfilmed pages of folklore collected by the Irish Folklore Commission in Gaelic-speaking Scotland. Many members of the School, past and present, will have good reason to recall numerous less tangible and more personal gestures of assistance from him and of kindness.

Book Review

Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations 1430–1550 by Gregory Kratzmann. Cambridge University Press. 282 pp. £13.50.

Dr Kratzmann's book is 'a study of literary influences . . . to show how a number of Scots poets, most of whom had some connection with the Stewart courts, drew upon English literature to enrich the quality of their own "making"'. It is in effect a considerable scholarly examination of the much-abused phrase 'The Scottish Chaucerians' and a study of this sort and scale was long overdue. Dr Kratzmann points out appositely how many of the Scots had already been in England, Dunbar, Douglas, Holland, Lyndsay, and of course King James himself who started it all with *The Kingis Quair,* and how many had their works printed in London in the early sixteenth century. So we can presume that the English poets were not unfamiliar with what was going on in the north. The author's main concern is to show what it was that Chaucer communicated to the Scots and how they used it in their own highly effective way, when contemporary English poets were following Lydgate into a wordy wilderness. This quality Dr Kratzmann identifies as the engagement of the author in his own story. In the dream-allegory or the court of love or whatever, the poet himself acts as a *dramatis persona, par excellence,* in *The Kingis Quair*, where the poet is presumably telling his own love story, though with great economy of detail, since his main purpose is to hammer out a philosophy to reconcile love, fortune and divine purpose.

One of the best chapters is the comparison of Chaucer's *Troilus* and Henryson's *Testament.* Here Dr Kratzmann is clear and perceptive compared with so much that has been written on this: 'The question of justice, of truth and falsehood in love, is at the core of the poem's meaning. In her blasphemy Cresseid attributes the blame for her wretchedness to the gods of love, and it is for what this act signifies—a refusal to recognise that she is bound to accept the constraints imposed by "devyne sapience" on "all things generabill"—that she is found guilty. Cresseid's blasphemy reflects her mistaken belief that her beauty, her ability to love and her capacity for attraction, are ordained to flower for ever. . . . . Henryson's focus is constantly upon human conduct in life.' Dr Kratzmann points out how Cresseid in her agony grows in moral stature as she understands the nature of her offence and how she comes to be 'the most impressive heroine in all British medieval literature'. *The Morall Fabillis* are decidedly homelier, the matter of Aesop rather than the matter of Troy and Chaucer. In comparing *The Cock and the Fox* with *The Nuns' Priest's Tale* the author finds in Henryson a stronger moral and serious tone and all the *Fabillis* are outstanding in their stylistic variety, humour, moral vigour and intellectual control, qualities he ascribes to their essential Scottish traditions. A similar relationship to Chaucer's influence is argued for Douglas's *Palice of Honour* as compared with his *Aeneis*. The first goes back via Chaucer's *House of Fame* to *The Roman de la Rose* but it is a much more serious and closely constructed theme of the poet's search for Honour rather than Fame. There is a moral integrity in Douglas in contrast to a kind of ethical fuzziness and a rambling inconclusiveness which one has already found in Chaucer's *Troilus*. In his close comparison between Dunbar, Chaucer and Lydgate, the author's critique is basically sound: he contrasts Chaucer's and Lydgate's verbosity with the short sharp word-play of Dunbar and reworks the old themes with painstaking thoroughness, but it is in his evaluation of Dunbar and Skelton that he breaks new ground, suggesting that Skelton, who was virulently anti-Scottish, had some knowledge of Scots poetry and of Dunbar in particular. Obviously Skelton is the one man out in the Chaucer, Lydgate, Hawes tradition and has more affinities with the flyting and the popular alliterative Scottish muse of the day.

Again, in translating Virgil, the Scot Douglas had pioneered with his *Aeneis* in 1513, in which he strove to reproduce the spirit of the original with an amplitude that goes beyond the strict literalness of the Latin. Surrey in translating the Dido story made close use of Douglas in his own blank verses, but in trying to emulate Virgil's conciseness misses the essential qualities of vigour, colour and movement which Douglas so amply infuses into his translation. Yet it was this same Surrey and Wyatt who proved such a potent influence in transmitting the lyric and the sonnet to Scotland, to Scott, Montgomerie and King James. But Dr Kratzmann's attempt to trace connections between Skelton's morality play *Magnyfycence* and the first part of Lyndsay's *Satyre* shows how tentative and uncertain this kind of literary criticism is.

His last chapter draws together the many threads thrown out in the course of the book. *The Kingis Quair* is the main channel through which Chaucerian influences flowed, though *Lancelot of the Laik* would be better derived, through *The Quare of Jelusy*, much more from Lydgate than Chaucer; and he contends that English poetry took the wrong turning in the fifteenth century and followed after the learned Lydgate where the Scots kept in the footsteps of Chaucer as actors in their own creations, as James and Henryson did; where they also experimented with various genres of short poems, as Dunbar did; and where they ran their own tradition in the low-life comedy piece. There is an easy transition from aureate to alliterative and simple style among all our poets, well illustrated by Douglas in his various prologues. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the Scots are at their ease on Parnassus but about the time of Rolland *c.* 1550, they began to falter and to seek inspiration from the tradition of Lydgate which the English had at last abandoned under Wyatt and Surrey. By the second half of the sixteenth century King James had started a movement towards the new fashions from France and Italy. His own movement to London brought to an end the golden age of Scottish poetry.

Dr Kratzmann has gone out into the highways and byways, the byways especially, to study in depth and intricacy the relations between Scottish and English medieval poetry. He has not missed much in a tightly packed book; it is not always easy to see the wood for the trees in his arguments, made tougher through a rather involuted style, but there are useful notes and an index, and if on the whole Dr Kratzmann has not changed our general picture of the period he has filled in many valuable details and drawn attention fruitfully to many points which have till now been overlooked. His work is a major contribution to the growing corpus of scholarship on medieval Scottish literature and it is good to see Australia now entering this field too.

DAVID MURISON

Books Received

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

The Union of England and Scotland by P. W. J. Riley. Manchester University Press, 1978. 352 pp. £14.50.

Highland Fairy Legends by James MacDougall (introduction by Alan Bruford). D. S. Brewer, Cambridge 1978. 121 pp. £3.95.

A St Kilda Handbook, edited by Alan Small. (University of Dundee Department of Geography Occasional Paper No. 5.) The National Trust for Scotland, Edinburgh 1979. Illustrated with photographs and diagrams. 96 pp.

Scottish Aspects of Child Education a Century Ago by Elizabeth Lipp. Rainbow Books, Aberdeen 1979. 111 pp. £1.80.

The Mirror and the Maze—Poems by Bill McCorkindale. Rainbow Books, Aberdeen 1979. 76 pp. £2.00.

A Bibliography of Bagpipe Music, by Roderick D. Cannon. John Donald, Edinburgh 1980. £15.

The World of Rob Donn by Ian Grimble. The Edina Press Ltd., Edinburgh 1980. £6.75.

Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations 1430–1550, by Gregory Kratzmann. Cambridge University Press, 1980. £13.50.

Eachann Bacach and Other Maclean Poets, by Colm Ó Baoill. The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1980. £7.50.

Along a Highland Road by I. F. Grant. Shepheard-Walwyn, London 1980. 198 pp. £6.95.

Government by Pen. Scotland under James VI and I by Maurice Lee, Jr. University of Illinois Press, London 1980. 232 pp. £9.60.

Highland Man by Ian Grimble. Highlands and Islands Development Board, Inverness 1980. 108 pp. £3.50.

Edinburgh and the Medical Revolution by R. D. Lobban. (Cambridge Introduction to the History of Mankind. Topic Book: general editor, Trevor Cairns). Cambridge University Press, 1980. 48 pp. £1.85.

Migration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland by Rosemary Lumb. Institute for the Study of Sparsely Populated Areas, University of Aberdeen. Research Report no. 3, 1980. 234 pp.

Scottish Genealogical Research by Donald Whyte. Scottish Genealogical Society, Edinburgh 1980. 24 pp. £1.

Celtic. A comparative study of the six Celtic languages seen against the background of their history, literature and destiny by D. B. Gregor. Oleander Press, Cambridge (England) and New York, 1980. 398 pp. £13.50. (Soft back £5.95)

The Making of the Scottish Countryside, edited by M. L. Parry and T. R. Slater. Croom Helm, London, and McGill Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1980. Illustrated with photographs and diagrams. 328 pp. £22.50.

Place Names of Great Britain and Ireland by John Field. David & Charles, Newton Abbot, and Barnes and Noble Books, Totowa, New Jersey, 1980. 208 pp. £8.50.

The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History by G. W. S. Barrow (The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1977). Clarendon Press, Oxford 1980. 232 pp. £17.50.

The Fellowship of Song: Popular Singing Traditions in East Suffolk by Ginette Dunn. Croom Helm, London 1980. Music illustrations and photographs. 254 pp. £12.50.

Everyman's Book of British Ballads, edited by Roy Palmer. Dent and Sons, London 1980. Music illustrations. 256 pp. £8.95.

The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland. Their Economy and Society in the 17th Century by Francis J. Shaw. John Donald, Edinburgh 1980. 270 pp. £15.

Scotland Farewell. The People of the Hector by Donald Mackay. Paul Harris, Edinburgh 1980. 229 pp. £7.50.

The Ring-Net Fishermen by Angus Martin, John Donald, Edinburgh 1981. Illustrated with drawings by Will Maclean, and photographs. 264 pp. £12.

Easter Ross 1750–1850: The Double Frontier by Ian R. M. Mowat. John Donald, Edinburgh 1981. 270 pp. £15.

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