Scottish Studies

Volume 30

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

30

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
1991

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT BPCC-AUP ABERDEEN LTD.

Scottish Studies

VOLUME 30

BOOK REVIEWS

Contributors to this Volume

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

WILLIAM GILLIES MA
Professor of Celtic, University of Edinburgh

DONALD MEEK MA, PHD
Senior Lecturer, Department of Celtic, University of Edinburgh

JOHN SHAW BA, MA, PHD
2 Old Drummond House, Inverness

ALAN BRUFORD BA, PHD
Senior Lecturer, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

The Clàrsach and the Clàrsair

JOHN BANNERMAN

From early times the harp seems to have been the musical instrument characteristic of the Celtic speaking areas of the British Isles. Giraldus Cambrensis, writing *c.*1185 and listing the musical instruments of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, maintained that the one instrument that they had in common was the *cithara* which frequently described a harp in the Latin of this period (Dimock 1867: 154; Page 1987: 149, 329).

In the Gaelic law tracts of the seventh and early eighth centuries on status in society the harpist is singled out for special attention. *Uraicecht Becc* says of harp music that it is 'the only craft of music that is entitled to franchise' (Binchy 1978: 5. 1616; MacNeill 1921–4: 36. 280). The harpist was accorded the status and privileges of the highest ranking commoner in society. The contemporary *Críth Gablach* designates a special place for the harpist in the king's hall, while herding flute-players and horn-players, along with jugglers, into a corner under the eyes of the king's bodyguard (Binchy 1941: 23).

The chief function of the harpist was to accompany the poet's most elevated poetry and that was, of course, panegyric, praise poetry of all kinds (Murphy 1948: 43–4). The close relationship between poet and harpist is manifested as early as the eighth century in the disposition of the king's hall just mentioned. The master poet or *ollam rígh*, 'the king's poet', has the same status and privileges in society as his employer and was accordingly placed opposite the king and his wife in the safest and most honourable part of the hall, which was the end farthest from the door. The harpist, although not himself of noble status, as we saw, is nevertheless placed beside the poet. The inauguration of Alexander III, King of Scots, in 1249, as depicted on a contemporary seal of Scone Abbey, portrays the harpist seated immediately behind the poet.[1] Another demonstration of the interdependence of poet and harpist comes from the other end of the medieval period in the sixteenth-century crown rentals of South Kintyre which show the lands held by the MacMhuirich poets to the Lords of the Isles neighbouring those held by the MacGhille-Sheanaich family who were hereditary harpists to the Lords of the Isles (*ER:* 12. 700).

The Gaelic word used for the harp in the early eighth century *Uraicecht Becc* was *crott* in what became its more usual variant *cruitt,* originally a dative form. This last was identical with the old noun of agency from *crott* which described the harpist himself in *Críth Gablach*. Later the agent ending '-ire' was added to *cruitt,* 'harp', giving *cruittire* in Old Gaelic (Binchy 1958: 18. 47). *Crott* or *cruitt* is translated harp or lute in the Royal Irish Academy dictionary (RIA Dict.: C. 552, 562). But for the Old Gaelic period, as we shall see, 'lyre' should probably be read for 'lute' and this is how the later *cruit* is sometimes translated (Dineen 1927: 276). One of the principal differences between the present day

harp and the lyre, both stringed instruments, is their shape, the harp being triangular and the lyre quadrangular (Rimmer 1977: 4-5). The great majority of the stringed instruments portrayed in illuminated manuscripts, on metal and memorial stonework of Dark Age Ireland are quadrangular or nearly so, the uppermost end often being rounded or humped (*op. cit*: 17-21). The assumption must be that the *crott* or *cruitt* usually denoted a lyre-shaped harp at this early periood, which would explain the apparent transference of *crott* to mean also a 'hunch' or 'hump' (RIA Dict.: C. 553). Its cognate in Welsh is *crwth* borrowed into English as *crowd* and into Scots as *croude*. It can be described as a three- to six-stringed musical instrument of the lyre class, originally plucked, later bowed (Remnant 1986: 42-5; *OED*: 67). In modern Scottish Gaelic, according to Dwelly (1971: 282), *cruit* means crowd, lute, even violin. Curiously enough, he does not give either 'harp' or 'lyre' as a meaning but perhaps too much should not be made of this. The overall impression given is that *cruit* was the generic term for most, perhaps all, stringed instruments (Galpin 1965: 9).

Whatever the case and whatever it might mean on any given occasion, that the *cruit* continued to be played in Scotland into the late medieval period is proclaimed by the presence of the surname *Mac a' chruiteir,* literally, 'son of the *cruit* player', now usually Scoticised as *MacWhirter,* and once found all over Scotland but most commonly in the southwest (Black 1962: 468, 571). The present day MacWhirters from that area are likely to be descendants of Michael (Gaelic *Gille-Micheil*), described as *citharistc de Carrick,* 'harpist of Carrick', in 1346. In that year his son Patricius or Gille-Pádruig, was granted lands in Carrick by David II, King of Scots, and *c.*1385 his grandson Duncanus or Donnchadh is on record surnamed *Mac a' chruiteir* (Anderson 1899: 11, 19-20).

If *cruit* could stand for a variety of stringed instruments what about *clàrsach*? It is noteworthy that it is translated 'harp' only in the dictionaries and even that may be giving it too wide an application, for the English word is neutral to the extent that it can be applied to any kind of harp. I suggest that *clàrsach* always meant a triangular framed harp of the kind with which we are familiar and none other.

All the citations of *clàrsach* and *clàrsair,* 'the player of the instrument', in the Royal Irish Academy dictionary are Middle or Early Modern Gaelic and none need be earlier than the fifteenth century. The earliest certain examples known to me appear in a poem praising the beautiful *clàirsioch Chnuic I Chosgair,* 'the *clàrsach* of Cnoc I Chosgair', composed by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh sometime between 1382 and his death in 1387 (Bergin 1970: 66-70). In 1416, according to *Annála Connacht,* the *timpán* and *clársech* belonging to Ó Cuirnín head of a literary family employed by the Ó Ruairc kindred of Connaught, were burnt in the church on Church Island, Loch Gill (Freeman 1944: 430), [2] and there is also a reference in English records relating to Ireland to *clàrsairean,* among other musicians and literary men, who were accused of giving aid to England's enemies in Ireland in 1435 (Hardman 1971: 1. xviii-xix). The Scottish poet Gille-Brígde Albanach praises the harp given to him by his Irish patron Donnchadh Cairbreach Ó Bríuin, King of Thomond, who died in 1242, but he uses the word *cruit,* never *clàrsach* (Walsh 1933: 113-15). It is the

Book of the Dean of Lismore that contains the earliest known reference to *clàrsaich* in a Scottish Gaelic context. One comes in a eulogy to the chiefs of Clan Gregor composed between 1415 and 1440 and another in a poem by Gille-Críst Brúilingeach of the MacBhreatnaich harping family of Leim on the island of Gigha. In return for a poem in praise of Tomaltach MacDiarmata, King of Magh Luirg, Connaught, who died in 1458, Gille-Críst asked for a *clàrsach* and a second poem by him reveals that he duly received it (Watson 1937: 30, 32-58, 262-3, 267; Thomson 1968: 69).

Clàrsach, in its earlier form *cláirseach,* was borrowed into Scots giving *clarschach* or *clareschaw,* which was sometimes used to describe the harpist himself. But *clàrsair* was also borrowed into Scots, again in its earlier form of *cláirseóir,* as *clarschar* or *clarschioner* (*DOST*: 538-9). The earliest reference in Scots to the *clàrsach* is in the poem *The Buke of the Howlat* composed *c.*1448 (Amours 1897: 74). Both *clàrsach* and *clàrsair* appear in Scots dress with increasing frequency towards the end of the fifteenth century in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (TA: *passim*).

The concentration of the earliest examples from the late fourteenth into the fifteenth century is striking and if we add the fact that, unlike *cruitear, clàrsair* seldom, perhaps never, forms a surname in *mac* (Black 1962: 469) and moreover, that the three earliest surviving *clàrsaich* are almost certainly products of fifteenth-century workshops (*infra,* 9, 13), then the question has to be asked at this point—was this type of harp an innovation of that period? The very fact that *clàrsach* and *clàrsair* were already in Scots by the second half of the fifteenth century and that there were by this time also *clàrsairean* who were not Gaelic speaking—such a one, judging by his name, was "Pate Harpar Clarsha" who received payment from the crown on a number of occasions in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (TA: 1. 309, 326, *etc*: 3. 152, 190 *etc*)—suggest that, at least in a Scottish Gaelic context, these words already had a long if unfortunately unrecorded history behind them. The lack of examples in the vastly fuller Irish Gaelic record earlier than the late fourteenth century could best be explained if *clàrsach* and *clàrsair* were Scottish Gaelic words, only just beginning to penetrate Irish Gaelic. It is noteworthy that the ambience of early Irish examples, whose provenance can be identified, belongs to Northern rather than to Southern Ireland (Knott 1957: 70-1, 109; Bergin 1970: 20; O'Grady 1892: 276-89). As far as the lack or rarity of a surname based on *clàrsair* is concerned, a generic term is probably more likely than a specific to form a surname, hence *Mac a' chruiteir* rather than *Mac a' chlàrsair.*

It need not be the case that the instrument was also unknown in Ireland until this period. After all one of the earliest occurrences of *clàrsach* in a Scottish Gaelic context, also one of the earliest in an Irish context, was the request of a *clàrsach* from an Irish lord by Gille-Críst Brúilingeach. The word *clàrsach* contains the element *clár* whose primary meaning is 'a plank or board of wood' (RIA Dict.: C. 219-21), so, if the 's' can be ignored, 'the planked one' might be a literal translation of *clàrsach.* Clearly it has reference to the amount of wood required by a framed triangular harp of this kind. In his description of the *cruit* gifted to him by Donnchadh Cairbreach sometime before 1242, Gille-Brígde Albanach's

concentration on the wood that went into its construction suggests that it was a triangular frame harp (Walsh 1933: 113-15). He refers to it on a number of occasions as a *crann* or *crann ciúil* which has the literal meaning of a wooden musical instrument (RIA Dict.: C. 509). Once he seems to use the word *clár* to describe the harp itself, rather than some part of the sound box, as indeed does Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh in the fourteenth century (Bergin 1970: 66), and certainly by the eighteenth century it was possible to refer to the *clàrsach* in Scottish Gaelic poetry by the word *clàr,* especially in the combination *cruit is clàr* (Gunn 1807: 32, 34-5)[3].

According to the musically knowledgeable, the precise and detailed delineation of what seems to be a musical performance from Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis *c.*1185 must refer to music played on a harp of this kind. It could not have been produced on a lyre for instance (Dimock 1867: 153-4; Rimmer 1969: 30). Finally, and this is the clinching evidence, a fine representation of a triangular frame harp which looks very like the *clàrsach* as we know it today is on *Brecc Máedóic,* 'the speckled one of Máedóc', a Celtic Church house-shrine dedicated to Máedóc, the founding saint of the monastery of Ferns in Leinster. The cast bronze openwork figure of the harpist, doubtless intended to be King David of the Old Testament, is shown seated playing the harp off his left shoulder with the foot of the harp resting above his left knee. The relevant panel has been dated to *c.*1100 (Henry 1970: 117-19, pl. 31). Clearly in Ireland the triangular frame harp must have been described by the word *cruit* until challenged by the Scottish Gaelic *clàrsach* entering from the north by the late fourteenth century.

The fact that this type of harp seems to have had a specifically Scottish Gaelic name might indicate that the instrument itself was originally of Scottish provenance. It appears to be the case, as we shall see, that the earliest pictorial representations anywhere of the triangular frame harps are carved on Scottish stone monuments. However, they were preceded by portrayals of quadrangular or nearly quadrangular harps similar to those of Ireland. Two figure on the great free-standing crosses on Iona which date to the middle or second half of the eighth century. The one on the west face of the shaft of St Martin's cross is part of a scene depicting David and his musicians and the other is played by a seated figure carved on the right arm of St Oran's cross (RCAHMS 1982: 195-6, 206-7). The close links between the ornament on these crosses and the Book of Kells has long been recognised and helps to confirm the Book of Kells as a product of Iona's scriptorium sometime in the second half of the eighth or early ninth centuries (*op. cit.:* 18, 47). It is not surprising therefore that the outline of the harp composed of interlaced creatures in the Book of Kells is likewise quadrangular (Henry 1974: pls. 95, 112). But these three apart, all other depictions of stringed instruments are of triangular harps. An Early Christian cross-decorated stone at Ardchattan, like the cross of St Martin, has on it David's musicians including the harpist. In the trimming of this stone to adapt it for other purposes, the forepillar of the harp has been cut away but it was clearly triangular in shape (RCAHMS 1975: 111, fig. 99). There can be no doubt about the triangular shape of the harp on the Nigg cross-slab. This stone was once dated to the ninth century but in the light

of the demonstrable affinity of its carving to the ornament in the Book of Kells it could be eighth century in date (Henderson 1982: 84-9, 97, pl. IVb). All other stone monuments with harps carved on them are later. They include the well known tenth-century standing cross at Dupplin in Perthshire (Allen and Anderson 1903: 3. 319-21, fig. 334B) and the cross-slab at Aldbar in Angus bearing perhaps one of the latest representations getting structurally closer to the present day *clàrsach* (*op. cit.*: 3. 245-7, fig. 259B). It is clear that the triangular frame harp was the characteristic stringed musical instrument of Scotia, the new political entity that came into being as a result of the permanent take-over of Pictland by the Scots of Dalriada in the fifth decade of the ninth century. It is true that the Nigg slab seems to precede this event but the slab's strong Iona connections, reflected also in the other contemporary monumental stones in Ross-shire (Allen and Anderson: 2. 129-413), are compatible with an earlier albeit temporary Scottish take over of all Pictland which occurred sometime towards the end of the eighth century.[4]

In contemporary Ireland on the other hand, as we have already noted, depictions of quadrangular lyre-shaped harps are in the vast majority, and where they are triangular in shape like that in the ninth-century Psalter of Folchard from the Irish monastery of St Gall on the Continent (Rimmer 1977: 14) they do not seem to be framed and moreover they do not begin to look like a *clàrsach*. So the triangular frame harp of *c.*1100 on *Brecc Máedóic* is generally recognised to be the earliest dateable Irish representation (Cone 1977: 218-19; Ryan 1983: 180).

Returning to Giraldus Cambrensis, writing *c.*1185, he claimed that

> in the opinion of many Scotland today not only equals Ireland, her mentor, but also far outdoes and surpasses her in musical skill. Hence many people already look there as though to the fountain-head of the art (Dimock 1867: 154-5).

Should the superiority of Scotland's 'musical skill' *vis-à-vis* Ireland be seen, in part at least, as due to the recent introduction from Scotland to Ireland of a new type of harp, the triangular frame harp or *clársach*? The Irishman Gille-Pátraic, who was Bishop of Dublin from 1074 to 1084, composed a long allegorical Latin poem which at one point tells how, as a young man, he was taught poems to the accompaniment of 'well-contrived music on a *cithara* that sounded with six strings' (Gwynn 1955: 90), a lyre presumably. Later on in the poem and describing a large *urbs* or community of some kind he mentions its musical instruments: besides *organa terna,* 'three-rank organs', and *lyrae,* 'lyres', there were also *citherae novae,* 'new harps' (*op. cit.*: 96). It has already been suggested that the *citherae novae* were triangular frame harps (Rimmer 1977: 25-6). Whether the *urbs* he had in mind was Dublin or the Benedictine monastery at Worcester, where there was a great organ, and where he spent some time as a monk before becoming Bishop of Dublin matters little. If the triangular frame harp was moving out of Scotland at this point, it could have gone to England as well as to Ireland and for that matter to Wales also.

The high place accorded the *clàrsach* in Scotland is a further indication, it seems to me,

of its provenance. It was played by the MacBhreatnaich and by the MacGhille-Sheanaich harpists who were at the very apex of their profession, employed as they were by the kings of Scots and the Lords of the Isles respectively, the two most important sources of patronage for the native arts in the country. Furthermore, while Ireland continued to be the fountain-head, to use Giraldus Cambrensis' expression, of most of the other native professions and crafts—the origins of many of the important Scottish professional and craft families of the late medieval period can be traced to Ireland in the relatively recent past, the Beaton physicians, the MacMhuirich poets, the Ó Brolchan stonemasons to name a few (Bannerman 1986: 8-11; Thomson 1960-3: 277-8; Steer and Bannerman 1977: 106-7)—it is not possible to so trace any direct Irish influence of this kind in the musical profession. Not only were these surnames unrecorded in Ireland at an early stage but they have a Scottish rather than an Irish flavour. So *MacBhreatnaich* means literally 'son of the Briton' and the family must have been in existence at least as early as the twelfth century, for their eponymous ancestor cannot have been so identified later than this.[5] The forename *Gille-Sheanaich*, devotee of a saint called Seanach, which appears in the surname *MacGhille-Sheanaich*, is surely the saint who was commemorated in the church name *Kilmachanach* which is nearby the lands held by the MacGhille-Sheanaich family in sixteenth-century Kintyre (*ER*: 12. 364; *OPS*: 2 (pt. i). 9 and map; Watson 1926: 309). [6] It is possible indeed that they were in origin a local ecclesiastical family responsible for servicing the church in question (MacQueen 1973: 19).

The MacBhreatnaich harpists employed by the crown come into view when the crown records become more detailed in the second half of the fifteenth century, the earliest being *Martinus cytharista*, who was receiving fermes from lands in Galloway in 1471 (*ER*: 8. 89). *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, written in Scots, tells us that he was paid for entertaining the king and court at Linlithgow on 16 April 1491 and again in January of the following year (TA: 1. 177, 184). On both occasions he was described as a *clareschaw* and at the same time payment was made to the "toder Ersche clareschaw", implying that Martinus or Gille-Mártainn was also Gaelic-speaking, because that is what *Ersche* meant in Scots of this period.

Gille-Mártainn was succeeded in turn by John MacBhreatnaich (d. *c.*1504) and then by Rollandus or Lachlann who seems to have accompanied his king to Flodden with the same fatal result that attended Henry Leich of Kildavanan, James IV's Beaton doctor (Bannerman 1986: 61). It is interesting that in the summer of that year, 1513, Ó Domhnuill's harpist, who had accompanied his employer to Edinburgh in early June, received on 11 July payment of £7 from the Scottish crown, doubtless for musical performances (TA: 4. 45, 434). There must have been ample opportunity for these two harpists at the very top of their profession to hear and enjoy one another's repertoire.

It was probably Lachlann who as "Makberty the clarscha" was paid five French crowns on 2 May 1503 "to pas in the Ilis", presumaby on crown business (TA: 2. 369).[7] He would surely have visited his kinsmen, the MacBhreatnaich harpists of Leim on the island of Gigha. The contemporary head of the family may even have been his namesake, for a

Lachlann MacBhreatnaich is the subject of a mock elegy in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* by Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (d. 1513) (Watson 1937: 14–20). Duncan Campbell describes Lachlann as 'sweet voiced' but otherwise it was an unflattering portrait, for Lachlann seems to have been notorious for demanding gifts of all kinds, presumably in recompense for his harp music. We have already mentioned an earlier member of this family, Gille-Críst Brúilingeach who requested and received a *clàrsach* from Tomaltach MacDiarmata, King of Magh Luirg (d. 1458). Their descendants are still with us using the surname *Galbraith* in non-Gaelic contexts (Thomson 1968: 69)[8]

The earliest MacGhille-Sheanaich on record was Duncan who witnessed a notarial instrument in 1456 (Munro and Munro 1986: 92). By the opening of the sixteenth century the head of the family, then seen to be located in South Kintyre, was Muireach, *citharista*. He was still to the fore in 1528 (*ER*: 12. 364; 15. 433). It is probably he who heads a list of what seems to be the names of at least thirty-two *clàrsairean* from different parts of Scotland north of the Forth-Clyde line. The list, arranged in two irregular columns, was written into the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* compiled over the years from 1512 to 1542 (N.L.S. 72. 1. 37., p. 92). Not only was Muireach given pride of place but another indication of his pre-eminence is the absence of his forename. He is described simply as "Mcoschennak a Brounerre", that is, 'MacGhille-Sheanaich from Brunerican'. which was the family's main holding of land in South Kintyre. No less than seven other members of the family are listed including his son Aodh Riabhach. The last of them is entered as 'Gille-Coluim MacGhille-Sheanaich in Kintryre', doubtless the person of that name on record in 1505 and 1506 as holding the lands of Lephenstrath some two miles west of Brunerican (*ER*: 12. 356, 578, 700, 708). By 1541 Lephenstrath was in the possession of Aodh Buidhe MacGhille-Sheanaich (*ER*: 17. 362), presumably the same as Aodh Buidhe, son of Diarmait, son of Tadhg, of the list.[9] His brother, Gille-Coluim is also listed along with his son, Gille-glas. Then come the names of yet another branch of the family, Eoghan, son of Gill-Iosa, and his son, Aodh. In 1596 the lands of Machribeg, lying beteen Brunerican and Lephenstrath, were being held by a Gill-Iosa MacGhille-Sheanaich (MacPhail 1914–34: 3. 77).[10]

Gille-glas is an unusual forename and it is present in another similar list of names on the previous page of the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* (N.L.S. 72. 1. 37, p. 91). Angus, son of Gille-glas, is named followed immediately by the entry: 'Gille-glas himself.' This list is certainly later in date and it includes *clàrsairean*.[11] Goraidh Ó Doraidh, is present in both,[12] "Robert clarsair loyd", 'Robert, clàrsair of Leod or Lude' in Atholl is named thus in the second list, and Brian MacVicar of that list is on record in 1549 as *cytharista* to the Earl of Argyll (SHS *Misc.*: 1983- : 4. 265). Finally, the list of *clàrsairean* includes "[Far]chir mc riocardi with Mcloyd"; presumably Fearchar, son of Richard, was employed by MacLeod of Dunvegan. It is his son, Gille-Coluim, who is named in the second list. He too is said to be 'with MacLeod', indicating that here we have another hereditary family of harpists.

By 1596 another Duncan MacGhille-Sheanaich was in Brunerican (MacPhail 1914–34: 3. 78, 84). Like the MacBhreatnaichs of Leim, this family is also still to the fore and still

in Kintyre, their surname being Scoticised to *MacShannon or Shannon* (McKerral 1948: 169). They still play a musical instrument—perhaps significantly, as we shall see, the bagpipes rather than the *clàrsach*.

Gille-Brígde Albanach, who, it has been suggested (*supra*, 3-4) was describing a *clàrsach* gifted to him by his Irish patron sometime before 1242, refers indirectly to the making of these instruments in both Ireland and Scotland. In one verse he says

> Dear to me (it is my birthright)
> the beautiful wood of Scotland
> Though dear, I prefer
> this harp of the wood of Ireland.
> (Walsh 1933: 115)

At this early date *clàrsaich* might be made almost anywhere in Scotland and there is reason to believe that Gille-Brígde himself was from east of the Highland line[13] but by the fifteenth century the production of *clàrsaich* was likely to be confined to Gaelic-speaking Scotland which had narrowed in the interval. Although it has already been noted (*supra*, 3) that there were *clàrsairean* by this time who were not Gaelic speakers, nevertheless it was believed that the best harpists were to be found in the Gàidhealtachd. Thus, John Major who issued his Latin *Historia Majoris Britanniae* in 1521 says of James I, King of Scots (1424-37) that he was such a skilful harpist that he even excelled 'the Wild Scots who are in that art pre-eminent' (Constable 1892: 366).

Elsewhere Major states: 'for musical instruments and vocal music the Wild Scots use the harp, whose strings are of brass and not of animal gut; and on this they make most pleasing melody' (*op. cit.*: 50). George Buchanan writing in 1582 and referring specifically to the inhabitants of the Western Isles says

> They are exceedingly fond of music and employ harps of a peculiar kind, some of which are strung with brass, and some with catgut. In playing they strike the wires either with a quill, or with their nails suffered to grow long for this purpose (Aikman 1827-30: 1. 41).

A tract written in 1597 and heavily dependent on Buchanan's description of the Western Isles says

> They delight much in musike, but chiefly in harps and clairschoes of their owne fashion. The strings of clairschoes are made of brasse-wire and the strings of the harps of sinews (Monipennie 1603: 389).

This distinction between harp and *clàrsach* may be an artificial one suggested by Buchanan's wording[14] but the emphasis on 'brass-wire' strings in these sources is important. We first hear of them from Giraldus Cambrensis who, having just listed the musical instruments of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, adds, 'also they use strings of brass not of leather' (Dimock 1867: 154). This must surely refer to the *cithara,* the one

instrument, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, that all three countries had in common, so it was presumably a triangular frame harp.

Given that assumption we can be more confident about what Giraldus Cambrensis meant by the other musical instruments that he named, for it is notoriously difficult to pin down the medieval terms for musical instruments in whatever language. He informs us that 'Ireland uses and delights in two instruments only, the *cithara* and the *tympanum*', meaning, of course, that these were the characteristic Irish musical instruments of his day, not that they were the only ones played in the country. In medieval Latin *tympanum* meant 'drum' or 'tambourine', occasionally 'psaltery', a stringed instrument (Marcuse 1966: 553), but in Gaelic *timpán* clearly described a stringed instrument (RIA Dict.: T. 173-4; Buckley 1978: 53-88), which, if Giraldus's *cithara* was a triangular frame harp, must be the quadrangular lyre shaped harp so frequently portrayed on manuscript, metal and stone in Ireland of the Dark Ages. Scotland, besides the *cithara* and the *tympanum* 'delights' in a third instrument, the *chorus* which, according to Giraldus, she shared with Wales whose other two instruments were the *cithara* and the *tibiae,* which can only be a wind instrument, some form of pipes. The *cithara* or triangular frame harp is called a *telyn* in Welsh, so the *chorus* must surely be that most characteristic of Welsh instruments, the *crwth* (Marcuse 1966: 98). And the *crwth* is surely what the Scots would find in the British kingdom of Strathclyde as they moved into and took over that area in the tenth and eleventh centuries. So by the twelfth century in Giraldus Cambrensis' opinion, the Scots were performing on no less than three distinct stringed instruments—further evidence of their expertise in that type of music.

Of the three earliest surviving triangular frame harps or *clàrsaich* in existence, two significantly are in Scotland, the Queen Mary harp and the Lamont harp, both now in the National Museum of Antiquities. The third one, the Brian Boru harp so-called, is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It has long been recognised that the distinctive geometric pattern of the ornament on the sound boxes of the Queen Mary and Trinity College harps, among other common features, indicates that they were the products of the same workshop. That pattern reappears on the sound box of a finely carved *clàrsach* on a fifteenth century graveslab at Keills, Knapdale. While this is important evidence for dating these harps, it is, of course, still the case that the *clàrsach* so carved could be a copy of one imported from across the North Channel (Steer and Bannerman 1977: 146, 185, pl. 23c). But the feature that clinches their Scottish provenance is the ornamentaion on the upper part of the sound-box and on the fore-pillar of the Queen Mary harp, in particular the spiral arrangment of clusters of split-palmette leaves which is one of the characteristic patterns of late medieval monumental sculpture in the West Highlands and which has no parallel in Irish art of this period (*op. cit.*: 185, pl. 37B).

For further evidence of their provenance we can turn to George Buchanan again, who goes on to claim of the inhabitants of the Western Isles that

> their grand ambition is to adorn their harps with great quantities of silver and gems; those who are too poor to afford jewels substituting crystals in their stead (Aikman 1827-30: 1. 41).

Apart from a line of six small silver bosses on the outer face of the fore-pillar, the Queen Mary harp has no such adornment in its present condition, nor in fact does the profusion of wood carving leave much room for such. However, on the right hand side of the upper part of the fore-pillar, there is a round indentation which may well have once held a jewelled setting of some kind, and significantly, besides a ring of brass tacks high on the outer face of the fore-pillar, there are three small nails on the outer end of the neck. The outer end of the neck of the Trinity College harp carries a decorated silver plate with two settings, one now empty, the other still filled with rock crystal.

Accepting Buchanan at face value, the Trinity College *clàrsach* was a poor man's harp, which is not what the quality of the wood carving would suggest. However, it is almost certain that the silver plating and settings were later additions and probably obscured carved ornamentation. Thus, the mutilation of an existing and finely carved griffin-like creature by the setting indentation gouged out of the fore-pillar of the Queen Mary harp, not to mention the fact that the brass tacks on the fore-pillar and the nails on the outer end of the neck are within the existing design pattern, clearly show that jewelled and silver ornament once had little or no place thereon. Indeed, it was implied by General Robertson of Lude in 1805 on the occasion of the inspection by the Highland Society of the Queen Mary and Lamont harps, both of which had been in the possession of his family for some time previously, that 'golden' and 'jewelled' ornaments were not added to the Queen Mary harp until the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots.[15] He went on to claim that they were stolen about 1745 (Gunn 1807: 13-14). The earlier date is, of course, contemporary with George Buchanan. A study of the memorial stonework of the West Highlands shows that the distinctive style of carving, present also on the Queen Mary harp, ran into the sand about the middle of the sixteenth century (Steer and Bannerman 1977: 82-3). I suggest that the desire to adorn harps 'with great quantities of silver and gems', as Buchanan put it, was in an attempt to find an adequate substitute for the fine wood carving of the previous period. Whatever the reason, surviving harps of that period, like the Queen Mary and Trinity College harps, had to be made fashionable, although fortunately, in view of Buchanan's words, some restraint was exercised and not too much damage was done in the process.

A number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century harps of Irish provenance have survived in part or in whole but none bear silver plating and jewelled or crystal settings comparable to those described by George Buchanan and present on the Trinity College harp (Rimmer 1977: 44-66, 75-7). Presumably, then, it has to be concluded that the Trinity College harp cannot have left Scotland for Ireland until the second half of the sixteenth century at the earliest. Certainly the earliest possible Irish owners, who are not the invention of nineteenth-century myth makers, seem to be a branch of the Ó Néill kindred who flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Day 1876-8: 4. 498; 1890-1: 1. 282-3; Ryan 1983: 180).[16]

The fact is that, in any general survey of art in the Gaelic revival period of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Ireland, the Trinity College harp is given a high profile as one of the

The Queen Mary Harp
Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.

best examples, if not the best example, of continuing native art production in what was otherwise a scenario largely derivative on the one hand of pre-Anglo-Norman styles and techniques, often much debased, and on the other of the contemporary European art scene. As one commentator put it recently, 'most Irish artists after 1200 could not avoid the shadow of England and the Continent' (Cone 1977: 191-6). I would submit that the Trinity College harp is outstanding, indeed unique, in an Irish context, because it was not a product of fifteenth-century Ireland, but of the vigorous, self confident and native West Highland style of carving developed in the contemporary Lordship of the Isles, the kind of art that Ireland herself might have evolved had she not been so pressurised by English intervention. Indeed, the main exponents of this style of carving on stone in the Lordship of the Isles were hereditary families of stonemasons bearing the obvious Irish surnames of Ó Cuinn and Ó Brolchán and it has already been shown that the latter, whose involvement in stone-working is on record in Ireland as far back as the early eleventh century, had crossed to Scotland by the middle of the fourteenth century at least (Steer and Bannerman 1977: 105-9, 119-20, 134-5).

The fifteenth century stonework of the West Highlands may allow us to pinpoint the location of harp-making of the quality of the Queen Mary and Trinity College harps. The remarkable concentration of monuments associated with members of crafts—carpenters, smiths, cloth makers—at Keills and neighbouring Kilmory in Knapdale has already been noted and it has been suggested that this particular group of craftsmen, accustomed as they were to commissioning grave-slabs and crosses inscribed with their names, were of more than local importance (*op. cit.*: 144-6, 150-1). It would be as convenient for the Lords of the Isles as for anyone else to have all or most of the craftsmen whom they patronised located in one township or district. It may be therefore that Ailean who, as the inscription on it tells us, commissioned for himself and his father the graveslab at Keills with the carving of the *clàrsach* on it, and beside it its tuning key, was not only a member of an hereditary family of harpists as already suggested, but also of harp makers and tuners (*op. cit.*: 146, pl. 23c). The annalistic obit of Aed Ó Shochaláin who died in Ireland in 1226 informs us that he was *sai canntairechta ocus crotglesa*, 'master of *canntaireachd* and of harp tuning, who made, besides, a tuning for himself, the like of which had never been made before' (Hennessy 1871: 291). [17]

The evidence to date, it seems to me, leads us to the inescapable conclusion that the triangular-frame harp was a wholly Scottish development which came to fruition in the Gaelic kingdom of Alba or Scotia, a highly successful, centralised and in other ways innovative political entity; perhaps not unlike, although on a larger scale, the much later Lordship of the Isles which itself, as we have seen, continued to be an important centre for harp production into the sixteenth century at least. Nor need we be too surprised about this. After all a new and individual form of yet another musical instrument was developed by the Scots, namely, the Highland bagpipe, the most skilled exponents of which, significantly perhaps, belonged, when they come into view in the seventeenth century, to what had recently been the Lordship of the Isles. There was none more skilful than the

MacCrimmons of Borreraig in Skye, although it is said that the first of them to take service with the MacLeods of Dunvegan was not a piper but a harpist (Campbell 1967-8: 6).[18] Pàdruig Òg MacCrimmon, according to tradition, a noted composer of *cèol mór* or the classical music of the bagpipes, and Roderick Morison, the best known Scottish *clàrsair* of modern times, were together at Dunvegan Castle towards the end of the seventeenth century as official piper and harpist respectively to the MacLeod chiefs (Matheson 1970: 1, 165). The fact that certain technical musical terms originally associated with harp music have been taken over into piping suggest the possible origins of *cèol mór* (*op. cit.*: 165; Collinson 1966: 247-8; Cannon 1988: 101-4), particularly perhaps *canntaireachd;* Aed Ó Shochaláin, harp tuner *par excellence* was also an expert in *canntaireachd.* [19] It is otherwise difficult to explain how this highly sophisticated music sprang to life apparently fully developed in the seventeenth century. If this connection between the *clàrsach* and pipes can be upheld, it is continuing confirmation, if such were needed, of Giraldus Cambrensis' statement of Scotland's superior skills in music making, for although harpists of note continued to perform in Ireland a little longer than in Scotland, nothing comparable to the *cèol mór* of the bagpipes developed there.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Mr Keith Sanger who read this article in first draft and who generously put at my disposal his deep knowledge of the music and musical instruments of Scotland.

NOTES

1 See J. Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III', *Scottish Historical Review* (forthcoming).
2 Scribe A, responsible for much of the work up to the annal for the year 1486, was probably Páidín Ó Maoilchonaire who died in 1506 (Freeman 1944: xii-xiii). I am indebted to Mr Keith Sanger for drawing my attention to this and the previous reference.
3 It has been suggested that the description of a harp mispraised in a fourteenth-century Welsh poem points to it being a *clàrsach* but it need not be of Irish origin (Jarman 1961: 160-8).
4 See J. Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Scotia* (forthcoming).
5 See J. Bannerman, 'The King's Poet'.
6 There are many Scoticised variants of this surname (Black 1962: 515, 554, 641-2) but the basic form is *McIlschanoch* (*ER*: 17. 632) or *M'Ischenach* (MacPhail 1914-34: 3. 85) which clearly represents Gaelic *MacGhille-Sheanaich.*
7 See J. Bannerman, 'The King's Poet'.
8 Doubtless the MacBhreatnaich family chose *Galbraith*, itself a Gaelic name, because of its British connotation. It means 'stranger Briton', compare *Gall-Ghàidheal*, 'stranger Gael' (Watson 1926: 14, 172-4). In its Scoticised form, it was already thoroughly assimilated as a surname in Lowland Scotland.

The crown in the person of the regent, James Douglas, Earl of Morton, was still employing a *clairschear* in 1574 and 1575 (*TA*: 13. 50, 86, 142). His name was Robert Galbraith. He could be a member of the Leim harping family or one of their kinsmen from Galloway, although there is no evidence that the latter used

Galbraith as a surname in non-Gaelic contexts. However, it was in the sixteenth century that other Gaelic professional families adopted this practice (Bannerman 1986: 2-5), while it is worth noting that the Earl of Morton had large estates in South West Scotland.

It is also the case that *Robert* was by this time a characteristic forename of the kindred from the Lennox whose surname was originally *Galbraith* and a group, perhaps a family, of Galbraiths, whose forenames suggest that they too belonged to this kindred, were royal servants for much of the sixteenth century (*ER*: *passim*; TA: *passim*). One of them, William Galbraith, is on record as a singer in the king's chamber in 1526 (*ER*: 15. 292) and in 1531 he received "ane luyt" and "certayne stringis" from the crown (TA: 6. 18).

9 His Scoticised forename and epithet, combined as *Ivoy* in the published text of the crown rental, is *Iboy* in the manuscript (S.R.O. E 40/7, p. 175). To accommodate him in this relationship in the list, 'mc' before *Tadhg* should have been written 'vc' but the compiler was not always consistent in this matter and, physically speaking, Aodh Buidhe's name fits more securely into the first column.

10 The list of names, partly in Gaelic partly in Scots, which is difficult to read, hence the uncertainty about the precise number, is entitled *Nomina Historiarum*, literally 'names of histories'. The compiler may have changed his mind after writing the title, or did he intend to write *histrionum*, genitive plural of *histrio*, 'actor' a word which by the fifteenth century could also mean 'minstrel' (Latham 1965: 227)? Whatever the case, the names seem to be those of contemporary musicians, judging not only by the presence of the MacGhille-Sheanaich family but also by the name Thomas clarsair mac Dhughaill (*Thomas clairscher mc wll*) that heads the second column. Furthermore the epithet *dall* indicates that at least two of them were blind, a characteristic of members of the musical profession in the late medieval period, especially perhaps of harpists (Armstrong 1969: 46-54). That they all played the same instrument and that it was the *clàrsach* seems likely. Only a *clàrsair* is identified and that incidentally, because *clàrsair* was an integral part of his name. Places of origin mentioned or implied include Kintyre, Ardnamurchan, Mull, Uist, Lewis, Skye, Strathglass, Atholl and Fearn, probably the district of that name in Angus rather than Fearn in Easter Ross, for the *clàrsair*, one of those given the epithet *dall*, is otherwise named in Scots as *Dave* simply.

11 But it differs in that it specifically identifies two other classes of musician in the persons of MacGhille-dhuibh, piper, and tympanist, Conchubhair Ó hAngluinn, doubtless of the same family as Fionn Ó hAngluinn whose obit of 1490 called him *primh thiompánach Eireann*, 'chief tympanist of Ireland' (O'Donovan 1851: 4. 1180). Furthermore, a number of other Irish surnames are listed along with the names of four women.

12 Apart from Lochlann Mac an Bháird who is specifically said to be *a herrin*, 'from Ireland', and who was doubtless on circuit in Scotland at the time, Ó Doraidh (*o dorraythe/o dorrode*) seems to bear the only other Irish surname in the list of *clàrsairean*. However, he was not a visiting musician, for his presence therein was surely determined by the stated fact that he was "wyth the lard of gawaill", meaning that he was employed as *clàrsair* by this as yet unidentified Scottish laird.

13 See J. Bannerman, 'The King's Poet'.

14 A history of the Maules of Panmure written in 1611 refers to "ane minstrel quhilk owr cuntraymen callis ane player on the clairschowe and the Englishmen ane harper: for amongst the ancient Scottis the harpe and clairschow, quhilkis ar not far different, wor in gryte price" (Stuart 1874: 1. cxlvi).

15 It has already been noted that harping is associated with Lude as early as the first half of the sixteenth century in the person of Robert, *clàrsair* of Lude, mentioned in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (*supra*, p. 7).

16 There is only minimal wood ornamentation on the Lamont harp but its general appearance, the fact that it was, like the Queen Mary harp, made of hornbeam and that it is still in Scotland and traditionally has been so since 1460 (Gunn 1807: 1) all suggest that it was also made in Scotland in the fifteenth century, perhaps in the same West Highland workshop. It must certainly have been in the Highlands sometime in the second half of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, for it was presumably then that the outer end of the neck received a brass cap with, in the centre, a representation in brass of a jewelled or crystal setting (Armstrong 1969: opp. 160).

17 "sai canntairechta ocus crotglesa, maroen re gles do denum do fein nach dernadh remhe". W. M. Hennessy, editor of *The Annals of Loch Cé*, translated *crot-glésa* as 'harp making' and *glés* as 'instrument', both of which are possible, but the more literal and likely meaning of *crot-glésa* in this context is 'harp tuning', in which case the following *glés* should be translated 'tuning' (O'Curry 1873: 3. 264). A Welsh

manuscript of harp music compiled *c.*1613 lists eighteen tunings of which at least three are ascribed to named individuals (Dart 1968: 55-9).

18 I am indebted to Mr Hugh Cheape for drawing my attention to this reference.

19 *Canntaireachd,* describing the syllabic notification of *ceòl mór* of the bagpipe, could also mean simply 'singing' or 'chanting' but its use here along with *crot-glésa* implies a technical meaning for it specifically asssociated with harping.

REFERENCES

AIKMAN, JAMES
1827-30 *George Buchanan's The History of Scotland.* Glasgow.

ALLAN, J. ROMILLY, and ANDERSON, JOSEPH
1903 *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

AMOURS, F. J.
1897 *Scottish Alliterative Poems.* Scottish Text Society. Edinburgh.

ANDERSON, JOHN
1899 *Calendar of the Laing Charters.* Edinburgh.

ARMSTRONG, ROBERT BRUCE
1969 *The Irish and Highland Harps.* Dublin.

BANNERMAN, JOHN
1986 *The Beatons: a medical kindred in the classical Gaelic tradition.* Edinburgh.
[forthcoming] 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III'. *Scottish Historical Review.*
[forthcoming] *Studies in the History of Scotia.* Edinburgh.

BERGIN, OSBORN
1970 *Irish Bardic Poetry.* Dublin.

BINCHY, D. A.
1941 *Crith Gablach.* Dublin.
1958 'The Date and Provenance of *Uraicecht Becc'. Eriu* 18: 44-54. Dublin.
1978 *Corpus Iuris Hibernici.* Dublin.

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

BUCKLEY, ANN
1978 'What was the Tiompan?'. *Jahrbuch für Musikalische Volks und Völkerkunde* 9: 53-88. Berlin.

CAMPBELL, DUNCAN
1967-8 'Gaelic Proverbs'. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 45: 1-32. Stirling.

CANNON, RODERICK D.
1988 *The Highland Bagpipe and its Music.* Edinburgh.

COLLINSON, FRANCIS
1966 *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland.* London.

CONE, POLLY
1977 *Treasures of Early Irish Art.* New York.

CONSTABLE, ARCHIBALD
1892 *John Major's A History of Greater Britain.* Scottish History Society. Edinburgh.

DART, THURSTON
1968 'Robert ap Huw's Manuscript of Welsh Harp Music (*c.*1613)'. *The Galpin Society Journal* 21: 52-65. London.

DAY, ROBERT
1876-8 'On a Hauberk of Chain Mail and Silvered Badge found in the Phoenix Park, Dublin'. *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* 4: 494-8. Dublin.
1890-1 'The O'Neill Badge'. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* I: 282-3. Dublin.

DIMOCK, JAMES F.
1867 *Giraldi Cambrensis Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica.* Rolls Series 5. London.
DINEEN, PATRICK S.
1927 *Focloir Gaedhilge agus Bearla.* Dublin.
DOST
1937- *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue.* London.
DWELLY, EDWARD
1971 *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary.* Glasgow.
ER
1878-1908 *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.* Edinburgh.
FREEMAN, A. MARTIN
1944 *Annala Connacht.* Dublin.
GALPIN, FRANCIS W.
1965 *Old English Instruments of Music.* London.
GUNN, JOHN
1807 *An Historical Enquiry respecting the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands of Scotland.* Edinburgh.
GWYNN, AUBREY
1955 *The Writing of Bishop Patrick.* Dublin.
HARDMAN, JAMES
1971 *Irish Minstrelsy.* Dublin.
HENDERSON, ISABEL
1982 'Pictish art and the Book of Kells' in *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe,* edd. Dorothy Whitelock, RosamondMcKitterick and David Dumville. Pp. 79-105. Cambridge.
HENNESSY, WILLIAM M.
1871 *The Annals of Loch Cé.* London.
HENRY, FRANÇOISE
1970 *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period.* London.
1974 *The Book of Kells.* Dublin.
JARMAN, A. O. H.
1961 'Telyn a Chrwth'. *Llen Cymru,* 6: 154–75. Cardiff.
KNOTT, ELEANOR
1957 *Irish Syllabic Poetry.* Dublin.
LATHAM, R. E.
1965 *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List.* London.
MCKERRAL, ANDREW
1948 *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century.* Edinburgh.
MACNEILL, EOIN
1921-4 'Ancient Irish Law: The Law of Status or Franchise'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 36: 265-316. Dublin.
MACPHAIL, J. R. N.
1914-34 *Highland Papers.* Scottish History Society. Edinburgh.
MACQUEEN, J.
1973 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick'. *Scottish Studies* 17: 17-33.
MARCUSE, SIBYL
1966 *Musical Instruments: a Comprehensive Dictionary.* London.
MATHESON, WILLIAM
1970 *An Clarsair Dall.* Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh
MONIPENNIE, JOHN
1603 'Certain Matters concerning the Realme of Scotland, as they were in 1597' in *The Somers Collection of Tracts,* ed. Walter Scott (1810). London.
MUNRO, JEAN and R. W.
1986 *Acts of the Lords of the Isles.* Scottish History Society. Edinburgh.

MURPHY, GERARD
1948 *Glimpses of Gaelic Ireland.* Dublin.
N.L.S.
National Library of Scotland
OED
1989 *The Oxford English Dictionary.* Oxford.
O'DONOVAN, J.
1851 *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters.* Dublin.
O'GRADY, STANDISH H.
1892 *Silva Gadelica.* London.
OPS
1851-5 *Origines Parochiales Scotiae.* Bannatyne Club. Edinburgh.
PAGE, CHRISTOPHER
1987 *Voices and Instruments of the Middle* Ages. London.
PORTER, JAMES
1983 'Harps, Pipes and Silent Stones: the Problem of Pictish Music'. *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* 4. 243-61. Los Angeles.
RCAHMS
1975 *Argyll: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments,* 2. Lorn. The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Edinburgh.
1982 *Argyll: An Inventory of the Monuments,* 4, Iona. The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Edinburgh.
REMNANT, MARY
1986 *English Bowed Instruments from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor Times.* Oxford.
RIA DICT.
1913-57 *Dictionary of the Irish Language.* Royal Irish Academy. Dublin.
1939-75 *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language.* Royal Irish Academy. Dublin.
RIMMER, JOAN
1977 *The Irish Harp.* Cork.
RYAN, MICHAEL
1983 *Treasures of Ireland.* Dublin.
SHS MISC.
1893- *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society.* Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.
STEER, K. A. and BANNERMAN, J. W. M.
1977 *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands.* The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Edinburgh.
STUART, JOHN
1874 *Registrum de Panmure.* Edinburgh.
TA
1877-1916 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.* Edinburgh.
THOMSON, DERICK S.
1960-3 'The MacMhuirich Bardic Family'. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 43: 276-304. Stirling.
1968 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland'. *Scottish Studies* 12: 55-78.
WALSH, PAUL
1933 *Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts.* Dublin.
WATSON, WILLIAM J.
1926 *History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland.* Edinburgh
1937 *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore.* Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh.

Gaelic Songs of the 'Forty-Five

WILLIAM GILLIES

I have often thought that it would be a salutary exercise and a sterling service if someone were to compile a history of the 'Forty-five based simply on genuine Gaelic and Gaelic-derived sources. On the one hand, one would hope to establish a corrective to the welter of invention, fantasy and garbled memory which surrounds the popular view of Highland history and even unsettles the thinking of historians who should know better. And on the other hand, the 'Forty-five was a real watershed in the history of the Gaels, who deserve better than the flawed 'export' versions they are currently constrained to subsist on.

However, the undertaking would not be a straightforward one. For one thing, it would be necessary to collate and synthesise widely differing particular experiences, perspectives, and levels of understanding of the overall pattern of events. For another, the Gaelic sources are unevenly spread and require delicate handling. The special obstacles to be negotiated would include the barriers raised by the pride, shame or fears of Gaels, of non-Gaels, and of Gaels responding to the expectations of non-Gaels.

In fact my sights are set considerably lower than that larger objective: my intention is to stick pretty closely to the eighteenth-century song-texts named in my title. This limitation presents several advantages. First, the surviving Gaelic poetry about *Bliadhna Theàrlaich* ('Charlie's Year') is relatively manageable in bulk. In the second place, its poetic form has insulated it from some of the categories of interference and distortion which affect oral texts. It thus offers us a sense of nearness to the action, of immediate contact with at least sections of the spectrum of contemporary sentiment. Again, Gaelic society traditionally expected its poets to speak out on matters of current concern, simultaneously reflecting, ordering and guiding opinion. This public dimension of poetry, which has remained a strong instinct down to the present century, lends an analytic quality and a homogeneity to at least the more 'official' genres of Gaelic verse, and is a decided advantage for our present purposes.

That is not to say that Gaelic Jacobite poetry is without difficulties as historical source material. On the contrary, it is highly nuanced and highly tendentious. Nor are its texts free from interference either, since accretion, bowdlerisation and excision can be suspected or demonstrated not infrequently, over and above the normal 'weathering' of orally preserved material. And in more general terms we have to take account of differing survival rates in different areas of the Highlands due to such independently varying factors as depopulation, decline of Gaelic-speaking, and the presence and tastes of collectors of Gaelic song at strategic moments from the eighteenth century to the present.

The upshot of all this is that what has survived of Gaelic Jacobite song can at best be regarded as representative of what would would have been obtainable. Certainly it must be presumed to fall short of giving a rounded picture of what the Highlanders 'as a whole' might have had to say about the 'Forty-five (*c.f.* Campbell 1935). Fortunately, what has survived is sufficiently varied and substantial to be illuminating in a number of ways. For instance, there is a geographical spread embracing Sutherland, Braemar, Argyll and the Outer Hebrides. There is a social spread extending from the entourages of chiefs and leaders to the women's world of the waulking board. And the tonal variations which mark successive phases in the course of events from the Prince's arrival until the Disarming and Disclothing Acts shed light on the psychology and articulation of the Gaelic poetic tradition itself.

As for the texts which concern us, they were mostly composed as songs for oral circulation. Of those cited below some exist only in manuscript or printed collections, but others have been sung continuously down to the present day. (In such cases, however, the fullest texts are usually, if not invariably, to be found in sources written down much nearer the time of composition.) The most prolific composer of all the Jacobite poets, Alexander MacDonald (Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair), saw his works printed first in 1751; and although the earliest published anthologies of Gaelic verse (Ranald MacDonald's Collection and the Gillies Collection, published in 1776 and 1786 respectively) were inclined to be reticent as regards the songs of the 'Forty-five, later anthologies, from Turner's Collection (1813) to John MacKenzie's *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry* (1841) were less inhibited; and some of the manuscript collections made from the later eighteenth-century onward supply further items as well as independent versions of songs appearing in printed collections. The first anthology of songs about the 'Forty-five was that appended by John Mackenzie to his *Eachdraidh a' Phrionnsa* (1844). A more substantial selection is available with English translation in John Lorne Campbell's excellent *Highland Songs of the 'Forty-five.*[1]

The political orientation of these songs is overwhelmingly Jacobite and anti-Hanoverian. There is a good reason for this. There had gradually evolved in the Highlands a polarity involving two sorts of clan who, if all other things were equal, tended to find themselves on opposite sides when British political crises impinged on the Highlands. This polarity had become a fixture during the Wars of the Covenant, and was manifest at the time of the Revolution and in 1715. One camp tended to be royalist, Catholic (or at least non-Presbyterian), and culturally traditionalist; the other parliamentarian, Presbyterian and culturally progressive. The former axis, which included especially the Clan Donald and its satellites, was the one which provided the more favourable circumstances for the composition of Gaelic poetry in the mid-eighteenth century and for its transmission subsequently. Of course, there were chiefs and leaders within that axis who had accumulated good reasons for toeing the Government line by the time of the 'Forty-five; but old attitudes died hard amongst their followers, and Gaelic poets tended to be traditionalists. Indeed it is noteworthy that even in areas where

the leaders were staunchly Hanoverian, such as Argyll and the Reay country, poets like Duncan Bàn Macintyre or Rob Donn Mackay followed an ambivalent or openly Jacobite line.

Against this near unanimity as regards political persuasion we must recognise diversity of different sorts. Our poets range from educated gentlemen and officers with access to the military thinking of the Jacobite leaders, through traditional Gaelic bards accompanying their chiefs on the expedition, to womenfolk waiting at home for news or lamenting the deaths of their loved ones in battle. While some of the Gaelic songs are 'Jacobite songs' in the same sense as their Scots counterparts, complete with toasts, exhortations to the converted, and loyal messages 'over the water', others, especially the anonymous women's songs, provide us with something very different, much nearer to the elusive *vox populi*. We must therefore be prepared to recognise 'higher' and 'lower' styles, 'court' (*i.e.* 'bardic') and 'folk' strains, and so forth.

We must also allow for conscious manipulation of these categories by some of the more sophisticated of our poets: compare, most obviously, MacMhaighstir Alasdair's Jacobite 'waulking songs', discussed below (pp. 30, 48). It is partly because of this deliberate blurring of traditional distinctions that I have preferred not to use these different poetic viewpoints as an ordering principle in what follows, though that would have offered some obvious attractions. I have chosen rather to adopt a loosely chronological approach, fastening on certain phases or moments suggested by the disposition of the material. That is, I shall begin with the build-up of expectation or apprehension which attended Prince Charlie's setting sail and arrival in Scotland. This will be followed by songs associated with events from the raising of the Jacobite standard at Glenfinnan through the early successes to the long march south to Derby and back north again. The following sections will deal in turn with Culloden; the Prince 'in the heather'; the aftermath of reprisals, occupation and legislation; and, finally, the passing of Highland Jacobitism—*i.e.* the gradual blurring of the issues and the gathering of a romantic haze over the events of 1745-6.

A fair amount has been written about the motives of the Highlanders who came out in support of the Prince. To some they have appeared as impractical idealists, to others as caterans on a glorified cattle-raid, and to yet others as men driven to desperate action by cultural and religious persecution. Dr Campbell, who favours the last alternative, has justly complained that too many historians have attempted to answer the question aprioristically without reference to the testimony of Gaelic sources (*HS*: xviii).[2] Granted that they require to be handled carefully, the Gaelic songs of the time can tell us a good deal about the psychology and the motivation of Highland Jacobitism, as I now hope to show.

The ultimate reason for taking action is consistently presented as a moral imperative—*còir* 'right, what one should do', *ceart* 'what is right, just' and *dlighe* 'what is due (to and from one)' being the operative terms. The action prescribed is to drive out the usurping ruler and to restore the rightful one. Some powerful old concepts underpin this prescription. First, the older Gaelic bardic poetry, which was a prime source of political ideology

in traditional Gaelic society, had always laid great emphasis on the existence of a compact between rulers and poets, in which the latter were supposed to set the seal of acceptability on a king's rule by giving it their praise, or conversely to withhold that praise if the king's justice faltered—the point being that in mediaeval times the poets' censure was held to be a blemish on a king, and a blemished king could not rule. (See, for example, Carney 1967, Breatnach 1983.)[3] This belief in the possibility of rejecting a monstrous ruler, together with the assumption that it fell to the poets to publicise his shame, lies somewhere behind the readiness of the Gaelic Jacobite poets to couch their political poetry in the form of personalised satires against members of the House of Hanover.

In the second place, Gaelic political mythology clung to the ancient notion that the just king's reign was accompanied by plenitude and fine weather, while storms and poverty were signs of something rotten in the State. (See, for example, Kelly 1976: xv; Gillies 1977 and 1986: 110.) To the Gaelic poets the rule of the House of Hanover constituted such a state of outrage. The various ills and grievances which Highlanders laboured under as a result of present or past Government policies, including the Union, became tokens of the rule of an unjust king and were used to establish King George's ripeness for deposition. The poets rehearsed the 'case for the prosecution' in an age-old way by declaring the blemishes of the royal house, at the same time setting out the legitimacy and rightfulness of the claims of the House of Stewart. Thus Alexander MacDonald begins one of his Jacobite songs with the following evocation of the idea that Nature reflects the quality and justice of the present King's rule:

Is fuar, fearthainneach gach lò,
gach oidhche dorcha, doinionnach;
's tursach, donn gach lò,
murtach, trom le ceò;
ach mosglaibh suas, a shlòigh,
's ur n-airsteal trusaibh uaibh air chairteal,
's cartaibh uaibh ur bròn:
tha *leug* ri muir 's ri speur
ri bhith aig Aeolus 's aig Neptun,
's thig gach tlachd 'na déidh.
Thig soinionn leis an Rìgh,
teichidh sneachd is eighre uainn;
fògrar dòruinn shìon,
thig sòlas, falbhaidh pian . . .
(*AMD*: 118; *HS*: 94)[4]

'Every day is cold and raining, every night dark and stormy. Miserable and grim is every day, oppressive and heavy with mist. But waken up, people, and banish your dejection. Cart away your sorrow; Aeolus and Neptune are about to make a pact covering sea and sky, and every sort of ease will attend it.

Fair weather will come with the [rightful] King, snow and ice will retreat from us; hurtful storms will be proscribed, solace will come and pain will go.'

Later on Rob Donn Mackay was to express the same idea in more matter-of-fact terms when he addressed Prince Charles as follows:

Tha cupall mhìos is ràithe
o'n là thàinig thu do dh'Alba so,
's bu shoilleir dhuinn o'n tràth bha sin
an fhàilte chuir an aimsir oirnn;
bha daoine measail, miadhail oirnn,
's bha àrach nì a' sealbhach oirnn,
bha barran troma tìr' againn,
bha toradh frìth is fairg' againn.
(*RD*: 80; *HS*: 230)

'It's now five months since you came over to Scotland, and since that time the weather's welcome to you has been obvious to us. People have been appreciative and well-disposed towards us; stock-rearing has prospered with us, the crops have been heavy, and the deer-forest and the sea have done us proud.'

Here we have to remember that there had been real food shortages in the land, and also that there really had been outstandingly good weather at harvest time in 1745 (Grimble 1979: 62). Nevertheless, the poet is also exploiting well-understood conventions here.

In order to find out what the House of Hanover had actually done wrong one has to wade through a mass of conventional abuse. The animal similes, the physical and mental debilities, the accusations of criminal behaviour and unnatural vices, and all the other tokens of misrule may or may not have had a foundation in truth, or at least in popular belief. (It was believed that unmerited satire could recoil on its reciter.) But they are here principally as part of the currency of satire. It boils down, in the last resort, to a question of genealogy. As Alexander MacDonald puts it later on in the poem already quoted, George's *còir* to the throne was based not on heredity, since there were 'fifty better qualified' than he to succeed, but upon a mere Act of Parliament (*i.e.* the 1701 Act of Settlement).

It is open to us, of course, to regard this complaint also as a mere label, a cipher for something deeper and inarticulate, rather in the way that we have to look beyond the nominal targets of nineteenth-century satires addressed to sheep or shepherds if we wish to find the real villains of the Highland Clearances. Support for such an approach might possibly be found in the fact that the Gaelic poets of the 'Forty-five seem at times to be trying with difficulty to identify an 'enemy' beyond the usurping King, with 'them' coming out sometimes as *Goill* ('Lowlanders', or perhaps 'non-Gaels'), sometimes as *Sasannaich* ('English', or perhaps 'Saxons'), sometims as *luchd Beurla* ('English speakers') and sometimes as 'Parliament'. Things had been more clear-cut in 1715, when the enemies of the Jacobites tended to be called simply *'A' Chuigse'* ('The Whigs').

Nevertheless, I believe that the poets' repeated references to *fuil* ('blood') should be understood as a serious and self-sufficient concern. For we are dealing here with the tail-end of an intensely conservative aristocratic tradition in which birth counted for every-

thing, and a good number of clans, including Clan Donald itself, traced their descent back to the Kings of the Scots, or actually claimed kinship with the Stewart kings. Moreover, this sense of having a stake in the continuance of the Stewart line became a particularly attractive aspect of the past in the eyes of more conservative Gaels (including, *par excellence*, the poets and shennachies) at a time when the traditional bases of Gaelic society were rapidly crumbling away. I am therefore prepared to believe that Alexander MacDonald sought to touch a deeply responsive chord when he referred to the Gaels as *àlach gun mhàthair* ('a motherless brood') in the absence of a Stewart ruler, or when he addressed the Old Pretender as 'our earthly father under the heavenly Father', whose coming would put an end to present tribulations (*AMD*: 76, 124; *HS*: 74, 102).

In contrast to the terms of dispraise which Gaelic poetry mostly employs when dealing with the House of Hanover, Charles and James, being 'rightful rulers', fall to receive the standard accolades of Gaelic panegyric. This involves a value-system whose virtues include not only the qualities which one can strive to embody (such as justice) but also some which most ethical systems would regard as morally neutral, and which are more the product of nature than of nurture—*e.g.* physical strength, comeliness of appearance, and nobility of birth. (The classic account of this system is that contained in the Introduction to Knott 1922.) Rob Donn nicely articulates the parameters of praiseworthiness (and nicely demonstrates the methods of praise-poetry) in his song to Prince Charles already quoted:

Gur cal' an am na h-éiginn e
ar carraig threun gu stiùradh air,
thug bàrr air cheud am buadhannaibh,
's tha cridh' an t-sluaigh air dlùthadh ris.

Chan ioghnadh sin 'n uair smuainichear
an dualachas o'n tàinig e,
an doimhne bh' ann gu foghluimte,
gun bhonn de dh'éis 'na nàdar dheth:
mar Sholamh 'n cleachdadh reusanta,
mar Shamson treun an làmhan e,
mar Absolom gur sgiamhach e,
gur sgiath 's gur dìon d'a chàirdean e.

(*RD*: 80-1; *HS*: 232)

'[The Stewart prince] is a haven in time of distress, our stout rock to steer by, supremely endowed with virtues, and the people have taken him to their hearts.

When one considers his heredity the depth and completeness of his culture comes as no surprise: he is like Solomon, just in dispensation; like Samson he is strong of arm; like Absolom he is fair of face; he is a shield and bulwark to his friends.'

The Stewart king over the water is not infrequently presented in an almost messianic light. He is 'the one we desire', the 'awaited' or 'longed-for' one. There is a visionary quality in the following, one of Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's best-known songs:

O, hì-ri-rì, tha e tighinn,
o, hì-ri-rì, 'n Rìgh tha uainn,
gheibheamaid ar n-airm 's ar n-éideadh,
's breacan an fhéilidh an cuaich.

'S éibhinn leam fhìn, tha e tighinn,
mac an Rìgh dhlighich tha uainn,
slios mór rìoghail d'an tig armachd,
claidheamh is targaid nan dual.

'S ann a' tighinn thar an t-sàile
tha 'm fear ard as àille snuadh,
marcaich sunndach nan steud-each
rachadh gu h-eutrom 'san ruaig
(*AMD*: 68; *HS*: 48)

'O hì ri rì, he is coming, o hì ri rì, the king we desire, let us take our weapons and battle-dress and the tartan kilt plaided up.

I rejoice, he is coming, the son of the rightful king we desire, a great kingly frame well-suited to weaponry, the broadsword and patterned targe.

He is coming over the sea, the tall man most handsome in appearance, the high-spirited rider of the chargers, who would go lightly in the pursuit.'

The next verse is a fine example of MacDonald's capacity to get carried away by his own words, raising the poetic stakes dramatically. The translation does no justice at all to its rhythm or density or to the menacing onomatopoeia of the last line:

Samhuil an Fhaoillich a choltas,
fuaradh-froise 's fadadh cruaidh;
lann thana 'na làimh gu cosgairt,
sgoltadh chorp mar choirc' air cluain.

'His appearance is like the stormy close of Winter, the chill breeze before a squall, a glimpse of a storm-riven rainbow; a slender blade in his hand to make carnage, scything through bodies like oats in a field.'

Whether this picture serves to remind us of the Renaissance figure of the divine ruler (as in van Dyck's portrait of Charles II on horseback), or of a near-blasphemous version of 'Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord', this is heady stuff.

On a few occasions the awaited leader becomes 'the Promised One', 'the Prophesied One'. In the aftermath of Culloden John Roy Stewart is able to anticipate better days:

Ma thionndas i [*sc.* cuibhle an Fhortain] deiseal an dràsd',
's gum faigh Frangaich am Flannras buaidh,
tha m' earbs' as an tairgneachd a bhà,
gun tig armailt nì stàth dhuinn thar chuan.
(*HS*: 188)

'If . . . the French prevail in Flanders I have confidence in the old prophecy that an army to sustain us will come over the seas.'

Similarly, one of the poets represented in Turner's Collection (1813: 281) talks of his confident expectation '*that it is fated* that we shall gain the upper hand . . .' However, this theme with its dream-vision stereotype is not so developed in surviving Jacobite poetry in Scotland as it is in Ireland. (It is presupposed by a few poems like *An Taisbean*, discussed below, p. 50.) More common are Old Testament parallels between the Gaels and the Children of Israel: the Gaels, like Israel borne down by the oppression of Pharaoh in Egypt, await the appearance of their Moses (*e.g. HS*: 30; 188). Or again Charles may be seen as playing David to King George's Saul (*e.g. HS*: 88, 230).

The idea that 'God is on our side' in fact occurs in various guises, and should be taken seriously in view of its importance in 'royalist' thinking in general. Not every poet goes so far as Alexander MacDonald, who termed Jacobitism a *soisgeul* ('gospel'), and even after Culloden claimed that the inheritance of the Gaels was 'to be loyal—yes, that is our creed'. (See *AMD*: 88, 360; *HS*: 62, 160). But the sense that the coming war was a sort of Crusade is strong in a number of the poets. Thus 'Aonghus Mac Alasdair' (Macdonald) addressed the Jacobite clans as follows:

A chlannaibh nan Gàidheal
dh'am b' àbhaist bhith rìoghail,
hó-ró, togaibh an àird;
is freasdailibh an dràsda
do Theàrlach mar dhìlsean,
hó-ró, togaibh an àird;
freasdailibh dha uile
gun fhuireach ri rìghneas,
na leughaibh ur cunnart
ach bhith 'm muinighin Chrìosda . . .
(SC: 382; *HS*: 10)

'Clans of the Gael, who have traditionally been "loyal", . . . give service now to Charles as his loyal followers. Attend him, every one of you, without dragging of heels; do not dwell upon the danger to you but put your trust in Christ.'

Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair himself addresses the Almighty with the following prayer:

Och! a Rìgh nan dùl,
na leig-sa neart a ghnàth thar cheart;
ochòin! Aon Dia ta 'd thriùir,
's ann duit as léir gach cùis,
tog dhinn a' mhuc 's a cuing,
's a h-àl breac, brothach, uirceineach
le'n cuid chrom-shoc thar tuinn;
's cart gu glan *Whitehall*,
air chionn an Teaghlaich Rìoghail sin
bha ' n sinnsreadh ann an tàmh.
(*AMD*: 124; *HS*: 104)

'O God of all, never let might overpower right . . . Remove from us the Pig and his

oppression . . . and clean out Whitehall completely on behalf of that Royal Family whose ancestors resided there.'

Not only is God on the Jacobite side, but there are signs that the present time is propitious. Where Rob Donn talks about the way weather and crops bear testimony to the rightfulness of the Pretender's claim, Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair regards 1745 as the moment when history is about to be made:

O! sheanchaidhnibh nan Clann,
Suas! Dèanaibh eachdraidh éifeachdach!
O! sheanchaidhnibh 'san am,
glacaibh dubh is peann:
So a' bhliadhna chòrr . . .
(*AMD*: 118; *HS*: 94)

'Historians of the Clans, arise and write effective history; historians of the present time, seize pen and paper: this is the special year . . .'

Also prominent is the idea that the 'Wheel of Fortune' is turning, or about to turn, in favour of Jacobitism and the Stewart cause. The poetess Nighean Aonghais Oig puts it thus:

Ged leig Dia greis air adhart
do'n mhuic bhith cladhach ad àite,
nis o'n thionndaidh a' chuibhle
théid gach traoitear fo'r sàiltean.
(*HS*: 22)[5]

'Although God allowed a period of advancement to the Pig, (to enable him) to root in your place, now that the Wheel has turned every traitor will go under our heels.'

Even more pointed are references to a Jacobite belief that a new star appeared for the first time when Prince Charles was born:

Tha rionnag a bhreithe mar thà
toirt fios agus fàisneachd fìor,
gur mac rath a thàinig an dràsd',
chuir Athair nan Gràs g'ar dìon.
(*HS*: 4)

'The star of his birth already provides knowledge and true presage that the one who has now arrived is a "son of fortune" whom the Father of Grace has sent to protect us.'

In the poem already cited by Rob Donn the demonstration that Charles is the 'rightful ruler' includes the following testimony which makes explicit the Christian parallel and also implies the Messianic message:

Nach fhaic sibh fhéin an spéis a ghabh
na speuran gu bhith 'g ùmhladh dha,
'nuair sheas an rionnag shoillseach anns
an *line* an robhta stiùradh leis?

An comharra bh' aig ar Slànuighear—
roimh Theàrlach thighinn do'n dùthaich so—
'nuair chaidh na daoine ciallaidh ud
'ga iarraidh gu h-Ierùsalem.
(*RD*: 81; *HS*: 232-4)

'Don't you see for yourselves the care which the Heavens took to make obeisance to him, when the shining star stood out in the line by which men were setting their course (?): the (very) sign which was associated with our Saviour at the time, before Charles's coming to this country, when those wise men went to Jerusalem to seek Him.'

Finally, we meet a confident insistence that support for the Jacobite cause will be overwhelming when the Prince comes. In his 'Song of the Highland Clans' Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair proceeds to a roll-call of the clans he expects will rise. It includes not only those most obviously likely to support the Jacobite cause, but also some more surprising names (e.g. the Campbells); and it furthermore includes reference to participation by 'British'—that is, presumably, Lowland Scots plus English—'and Irish Jacobites' (*AMD*: 78 and 128; *HS*: 74 and 142).[6]

It should be clear from the foregoing paragraphs that, whatever else it was, Gaelic Jacobite poetry of the sort quoted was far from being a neutral commodity. Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, besides being the leading visionary and intellectual amongst the Jacobite poets, was also a tireless propagandist for his ideals, using poetry and song in the same way that a political evangelist in a modern, literary society would use hustings and media, debating chambers, journals, pamphlets and books.[7] Moreover, as he says himself, and as not a little of his poetry shows, he was literally 'high' with enthusiasm for Prince Charlie:

Thu 'g imeachd gu sùrdail air tùs a' bhatàili,
cha fhroisinn aon driùchda, 's mi dlùth air do shàilibh,
mi eadar an talamh 's an t-athar a' seòladh
air iteig le h-aighear, misg' chath' agus shòlais . . .

Do làthaireachd mhórchuiseach dh'fhògradh gach fàillinn,
gun tionndadh tu feòdar gach feòla gu stàilinn
'nuair sheallmaid go sanntach air fabhra do ruisg.
(*AMD*: 96-8; *HS*: 52) [8]

'Suppose you were cheerily marching at the head of the battalion I would not disturb a single dew-drop as I followed close behind you, floating on air with high spirits, with intoxication of battle and of happiness . . .

. . . your gracious presence that would banish every deficiency: why, you would turn the pewter of our flesh to steel whenever we looked greedily into your face.'

If such verse appears sometimes to lose touch with reality we must remind ourselves of its functionality within the honour-based, aristocratic society of the Highlands, and be prepared to tune in to its own wavelengths. Thus Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's already-mentioned roll-call of clans who would rise is to be seen not as misjudgment, over-optimism or wishful thinking, but as invoking the classic bardic carrot and stick of fame

and shame, to say to the Highland gentry, 'Here are the deserved accolades your fathers have won; this is your opportunity to join their Hall of Fame.' This was a worthwhile and practical contribution to the Jacobite cause, given that many of the Highland nobility of the time were not yet wholly purged of a Gaelic consciousness, and that most Highland families contained some Jacobite sympathisers, including those houses whose chiefs took the Government line. Even in the case of the Campbells, the precedent of 1715 revealed some who had defied their clan's 'official' line, and it could be hoped that the same thing might happen again; while the tone of some of Duncan Bàn Macintyre's comments suggests that in territory which was nominally under Hanoverian direction there could be different sympathies amongst the non-Campbell tenantry and peasantry. And at a quite different level of explanation one should not forget the tradition that 'The Song of the Highland Clans' was one of a set carried to Paris by Jacobite relatives of MacDonald's and used to help persuade the Prince that the time was ripe for him to come to Scotland.[9]

The question remains, of course, how far such Jacobite pieces represent widely held views and how widely they were disseminated, understood and acted on. The proceedings of the trial of Lord Lovat contain evidence for the doings of the defendant together with one of our poets, John Roy Stewart, whose escape from Inverness gaol he had recently engineered. A prosecution witness alleged that they spent their time 'in composing burlesque verses, that, when young Charlie came over, there would be blood and blows' (MacKay 1911: 64). Does that relatively enclosed ambience of Jacobite gentlemen and agents account for all, or at least much, of the Gaelic poetry we have been considering? Clearly it played a part. But although our knowledge of the actual circumstances of dissemination of individual songs is usually inferential and fragmentary, I believe there are some grounds for supposing that most of ours were intended to be heard, and were in fact heard, by a wider audience than the narrow circle of the wholly converted. In other words, it is my contention that one may imagine their being sung in inns, at fairs, in *céilidh* houses and 'below stairs' in big houses, and not just in the dining and drawing rooms of a smallish number of the latter.

The reasons for this supposition are both general and particular. In the first place it should be remembered that, if we except Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's works, which were published—presumably directly from the author's manuscript—in 1751, most if not all of the poems under consideration had to undergo, and to survive, a shorter or longer period of oral transmission before attaining written form.[10] Even in MacDonald's case orally transmitted versions of a good number of his poems exist, beside those whose survival depends entirely on the poet's own scribal and publishing activities. The existence of variant tunes and texts for some of these suggests a currency independent of the printed sources. More generally, the object of the Jacobite songs was to buttonhole, persuade, comfort and encourage, purposes which could only be fulfilled if they were allowed to fly fairly freely. Obviously there were certain constraints on the utterance of treasonable sentiments; but song has always been a suitable and favourite medium for subversive comment. Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's seizure of the Ardnamurchan minister's

pulpit to proclaim the Jacobite cause (Black 1986: 35) was a typically excessive gesture; his songs, passing from lips to lips, would have a greater impact.

In the second place, consideration of the linguistic and metrical-musical form of the poems shows that in some cases our poets employed 'higher' and 'lower' styles on different occasions to cover the same subject-matter. This surely suggests a conscious attempt to strike a more communal note when the 'lower' styles are employed. Thus, for example, of John Roy Stewart's three songs on Culloden, one is in the more 'literary' *amhran* form with its four long four-stress lines, while the other two are in more traditional-popular forms. And while some of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's poems have more complicated structures, corresponding to more elevated language and more recondite allusion, others are couched in simple song-metres or even cast in the irreducibly popular form of the women's waulking-song tradition.[11]

It has, of course, been stated by some scholars that the anonymous oral-popular song-tradition (as opposed to the productions of the named poets in the post-bardic tradition) does not offer much evidence for contemporary composition relating to the 'Forty-five. There is some truth in this. But the conclusion sometimes drawn, that the episode meant little to 'ordinary Gaels', would seem to be less certain. It could be that the relevant genres had ceased to be regularly productive by that time. Again, the time-lapse between the mid-eighteenth century and the time when collectors began to take an interest in such poetry was much longer than in the case of the more literary strata, and the possibility of non-survival was correspondingly greater. And in fact there are a few exceptions—survivals against the odds, as it were—and they do show the attitudes we should expect *a priori*. (*Cf. HF*: 1, 22 and 25; 3, 9.)

The best known of these texts is probably the waulking-song *An Fhìdeag Airgid* ('The Silver Whistle'). One of the Barra versions runs as follows:

Có sheinneadh an fhìdeag airgid?
Mac mo Righ a' tighinn do dh'Alba
air luing mhóir air bhàrr na fairge,
air luing a' mharaiche dh'fhalbh e,
air luing a' mharaiche ghreannmhoir.
Bha stiùir òir is dà chrann airgid,
's tobar fiona shìos 'na garbhlach,
cuplaichean dha'n t-sìoda Fhrangach,
ugalan òir air gach ceann dhiu.

Có theireadh nach seinneadh, sheinneadh:
có sheinneadh ach Eoghainn Camshron?
Có theireadh nach seinneadh, sheinneadh:
sheinneadh Mac Leòid is Mac Coinnich.

Nuair a thig mo Righ gu fhearann
crùnar am Prionnsa le caithream
'san Taigh Bhàn an tàmh na gaisgich . . .
(*HF*: 3, 222)

'Who would sound the silver whistle? The son of my king coming to Scotland, on a great ship over the sea, on the ship of the mariner he has set sail, on the ship of the handsome mariner. She has a golden helm and two silver masts and a well of wine down in her hold, shrouds of the French silk, with golden pulleys at each end of them. Whoever would deny it, he would sound it: who would sound it but Ewen Cameron? Whoever would deny it, he would sound it: MacLeod would sound it, and MacKenzie.

When my King comes to his land the Prince will be crowned in triumph in the White House where the heroes dwell . . .'[12]

And another version contains the following sequence;

'S chuireadh iad na Goill gu'n dùbhshlan,
's chuireadh iad Rìgh Seòras dhachaigh,
do Hanòbhar a null fairis.
'S có sheinneas an fhideag airgid?
Có theireadh nach seinninn, sheinninn:
có theireadh nach seinninn fhìn i?

'And they would put the foreigners to challenge, and they would send King George home, away over to Hanover. And who will sound the silver whistle? Whoever would deny it, I would sound it. Who would deny that I myself would sound it?'

Although the several versions of this song contain traditional passages (*e.g.* the fantastic description of the ship in the first passage quoted) which may well or must ante-date 1745 by a considerable period, the references to *Bliadhna Theàrlaich* are equally unmistakeable and, so far as we can tell, integral to the song.

I turn now to the related question of the relationship between the Jacobite songs and the 'real world'. Evidence is furnished by incidental details in the texts themselves. For whereas we have laid stress up till now on their conventional aspects—ideological framework, symbolism and rhetoric—we must also be clear that, even where these elements predominate, they are never the sum of the message of an individual poem.[13] In particular, a close reading of the texts of our songs soon reveals realistic and mundane hopes, fears and doubts, surfacing in a way which makes the poems seem less impersonal and more in touch with a real state of affairs.

For instance, in Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's *Oran Nuadh* ('New Song'), which speaks inspiringly about the new 'gospel' that has reached the Highlands and is galvanising heroes to action (see *AMD*: 89-95; *HS*: 62-71), we meet with what I presume to be glimpses of reality in such lines as:

'S iomadh neach a théid air ghaisge
tha fìor-lag 'na dhòchas.

'Many a man *who is now pretty faint-hearted* will become heroic (when the Prince comes).'

Soirbhichidh gach nì gu léir libh,
ach sibh féin bhith deònach.

'You will be comprehensively successful, *if only you show willing*.'

However many would drink Jacobite toasts, smash their glass in the hearth and verbally dispose of King George:

. . . 's onoraich' a nis an gnìomh
na cóig ceud mìle bòla.

'Now the deed is more honourable than any number of (punch-)bowls . . .'

And after vaunting the irresistible strength and ferocity of the Highland hosts the poet concludes with a more reflective comment:

'S beagan sluaigh as tric thug buaidh
an iomairt chruaidh a' chòmhraig;
dèanamaid gluasad gun dad uamhainn,
's na biodh fuathas oirnne.

'It is the small army which has won, often enough, in the hard game of battle. Let us march out without being over-awed in any way, and let dread not affect us.'

The realities are made clear in a different way in a poem, attributed by one source to John Roy Stewart (though it is anonymous elsewhere), which takes the form of a dialogue between a young girl who is vehement in her support for the Prince, and an interlocutor who counsels a more canny approach, though with a lack of conviction which hints at the poet's own sympathies. It is basically a 'Heart *vs* Head' debate. In the penultimate verse the voice of Reason has, as its last word, the following comment to make:

A nighean, na toir luadh air Tearlach:
's beag a's fheaird sinn e bhi ann;
tha a naimhdean lionar laidir,
ged nach 'eil a chàirdean gann;
na daoin' uaisle 's fearr ga àicheadh,
ged bha roinn àraidh dhiubh 'na bhann,
cumail Dheorsa anns an àite,
dh'aindeoin ailghios Righ na Fràing.
(A. Watson 1983: 37)[14]

'Girl, do not mention Charles, we are little the better off for his existing. His enemies are numerous and strong, although his friends are not scarce. The 'top drawer' of the nobility are denying him (though a certain element amongst them have treated with him), keeping George around the place despite the desire of the King of France.'

I take it that the two 'voices' in this poem are a device to juxtapose existing views on the political situation in 1745 or 1746, and that, allowing for the discreet loading of the dice on the pro-Jacobite side (which is allowed to speak last), they reflect real trends in calculation and argument at the time.

An especially important poem in the present context is Aonghas Mac Alasdair's *Oran Brosnachaidh* ('Song of Incitement'), which gives some palpably practical advice addressed to the Gaels who were about to set out to put the Prince on the throne (see *HS*: 10-18.) The poet begins by advising them to say farewell to their wives, houses and possessions if they have to be away from home, and then continues:

Na cuireadh fuaim fùdair
bonn cùraim 'nur feòil-se,
hó-ró togaibh an àird,

no musgaidean dùbhghorm
dad mùthaidh 'nur dòchas,
hó-ró togaibh an àird;

nuair theirgeas an fhuaim sin
dh'fhalbh an cruadal 's an dòruinn,
bidh sibh-se 'nam badaibh
leis a' chleachdadh bu nòs duibh . . .
(*HS*: 12)

'Do not let the sound of gun-powder put the slightest anxiety into your bodies, nor blue-black muskets any decline in your hopes; whenever that sound dies away the distress and hurt are at an end, and you will be tackling them at close quarters according to your immemorial practice . . .'

Beyond a doubt these are serious, practical counsels to real fighting men—the advice of a survivor of Killiecrankie and the Rising of 1715 (*cf. HS*: 8-9 and, for the military context, Hill 1986: 103, 127). For that reason the following enumeration of the objects of the expedition commands special attention. They appear as a sort of counterpoint, interwoven with the conventional elements of exhortation and panegyric, and are as follows. If the Gaels succeed, and 'win a kingdom', their 'fame will spread over the world' and they will enjoy 'the wealth of every land', and not just their own patrimony (*HS*: 14). The things they will say goodbye to are at least as important as the positive gains depicted:

. . . ragha gach fearainn,
gun ghearradh gun chìs air.
Bidh sibh laisde sochaireach,
gun chàs gun dochaireachd,
agus bàidh 'gur brosnachadh
gun chàch (?) 'gur goirteachadh,
hó-ró togaibh an àird.
(*HS*: 14)[15]

'(You will get) the choicest of land free from import and taxation. You will enjoy ease and comfort, free from hardship and struggle, with goodwill to encourage you and without everyone else injuring you.'

When Charles attains the throne he will not forget his friends, and the lowly as well as the high-born will benefit from the relief from 'turmoil and harassment'. Church and State will resolve their problems and the various Churches will be respected. Trades will prosper and will always be well-provided for (*HS*: 14–16).

Naturally, there is unbounded optimism here, combined with a certain amount of 'pleasure equals absence of pain'. But it would be a poor army that set out without ideals and high hopes; and we know from other sources how important to Jacobite thinking was the assumption that support would be forthcoming from sympathisers throughout the

realm as the campaign gathered momentum. I do not belive one can get nearer to the minds of those who followed the Prince than the mix of idealism, calculation, pride and dissatisfaction which emerges from this poem.[16]

The departure of the contingents of fighting men to join the Jacobite army is captured nicely in traditional accounts of the 'Forty-five recorded by Rev. Thomas Sinton in Badenoch. According to Sinton's informants the MacPherson band marched first to the refrain:

Cha till, cha till, cha till sinn tuillidh,
gus an crùnar an Rìgh cha till sinne.
(*PB*: 210)

'We will not return, no, we will not return again, till the King shall be crowned we will not return.'

They then changed to 'the livelier measures of a favourite marching song':

Carson a bhiodh sinn muladach,
carson a bhiodh sinn brònach,
carson a bhiodh sinn muladach,
gum falbh sinn uile còmhladh.

'S ioma bean a bhios gun mhac,
piuthair bhios gun bhràthair aic',
's maighdean òg gun leannan aic',
ma leanas sinn mar thà sinn.
(*PB*: 210)[17]

'Why should we be miserable? Why should we be sad? Why should we be miserable? We'll all march together!

There's many a wife will lack a son, and sister who'll lack a brother, and young maid who'll lack her love, if we go as we're going.'

Over in Lochaber a MacDonald lady addressed the Jacobite leaders in more formal terms (PT: 182; *cf. HS*: 21 for discussion of the problem of her identity). Prince Charles is 'the Star, the priceless treasure we yearned for' which has now been brought safely to its owners. MacDonell of Keppoch and other leading men are praised and exhorted to heroism, and the MacGregors are urged to throw off the Campbell yoke. On the other hand, Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat is roundly criticised for not joining the Rising ('your holding back is becoming tiresome to me'). The general feeling is one of confidence:

Bha an Seanalair gòrach
tighinn a chòmhrag 'nur n-aghaidh;
's teann nach islich e 'shròn
ged thig e spòrsail air adhart;
ach nan cumadh e còmhdail,
mar bha òrdugh a' chladhair',
gum bu lìonmhor fear casaig
gun cheann, gun chasan, gun fhradharc.
(*HS*: 28)

'The foolish General [*i.e.* Sir John Cope] was coming to fight against you; it won't be long before he bites the dust, though he advances with head held high; but if he would keep a tryst, as the coward's orders were, there would be many a red-coat without head, without feet, without sight.'

From the point when the Jacobite army left the Highlands we have two viewpoints to take account of: that of the combatants, and that of those who were left behind awaiting news. (On the question of the time taken for news to reach the Highlands see Grimble 1979: 48, 64.) Because of the ultimate failure of the campaign, the dislocation and confusion which followed it, and the need for all poetic hands to stand to (as it were) to help deal with the trauma of Culloden, surviving participant accounts of the expedition are not common amongst our songs. There are, however, several references to Prestonpans in poems addressed to Highland leaders who distinguished themselves there, and similarly with engagements which occurred during the retreat north from Derby (see, for example, *PB*: 78, 81, 84). An interesting song from the 'home front' is that ascribed by Sinton (*PB*: 206) to 'a Stewart lady', *Seo an tìm tha cur as domh* ('This is the time that is doing away with me'). The poetess opens with a complaint of ineffectuality—loss of voice, as she puts it—when what is needed is strong prayer to help 'the rightful king of the Gaels, who will go from us to London shortly'. What I take to be her prayer assumes the form of an invocation of the stout men who will go with Charles, with pride of place given to her kinsman, Colonel John Roy Stewart, and to another local hero, Major Gillies MacBean. Mention of them seems to bring a measure of confidence, and she refers proudly to Prestonpans:[19]

Am blàr Chòp fhuair thu 'n t-urram,
bu cheann-feadhn' thair gach duin' thu,
's ann a shamhlaich iad uil' thu ri Cléibhir.

'S tu gun cuireadh droch sheòl
fo champa Righ Deòrsa—
'n ceann 's na casan 's na bòtainn' gu léir diu.
(*PB*: 207)

'In the battle with Cope you won the honour, you were a leader above leaders; why, they all likened you to Claverhouse.

It is you who would inject disorder into the camp of King George—minus their heads, their legs and their boots!'

A further roll-call of powerful allies comes next. It includes MacDonald of Sleat. Was the poetess ignorant of the facts, or powerless to exclude the senior branch from a listing of the branches of Clan Donald, or is this another example of the wish being articulated as a means to bring about the reality? At all events, the list of allies gives way to imprecation against the British Army and the 'Argyll Militia', who, in Sinton's words, 'were dispersed in parties over various districts in the North, which were favourable to the Jacobite cause, where they rendered themselves very obnoxious' (*cf.* PT: 281; Hill 1986: 102).

'S masa beò mi cóig bliadhna
chì mi fathasd droch dhìol
air luchd-sgathaidh nam bian far na spréidhe,

air luchd chasagan dearga
's Mailisi Earraghàidheal—
chì sibh fhathasd droch àird air na béisdean.
(*PB*: 208)

'And if I live five years I will yet see an evil requital exacted from those who are hacking the hides off the cattle,

from the people with the red coats and the Militia of Argyll—you will yet see those brutes in an evil way.'

Continuing in invocatory terms but switching back to the Jacobite army, she wishes them the power to ward off lead and powder, and envisages 'English and Campbells' routed 'even if I don't live to see it'. Reverting finally to a personal note she tells us that she is at present 'in the Braes', away from her relatives, and hearing nothing but the belling of the stag. But she will somehow gather her strength and head for home, to the heart of staunch Jacobite territory:

'S a Theàrlaich òig Stiùbhairt,
chì sinne an crùn ort,
's bidh tu fhathasd a' sgiùrsadh nam béisdean.
(*PB*: 209)

'And young Charles Stewart, we shall see the crown on you, and you will yet be scourging the (Hanoverian) brutes.'

The song as we have it is somewhat elliptical in places, though I have tried in the above summary to highlight a sequence of associative steps which, if they are correctly construed, give it a measure of cohesion. On this reading, the song is noteworthy for its fluctuation between confidence and anxiety, and the whole should be seen as an expression of solidarity at a time when hard facts were unobtainable.[20]

When we come to the battle of Falkirk we are more favoured, since we have texts composed by eye-witnesses or participants on both sides. Duncan Bàn Macintyre was with the Argyll Militia on the Government side. He was very probably not yet twenty-one years old (*DB*: xxii-xxiv), and he was serving as a hired substitute for another man, rather than for reasons of personal conviction. Moreover, the occasion for his song was the loss of his sword—or rather that of his hirer—which he treats in a satirical, mock-heroic way. (This is clear from the first edition of Duncan Bàn's songs (1768), which calls this piece 'A song to Fletcher's Sword and to the Battle of Falkirk'.) Nevertheless, in building up a picture of the circumstances of his discomfiture he provides some interesting side-lights on the combatants and action. He shows clearly the confidence of the Government forces:

A' dol an coinneamh a' Phrionnsa
gum bu shunndach a bha sinne;
shaoil sinn gum faigheamaid cùis deth,
's nach robh dhùinn ach dol g'a shireadh.
(*DB*: 2)

'Going to engage the Prince our side were cheery enough: we thought we would get the better of him and that all we had to do was to seek him out.'

They had not considered the possibility that they might be the ones to be 'driven, like sheep before a dog': after all, they had 'the professionals' on their side—men 'well-armed and trained, devoted to the art of killing'. But then 'panic overtook us in the rout' when the Jacobite army charged downhill and 'Prince Charles and his Frenchmen' were breathing down their necks.

Cha d'fhuair sinn facal comannd
a dh'iarraidh ar nàimhdean a sgathadh,
ach comas sgaoilidh feadh an t-saoghail,
's cuid againn gun fhaotainn fhathast.
(*DB*: 4)

'We did not receive a word of command instructing us to smite our enemies—simply liberty to scatter throughout the world; and some of us are still missing.'[21]

The poet then brings the subject round to the sword, its loss, and the repercussions when he returned home without it.

A poem in celebration of the battle was addressed by one Alexander Cameron to his chief, Lochiel. It contains the following view of the same action, as seen from the Jacobite side:

Là na h-Eaglais bh'aig Hàlaidh
thug sibh bàrr air a bhuidhinn,
nuair a thionndaidh na nàimhdean
'nan sia *rancan* sa' bhruthach;
dhuit cha b'iomrall an cruadal,
ghlac thu an dualchas bu chubhaidh;
'n uair theann do chinneadh r' a chéile
ghabh na béistean mu shiubhal.
(*HS*: 260)[22]

'On Hawley's 'kirk'-day (*i.e.* Fal*kirk*) you (Camerons) outreached his company when the (Hanoverian) enemy turned in six ranks on the hillside. Stress of battle did not put you (Lochiel) off your stride; you opted for the course of action which was fitting—the hereditary one. When your clan drew together the (Hanoverian) beasts took to flight.'

Aonghas Og, second son of Iain of Glengarry, was also present on the Jacobite side, at the head of his clansmen, but was accidentally killed shortly after the battle. The elegy for him by Aonghas mac Ailein (*MDC*: 89) adds some further circumstantial details regarding the battle. The poet was 'drinking wine on Sunday . . . when news came of your death; when I saw your wounds my eyes filled with tears.' After some elegiac verses he continues:

Sliabh na h-Eaglaise Brice
bu mhór do mhisneach 's an uair sin;
ge do ràinig na h-eich sinn
cha do leasaich iad gruaim dhuit;
ge bu sgreataidh ri fhaicinn
le lannan glas as an truaill iad,
gum bu churanta t'fhacal
gu cur as ri aon uair daibh.
(*MDC*: 90)

'On Falkirk Moor, great was your courage at that time: although the cavalry came up with us they didn't upset you; although they were horrendous to behold with grey blades unsheathed, your word (of command) was efficacious with a view to destroying them all at once.'

In other words, Aonghas was able to hold his men's fire in the face of the cavalry charge until it could have a devastating effect—a reversal of the usual roles in Highland-Lowland confrontations, and one that called for authority, judgment and nerve. (Compare Hill 1986: 136; where, however, the credit is assigned to Lord George Murray.)

Aonghas Og's death was a severe blow to the morale of the Highland army, and especially to Glengarry's men, as is made clear in these lines from the *cumha* made by Bean Achadh Uaine:

Cùis bu mhath le Rìgh Deòrsa,
o'n là dh'inntrig thu 'n tòs leo,
thu bhith dhìth air do sheòrsa;
dh'fhalbh iad uile mar cheò uait
o'n là chuir iad fo'n fhòid thu;
cha d'fhan dithisd dhiu 'n ordugh—
och, mo chreach, nach bu bheò gus an dràsd' thu.

Cha bhitheadh Diùc Uilleam
cho trom oirnn—'s cha b' urrainn—
on 's tu sheasadh gach cunnart
is a bhuaileadh na buillean.
Nan do dh'fhuirich an gunna
gun do bhualadh o'n uinneig
gun robh Teàrlach an Lunnainn roimh'n am seo.
(AMS: 178)

'The best news that King George had, since the day you first joined the fray with them, was your being lost to your fellows. They have melted away like mist from you since the day they buried you; no two men of them have remained in rank—alas that you were not alive until today.

Duke William would not be so oppressive to us, nor could he be, since you were the one who could withstand every peril and strike the blows: if the gun had been stayed and not hit you from the window, sure, Charles would have been in London before now.'[23]

In this context it should be remembered that, in the pattern of limited warfare practised by the Gaels of old, the 'rules of engagement' included one to the effect that loss of the leader meant an end of fighting: compare the behaviour of his clansmen after the death

of Keppoch at Culloden. That this concept was especially relevant in the case of the traditionally minded Glengarry MacDonalds may perhaps be suggested by the poets' use of the old term *ceathairn* 'band of fighting men' to describe them in the elegies for Aonghas Òg (*MDC*: 90; AMS: 179). In fact, their position was the more critical in that Aonghas' elder brother Alasdair, the heir, was at the time interned in London. Aonghas mac Ailein, the bardic commentator on the spot, puts it thus, speaking first to Aonghas Òg:

Bha do thuathchearne deurach
's gun an t-oighre bhith 'd àite,
cha bu ghearain mar dh'éirich
nam biodh tu féin aca làthair,
gur e thromaich mo mhulad
thu bhith 'n Lunnainn an sàs ac';
's truagh an fhine Clann Dòmhnaill
ma gheibh Rìgh Seòras làmh làidir.
(*MDC*: 90)

'Your band of retainers were tearful, especially since the heir is not here to take your place; what has happened would have been no cause for complaint if they had you (Alasdair) yourself on the spot. What has deepened my grief is that they have you in captivity in London: woe betide Clan Donald if King George gets the upper hand.'

He turns now, rhetorically at least, to Prince Charles, and articulates plainly the conflict of loyalties which the situation imposed on his clansmen:

Ach, a Thearlaich òig Stiùbhart,
gun d' rug diùbhail glé mhór ort:
na fiùranan glana
nach mealladh sa' chòir ort,
oighre Chnòideart 's Ghlinn Garadh
bhith 'n tùr aig Gallaibh—b'e 'n leòn e—
's ma thig beud riu mu t' anam
gur daor a cheannaich sinn t'eòlas.
(*ibid.*)[24]

'But Young Charles Stewart, a very great loss has overtaken you— fine warriors who would not renege on you in the Cause; the heir of Knoydart and Glengarry imprisoned by the foreigners—that was the wound; and if harm befalls them while fighting for your sake it is dearly that we have purchased your acquaintance.'

In conclusion, however, the poet softens this revealing admission (for both conventional and practical reasons), though he does not retract it:

Ach t' eòlas gun iarrainn,
nam biodh Dia uime deònach,
chor 's gun éireadh gach latha
leat buaidh chatha 's buaidh chòmhnaidh;

fuasgladh grad do m' cheann-cinnidh,
's e sud a shirinn air m' ordugh;
's gur e thogadh mo mhulad
ruaig nan sionnach air Seòras.
(*MDC*: 91)

'But I *would* seek your acquaintance *if* God would so will it that victory would attend you on every day of battle, long-term victory, and swift release for my chief—that's what I would seek if I had my way, and what would dispel my grief would be for George to be hunted like a fox.'

In circumstances like these, plain speaking (by bardic standards) is needed if the poet is to rein in the feelings of his fellow clansmen and offer them a way forward.

The defeat of the Jacobite army at Culloden became burned into the collective memory of Gaelic speakers everywhere, irrespective of religion or political persuasion. The Jacobite dead, 'lying out there on the moors without coffin, without shrouds, without burial itself. . .' (*HS*: 170; *cf. MDC*: 175 'like slaughtered deer', *etc.*), put a bitter twist into the fulfilment of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's bloodthirsty prediction:

Is mór a bhios ri corp-rùsgadh
nan closaichean 'sa' bhlàr:
fithich anns an ròcadaich,
ag itealaich 's a' cnocaireachd;
ciocras air na cosgarraich,
ag òl 's ag ith' an sàth;
och, 's tùrsach fann a chluinntear mochthrath
ochanaich nan àr.
(*AMD*: 84; *HS*: 84)

'There will be many engaged in stripping corpses in the battlefield—ravens cawing as they flutter and swagger about; kites ravening, drinking and eating their fill—alas, how sad and feeble in the early morning will one hear the groaning on the fields of slaughter (?)'

Important as the battle was at the time in terms of human loss, it became even more important as a symbol—the symbol of something like the end of independent Gaelic action. The bubble of confidence, the conviction that the Wheel of Fortune was on the turn at last, was rudely burst. And from our present point of view the defeat had the further effect of putting the poets into the front line. There was abundant need for elegies; and equally, if less obviously, for the resuscitation of the numbed psyches of the living, by analysing and rationalising the defeat, and preparing men to come out and fight the next round.

This consciousness of a social responsibility (as it were) made for a fair degree of unanimity as to the line poetry should take, and in numerous later compositions one senses that the poetic ranks have closed and an 'official version' is being purveyed. It is well-known that the songs of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair were influential in this process. However, his was not the only analysis, and other poets' on-the-spot reactions contributed to the view which ultimately prevailed. To the question 'What went wrong?'

the answers were various, some being more subtle than others. In the synthesis which follows I have drawn heavily on the poems of Colonel John Roy Stewart.[25]

In the first place it was suggested that the contest was an unequal one: John Roy Stewart, for example, maintained that the Hanoverian forces outnumbered the Jacobites *ba mhò 's mar air fear mu thriùir* ('by more than three to one').[26] The disparity was exacerbated by the absence of certain Jacobite leaders and their men on the day of the battle. This was perfectly true, of course: those absent included the detachment which had been sent up into Sutherland to seek money and reinforcements (*HS*: 176-8; Grimble 1979: 65-9). But this line of argument also raised the more delicate matter of deserters, late-comers and other non-combatants. Later poets could ignore such inconvenient details; but to John Roy Stewart, composing while in hiding during the summer of 1746, they had to be tackled—albeit in a diplomatic way capable of preserving the possibility of 'shaming' such men into participating in the next round. (See *HS*: 170 for deserters; *cf. op. cit.*: 178 for MacPhersons and MacDonalds, and 182 for Frasers and Lord Lovat.)

It was also commonly (and correctly) stated that the weather and the terrain had been inimical to the Jacobite army, with the result that the Highland charge had been made over rough, sodden heath and bog into the teeth of driving sleet and hail—'a third of our misery came out of the skies', as John Roy put it (*HS*: 170, 178-80; *cf.* Urquhart MS: fo. 103, vv. 3, 5). This in its turn meant that Cumberland's musketry and artillery could take a deadly toll 'fatally pre-empting the brilliance of sword-play' (*HS*: 180; *cf. op. cit.*: 268; *PB*: 84). But facts like these inevitably raised questions about the quality of the Jacobite leadership and the wisdom of their tactical decisions. How had they allowed themselves to be manoeuvred into such a position in the first place, and should they have engaged battle in the circumstances? Considerations such as solidarity, not to mention collective responsibility, may have placed certain restraints on what John Roy could commit to the air-waves of Gaelic song; at all events his surviving songs tell us little of the faction and dissension that preceded the battle, and nothing of his own part in the debates. Thus in one of the three songs he composed on Culloden—one of the more 'popular' in form—he gives simply a circumstantial-sounding, soldier's-eye account of the preliminaries. According to this, after the enemy had adopted battle order, 'we invited them to meet us half-way . . . (but) they would not come up to meet us.' The Jacobite commander then shouted out to his men:[27]

"Bidh sinn caillt' le uisg' is gaoth,
bithibh annta, a luchd mo ghaoil,
chan fhaod sinn a bhith feitheamh orr'."
(Urquhart MS: fo. 103, v. 3)

'We shall be destroyed by wind and rain, (so) up and at them, my beloved ones, we cannot await them any longer.'

Nevertheless, John Roy elsewhere voices some criticisms (admittedly fairly muted and generalised) of 'the leaders' (*an luchd-orduigh*) and the Jacobite tactics (*HS*: 172). For the rest he has recourse to an expedient which should be seen in terms of the constraints I have

mentioned and the audience his Gaelic songs were intended to reach: he seeks a scapegoat, and finds one in Lord George Murray.

Mas fìor an seanchas a bh' ann,
gun robh Achan 'sa' champ,
dearg-mhèirleach nan rabhd 's nam breugan,

b'e sin an Seanalair mór,
gràin is mallachd an t-slòigh:
reic e 'onoir 's a chleòc le h-eucoir.

'S ann a thionndaidh e 'chleoc
air son an sporain bha mór,
's rinn sud dolaidh do sheòid Rìgh Seumas.
(*HS*: 180, *cf.* 172)

'If the stories that circulated are true, that there was an Achan in the camp . . . that man was the great General . . . (who) corruptly sold honour and right. He "turned his coat" for the big purse, and that brought destruction on King James's heroes.'

In the last resort, however, the Gaelic poetic commentators found it impossible to accept that the defeat could have been engineered by human agency alone—and certainly not by that of the Duke of Cumberland, whose military record was by no means awe-inspiring.[28] Many songs, especially those of the more popular sorts, reflect a belief that some form of sorcery or witchcraft must have been involved (*e.g. HS*: 170; *MDC*: 175; *PB*: 84; *AMD*: 132). John Roy himself, as a seasoned campaigner, invokes 'Fortune' (*HS*: 172, 176, 182, 188), and elsewhere exhorts the Deity to keep up His concentration (*HS*: 168); while Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair calls the defeat 'a sort of *tapag*', i.e. a 'slip of the tongue' to be rectified in due course (*HS*: 162). The implications of all this were clear: it *was* possible to explain the disaster, and there *could* be another day, when the Highland charge would once again prove irresistible and the Hanoverians would be swept away forever.

While this poetic propaganda machine was getting under way with the objective of containing the trauma of Culloden, the survivors were making their way home and the dead and missing were becoming known. John Roy Stewart inserted a roll of honour into one of his songs about Culloden, in which he paid homage to some of his Badenoch friends (*HS*:182). [29] There were also personal elegies, of which the magnificent one composed by the wife of William Chisholm of Strathglass is deservedly famous.[30]

Och, a Theàrlaich òig Stiùbhairt,
's e do chùis rinn mo léireadh,
thug thu bhuam gach nì bh'agam
ann an cogadh 'nad adhbhar;
cha chrodh is cha chaoirich
tha mi caoidh, ach mo chéile,
gc do dh'fhàgte mi 'm aonar
gun sian 'san t-saoghal ach léine—
Mo rùn geal òg.

Có nis thogas an claidheamh
no ni chathair a lìonadh?
'S gann gur h-e tha air m' aire
o nach maireann mo chiad-ghràdh.
Ach ciamar gheibhinn o m' nàdur
a bhith 'g àicheadh nas miann leam,
is mo thogradh cho làidir
thoirt gu 'àite mo rìgh math?
Mo rùn geal òg.

Gur mis' th'air mo sgaradh,
's ge do chanam, cha bhreug e,
chaidh mo shùgradh gu sileadh
o nach pillear bho'n eug thu.
Fear do chéille 's do thuigse
cha robh furasd ri feutainn,
's cha do sheas an Cùil Lodair
fear do choltais bu tréine—
mo rùn geal òg.

Bha mi greis ann am barail
gum bu mhaireann mo chéile,
's gun tigeadh tu dhathaigh
le aighear 's le h-éibhneas.
Ach tha 'n t-am air dol thairis,
's chan fhaic mi fear t' eugais:
gus an téid mi fo'n talamh
cha dealaich do spéis rium,
mo rùn geal òg.
(*SO*:373)

'Och, young Charles Stewart, it is your cause which has ruined me; you have taken from me all that I had, in conflict on your behalf. It is not cattle, nor sheep that I am lamenting, but my spouse (and so it would be) even though I were left alone without anything in the world but my shift—my fair young love.

Who now will raise the sword or fill the throne? That is hardly on my mind now that my first love is dead. But how could I find it in my nature to deny what I desire, seeing that my will is so strong to bring my good King to his proper place?—my fair young love.

It is I who am torn asunder, and if I say it it is no lie, my cheerfulness has turned to tears since you cannot be returned from death. It would not be easy to find a man of your prudence and understanding—and at Culloden there stood no-one of your sort who was braver—my fair young love.

I was convinced for a while that my husband was alive, and that you would come home blithely and cheerily. But time has gone past and I see no-one resembling you: till I go to the grave I will not lose my love for you—my fair young love.'

As for the Prince himself, he was on the run with a price on his head. Few knew where he was, even amongst his associates. John Roy, skulking in one of his hide-outs in Strathspey, expresses his anxiety thus:

Dh'fhalbh gach toileachadh uam,
sheac le mulad mo ghruaidh,
's nach cluinn mi 'san uair sgeul éibhinn

mu Phrionns' Teàrlach mo rùin,
oighre airidh a' chrùin,
's e gun fhios ciod an tùbh a théid e.
(*HS*: 176)

'All pleasure has departed me, my cheek is frosted with sorrow, since at present I hear no glad tidings about my beloved Prince Charles, rightful heir to the crown, who knows not which way to turn.'

The times are dangerous. 'Every trusty man who gave service to the King is being pursued in headlong flight throughout the deer-forests.' John Roy himself is an outlaw (*ceatharnach coille*, 'wood-kerne') with bloodhounds (*coin luirg*) on his trail. [31]

By now Prince Charles was no abstract symbol of Kingship to those who had campaigned with him, but the more homely *Tearlach Ruadh* ('Red-haired Charles')—John Roy's 'bonny Red Charles' (*HS*: 168). We catch further glimpses of his wanderings at this time in two women's songs, one of them echoing the courtly tradition and one in a waulking-song fragment. The first seeks to express the speaker's affection in conventional love-praise terms but soon breaks out of that mould:

A Theàrlaich òig a' chùilein[32] chiataich,
thug mi gaol dut 's cha ghaol bliadhna,
gaol nach tugainn do Dhiùic na dh'Iarla,
b'fheàrr leam fhin nach faca mi riamh thu.
. . .
A Thearlaich òig, a mhic Rìgh Seumas,
chunna mi tòir mhór an déidh ort,
iadsan gu subhach is mise gu deurach,
uisge mo chinn tighinn tinn o m' léirsinn.

Mharbh iad m' athair is mo dhà bhràthair,
mhill iad mo chinneadh is chreach iad mo chàirdean,
sgrios iad mo dhùthaich, rùisg iad mo mhàthair,
's bu lughaid' mo mhulad nan cinneadh le Teàrlach.
(*SO*: 373)

'Young Charles with the lovely tresses, I gave love to you which was no "one year love", love which I would not have given to a Duke or an Earl—how I wish I had never seen you.

Young Charles, son of King James, I saw a great pursuit following you: they (were) cheerful, I was tearful, the waters of my head cascading from my eyes.

They killed my father and my two brothers, they destroyed my clan and plundered my relatives, they ravaged my homeland and despoiled my mother—and my grief would be the less if Charles should succeed.'

The second runs as follows:

fhir na faire o hù o
Ciod a chì thu? hó ro hò

Chì mi 'n Udairn 's Rubha Hùinis,
caolas Ròmaidh ceò 'ga mhùchadh.
Am faic thu bhirlinn taobh an Dùine,
bratach bhàn rith' Theàrlaich Stiùbhairt?
Mhuire Mhàthair gràs dha dùbailt',
airgead-ceann air 's Goill 'ga sgiùrsadh:
feachd na Frainge nall g'a chùmhnadh.[33]

' "Watchman, what do you see?"
"I see An Udairn and Rubha Hùinis,
Caolas Ròmaidh with mist obscuring it."
"Do you see the galley beside the Dùn,
flying the white banner of Charles Stewart?
Mary Mother, may grace be doubled for him,
a price on his head and the enemy hounding him;
may the French host come over to help him!" '

Eventually, of course, the woman's prayer was granted in that the Prince escaped safely back to France. We may leave the last word on his Scottish adventure to Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair. Although self-consciously literary in form and propagandist in intention, his dialogue 'The Prince's Departure' has the Gaels speak words which must surely have been intended to represent the feelings of others besides the poet himself:

Ar mìle beannachd ann ad dheaghaidh
's Dia do d' ghleidheadh anns gach àit';
muir is tìr a bhith comh-réidh dhuit,
m' ùrnaigh gheur leat fhéin os àird;
's ge do sgar mì-fhortan deurach
sinn o chéile, 's ceum roimh'n bhàs,
ach soraidh leat, a mhic Rìgh Seumas,
shùgh mo chéille, thig gun chàird'.
(*AMD*: 114; *HS*: 88)

'Our thousand blessings go with you, and may God preserve you in every place. My urgent, open prayer for you is that sea and land be equally smooth for you; and although sad misfortune has parted us, (we are still) a step ahead of death(?); but farewell, son of King James, my heart's desire, and return without delay.'

The Jacobite parts of the Highlands paid the price for their part in the insurrection, and the Gaelic poetry of this period tells of reprisals and executions, estates confiscated and leaders in exile. A fragment of song ascribed to the wife of Fraser of Guisachan and Culbokie is addressed to her son Ruairidh, who (she tells us) was newly born when the soldiers came and burned down her home:

Bhliadhn' a rugadh thus', a Ruaraidh,
's ann a thog iad bhuainn na creachan.

'S trom 's gur muladach a tha mi,
cumail blàiths air aois na seachdain.

Loisg iad mo shabhal 's mo bhàthach
's chuir iad mo thaigh clàir 'na lasair.
(AMS: 249)

'The year that you were born, Roderick, that was when they despoiled us. Dejected and sad am I trying to keep a one-week-old (child) warm. They burned my barn and my byre and fired my wooden-floored (?) house.'[34]

There were exceptions: Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair himself, in his vision-poem 'The Ark', includes a certain Captain Duncan Campbell amongst those Campbells who may be saved from the impending Flood because he had been compassionate to the 'bare and poor of Moidart' and 'would not execute the order which his warrant from the Butcher contained' (*AMD*: 254-6; *cf. DB*: 446). But in general the impression given is of suffering and misery—as indeed was intended by the victors.

Amongst the various measures implemented with a view to 'pacifying' the Highlands, the Disarming and Disclothing Acts, and especially the latter, attained prominence and a certain symbolic value in the songs of the time. Disarming was, in the circumstances, to be expected, and attracts relatively less comment; but the imposition of Lowland dress on all Highlanders excited indignation and became the subject of a considerable number of expressions of resentment.[35] Even before the ban came into force we find Margaret Campbell, wife of Rev. James Stevenson of Ardchattan, inveighing against its provisions and ridiculing the Lowland garb as impractical, unflattering and contrary to immemorial Scottish custom 'since King Fergus was crowned'. The present King had made a bad mistake in banning the kilt (*MDC*: 348). Others took up the complaint—John MacCodrum in North Uist, Rob Donn in Sutherland, Duncan Bàn in Argyll, and Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair himself. The intentions of the ban clearly went beyond the publicised aim of preventing the Highlander from camouflaging himself as he lurked in the heather awaiting his prey. In a sense it may also be seen as robbing him of a mark of his distinctiveness, and compared with initiatives from before and after the '45 aimed at eliminating the Gaelic language. At all events it hit a raw nerve; and the fact that it applied indiscriminately throughout the Highlands presented Jacobite propagandists with a convenient reference point by which to rally anti-Government sentiment. Thus Gaelic poetry hints continually at the insulting and humiliating nature of the ban, and suggests that it will unite the Gaels in furious resistance. To Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair:

Shaoil leis gun do mhaolaich seo
faobhar nan Gàidheal tapaidh,
ach 's ann a chuir e géir' orr'
nas beurra na deud na h-ealtainn.

D'fhàg e iad làn mì-rùin,
cho ciocrasach ri coin acrach;
cha chaisg deoch an iotadh,
ge b' fhìon e, ach fìor-fhuil Shagsuinn.
(*HS*: 158)

'(King George) thought that this (Act) blunted the blade of the brave Gaels; but in fact it put an edge on them, sharper than a razor's bite.

He has left them full of malice, as ravenous as starving dogs; no drink can quench their thirst, even wine—only Saxon life-blood.'

To Rob Donn the Act suggests that 'Charles has a friend in the English Parliament'; for if the Government's friends and enemies receive the same treatment, 'the ones who rose against you made the better choice' (*RD*: 85; *HS*: 236). And similarly Duncan Bàn takes advantage of the 'grey breeks' to criticise King and Parliament in the heart of Campbell country:

'S bha h-uile h-aon de'n Phàrlamaid
fallsail le'm fiosrachadh
'n uair chuir iad air na Caimbeulaich
teanndachd nam briogaisean;
's gur h-iad a rinn am feum dhaibh
a' bhliadhna thàin' an streupag,
a h-uile h-aon diùbh éirigh
gu léir am milisi dhaibh.

. . .

ach 's gann daibh gun cluinnear iad
a champachadh tuilleadh leis;
on thug e dhinn an t-aodach
's a dh'fhàg e sinn cho faondrach,
's ann rinn e oirnn na dh'fhaodadh e
shaoileadh e chur mulaid oirnn.
(*DB*: 12)

'Everyone in Parliament was party to treachery when they imposed on the Campbells the confinement of the breeches, the very men who served them well the year the "spot of bother" came when every one of them enlisted in the Militia for (the Government).

. . . but they will scarcely be heard of encamping again with (Duke William): since he divested us of dress and left us so uncared for, he has done us every possible ill he could think of, to do us down.'

Another way of getting the same message across was devised by Lachlan MacPherson of Strathmashie, who composed a humorous, or purportedly humorous, dialogue between a hunter and a stag in which the stag points out that the poor man has no chance of stalking him while wearing the wretched trousers. The hunter retorts that he only wishes he could draw a bead on King George and the stag at the same time—but the treasonable sting is taken out of this when the stag replies that he will head for Fort William and report the hunter for carrying a gun! (*PB*: 169)

The complaint about the *clô dubh* ('black cloth') thus operated as a device to enable poetic comment to start up in the repressive atmosphere which prevailed after Culloden. It gave rise to a memorable image which was utilised by several poets: 'waulking the Lowland cloth' was used as a kenning or cipher for 'pounding or trampling the Lowlanders'. Thus John MacCodrum speaks of the 'cunning fighters . . . who will waulk the Sutherland tweed' (*JMC*: 12). It received fullest expression, however, in the works of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, two of whose songs are actually in the form of *òrain luaidh* ('waulking songs'), and exploit various conventions of the genre to give added point to his theme—the summoning of a band of 'waulking women' from Sleat, Glengarry, Keppoch and other 'loyal' areas to help waulk the 'red cloth' (*i.e.* the Redcoats).[36] And in his *Am Breacan Uallach* ('The Proud Plaid') MacDonald explores the potentialities of the metaphor further. After extolling the virtues of the Highland dress in the way that was to become conventional, and declaring that to proscribe it will merely confirm the Gaels in their resistance, he continues:

Gu spìon sibh an cridhe asainn,
  's ar broillichean sìos a shracadh,
cha toir sibh asainn Teàrlach
  gu bràth gus an téid ar tachdadh.

R' ar n-anam tha e fuaighte,
  teann-luaidhte, cho cruaidh ri glasan,
's uainn chan fhaodar 'fhuasgladh
  gum buainear am fear ud asainn.
(*AMD*: 360; *HS*: 158)

'Unless you tear our hearts out and rip our breasts right open, you will never remove Charlie from us until we are snuffed out.

He is woven into our souls, firmly waulked and tightly locked; and until yon man is cut away from us no-one can prise him free from us.'

In other songs again the calls for defiance and a new rebellion are open and direct in the years immediately following Culloden. In some of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's numerous productions from this period the call to arms may seem to contain a desperate note:

O fhuigheall arm tha maireann dinn,
  dlùth-charaicheamaid suas;
le misnich mhóir 's le barantas
  ar n-earraig thugamaid uainn . . .

A Ghàidhealtachd, mas cadal duit
  na fuirich fad ad shuain;
guidheam ort, na lagadh ort
  's do chliù 'ga shladadh uait.

Och, mosgail suas gu h-aigeantach
  le feirg ad lasair ruaidh,
is còmhdaich an aon bhaiteal dhaibh
  nach do bhogaich dad de d' chruaidh.
(*AMD*: 138; *HS*: 118-20)

'O remnant that remains of us, let us close up our ranks, and with great courage and assurance let us make our final fling . . .

O Gaeldom, if you are asleep do not remain long in your slumber; I beseech you, do not run out of steam at a time when your good name is being undermined. O, rise up blithely . . . and demonstrate to them in one battle that your steel has lost none of its temper.'

And later on the defiant mode was to become merely rhetorical. But in the immediate aftermath of Culloden, in the context of serious calls to regroup and lingering hopes of French aid (*e.g. JMC*: 12; *HS*: 126, 188, *etc.*), the 'Forty-five must have seemed, to some at least, a venture that nearly came off:

Chuir baidean beag Ghàidheal trì blàir air Rìgh Deòrsa,
a dh'aindeoin am fòghluim 's an leòsgair d'a chionn;
Gus na chruinnich na bh'aca ann am Breatuinn 's an Eirinn,
ann am Flannraidh ri gaisge, 's Prionns' Hesse ri chéile,
gun chaill iad an spéirid gu leum oirnn le sunnd;
tha seo dhuinn a' dearbhadh gun robh iad 'nan éiginn,
's nan éireadh na Gàidheil lom-buileach gu léir linn . . .
(*AMD*: 98; *HS*: 54)

'A little band of Gaels beat King George in three battles, despite (the Hanoverians') expertise and their ample resources for the purpose. Until there assembled all their forces in Britain and Ireland, those on active service in Flanders, and the Prince of Hesse, they lacked the spirit to attack us with a will. This shows us that they were in dire straits; and if the Gaels should all arise . . .'

Poetry was one of the fires that kept the pot from going off the boil.

It would not be right to conclude this account without brief mention of the ways in which succeeding decades coped with the phenomenon of the 'Forty-five, as the men who had fought in it or witnessed it died away, and the mixture of grievances and aspirations which had given rise to it yielded to fresh preoccupations. To anticipate, one can document a gradual blurring of the image and a process of re-interpretation which eventually led to *Bliadhna Theàrlaich* appearing in transmuted, streamlined terms; to some, as the height of heroic endeavour; to others, as an inexplicable, embarrassing and temporary aberration.

Local and family pride, reinforced by familiarity with songs of the sorts we have been considering, permitted numerous traditional accounts of the 'Forty-five to survive, chiefly in the more strongly Jacobite areas. Such accounts were necessarily partial, being founded for the most part on the experiences of ordinary individuals caught up in the train of events, though they could also be circumstantial and minutely detailed in what they did cover. Thus, as we have had occasion to note, the enquiries of Thomas Sinton, a century after the Rising, elicited a number of such accounts from MacPherson country; and his *Poetry of Badenoch* gives a good impression of the consistency of such traditions as they existed in the nineteenth century. (See, for example, *PB*: 192ff.) Many such memories were preserved orally, to find their way into print in books of local history and tradition in the late nineteenth and twentieth century.

As for the poetry, many poets continued the practice of providing social or political commentary on contemporary events—as indeed some do to the present day. Thus we find John MacCodrum analysing the causes and likely effects of the emigration of the MacDonald tacksmen in 1773, in a keenly analytical and perceptive way (*JMC*: 196). Others sought to adapt the old panegyric mode to new subjects, such as Nature or Highland regiments, as very obviously happened in the works of Duncan Bàn. Yet they and others continued, at least fitfully, to employ some of the themes that had been current at the time of the 'Forty-five. Thus the repeal of the 1746 Disarming Act in 1782 provoked a rash of poems on the Highland dress. (*e.g. DB*: 238; *cf. op. cit.*: 504.) We may also recall the previously mentioned Scottish example of the political dream-vision or *aisling*, printed by John Mackenzie (*SO*: 161) amongst the works of Eachann MacLeòid. In this poem, which is in fact a partially digested reprise of a number of earlier works and genres, a handsome stranger appears to the poet and tells him to pass the news to the nobility of Scotland that the sea is 'like a forest' with French ships, the army has landed, the 'Cock of the North' has crowed, and the Stewarts and Clan Donald have risen, led by 'three lions'—Young John of Moidart, the 'old lion' from Duntulm, and Glengarry. The sympotic element ('here's a health . . .') already present in some contemporary songs of the 'Forty-five, becomes almost a structural feature in many later Jacobite songs, lending them a jollificatory, 'after dinner' tone which had been only marginally present before.[37] Highland Societies now existed in the Lowland cities, and became the new patrons of poets in the sense that they sponsored poetry competitions with set subjects like 'The Kilt and the Bagpipes'. When the 'Forty-five had to be referred to directly it now became *an streup* ('the affray') or *am mì-fhortan* 'the unfortunate incident'.

A particularly interesting case is the song *An Suaithneas Bàn* ('The White Cockade'), composed by William Ross on the death of Charles Edward Stewart in Rome in 1788. Ross, who was born seventeen years after the 'Forty-five, claims that he had lived until the present moment with the 'firm opinion' that the call to arms would be heard and Charles's fleet would come over the sea; but now 'the tryst has forsaken me until Doomsday'. He continues:

'S lionmhor laoch is milidh treun
tha 'n diugh 'n Albainn as do dhéidh,
iad os n-iscal sileadh dheur
a rachadh dian leat anns an t-sreup.

. . .

Bha 'n t-àl òg nach fhac' thu riamh
ag altrum gràdh dhuit agus miadh,
ach thuit an cridhe nis 'nan cliabh
on a chaidil thu gu sìor.

Ach biodh ar n-ùrnaigh moch gach là
ris an Tì as aird' atà,
gun e dhìoladh oirnn gu bràth
ar n-eucoir air an t-Suaithneas Bhàn.

(*WR*: 42; *HS*: 286-8)

'There are many warriors and brave fighters in Scotland who are today bereft of you; those who would have gone keenly with you in the fray are covertly shedding tears.

The young generation who never saw you were cherishing love and regard for you; but their hearts have sunk now since you have gone to eternal rest.

But let our morning prayer each day to the One who is highest be that He refrain from repaying us till Judgment for our injustice to the White Cockade.'

Ross genuinely wants to make contact with the spirit of 1745 but his poetic sincerity results in an elegy which is manifestly of a different era.

Side by side with this tendency for the 'Forty-five to be invested with the qualities of an 'Heroic Age', we can find evidence for a more 'progressive' attitude. In Duncan Bàn's 'Song to the King', composed in the early 1760s, we find the traditional epithets applicable to the 'rightful ruler' being deployed for the young King George III:

'S mór an sonas th' anns an Rioghachd
on a chàidh an Righ seo chrùnadh
anns an àit a bh'aig a shìnnsreachd,
an d'fhuair a shìnnseanair còir dhùthchais.
(*DB*: 26)

. . .

Tha toradh am fâs na talmhainn
gu miosach arbharach pòrach;
chinn an spréidh gu bliochdach bainnear
sona sliochdmhor sailleach feòlmhor;
tha sidheann air sliabh gach garbhlaich,
sealgairean a' faotainn spòrsa,
's tha tighinn air iasg na fairge,
's pailt an t-airgead ri linn Dheòrsa.
(*DB*: 32)

'Great is the happiness prevailing in the Kingdom, since this king was crowned in the place held by his forebears, where his great-grandfather obtained hereditary right (*còir*).

The harvest of what the earth produces is full of fruit, corn, and seed. Cattle have become productive in milk yield, content and fecund, with sleek and heavy carcases. There is venison on every rough moor, with hunters obtaining sport; the fish of the sea are 'taking'; cash is plentiful in George's reign.'

The King's praiseworthy husbandry includes putting a bridge over every river and a school in every glen.[38] As for the Gaels:

Anns a h-uile càs is cunnart
's mór an t-urram fhuair na Gàidheil;
's bhathas greis 'gan cur an duileachd
mar nach buineadh iad do'n phàirtidh.
Ach 'n uair fhuair iad mios is creideas,
's a chreideadh nach dèanadh iad fàilinn,
's iad bu sheasmhaich' air an onoir
a thug lann sholais á sgàbard.
(*DB*: 28)

. . .

Tha daoin'-uaisle 's tuath an fhearainn
mar as math leo thaobh an stòrais,
tha luchd-ciùird a' faotainn cosnadh,
's chan eil duine bochd gun phòrsan.
(*DB*: 32)

'In every hazard and danger great is the respect (they) have won, given that for a time they were held suspect as if they were not part of the nation; but once they won esteem and trust, and it was believed that they would not fail, they were the most steadfast in their honour, of any who drew a bright sword from a scabbard.

Both gentlemen and farming tenants are satisfied with their resources; craftsmen are finding employment, and no poor man lacks a share.'

Another song on the repeal of the Disarming and Disclothing Acts goes even further. This piece, given anonymously in *The MacDonald Collection*, contains the declaration:

Cha chuala mi riamh an seanchas
mar tha Alba an tràth-sa:
na bheil ann air fàs cho dìleas
do'n Rìgh ri aon bhràthair.
(*MDC*: 381)

'I never heard tell of the way Scotland is at present: everyone here has grown as loyal to the King as to his only brother.'

There follows a roll-call of the loyal heroes who will respond to the King's call. The clans are the very ones we meet in Jacobite calls to arms from 1715 or 1745—but the allegiance has changed!

Tha sinn uile deònach falbh le Deòrsa
on a chòrd sinn aon uair;
ged a bha sinn greis ri gòraich
an toiseach na h-aimhreit;
on a gheall sinn a bhith dìleas
bidh sinn cinnteach dhà-san;
's chan eil neart anns an Roinn Eòrpa
a bheir còmhrag là dhuinn.
(*MDC*: 382)

'We are all willing to go with George now that we have reached accord, though we spent a time in folly when the strife began (*i.e.* in 1745). But since we promised to be true we shall assuredly be his, and there is no power in Europe that will last a day in battle against us.'

This 'Wha's like us?' attitude has surfaced in martial and similar contexts down to the present time. On the other hand, the ostentatious insistence on 'loyalty' and the protestations about the 'folly' of 1745 do not appear to have been so widespread, and they disappeared in time, having become anachronistic in the age of clearances, the Napoleonic wars, and religious revival. This left the way open for the romantic view of the 'Forty-

five to prevail, which it duly did, reinforced by the official respectability of things tartan, in the nineteeenth century; but that is another story.[39]

I have attempted in the foregoing account to pick out some of the most important and interesting ways in which Gaelic poetry deals with the 'Forty-five. A certain amount of explanation has been necessary, particularly with regard to inherited aspects of the function of poetry and the role of poets in Gaelic society. I hope it will have emerged that, on the one hand, the ideas and attitudes of the Gaelic-speaking participants do not need to be guessed at *a priori*, since they are available in the poetry; and, on the other hand, that that source sometimes requires careful handling (though no more than is due to any other historical source) before the ideas and attitudes it contains can be integrated with the mass of other information we have about the 'Forty-five. From the point of view of British historians of the eighteenth century the Highland perspective is a decidely 'alternative' one, but it has coherence both synchronically and as an episode within a continuing tradition of historical interpretation. We are fortunate to have it and it deserves fuller and more serious investigation than it has received to date.[40]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The genesis of this paper is to be sought in the Gaelic poetry classes and tutorials which I have conducted for a number of years within the Department of Celtic at Edinburgh University, and my first debt is to my students, whose questions and comments have helped to determine the direction of my thinking on Gaelic poetry and history in the eighteenth century. A more immediate stimulus to ordering and focusing my thoughts came in 1985 from Lesley Scott-Moncrieff and James Thin—respectively editor and publisher of a proposed collection of essays on the '45—in the form of an invitation to write on a Gaelic aspect of their theme. This appeared under the title 'The Prince and the Gaels' (though 'The Prince and the Gaelic poets' would perhaps have been more accurate) in Scott-Moncrieff 1988. It contains, in 'popular' form, a version of the central part of the present paper: that is, the sections relating to the course of the '45, omitting 'causes' and 'effects'. I am grateful to Ms Scott-Moncrieff and Mr Thin for encouraging me to seek a scholarly outlet for the material and views I had put together, much of which could not be incorporated within their book. I am also grateful to the Editorial Board of *Scottish Studies* for agreeing to publish this material, and to the Editor for help in presentational matters. Certain aspects of the material have also received an airing in the form of seminars—on Gaelic Jacobitism in Dublin and on Gaelic praise-poetry in Aberystwyth—and public lectures on the '45 in Edinburgh and Stromness. Each of these occasions has yielded helpful criticism and fresh perceptions, and my thanks are therefore due to the participants and to the organisers of these occasions: the Department of Modern Irish at University College, Dublin (and the European Economic Community's Collaboration in Research programme, which funded the seminar), the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies at Aberystwyth, the Orkney Folk Festival and Greyfriars Kirk Highland

Lecture committee. Finally I wish to express my thanks to Mr Neil MacGregor for permission to consult his unpublished MA dissertation on the poetry of John Roy Stewart regarding some previously unnoticed versions of the latter's songs.

NOTES

1 The anthologies and editions cited most frequently hereafter are given in abbreviated form in the text and Notes. The abbreviations are explained in the Bibliography. Note that I have sometimes found it expedient or necessary to depart from the reading, spelling or punctuation of a Gaelic source-text, for reasons of clarity or sense. A few significant alterations are indicated editorially or discussed in the Notes. While a number of the source-texts are accompanied by English translations, these are varied in purpose and variable in achievement. In what follows all Gaelic quotations are freshly translated, though I am, of course, indebted—in varying degrees—to existing versions.

2 The problem is perhaps less acute now than it was fifty years ago, though some historians still seem to regard it as permissible to write about the Highlands without consideration of the 'native' tradition and sources, in a way which would attract disrespect in a work on (say) French or Russian history. The recent studies which I personally have found most consistently helpful are: B. Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (London 1980); F. McLynn, *France and the Jacobite rising of 1745* (Edinburgh, 1981) and *The Jacobite army in England 1745: the final campaign* (Edinburgh 1983); the relevant parts of Hill 1986; and some of the essays in Scott-Moncrieff 1988.

3 On the general background to Gaelic (and other) satire see Elliott 1960; on these specific themes in Jacobite literature in Gaelic Ireland see Ó Buachalla 1983*a* and 1983*b*.

4 The text is metrically defective in places. Read perhaps *trusaibh air chairteal' uaibh* (or *air chairtealaibh*) in line 6, and *ri bhith 'g Neptùn 's aig Æ-olus* in line 9.

5 *Cf. op. cit.*: 3, n. 2. See further Matheson 1970: lines 290, 797; Ó Baoill 1979: lines 1001, 1132.

6 Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair makes more of the Irish links of Clan Donald elsewhere: see *AMD*: 186, 196-8.

7 Thus he dubbed himself the '*smeòrach* ("song-thrush") of Clanranald' (*AMD*: 180).

8 *Cf.* also 'I am intoxicated with love for you; how crazy and lightsome is the thrill in my limbs' (*AMD*: 150; *HS*: 146); though allowance should be made here for the fact that Charles is addressed as 'Mórag' in this poem.

9 On the 'Song of the Highland Clans' see further Gillies 1978: 274 and n. 23; Black 1986: 34. For the wavering loyalty of the people in a nominally Hanoverian area see *DB*: xxiii-xxiv.

10 As has been stated, the earliest collections and anthologies omit the songs of the '45, preferring to concentrate on the more remote events of the seventeenth century. See *PB*: 194-5 for a picture which may have been typical of the oral survival and collection of Jacobite material.

11 Metrical complexity and 'literariness' do not necessarily follow one another, though there is a general correspondence. (For a brief statement on the different strands in Scottish Gaelic poetical-musical tradition see Matheson 1970: 149. A fuller treatment of this subject is overdue.) As regards 'literary' waulking songs, authorial anonymity may have been a motive; but that does not affect our point regarding breadth of intended audience. The case of *Clò Mhic 'ille-Mhicheil*, preserved entirely by oral tradition till the late nineteenth century, yet clearly the work of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair (*cf.* note 36 below), is testimony to the effectiveness of the stratagem.

12 See further the discussion in *HF*: 3, 294-8. The nature of the vision in this song is worth a separate study. 'The White House' presumably refers to 'Whitehall'.

13 *Cf.* Gillies 1986: 115-16 and 1988: 253-4 for attempts to capture the relationship between the conventional and the specific in Gaelic praise-poetry.

14 The attribution to Stewart is contained in Benjamin Urquhart's MS (Mackinnon Collection 10C in Edinburgh University Library), fo. 101. I owe this reference to Neil MacGregor.

15 In the penultimate line SC has *gun ullach chaich 'g ur goirteachadh* (p. 385), *i.e.* 'without other people's burdens (or the burden of other people) hurting you'.

16 On Jacobite hopes and expectations of support see now John Simpson, 'The causes of the '45' in Scott-Moncrieff 1988. As regards general understanding of the issues, I do not see any evidence to support the view that ordinary Highlanders were *unusually* ignorant of the realities of the situation into which they were drawn; indeed, communal access to political analysis conducted by the poets, and a lack of social barriers to prevent the percolation of informed views, would seem to me to suggest that, if anything, the eighteenth-century Highlander might have been better informed than his lowland, or urban counterpart. If one meets with references to 'folk beliefs' such as the one noted by Sinton, *PB*: 196 (Gaelic only), to the effect that 'King George had a pig's snout and took his food from a silver trough', surely they can be paralleled by British popular lore about the Mahdi or Hitler.

17 *Cf. op. cit.*: 194, for a ditty said to have been composed by a young herd-boy on seeing the men depart.

18 See Hill 1986: 103 for the context to these remarks.

19 As the text stands it seems likeliest that these two verses are addressed, formally speaking, to John Roy Stewart.

20 *Cf. Deoch slàinte Thearlaich* (*AMD*: 108), where the poet's hopes have been excited by the arrival of a letter giving word of a defeat for the Hanoverians—but no details—and the expression of hope triggers off a roll-call of allies. (The motif is discussed by MacInnes 1978: 448-9.)

21 Duncan Bàn's insistence that no orders had been received is repeated in the so-called 'Second Song on the Battle of Falkirk': see *DB*: 410.

22 I follow Dr Campbell in presuming that, *pace* Watson, this piece could not have been composed after Culloden.

23 Compare Aonghas Mac Ailein's view (*MDC*: 96):

Dh'fhalbh gach fortan bh'air Teàrlach
o'n là lotadh an t-àilleagan ùr.

'Every good fortune that Charles enjoyed evaporated from the day that the young precious one (= Aonghas Òg) was hit.'

24 *MDC* reads 'befalls you' (*riut*) in the last couplet. My translation assumes *riu* or *riuth*' 'to them'.

25 Stewart's poems are particularly instructive since, whatever he says, we can assume that he was *au fait* with the thinking of the Jacobite leaders, and as well placed as anyone on the Jacobite side to interpret the course of events. On Stewart himself see, *e.g.*, *PB*: 194-205; *HS*: 165-7 and Addenda (p. 328).

26 See his unpublished 'Song after Culloden' (Urquhart MS, fo. 103, v. 6); *cf. DB*: 412-14 and Hill 1986: 141-2. (For similar exaggeration regarding Prestonpans see *AMD*: 136; *HS*: 116.)

27 There is a little difficulty here: is Stewart referring to Lord George Murray's order to the Jacobite right wing (an order which took a disastrously long time to reach the left wing, where Stewart was stationed), or to some subsequent order (*e.g.* from Keppoch, who attempted to get things moving on the left wing after they had delayed for too long)? See Hill 1986: 147 and Map.

28 See in general *HS*: 170, 176. For the 'disgrace' (*sgannal*) of being beaten by Cumberland see *AMD*: 128, *HS*: 140.

29 The Urquhart MS and the Rose MS (*i.e.* National Library of Scotland MS 14098) contain extra verses in this vein. In circumstances like these a song could become a peg on which to hang local information and commemoration.

30 For a Culloden elegy composed by a serving poet see *MDC*: 175.

31 Based on *HS*: 186-8, together with variants in the Urquhart and Rose MSS. *Cf.* also *PB*: 85 for pressure on the clansmen of Jacobite chiefs 'on the run' to reveal the latter's hiding places.

32 *Sic leg.*? Or *a' chuailein* or *a' chùlain*? Mackenzie prints *a chuilein*, *i.e.* 'my darling' (?).

33 Communicated to me (August 1982) by Dr S. MacLean, from the papers of his uncle, Alexander Nicolson. *Cf. HS*: 336.

34 See further: on burning, *HS*: 172 (Castle Downie); on devastation, *HS*: 174 (Badenoch), 276 (Lochaber); on executions, *HS*: 106 (Lord Lovat), 274 (Dr Archibald Cameron); on exile, *PB*: 80, 83 (Cluny MacPherson), *HS*: 266 (Lochiel).

35 On the Disarming Act *cf. PB*: 85 (the poet's gun, termed 'Charlie's daughter', hidden in a ditch), *DB*: 12, PT: 287 (swords hidden amongst the cairns).

36 See (1) *A Mhórag chiatach a' chùil dualaich*, Alasdair's 'Waulking song which a gentleman made to his lover

on her going overseas' (*AMD*: 148, *HS*: 144); (2) *Clò Mhic 'ille-Mhicheil*. (*HF*: 3, 132; *cf.* p. 268 for the ascription to MacDonald.)

37 For a couple of primarily convivial, secondarily Jacobite songs composed by 1751 see *AMD*: 200 and 208. Such songs may, of course, have been widespread but ephemeral.

38 The whole poem is replete with the old images of kingship: *cf.* Gillies 1977 for Duncan Bàn's mastery of that ideology. The sentiments expressed in this poem are, of course, at variance with those found in his crypto-Jacobite songs and in *Cead deireannach nam beann* (*DB*: 386). It is sometimes hard to know whether Duncan Bàn is being naive or tongue-in-cheek or mercenary. In this case it may have been considered suitable to have impeccable sentiments on display near the beginning of the first edition of his songs in 1768: *cf.* the 'Song to the Halberd' which precedes it.

39 See, for example, Patrick Turner's own contribution to his Collection (PT: 383), entitled 'Royal Charlie—or *Beatha Phrionnsa Thearlaich do dh' Albainn*'.

40 I believe points like the following are worth pursuing further: (1) the contemporary Gaelic evidence for what are sometimes written off as 'myths' nowadays (*e.g.* the *bonnie* Prince; the symbolic value of the tartan; the theme of 'Will ye no' come back again?' immediately after the '45); (2) the possibility of using the songs of the '45 to illuminate the workings of the Gaelic oral tradition (*e.g.* the way a clan poet views military action in which his chief and people have taken part; the reasons for additions and losses to commemorative texts; the areas where personal sentiments and colouring may be expected, and those where they may not).

REFERENCES

AMD — (See MacDonald and MacDonald 1924)

AMS — (See Sinclair 1892)

BLACK, RONALD
1986 *Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair: the Ardnamurchan years*. Isle of Coll.

BREATNACH, PÁDRAIG A.
1983 'The Chief's Poet.' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 83 C 3: 37-79.

CALDER, REV. GEORGE
1937 *Gaelic Songs by William Ross*. Edinburgh. [*WR*]*

CAMPBELL, JOHN LORNE
1935 'The Lost Songs of the 'Forty-Five.' *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 4: 24-30.
1984 *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five*. 2nd edition. Edinburgh. [*HS*]

CAMPBELL, J. L. and COLLINSON, FRANCIS
1969-81 *Hebridean Folksongs*. 3 vols. Oxford. [*HF*]

CARNEY, JAMES
1967 *The Irish Bardic Poet*. Dublin.

DB — (See MacLeod 1952)

ELLIOTT, R. C.
1960 *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art*. Princeton.

GILLIES, JOHN
1786 *A Collection of Ancient and Modern Gaelic Poems and Songs* ('The Gillies Collection'). Perth.

GILLIES, WILLIAM
1977 'The Poem in Praise of Ben Dobhrain.' *Lines Review* 63: 42-8.
1978 'Some Aspects of Campbell History.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 50: 256-95.
1986 'The Classical Irish Poetic Tradition.' In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies*, ed. D. Ellis Evans, John G. Griffith and E. M. Jope, pp. 108-20. Oxford.
1988 'Gaelic: the Classical Tradition.' In *The History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 1, ed. R. D. S. Jack, pp. 245-62. Aberdeen.

GRIMBLE, IAN
1979 *The World of Rob Donn.* Edinburgh.
HF
(See Campbell and Collinson 1969-81)
HILL, JAMES MICHAEL
1986 *Celtic Warfare.* Edinburgh.
HS
(See Campbell 1984)
JMC
(See Matheson 1938)
KELLY, FERGUS
1976 *Audacht Morainn.* Dublin.
KNOTT, ELEANOR
1922-26 *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn.* 2 vols. Dublin.
MACDONALD, ALEXANDER (Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair)
1751 *Ais-Eiridh na Sean-Chanoin Albannaich.* Edinburgh.
MACDONALD, REV. ANGUS and MACDONALD, REV. ARCHIBALD
1911 *The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic poetry.* Inverness. [*MDC*]
1924 *The Poems of Alexander MacDonald.* Inverness. [*AMD*]
MACDONALD, RONALD
1776 *Comh-chruinneachidh Orranaigh Gaidhealach* ('The Eigg Collection'). Edinburgh.
MACINNES, JOHN
1978 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry and its Historical Background.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 50: 435-98.
MACKAY, D. N.
1911 *The Trial of Simon, Lord Lovat, of the '45.* Edinburgh.
MACKENZIE, JOHN
1841 *Sar-Obair nam Bard Gaelach.* Glasgow. [*SO*]
1844 *Eachdraidh a' Phrionnsa.* Edinburgh.
MACLEOD, ANGUS
1952 *The Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre.* Edinburgh. [*DB*]
MATHESON, WILLLIAM
1938 *The Songs of John MacCodrum.* Edinburgh. [*JMC*]
1970 *The Blind Harper.* Edinburgh.
MDC
(See MacDonald and MacDonald 1911)
MORRISON, HEW
1899 *Songs and poems of Rob Donn.* Edinburgh. [*RD*]
Ó BAOILL, COLM
1979 *Eachann Bacach and other Maclean poets.* Edinburgh.
Ó BUACHALLA, BREANDAN
1983a 'An Mheisiasacht agus an Aisling' in *Folia Gadelica,* ed. P. de Brún, S. Ó Coileáin and P. Ó Riain, pp. 72-87. Cork.
1983b 'Na Stíobhartaigh agus an t-aos léinn: Cing Séamas.' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 83 C 4: 81-134.
PB
(See Sinton 1906)
PT
(See Turner 1813)
RD
(See Morrison 1899)
SC
(See Stewart and Stewart 1804)

SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, LESLEY
1988 *The '45*. Edinburgh.
SINCLAIR, REV. A. M.
1892 *The Gaelic Bards from 1715 to 1765*. Charlottetown. [AMS]
SINTON, REV. THOMAS
1906 *The Poetry of Badenoch*. Inverness. [*PB*]
SO
(See Mackenzie 1841)
STEWART, ALEXANDER and STEWART, DONALD
1804 *Cochruinneacha taoghta de shaothair nam bard gaëleach* ('The Stewarts' Collection'). Edinburgh. [SC]
TURNER, PATRICK
1813 *Comhchruinneacha do dh'òrain taghta Ghaidhealach* ('Turner's Collection'). Edinburgh. [PT]
WATSON, ADAM
1983 'Old Gaelic Poems from Aberdeenshire.' *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 14(1): 25-58.
WR
(See Calder 1937)

* The initials in square brackets are the abbreviations used in the text references (in italic type if representing a published title, in roman if representing an author's name or other name by which the work is known).

Dugald Sinclair

The Life and Work of a Highland Itinerant Missionary

DONALD E. MEEK

> *Saturday, 9th June 1810*—I was, last night, solemnly set apart for the work of the Lord, as an Itinerant, by prayer, in Brother Barclay's meeting-house at Kilwinning. Messrs Anderson, Barclay and McFarlane were present, and engaged in the service. The season was peculiarly solemn and interesting to me indeed. The difficulties, the dangers, the arduousness, and the blessedness of the work before me, moved and overpowered my soul (Sinclair 1810: 7).

These words, penned by Dugald Sinclair, form the earliest surviving description of the 'setting apart' of a Gaelic-speaking itinerant missionary of dissenting persuasion for work in the Scottish Highlands. Dissenting itinerant missionaries had been active in the Highlands from the end of the eighteenth century, but the records of their activities are relatively sparse in most cases, and seldom contain sufficient detail to allow the full reconstruction of their individual biographies (Meek 1987). For Dugald Sinclair, however, we possess an unusual wealth of documentation, the centre-piece being a complete set of journals written by Sinclair himself during the years 1810-15 and published in Edinburgh by Christopher Anderson, the organiser of the Scotch Itinerant Society, which sustained Sinclair's labours in this period (Sinclair 1810-15). These journals provide meticulous accounts of the writer's preaching tours, mainly in the Inner Hebrides, the Clyde islands and mainland Argyll, and they are of great value in illuminating the progress of dissenting evangelicalism in the West Highlands and the islands in the early nineteenth century.

In 1815 Sinclair became the pastor of Lochgilphead Baptist Church, and sixteen years later he emigrated to Ontario, Canada, where he continued his preaching activity. We possess substantial evidence regarding the reasons for his emigration, his subsequent religious affiliations and his influence in his new environment. All this sheds much light on the development of church polity and religious thought among Highland Baptists and emigrants of Baptist persuasion. The record of Sinclair's life is, indeed, so full that we know not only the date of his 'setting apart' in Kilwinning, but also the date of his last preaching engagement in Ontario, which took place at the Lobo (Poplar Hill) meeting-house of the Disciples of Christ on 2 October 1870. Sixteen days later, he passed to his rest, having spent nearly seventy years in the Christian ministry, and having divided his time almost equally between the Scottish Highlands and Canada (Sheppard 1870). Sinclair thus enjoyed a long, eventful life which brings together two major movements in nineteenth-

century Highland society, namely evangelicalism and emigration, and his activities graphically illustrate significant aspects of both processes.

The Early Years

Sinclair's life-story lacks detail only at its beginning. There is no surviving official record which preserves the date or place of his birth, or the names of his parents. Canadian sources give his date of birth as 25 May 1777 (Butchart 1949: 139). His own journals have little to say about his activities before 1810, but they do demonstrate that after that date he had close links with Ballimore, perhaps to be equated with Ballimore beside Kilmichael Glassary, and that he usually lodged at Glasvar, to the south-east of Ford (Sinclair 1810: 9, 26; 1811: 7; 1812: 33; 1813: 23; 1814: 1, 28; 1815: 8). Canadian sources further indicate that Sinclair had a brother, Donald, who had reached Mosa Township, Middlesex County, Ontario, by 1830 (McColl 1979: 24), and who died on 3 March 1868, aged eighty-two years and nine months (Males 1985). The register of baptisms for the parish of Glassary (Glassary OPR) records the birth of a son, Donald, on 3 August 1785 to John Sinclair and Christian McKellar, then resident at Ballimore, but later (by 1789) living at the Mill, Uila, a place nowadays known as Uillian, to the south-east of Kilmichael Glassary. As the dates of birth of the two individuals correspond to within two months, it is a distinct possibility that we have thus discovered the official record of the birth of Sinclair's brother and the names of his parents. (See Appendix.)

The Glassary parish register shows, however, that several Sinclair families resided at Ballimore, Uila and Glasvar in this period, and the evidence suggests that they may have been closely related in certain instances. Given Sinclair's preference for Glasvar as his 'lodging', he may have belonged to a Sinclair family in Glasvar whose children were not presented for baptism at the parish church, and are therefore not recorded in the Glassary register. On the other hand, Ballimore figures relatively prominently in Sinclair's journals, and he indicates that he had 'relations' there (Sinclair 1814: 28). His journals also give the impression that ties of kith and kin were of some importance to him, and it is interesting that he appears to have married within the kindred. His wife, Christina, whom he married in 1825, was the daughter of Malcolm and Mary Sinclair, whose place of residence was in the Oban district. Christina was born on 3 May 1803, and died on 9 August 1888 (Campbell 1917: 40; Kilgour 1888).

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, Mid Argyll supported a vigorous Gaelic-speaking population, many of whom were engaged in work on the land, whether as farmers, small tenants or labourers. Some were employed as weavers, tailors and shoemakers, and there were a number of fishermen, one of whom was a certain Donald Sinclair, resident in Ballimore. Another man of the same name, resident in Glasvar, was a labourer (Military List 1803). One of these men may have been Dugald Sinclair's brother, Donald, whom we have already mentioned. There is no evidence to

Dugald Sinclair
1777-1870

indicate what occupation was pursued by Dugald Sinclair himself before 1801, but he may have travelled beyond Mid Argyll in search of employment. An entry in his journal for 1810, written in the neighbourhood of Caolside, near Clachan, Kintyre, refers to his living there before his experience of evangelical conversion:

> Find very little comfort in this quarter, saving a few moments of retirement that I have, to call to my recollection the abundant riches of the grace of Jesus, that delivered me from the thralldom under which I groaned when I resided here (Sinclair 1810: 8).

It is not clear how long Sinclair 'resided' in this area, or whether his conversion actually occurred there. It is, however, known that in the late eighteenth century Kintyre and Knapdale were being affected by deep spiritual movements. Missionaries of the Relief Church were active in these parts from 1797, and in 1800 Arran and Kintyre were visited by the Congregational preachers, James Haldane and John Campbell. Haldane and his brother, Robert, made a major contribution to the growth of dissenting evangelicalism in Scotland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, particularly through the founding of the influential Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home in 1797. James Haldane's evangelical preaching drew crowds and caused no small commotion throughout Kintyre; indeed, Haldane and Campbell were apprehended at Whitehouse, but, to the consternation of their opponents, they returned to the area and continued to preach immediately after their release by the Sheriff of Argyll. By 1801 the Haldanes' Society was supporting a full-time itinerant missionary in Kintyre, and Congregational churches had begun to emerge in the area by 1802 (Meek 1987). It is highly likely that the beginning of Dugald Sinclair's religious interest is to be traced back to this period.

Whatever the circumstances of his spiritual awakening, Sinclair had become an evangelical believer by 1801, and he had embraced Baptist principles by March of that year, when he was baptised by immersion. His baptism took place in Glasgow, and was conducted by James Lister, who became the pastor of the first 'English' Baptist church in the city, which was constituted in November 1801 (Sheppard 1870; Yuille 1926: 60). We do not know why Sinclair had made his way to Glasgow, but, like many other Highlanders of this period, he may have gone south to find work. At this point he probably heard Baptist teaching for the first time, although we should not dismiss the possibility that he had come to an understanding of Baptist principles before moving to Glasgow. Thereafter he appears to have been influenced by the enthusiasm for the evangelisation of the Highlands which was integral to the dissenting evangelical movement in Scotland. It is said that he began to preach immediately after his baptism, but it is not known where he operated, although he may have been active in Mid Argyll (Sheppard 1870; Sinclair 1810: 9).

Sinclair's links with Glasgow underline the importance of the Lowlands in the development and dissemination of Baptist principles in Scotland. The migration of Highlanders to the cities probably increased the awareness of Lowland congregations

with regard to the potential mission-field in the north, and, as we shall see, the first 'English' Baptist church in Glasgow sustained a lively interest in Baptist activity in Mid Argyll. By the 1820s there were at least two Baptist churches in the Lowlands which were so strongly supported by Highlanders that they could employ Gaelic-speaking pastors. The one was at Orangefield, Greenock, and the other in Glasgow. The Glasgow church met latterly at South Portland Street, and from 1820 it was led by Alexander McLeod, a former itinerant missionary in Perthshire, who was the first Highland missionary to be supported by Christopher Anderson. It was here that Dugald Sinclair's future wife, Christina, was baptised by immersion, although she was evidently familiar with Baptist principles before she moved to Glasgow in 1820 (Kilgour 1888; Meek 1987: 25; Meek 1988a).

When Dugald Sinclair began to preach in 1801, he did so in a lay capacity, and he evidently remained a layman until his ordination to the pastorate of the Lochgilphead church about 1815. He also lacked any formal training at this stage, and he was probably dependent upon such education as he had acquired in his boyhood. There is no clear indication that he received any formal schooling, but his warm approval of the work of the SSPCK (Sinclair 1810: 15-16) may suggest that he had attended one of their schools in his native district. His journals show that, in later life, he could write both Gaelic and English, with a remarkable skill in English prose style. His fluency in English doubtless reflects the years he spent in England, for in 1806 he went to Bradford Baptist Academy to be trained formally as an itinerant missionary. On the roll of the Academy he is identified with Bellanoch, at the west end of the Crinan Canal, where a Baptist church had been constituted only a year earlier in 1805 (Northern Education Society Reports 1804-25).

The Baptists of Bellanoch

The years between 1801 and 1805 were a period of small-scale but significant activity by Baptist missionaries in the islands of the Clyde estuary and in mainland Argyll. Bute and Cowal were being roused by the preaching of Donald McArthur, a powerful evangelist who had once been a curer and carrier of herrings in the Kyles of Bute. Like Dugald Sinclair, McArthur had discovered believer's baptism in 1801, and he abandoned his secular calling immediately to become an itinerant preacher. It is said that he formed a congregation in the parish of Strachur in 1801 (Yuille 1926: 63). In 1804 McArthur was ordained to the Baptist ministry, his ordination taking place in Edinburgh, and he became the pastor of a congregation which he had established at Port Bannatyne, Bute, and which soon grew to over 170 members. McArthur met with stiff opposition, and a Cowal landlord, John Campbell of South Hall, caused him to be seized and press-ganged in 1805. Following his release by the Admiralty, McArthur fought, and won, a major action for damages against Campbell in the Court of Session in 1808. This triumph did not, however, put an end to the persecution, and McArthur was forced to emigrate to North America

by 1811. His departure weakened the Port Bannatyne church and doubtless also the small churches at Dunoon and Orangefield, Greenock, which his labours had helped to found (Buchanan 1813: 60-72; Meek 1988a, 1988b).

The pattern of Baptist activity in Mid Argyll is similar to that in Bute and Cowal in those years, and it is probable that Donald McArthur's influence was felt to the north of Loch Fyne. In 1803 a 'preacher' called Donald McArthur was resident at Craiglas, which was in the parish of South Knapdale and not far away from Lochgilphead (Military List 1803). In the same year, another Baptist preacher, Donald McVicar, was active in Mid Argyll, where he too had begun his labours around 1801. McVicar, who was probably a native of Mid Argyll, had attended a Haldane training-class in Glasgow with a view to being employed in the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, but his adoption of Baptist principles closed this avenue of service. Around this time it would seem that he had associated himself with the 'English' Baptist church in Glasgow, whose pastor had baptised Dugald Sinclair. By 1805, and probably from the time of its constitution in 1801, the Glasgow church had an interest in missionary outreach to the Highlands. In July 1805 it was visited by Andrew Fuller, an influential Baptist minister at Kettering, Northamptonshire. Fuller was the first secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, and he had come to Scotland to collect funds for its mission to India (Meek 1987: 8-9). In his journal Fuller wrote thus about the Glasgow church:

> They are a poor people, and but few in number; yet they collected about eight pounds. This little church also supports a mission in the Highlands of Scotland, where a new society has lately been formed.

Fuller went on to quote from a letter which he had received from 'their missionary' (doubtless Donald McVicar) in Bellanoch, who informed him that 'we have raised a little church here; the number of our members is only twelve' (Morris 1816: 140-1; Yuille 1926: 116).

The Bellanoch church was constituted on 27 April 1805, and Donald McVicar was ordained as its pastor on the same day. This event was attended by two men who had links with the Baptist church in Glasgow which supported McVicar's labours. The one was James Deakin, a deacon of the church, and the other was Christopher Anderson, who was a member of the church for a brief period. Anderson, who was about to leave for England in order to train for missionary service in India, had a major part in the services which were held when the Bellanoch church was constituted. The service of constitution and ordination on the Saturday was followed by a baptismal service on the Sunday, and Anderson has provided a description of the circumstances of that day:

> This morning the three persons . . . were baptized by Mr McVicar. One of them about sixty, another about seventy! He used the Gaelic in baptizing two of them. We met in the open air about 11 A.M. While Brother Deakin was reading the Scriptures, we were interrupted by Malcolm of Dotrune's [i.e., Duntroon's] factor, who said he had a general order to stop all such

> preaching on the estate, and would call out the Volunteers if we did not desist! We removed to another place, and got all our hearers with us (Anderson 1854: 26-7).

The passage suggests that open-air preaching by dissenters was relatively common on the estate of the Malcolms of Poltalloch (as the family is now known), and it indicates that the Malcolms were hostile to the practice, as were other landlords in Argyll (Meek 1987: 13). Yet it was difficult to enforce a 'general order' throughout an area extending from Mid Argyll to North Knapdale, and the Bellanoch church was able to survive, and even to prosper, in spite of such opposition.

The location of this early Baptist church at Bellanoch, rather than Lochgilphead, to which it moved in 1815, is a matter of some interest. It indicates that its main body of support lay in this area, and it seems probable that many of its members and adherents lived in North Knapdale, where the kelp industry was of importance in maintaining the population into the early years of the nineteenth century (Rymer 1974: 127-32). Like many Baptist churches of this period, the Bellanoch church met in an 'upper room', probably a hay-loft above a byre, which would have been granted to it by a member or sympathiser. The baptism of candidates was administered in Bellanoch Bay (Yuille 1926: 116), in keeping with the Baptists' practice of baptising individuals in suitable bays, lochs or streams before the advent of indoor baptistries.

The choice of Bellanoch as the location of the church may have been influenced to some extent by industrial developments in this part of Argyll. In 1801 the Crinan Canal was opened to shipping. Vessels sailing north were thus able to enter the canal at Ardrishaig and proceed *via* Bellanoch to the sea-lock at Crinan, and thence to the Hebrides and beyond. Work on this important water-way had begun after the passing of the Crinan Canal Act in 1793, and its construction brought navvies and overseers to the district (Cameron 1978: 12-17). Some of these incomers, and particularly the overseers, were sympathetic to itinerant peachers who held services by the canal. Those who adhered to the Antiburghers were given regular services by that denomination, and such activity helped to increase evangelical awareness in the district, as was evident to Niel Douglas, a minister of the Relief Church, when he preached at the canal in 1797 (Douglas 1799: 104–7). Structural difficulties and leakages meant that engineering work continued until 1817, and it is probable that labourers would have been billeted along the banks of the canal throughout the period of its building and improvement (Cameron 1978: 16-17). The Bellanoch church was therefore well placed to minister to the body of men who were employed at the canal, in addition to the indigenous members of its congregation.

Its geographical location, however, provided the Bellanoch church with an opportunity to exercise a ministry which extended well beyond the banks of the Crinan Canal. Its position allowed easy access to Kintyre and Mid Argyll, as well as the Hebrides. There is reason to believe that it was contemplating a missionary outreach to these areas by 1805 or at least 1806. As we have noted previously, Andrew Fuller refers in 1805 to the 'new society' which had 'lately been formed' in the Highlands with the support of the 'English'

Baptist church in Glasgow. The context of his remarks suggests that this 'society' had been formed in Bellanoch. In using the term 'society', Fuller may be referring simply to the Bellanoch church itself. On the other hand, he may mean that a society for the support of missionary outreach had been formed by that church, with the help of the mother church in Glasgow. The existence of some sort of arrangement for this purpose seems all the more probable in the light of Dugald Sinclair's career, since it was in 1806 that he proceeded to Bradford Baptist Academy to train as an itinerant missionary. A missionary of this kind would normally have been maintained by a society, and as there was no other Baptist itinerant society in Scotland at this time, it is reasonable to conclude that one had been formed at Bellanoch with the express purpose of evangelising the West Highlands.

When the Bellanoch church sent Dugald Sinclair to train at Bradford Baptist Academy in the West Riding of Yorkshire, it recognised that there was no Baptist academy in Scotland at which he could be instructed in itinerant evangelism. By contrast, several such academies existed in England, where they had been developed as a means of instructing missionaries and pastors of dissenting persuasion, who were not allowed entrance to English universities. The English dissenting academies offered practical training in rural evangelism in addition to sound academic tuition. Bradford Academy was founded in 1805, and William Steadman had become its first president. Steadman, who had trained at Bristol Baptist College, had spent some time as an itinerant evangelist in Cornwall, and he was an important promoter of rural itinerancy (Brown 1986: 123, 127–8). Steadman's reputation and the relative proximity of Bradford, compared with Bristol, may have induced Sinclair to pursue his studies there. The course lasted for about three years, during which Sinclair preached every Sunday in the Bradford district, and acquired a mastery of Greek, for which he was noted in later years (Sheppard 1870).

Bradford attracted another Highlander in the same year as Dugald Sinclair. This was Peter McFarlane from Luss, who had experienced evangelical conversion through the preaching of Donald McArthur, and had entered college with the support of the 'English' Baptist church at Kilwinning, whose pastor was George Barclay (Northern Education Society Reports 1804–25; Thomson 1902: 28). It was at the Kilwinning church that Sinclair was 'set apart' for itinerant ministry in 1810, with Christopher Anderson, George Barclay and Peter McFarlane taking part in the service.

Sinclair's 'setting apart' at Kilwinning, rather than Bellanoch, indicates that the structure for supporting his future work had changed and developed during his time in Bradford. The earlier aspirations of the Bellanoch church appear to have inspired Christopher Anderson to promote itinerant evangelism in the Highlands. When Anderson returned from his training in England in 1806, with his hope of going to India dashed by ill health, he set about gathering a Baptist church in Edinburgh, and he also began to itinerate in the Highlands. In this he was supported by his close friend, George Barclay of Kilwinning, and by the end of 1807 they were both conducting some degree of itinerant evangelism in accessible Highland districts. By 1808 they had engaged a Gaelic-speaking evangelist, Alexander McLeod, who was stationed first at Perth and later at Crieff. The

second itinerant evangelist to be employed by Barclay and Anderson was Dugald Sinclair (Sinclair 1810: 3-5; Thomson 1902: 27-8).

Missionary Journals

Immediately after his 'setting apart' in Kilwinning, Dugald Sinclair embarked on his first recorded journey as a full-time itinerant missionary with the support of George Barclay and Christopher Anderson. The organisation which was set up by Barclay and Anderson was later known as the Scotch Itinerant Society (Anderson 1854: 127), or the Baptist Itinerant Society (Yuille 1926: 69-71). Sinclair's journals, which preserve a detailed record of his major tours between 1810 and 1815, were intended not only to maintain contact between himself and Anderson, who acted as the secretary of the society, but also to provide a means of generating interest among the wider body of the society's supporters, many of whom were in the Lowlands and in England. The writing of journals, commonly describing one's travels in different parts of the world, was a well-attested practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The genre had been used effectively by the celebrated leaders of the Evangelical Revival in the eighteenth century, George Whitefield and John Wesley, whose journals doubtless provided a model for later evangelists (Wesley 1987; Whitefield 1978). In such journals, travelogue and adventure narrative are blended with spiritual autobiography of a type which is common among Puritan and other spiritually introspective writers of an earlier period. Sinclair's journals conform to this pattern, and their style suggests strongly that he knew that they were intended for a wide readership with a taste for writing of this kind. Nevertheless, stylistic self-consciousness does not dominate his writing. He usually writes easily and naturally, and sections of his journals were obviously written like diaries, describing the events of each day. Freshness and vividness abound, and ponderous writing is kept under control.

Sinclair's awareness of his readership probably implies that he has exercised some degree of editorial discretion in the choice and tone of the material covered by his journals. Further editing was undoubtedly carried out by Christopher Anderson, who published the first of the journals in 1814. Although Anderson was a Baptist with strong convictions, he was always careful not to antagonise those who did not share his views, and it seems likely that his society would have been supported by some sympathisers who were not Baptists. It is noticeable that Sinclair's journals do not contain any description of a baptismal service, although it is known from other sources that he conducted such services in the years covered by the journals. Indeed, a strongly apologetic sermon preached by him at a baptismal service in Colonsay about 1814 was remembered in Colonsay tradition a century later (McNeill 1914: 5-6). It is also apparent that the printed journals make little of the opposition which Sinclair encountered in certain parts of the Highlands. Initial disputes with the lairds of Coll and Colonsay are known from other sources (McNeill 1914: 9-11; Yuille 1926: 115), but they are not mentioned in the journals, and any reference in the journals to tumult or commotion is markedly vague.

Such reticence with regard to baptism and the attitude of secular authorities stands in contrast to the somewhat aggressive style of the early days of dissenting evangelicalism, when the movement was dominated by Robert and James Haldane, and it probably reflects a deliberately eirenic posture. In view of the bad feeling which was created by the Haldanes' adoption of Baptist principles in 1808 and their rejection of Congregationalism (Meek and Murray 1988), it may also be significant that Sinclair's journals show close co-operation between Congregationalists and Baptists, and make no reference to any underlying tensions between the two groups. It is, however, important to note that Sinclair operated in the west, where such tensions were probably less noticeable than in the east, especially in Perthshire. Nevertheless, it is claimed in another source that a group of Baptists in Arran were strongly opposed by the Congregational pastor of Sannox, Alexander MacKay, from whose church they had seceded. Indeed, it is said that Sinclair had to plead with MacKay on their behalf (Butchart 1949: 126-7), but in the journals MacKay is portrayed as Sinclair's close friend and fellow itinerant, and as a man whose soul was 'at liberty and removed from the trammels of party distinction' (Sinclair 1812: 16).

Although Sinclair's journals do appear to avoid commenting explicitly on contentious issues, they are nevertheless of fundamental importance to our understanding of the growth of dissenting evangelicalism in the west Highlands and the Inner Hebrides. No other comparable journals dealing with all of these areas are known to survive for this period, and accounts of religious movements written by Gaelic-speaking observers are something of a rarity before 1815. Besides their religious interest, the journals give a vivid glimpse of Highland society at the beginning of a century of momentous change, and provide a unique picture of the life of an itinerant missionary in the Highland context.

The pattern of Sinclair's itineraries can be observed clearly in his writings. The first of his six journeys, undertaken in 1810, was the longest, and involved a tour of the east and west Highlands lasting some six months. Although this tour included preaching and tract-distribution, it had an exploratory dimension, since Sinclair was trying to ascertain the desire for education in western districts. The eastern districts were covered at the same time by Christopher Anderson, who travelled as far as Beauly, where he met Sinclair. In November 1810 Anderson took the initiative in forming the Edinburgh Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools, and there can be no doubt that Sinclair's first tour was something of a fact-finding mission for this venture (Meek 1987: 15).

The subsequent five recorded tours had smaller itineraries, and concentrated on the Argyll mainland and the Inner Hebrides, including Arran, which Sinclair visited regularly. These tours resemble a circuit, similar to that of English Methodist preachers, in which Sinclair preached as an evangelist and provided pastoral care for converts. (See Figures 1 and 2.) In 1814 he reached as far west as Tiree, and intended to sail to the Outer Hebrides, but he was prevented from doing so by bad weather (Sinclair 1814: 15). It is claimed that he was active in Lewis (Yuille 1926: 70), evidently in the period after 1815. Sinclair, of course, continued his itinerant ministry in the years between 1815 and 1831, and it is clear that he visited districts not covered in his recorded tours of 1810-15.

Pathways of Dissent

At the outset of his work Sinclair travelled alone on his missionary tours. Although it was the policy of the Scotch Itinerant Society that missionaries should operate in pairs, their number was so small and finance so limited in the early years that this was seldom possible (Anderson 1854: 117). When he began his labours, Sinclair was, in fact, the only full-time Baptist evangelist in the West Highlands who was engaged solely in itinerant activity. Other Baptist evangelists, who were few in number, held pastoral charges which would have restricted their itinerant labours to certain times of the year, principally the summer. The scarcity of Baptist missionaries was such that Sinclair was glad to have the temporary support of the Congregationalists. In 1812 he was able to enlist the companionship of Alexander MacKay, of the Congregational church in Sannox, Arran (Sinclair 1812: 16). MacKay joined Sinclair in Islay, and accompanied him to Mull. Given their differing interpretations of the mode of baptism, this could scarcely have been a wholly satisfactory arrangement, but the two men were evidently close friends and apparently enjoyed a good working relationship.

In 1814 and 1815 Sinclair had the services of two young men, who were able to provide some degree of comapanionship, and who also gave notice of the preacher's presence in the district, the time of his sermons and their location. In this way potential missionaries could be given some practical training in missionary work. Indeed, Sinclair's companion of 1814, John Paul, entered Bradford Baptist Academy in 1818.[1] Sometimes Sinclair was able to observe, with wry amusement, the misfortunes of his young companions, especially in the worst of Highland weather. When attempting to leave Colonsay in a small boat in September 1815, Sinclair and his assistant, George, ran into heavy seas:

> The wind abating, George, having risen very early, fell asleep, and while he continued his slumbers, the sea again got very rough. One billow appeared, aiming at our little boat; when it approached, it intercepted our view of the Jura mountains. The man at the helm held her prow to it; when it broke and sprung over us, part of the wave, in falling, coming into the boat, struck poor George, and awoke him! This was the first time he appeared afraid at sea (Sinclair 1815: 10).

Storms at sea and on land were a common experience, and so too were treacherous roads, bogs, and rivers in spate. Sinclair's earlier journals contain more references to hardships of this kind than do the later ones, and it would seem that, like his assistants, he himself became more robust as the years passed. Nevertheless, he was often assailed by sore heads, colds and fatigues. His itinerancies were conducted mainly on foot, and he was conveyed between islands by fishing-boats of varying size and by sailing packets, when such conveniences were available.

While travelling, Sinclair was frequently dependent on sympathetic friends for accommodation, and he probably planned his journeys carefully, so that he could take advantage of hospitality of this kind. Yet he also had to procure lodgings with strangers,

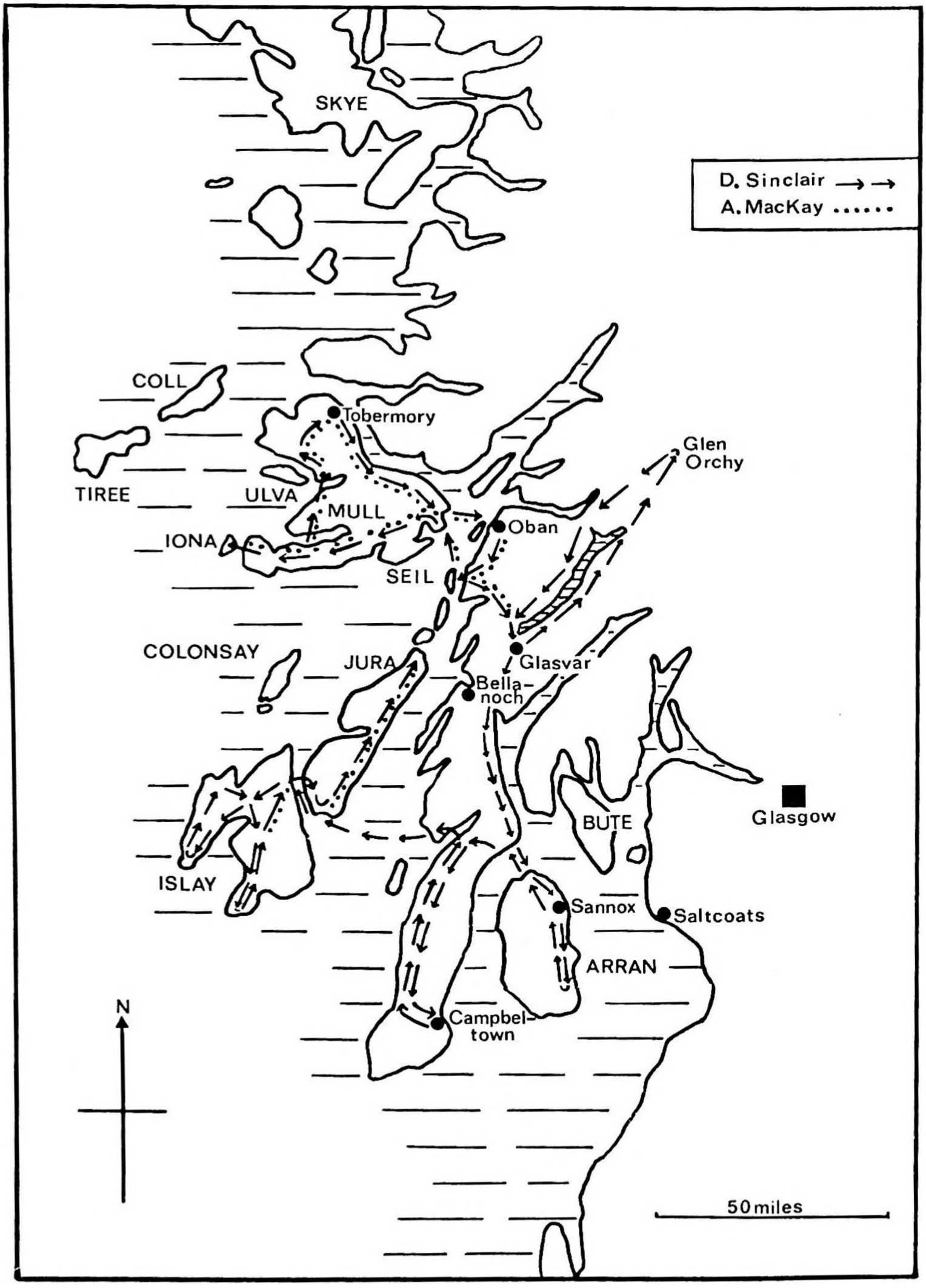

Fig. 1 Dugald Sinclair's 1812 Itinerary.

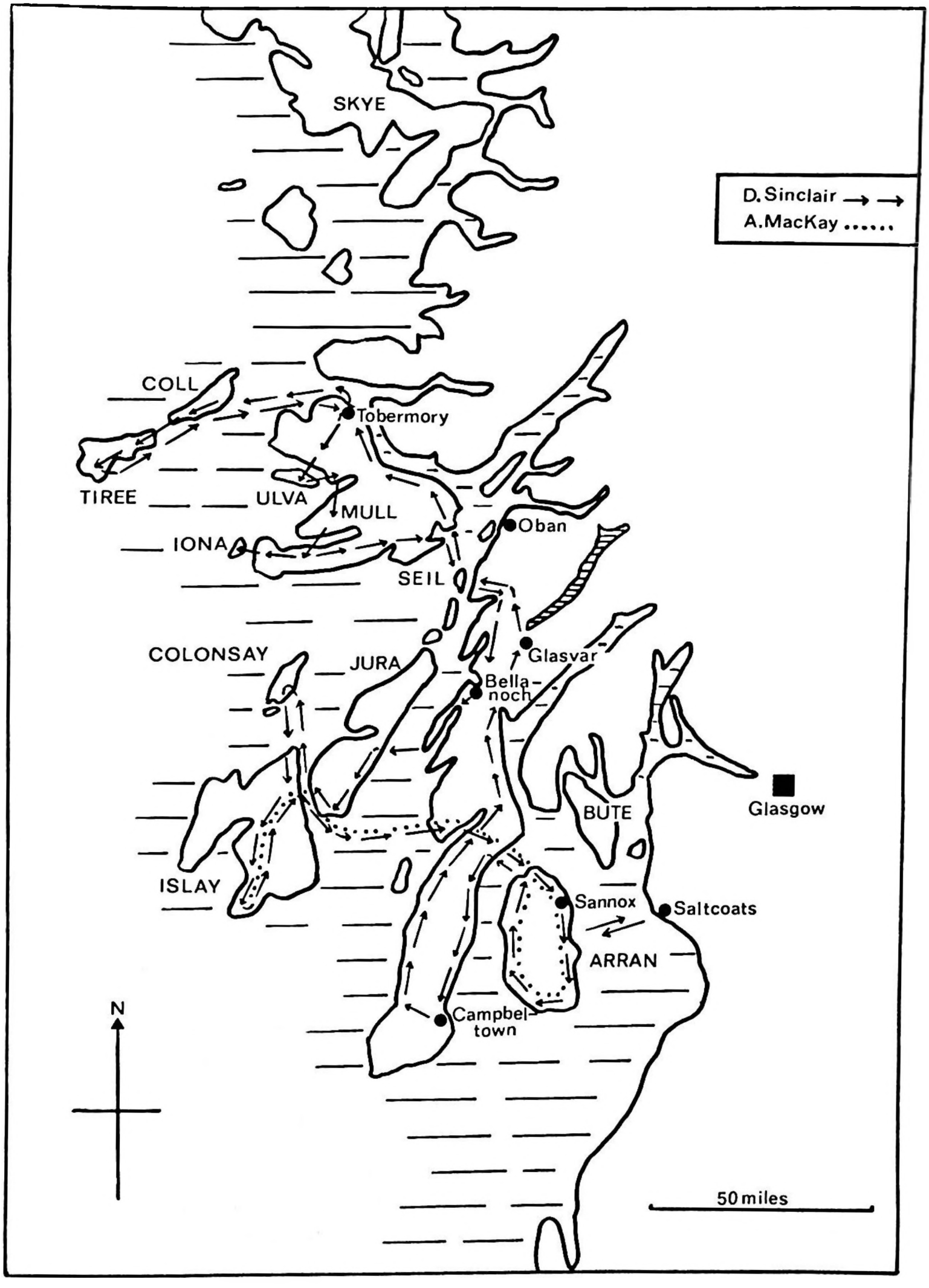

Fig. 2 Dugald Sinclair's 1814 Itinerary.

often in inns. Inns were found in the larger villages, commonly where routes converged. They were therefore strategic places, in which the itinerant evangelist could find 'captive' audiences to listen to his message. If the inn-keeper were kindly disposed, he would grant permission for a room to be used for preaching, and Sinclair was careful to reward the inn-keeper generously in such circumstances. Inns were, however, very noisy places, and occasionally Sinclair had to tolerate rowdy behaviour, which disturbed his night's rest. The remedy was to summon the carousers and to preach an appropriate sermon. This sometimes had the desired effect of bringing peace. In the inn at Lagg in Jura, however, Sinclair once had to endure an all-night orgy by sailors who had little regard for the sermon which he had previously preached to them (Sinclair 1810: 18; 1811: 13-14).

In procuring premises suitable for preaching, Sinclair was also helped by friends and by those who admired the aims of his work. Farmhouses, cottages and barns would often be made available. Open-air preaching was nevertheless a general feature of his work, and circumvented the problem of refusal of premises. Some care was taken to find a convenient location which would be accessible to people from a wide area. Prominent sites were chosen where possible, so as to attract attention. On the other hand, preaching could take place wherever there was a sizeable group of people which had already gathered for another purpose; thus Sinclair preached at the spa at Strathpeffer in 1810, and in a harvest field in Jura in 1812 (Sinclair 1810: 19; 1812: 27). The run-rig farms were better populated than the open countryside, and Sinclair devoted noticeable attention to such farms in Islay and Arran. The slate quarries of Easdale and the coalmines of Campbeltown furnished employment for people in these localities, and these locations provided enthusiastic listeners in 1810 and 1811. In towns and villages it was easier to summon the people, and in the larger towns the bellman might occasionally co-operate by giving notice of a sermon, as happened in Dingwall in 1810 (Sinclair 1810: 19, 25; 1811: 10-12).

Sinclair was very much aware of the importance of gathering as big an audience as circumstances would allow, and on most occasions he tried to calculate the size of his congregations. While the figures which he provides in his journals can be little more than estimates, they offer a valuable guide to the attention which his preaching aroused. Close scrutiny of these figures shows that, while he tended to attract the largest audiences fairly consistently in towns and villages and in areas of relatively high population density, attendance was often controlled by factors which were much more important than demography.

Of fundamental significance was the question of whether an adequate ministry was provided by the Established Church within its parishes. 'Adequacy' is to be defined at two levels in this context. First there was the question of whether ecclesiastical provision in the locality was satisfactory in terms of churches which were conveniently accessible to the people. In Argyll, as in other parts of the Highlands, parishes were very large indeed, and Christopher Anderson was well aware of this when he stationed Sinclair in Argyll; there was, in his view, a need for 'a sort of constant Itineracy' (Sinclair 1811: 4) to make up the deficiencies in the parish system. It is noticeable that Sinclair was well supported

in his native district. While audience figures are not strikingly high, they are consistent, and he was assured of having 'great numbers' to listen to him in such areas of Mid Argyll as the Black Moss (Sinclair 1810: 9). When itinerating in Wester Ross in 1810, Sinclair commented forcibly on the size of parishes and the difficulty of ensuring spiritual provision, even when the ministers were Evangelicals:

> The parishes of Gairloch and Loch Broom . . . are so enormously extensive, that the remote parts of them . . . are miserably off for want of the bread of life. Though the Gospel is preached by the Ministers of these parishes, still it is impossible for the people in the places mentioned, to hear them but seldom (Sinclair 1810: 17).

This probably explains why he was able to attract 'a great many people' at Inverasdale, and 200 to 300 people at Taynafillan on the far side of Loch Ewe (Sinclair 1810: 14-15).

The second consideration of importance was whether there was a minister currently resident in the parish. The point can be illustrated with regard to Sinclair's experiences in parishes which were vacant. In Tayvallich in June 1810, he preached 'twice in Gaelic to perhaps 400 people, in English once, to a few only'. He comments: 'In this parish, which is at present vacant, the people come out well to hear the word of life' (Sinclair 1810: 9). At Milton of Redcastle, Sinclair in 1810 preached to 'a considerable number of people, perhaps about 150 or 200'. This was in contrast to relatively low numbers elsewhere in the Black Isle, and he noted that the likely explanation was a dispute about presentation which had resulted in a four-year vacancy in the parish (Sinclair 1810: 20). In 1813 Sinclair re-visited the parish of Kilmallie, which he had previously visited in 1810, and had a Sunday audience of 200 'from all parts of the parish' (Sinclair 1813: 26). His congregation was no doubt increased by the effects of a dispute lasting from 1812 to 1816 and involving the presentees of two rival patrons (*FES* 1923: 135). This dispute was noted by Christopher Anderson in his introduction to Sinclair's journal of 1813 (Sinclair 1813: 5), and there can be little doubt that both Anderson and Sinclair were well aware of the extent to which parish vacancies and patronage quarrels weakened clerical provision by the Established Church. Yet the long-term evidence shows that the people's interest in itinerant preachers during parish vacancies seldom produced lasting results conducive to dissent. When a parish vacancy was satisfactorily resolved by means of a presentee whom the people favoured, they tended to return to the parish church, and the old loyalties were quickly re-asserted. This was demonstrated very clearly in 1815, when Dugald Sinclair battled his way through a storm to visit the island of Gigha. He received a cold response from the islanders:'"Why," say they, "we were all last year without a minister; but now we have our own. Had you come then, you would have been joyfully welcome . . ."' (Sinclair 1815: 15). When he arranged a sermon, his audience comprised only one man and his servants!

The response to Sinclair's preaching was also controlled to some extent by the theological affiliation of the ministers in the parishes. The ministers of many parishes, especially in Argyll, were Moderates, and, although Sinclair does not comment on this,

it is probable that a growing evangelical awareness on the part of the people contributed to his audiences. Sinclair clearly hoped to increase people's ability to distinguish between Evangelicals and Moderates, since at one meeting he recounted how a prominent minister of the Established Church, Alexander Stewart of Moulin, formerly a Moderate, had become an Evangelical, with a consequent shift in the emphasis of his preaching (Sinclair 1810: 24-5).

It is apparent that the work of Evangelical ministers and parish missionaries likewise boosted attendance at Sinclair's meetings. Thus, during the temporary absence of the Evangelical missionary, Donald MacGillivray, from Kilmallie in 1810, Sinclair preached to substantial audiences at Fort William (Sinclair 1810: 10). Sinclair, of course, was on good terms with Evangelical parish ministers, and would attend their services when he happened to be in their localities. Nevertheless, the labours of such ministers did not always help his own cause. Nowhere was this more saliently demonstrated than in the island of Arran, which was in the grip of a strong religious awakening from 1812. The development of this awakening was due in large measure to the presence of an Evangelical minister, Neil MacBride, in the parish of Kilmorie in the south of the island. In the north of the island, the movement was invigorated by the preaching of Sinclair's close friend and fellow itinerant, Alexander MacKay, of the Congregational church at Sannox. Sinclair was delighted to visit Arran, where he enjoyed cordial relations with MacBride as well as MacKay. The response to his preaching was always very encouraging, but the leadership of MacKay and MacBride ensured that the fruit of the revival was shared by the Established Church and the Congregational church. A small number of Baptists emerged, but they were not strong, and no Baptist church was formed in the island (Sinclair 1812: 9-17; 1813: 9; 1814: 25-8; 1815: 16-18; Butchart 1949: 126-7).

A remarkable degree of collaboration between the Established Church and the dissenting movement is apparent in Arran. This stands in marked contrast to the situation in the north-west Highlands, where Sinclair encountered a brand of Evangelicalism which had already developed a strong lay leadership consisting of catechists and 'The Men'. In a letter written to one of his supporters in 1810, Sinclair gave reasons for his lack of success in the north-west, writing with a candour which is not attested in his journals:

> Those parishes in Ross-shire, where they have reputed Gospel ministers, and a few devout private persons, are, in general, the places where the people turn out worst. In these parts the multitude look up to the example of the few reputed holy, and these give them no encouragement to hear us. I have many proofs of this. Yesterday, after preaching in a country village, I was dismissing the people, when the catechist, a holy man in their opinion, was passing. He stood and asked what this gathering meant; being told by one of the hearers, he again asked, 'Who is the minister?' The other pointed to me, on which he said, 'You have litle work to do at home when you would come out in this manner to hear these men' (Anderson 1854: 115).

If matters of spiritual provision were of significance in determining the response to Sinclair's preaching, physical considerations were also of some importance. In a rural

society the rhythms of labour and seasonal occupations contributed to, or detracted from, the success of the itinerant missionary. At Lochbroom in 1810 Sinclair was able to take advantage of the fact that the herring season had not yet started, and fishermen were still ashore (Sinclair 1810: 15). In the Inner Hebridean islands of Mull, Coll and Tiree, the kelp industry was in full swing in this period, and the people were sometimes unable to attend his meetings because of their work (Sinclair 1814: 14, 16-17). Since Sinclair travelled frequently at the end of the summer and in the autumn, he encountered such problems with regard to harvest. People were unwilling to leave this important event in the agrarian cycle. Nevertheless, it would seem that they were sometimes particularly responsive at this time of the year, perhaps because their communal psychology was to some degree controlled by the failure or success of harvests. When harvesters left their labour to attend a religious service, it was usually indicative of deep spiritual interest of the kind associated with revivals or awakenings. In Jura in 1812, Sinclair found unusual interest among harvesters in a field:

> Reaching a field, where the inhabitants of the farm were reaping close by the public road, we asked, Can you spare an hour for the gospel and your souls, though your harvest is necessary? They frankly, and without hesitation, said, 'Indeed we can, and are glad to have it in our power to do so.' They gathered into a corner of the field, close by the road, and patiently and attentively heard the word. The inhabitants of the farm which we had left behind, on seeing these waiting to hear the word, dropped their sickles all to a man, and with post-haste came to hear, except one individual, who made not his appearance among his neighbours. After brother Mck[ay] who preached, had done, we distributed a few tracts among them, and the people were dismissed with apparent satisfaction (Sinclair 1812: 27).

Sinclair met with a similar response in other parts of Jura at this time, and this almost certainly indicates that a spiritual awakening was in progress throughout the island.

Dissenting missionaries could undoubtedly benefit from the development of awakenings of this kind, since they helped to loosen the bonds which linked the people to the Established Church. However, a missionary who travelled on a circuit and visited a locality only occasionally was not in a strong position to take advantage of such movements, and the shortness of his visits meant that a firm foundation for future dissent could not be laid easily. Sinclair's journals do, in fact, suggest that his success in particular localities was related to the amount of time which he could spend among the people. In Tiree in June 1814, it is noticeable that the number of his hearers increased gradually during the week that he was able to spend on the island; from 70 initially, to 150, and then to a remarkable 1,000 (out of a population of 3,500) at his final sermon on Sunday 26 June (Sinclair 1814: 12-15). Sinclair was apparently not able to build on the sympathy which he had engendered, and the establishment of a Baptist cause in Tiree did not progress until the island had a resident Baptist missionary after 1824 (Meek 1988c).

Tiree epitomised the circumstances in which the dissenting movement had most to gain, provided that a missionary could visit regularly. With the neighbouring island of

Coll it formed a single large parish, and the minister was a Moderate. Provision of services was on Sundays only, whereas itinerant preachers were prepared to preach on week-days. As Sinclair noted, 'The people are quite astonished that a minister should trouble himself to preach on a *week* day; it is entirely new to them' (Sinclair 1814: 13). Very similar circumstances prevailed in the islands of Islay and Colonsay, which Sinclair was able to visit more fequently, thus ensuring some continuity of ministry. In Islay, which he visited in each of the years from 1811 to 1815, he found a particularly favourable response in the districts of the Rhinns and the Oa, with large attendances at most of the services. In the Rhinns, Sinclair's work was undoubtedly aided significantly by the earlier labours of a schoolmaster, with whom he formed a close working relationship (Sinclair 1811: 16-25). Schoolmasters, especially those associated with the Edinburgh Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools, had a crucial role in the development of evangelicalism in the Highlands (Meek 1987: 15-16).

In Colonsay, the response to Sinclair's preaching in 1814–15 was perhaps more enthusiastic than in any other area covered by his journals. Sinclair first visited the island on 18 August 1814, and remained until 2 September, his departure having been delayed by bad weather. He found a people who were starved of regular ministerial provision of any kind. At this time the island was linked with Jura as a single parish, and, as the parish minister resided in Jura, ministerial provision in Colonsay was extremely poor. Consequently the islanders embraced Sinclair's ministry with 'joyful gratitude', and audiences gradually increased to 400 (out of a population of about 800). When he returned to the island in early September 1815, congregations were of a similar size, and the islanders pleaded with him to visit them as frequently as possible. Once again, storms delayed his departure, and spiritual interest deepened noticeably, with all the signs of an awakening in the community. The foundation of Colonsay Baptist Church was the direct result, and Sinclair visited it annually until his emigration in 1831 (Sinclair 1814: 19-21; 1815: 7-11; McNeill 1914: 8).

The key to Sinclair's successes and failures thus lay very largely in the nature of the provision given by the Established Church in Highland parishes. The Established Church was itself well aware of the inadequacies of the parish system by the 1820s, when the fruit of dissent was becoming more evident. In 1824 an Act of Parliament authorised the improvement of the Church's provision by building about forty so-called 'parliamentary churches' in over-large parishes. Some of these churches were built in those very districts where Sinclair had met with greatest success in the period before 1820, noticeably in Islay (at Kilmeny, the Oa, and Portnahaven) and at Lochgilphead. These latter districts were subsequently disjoined as *quoad sacra* parishes in the late 1840s. Colonsay became a *quoad omnia* parish, with its first resident minister, in 1861 (*FES* 1923: 19, 63, 69-71, 74-9; MacLeòid 1980).

Although Sinclair's work benefited from the difficulties faced by the Established Church, it needs to be emphasised that the dissenting movement was itself less than firmly grounded in the West Highlands. It too suffered initially from an acute shortage of

manpower. Itinerancy could not hope to provide firm support for the dissenting congregations which began to emerge, and the career of Sinclair illustrates that it placed an enormous burden on the shoulders of one individual. In addition, the movement was particularly vulnerable to the effects of social change, since it depended very largely on the maintenance of stable congregations, and lacked any central organisation. After 1815 Highland society began to feel the effects of economic slump, and the consequences of this were to have a strong bearing on the ministry of Dugald Sinclair in later years.

The Lochgilphead Years

Sinclair's journals terminate at the point where he became the pastor of what is now Lochgilphead Baptist Church. The Lochgilphead church is, in fact, the Bellanoch church in a new setting. When Sinclair was formally ordained to the pastoral charge of this congregation, it had not yet moved to its new location. Sinclair had a leading role in establishing the church in Lochgilphead, since he purchased the site on which it built its chapel. On 10 August 1815 a plot of ground was assigned by feu charter to 'the Rev. Dugald Sinclair residing at Glassvar' by John McNeill of Oakfield. Subsequently, on 10 June 1819, the ownership of the ground 'with the Baptist Chapel thereon' was transferred by Sinclair to the Trustees for the Society of Calvinistic Baptists at Lochgilphead (Sasines 1820).

Dugald Sinclair succeeded Donald McVicar as pastor of the Bellanoch church. McVicar, who had been pastor of this congregation since its constitution in 1805, relinquished his charge in 1814, and he appears to have emigrated to Canada shortly afterwards. By 1818 he was resident in Aldborough, Elgin County, Ontario, where he was ministering to a group of Scottish emigrants which included McKillops, Fergusons, McKellars and Robertsons. It seems highly likely that these emigrants included members or adherents of the church at Bellanoch, and that McVicar had emigrated to be their pastor. In 1820 a further group of emigrants from Argyll had arrived in Lobo, Middlesex County, Ontario, where they were visited periodically by McVicar (Butchart 1949: 385, 393). The evidence thus suggests that emigration to Ontario from Mid Argyll and North Knapdale was taking place from at least 1814, and that it was having an effect on the Bellanoch church. McVicar's emigration may well indicate that an influential body of people from that church, perhaps even the majority of its membership, had preceded him to Canada (Meek 1988b). Emigration from North Knapdale was probably hastened by the early decline of the kelp industry in that district (Rymer 1974: 131).

When the remaining members of the Bellanoch church decided to move their location to Lochgilphead, they may have been influenced by the decline in the size of the church and the accompanying depopulation of its locality. They would also have been aware that Lochgilphead was growing as a town, partly as a result of the drift of population from the rural areas. An evangelist like Sinclair would have been quick to appreciate the opportunities

for evangelism which the town would afford, the more so since the Church of Scotland had not yet established a presence in the immediate neighbourhood. When the Baptist chapel in Lochgilphead was built, it was the only place of worship between Kilmichael and Inverneill (Yuille 1926: 116), and it was not until 1828 that the Church of Scotland erected a parliamentary church in the district (*FES* 1923: 19).

Dugald Sinclair's appointment as pastor of the Bellanoch congregation at a critical time in its history probably added substantially to his work-load, and it is not surprising that his published journals terminate when they do. Yet he continued to itinerate extensively in the West Highlands and Hebrides in later years, and he wrote annual accounts of his labours for the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland, which assumed responsibility for his work in 1827. This society was an amalgamation of the several Baptist bodies which had previously supported itinerant evangelism in the Highlands, and it absorbed the society which had been created by Christopher Anderson and George Barclay (Yuille 1926: 71-6). There are few surviving references to Sinclair's work in the years between 1815 and 1828, but we need not doubt that he pursued his calling vigorously in this period.

By 1828 the scale of Baptist activity in the West Highlands and Hebrides had increased noticeably since the days of Sinclair's first missionary journeys. Baptist congregations were now meeting regularly in Islay, Colonsay, Mull (at Tobermory and in the Ross), Tiree, Skye (at Uig and Broadford) and in the vicinity of Oban. Baptist missionaries were stationed in Islay, Mull and Skye, and a Gaelic schoolmaster, Duncan MacDougall, was preaching in Tiree (Meek 1988a, 1988c). Some of the congregations formed themselves into churches in the course of the 1830s. Such development owed much to Dugald Sinclair, who laid the foundations of the churches, and exercised pastoral oversight of the missionaries and their congregations until 1831. His contribution can be seen at Inveraray, for instance, where a missionary station had been established in 1825 under the leadership of John McMillan. McMillan was the son of the butler to the Laird of Colonsay. Having been brought to faith through Sinclair's preaching in Colonsay in 1817, he was baptised by him, and proceeded to Bradford Baptist Academy for training with the support of the Lochgilphead church (Northern Education Society Reports 1804-25; BHMS Report 1829: 26-8). McMillan was one of four young men who were sent to Bradford Academy by the Lochgilphead church in this period.[2]

In the 1820s Sinclair combined his preaching tours with the 'ordering' of the churches, and held some responsibility for the ordination of new pastors. In the summer of 1828, he was in Skye, where he had a major part in the ordination of William Fraser as pastor of the Baptist church in Uig. Thereafter he proceeded on a tour of the Inner Hebrides, and in the autumn he was active on the mainland, reaching as far north as Grantown-on-Spey (BHMS Report 1829: 33-6).

Besides his preaching and pastoral activities in the west, Dugald Sinclair participated to some degree in the wider work of Baptists in Scotland. On 13 June 1827 he was one of a number of pastors and deacons who attended a meeting in Edinburgh 'for the purpose of forming a Union of the Baptist Churches of Scotland' (Minute 1827). Although it did

not take practical effect, the desire to form this union was indicative of the growth of Baptist work in Scotland after 1800, and of the links which were felt to exist between different churches. Nowhere was this more evident than in the West Highlands and Hebrides, where Dugald Sinclair had nurtured a family of small but thriving Baptist congregations.

Leaving Lochgilphead

Considering the progress of Baptist missionary work in Argyll and the Hebrides, it might have seemed possible in 1828 that Dugald Sinclair would have remained indefinitely in the region in order to consolidate and encourage the churches. Yet, in the summer of 1831, he took ship to Canada, accompanied by sixteen of the twenty-nine members of his church. As he was a prominent religious leader, it is of particular interest to investigate the circumstances of his departure. It can be assumed all too easily that he was a promoter of emigration, or that he exerted the essential influence which led to the depletion of the Lochgilphead church. Indeed, an account of his departure written a century later, in 1926, takes the latter view. We shall examine this account, but we need first to consider the contemporary evidence. This evidence includes Sinclair's reports to the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland in the years from 1828 to 1831, an extract from the letter of resignation which he sent to the society, and the society's own understanding of events.

In its report for 1831, the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland explained Sinclair's departure in the following terms:

> Mr SINCLAIR resided at Lochgilphead for several years, and his labours had been blessed for collecting a number of disciples who walked in the fellowship of the gospel. A considerable emigration from that part of the country to Upper Canada, has taken place for some years past, and many of the members of the church have removed. They had repeatedly requested Mr Sinclair to join them, which he declined. Finding, however, that a great part of the church had determined to follow their friends and brethren this year, he saw it his duty to accompany them, along with his family . . . Sixteen members of the church accompanied Mr Sinclair, and thirteen remain. They applied to the society for another preacher; and although the prospects of usefulness have not for some time been so good at Lochgilphead as formerly, yet as there is an excellent field for preaching the gospel in the neighbourhood, Mr JOHN MACINTOSH [*sic*], of Stornoway, has proceeded to that station (BHMS Report 1831: 6-7).

The society thus placed Sinclair's departure firmly in the context of the persistent flow of emigration from Lochgilphead and the surrounding district. The intensity and destination of the emigrant tide in the 1820s can be corroborated from the Canadian side, principally in the records of Middlesex County, Ontario, which received many of the emigrants from mainland Argyll in this period. These show that emigrants from Argyll settled in most of the Middlesex townships, but it is of particular interest that numerous emigrants from

Knapdale and Lochgilphead settled in Lobo Township in the late 1820s. Mosa Township, too, appears to have been a popular location for Argyll emigrants, whose number included Dugald Sinclair's brother, Donald, who emigrated in 1830. Evidence from Canadian sources further suggests that the bonds of kith and kin among these people were overlaid by a common religious identity, and it would seem that many were Baptists, or at least sympathetic to the Baptist position (McColl 1979: 14–17, 23-6, 37-42). The report of 1831 indicates that emigrants to Ontario maintained communication with those who remained at home, and encouraged them to join them. It affirms that Dugald Sinclair was eventually persuaded to emigrate by the requests of earlier emigrants for his services as pastor, and by an impending exodus from his church. In short, there were powerful 'pull' factors which influenced his decision.

The report of 1831 does, however, indicate that the 'prospects of usefulness' for missionary work at Lochgilphead had declined by this date. In his letter to the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland, Sinclair made it clear that the timing of his decision to emigrate was determined by the apparent lack of success in his own ministry:

> While the Lord seemed to smile upon my labours at home, I feared that to take such a step would seem like proceeding directly against the plain intimations of God's will, in regard to the sphere in which he would have me to labour; the solicitations of my friends to go and take the oversight of them in America were therefore waived. Now, however, when he has been pleased to withhold any success for so long a time, and their requests still continuing, a new turn is given to my mind; so that at present it seems to me an intimation of his will that I should go (BHMS Report 1831: 6-7).

The first indications of Sinclair's unease with his work at Lochgilphead are found in his 1828-9 dispatch to the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland. 'The audience,' he reported, 'is considerably diminished, in consequence of a Government church being lately opened in the neighbourhood . . . Besides, a spirit of slumber evidently pervades our church' (BHMS Report 1829: 33). The provision of this new church in Lochgilphead adversely affected the Baptist congregation, and this indicates very clearly that lack of an alternative church, rather than sympathy towards Baptist principles, had helped to swell the original Baptist following. The 'slumber' which Sinclair discerned in the church may have been caused by despondency among the remaining members as their numbers were reduced by defection to a rival congregation. It is also possible that Sinclair's preaching was becoming less acceptable than it had previously been.

The content of Sinclair's preaching and the nature of his beliefs may, indeed, have changed to some extent in the years immediately preceding 1831. Such evidence as exists to sustain this view is found mainly in an account of the Lochgilphead church which appeared in a history of Scottish Baptists published in 1926. This account was evidently written by a member of the church, and probably draws much of its material from oral tradition. Sinclair's ministry and his final years at Lochgilphead are described as follows:

> Mr Sinclair's ministry was very fruitful, and spread far beyond Lochgilphead, as far as Islay, Mull, and the other islands of the West. There was a mysterious persuasiveness about him which arrested the people, and a winsomeness that bound them to him by the strongest tie. Unfortunately in his later years he imbibed peculiar views on prophecy, the man of sin, and successive forms of the great tribulation. He believed that Europe was to be involved in a universal war, with Britain as its centre. America was to be excepted, and it was there that the Church of Christ was to be preserved till His return. Having such firm convictions, he prepared to emigrate, and such was his influence throughout the district that about 70 members with their families accompanied him to what they regarded as the promised land. The Church, of course, was greatly weakened, and when Rev. John Macintosh [*sic*] undertook the pastorate he found a greatly reduced and discouraged people. Nevertheless he pursued his course for 37 years, and the savour of his ministry still continues (Yuille 1926: 117).

The earlier contemporary evidence makes no reference to any change in Sinclair's beliefs, or to any link between his beliefs and his decision to emigrate. In the 1926 account, on the other hand, his beliefs are regarded as the crucial factor, and the wider context of emigration and social change is not mentioned. Sinclair, according to the 1926 account, was responsible for the emigration of a substantial number from the church. This number is put at 70, which is in conflict with the evidence of the 1831 BHMS Report, although it is possible that it includes both members and adherents of the church. According to the tradition of Middlesex County, Ontario, Sinclair was believed to have been accompanied by 60 'members' of the Lochgilphead church (McColl 1979: 17).

To what extent can the 1926 account be trusted in its claims about, and portrayal of, Sinclair's allegedly 'peculiar views'? It is undoubtedly true that, at least by 1850, Sinclair had abandoned what would now be regarded as an 'orthodox' Baptist position, and that he had affiliated himself, as we shall see, to the Disciples of Christ, who had come to be influential in south-western Ontario. Alexander Campbell, the principal leader of the Disciples' movement, was fascinated by the interpretation of Biblical prophecy and the apocalyptic symbolism of the Book of Daniel. He also had a sense of impending cataclysm, which he expressed in 1831 in his journal *The Millennial Harbinger*, as well as an optimistic view of the future of the American nation (Sandeen 1970: 45-6). A paradox of this kind appears to be reflected in the Lochgilphead account, and it is certainly possible that Sinclair could have been reading Campbell's publications before 1831. Yet, while the 1926 account appears to encapsulate a vague general outline of Campbell's teachings, it could merely be an uncritical 'reading back' of the position which Sinclair was believed to have assumed in Canada in later years.

The Disciples of Christ were not, of course, unique in their millennial interest. Such a concern was very common among other religious bodies in this period, especially in the United States (Sandeen 1970: 42-3), and it was fuelled by apocalyptic conceptions of emigration, which were shared by numerous ethnic groups (Meek 1988d). The belief that the 'Church of Christ' was to be preserved in America alone until the time of His return could be accommodated within the tenets of several religious bodies in the New World, including the Church of Christ of the Latter-day Saints, otherwise known as Mormons

(Marty 1985: 201-2), and it is possible that this body has been confused with the Disciples in the 1926 account. On the other hand, it is conceivable that, in his latter years at Lochgilphead, Sinclair's alleged interest in scriptural prophecy and its fulfilment developed as part of a wider British movement. A particular fascination with the imminence of Christ's return had developed in influential theological circles in Britain by the late 1820s, and figures such as J. N. Darby and Edward Irving were promoting a premillennial understanding of the Second Coming (Sandeen 1970: 3-42). The reference in the Lochgilphead account to Sinclair's interest in 'the man of sin' and 'the great tribulation' could suggest merely that he may have been influenced by millenarian speculation of the Darbyite (Brethren) type.

If we are to accept that the 1926 account has some validity, we must also recognise that it is not entirely sympathetic to Sinclair. His personal influence is heavily stressed, and this alone is seen as the reason for the depletion of the Lochgilphead church. The contemporary evidence substantially redresses the balance, and underlines the powerful social factors which influenced his decision. Emigration involving the previous Bellanoch pastor had taken place by 1814, and Sinclair to a certain extent repeated the pattern of his predecessor.

The possibility remains, however, that Sinclair's ministry, for one reason or another, had changed direction by the late 1820s, and that this was one of several factors leading to the decline of his congregation. It is probably significant that the arrival of John Mackintosh in Lochgilphead immediately marked the beginning of better days. By 1832 the membership of the church had risen from thirteen to twenty-one, and by 1833 Mackintosh was able to report that 'there is new life infused into the church' (BHMS Reports 1832: 13-14; 1833: 15).

Dugald Sinclair, Disciple of Christ

Dugald Sinclair and his accompanying band of emigrants appear to have taken ship directly from Crinan to Canada. The vessel on which they sailed was probably the brig *Deveron,* which left Glasgow on 4 July 1831 and later called at Crinan. With a total of 302 passengers, the ship sailed from Crinan on 13 July, and arrived in Quebec on 27 August 1831. From Quebec the emigrants proceeded to south-western Ontario (Burley 1963: 13-14).

Sinclair and his family soon found their way to Lobo Township, Middlesex County, where, as we have seen, a significant number of emigrants from Knapdale and Lochgilphead had already settled. Initially Sinclair and his family stayed with John Sinclair, who had emigrated to Lobo with his brother Alexander in 1820, and who was probably a close relative (Butchart 1949: 393-4; McColl 1979: 38). Several of the band who emigrated with Sinclair also settled in Lobo, where they became members of the Scottish Baptist congregation which met there, and which had received occasional ministry from the former pastor of Bellanoch, Donald McVicar, until Sinclair's arrival. Some of Sinclair's band settled elsewhere in Ontario, doubtless depending on where they could obtain land.

Thus, Archibald McLarty, originally from Castletown on the Shirvan estate to the south of Lochgilphead, took up residence in Howard Township in Kent County (Burley 1963: 14-15).

As soon as he came to Lobo, Sinclair assumed the role of pastor of the Lobo congregation, and took steps to 'set it in order' as a constituted church. The available evidence indicates that the church was constituted along Scottish Baptist lines, and there is little indication that he was anything other than a Scottish Baptist at this point. Indeed, he was known for his initially strict adherence to Scottish Baptist principles, and there were aspects of his new church which did not meet with his immediate approval. In later years, Sinclair was remembered as 'a stern man, unflinching in his loyalty to what he believed to be truth. In catechising those applying for membership he was strict to the point of refusal at times' (Butchart 1949: 394). This statement may shed some light on the troubles which appear to have surfaced latterly at Lochgilphead, since it suggests that Sinclair had become inclined to exclusivism, accepting into his church only those who saw eye-to-eye with himself.

The emigrant situation gave Sinclair the opportunity to develop his talents as a supervising pastor, probably to a degree that would not have been possible even in the Highlands. As an ordained minister in an area which had an acute scarcity of ministers, he was able to exert considerable influence on the development of the several small, Gaelic-speaking congregations of Scottish Baptists in south-western Ontario. In a manner very similar to his methods in Scotland, he travelled regularly on a circuit which included the churches meeting in Mosa Township in Middlesex County, Howard Township in Kent County, and Aldborough Township in Elgin County. (See Figure 3.) Such was his importance that the churches under his care were known for some time as 'Sinclair-Baptist' churches, until they dropped their Baptist label and affiliated themselves to the Disciples of Christ. From then until his death in 1870, Sinclair served the churches as an Elder (in effect, pastor), preaching in English and Gaelic, and guiding their course with a firm hand.

The Scottish Baptist churches on Sinclair's circuit appear to have identified themselves with the name of the Disciples of Christ about 1850, or a little later (Butchart 1949: 394-5). Some of the Ontario churches, however, may have developed about twenty years earlier to a point where their polity and theology were similar to that of the Disciples. For Sinclair and the churches, the transition from the Scottish Baptist position to that of the Disciples appears to have been a gradual process. In making this transition, Sinclair is said to have been influenced initially by James Black, a native of Kilmartin, Argyll, whom he baptised at Bellanoch in 1817. Black, who was a schoolmaster, emigrated to Ontario in 1820, the chief reason for his emigration allegedly being his unwillingness to subscribe to the articles of belief of the body which maintained his school. Having allied himself at first with the Scottish Baptists who met in Aldborough Township, he began to baptise candidates in the absence of an ordained Baptist missionary, and gradually assumed a pastoral role (Butchart 1949: 403-4). It is said in one source that Black was supplying

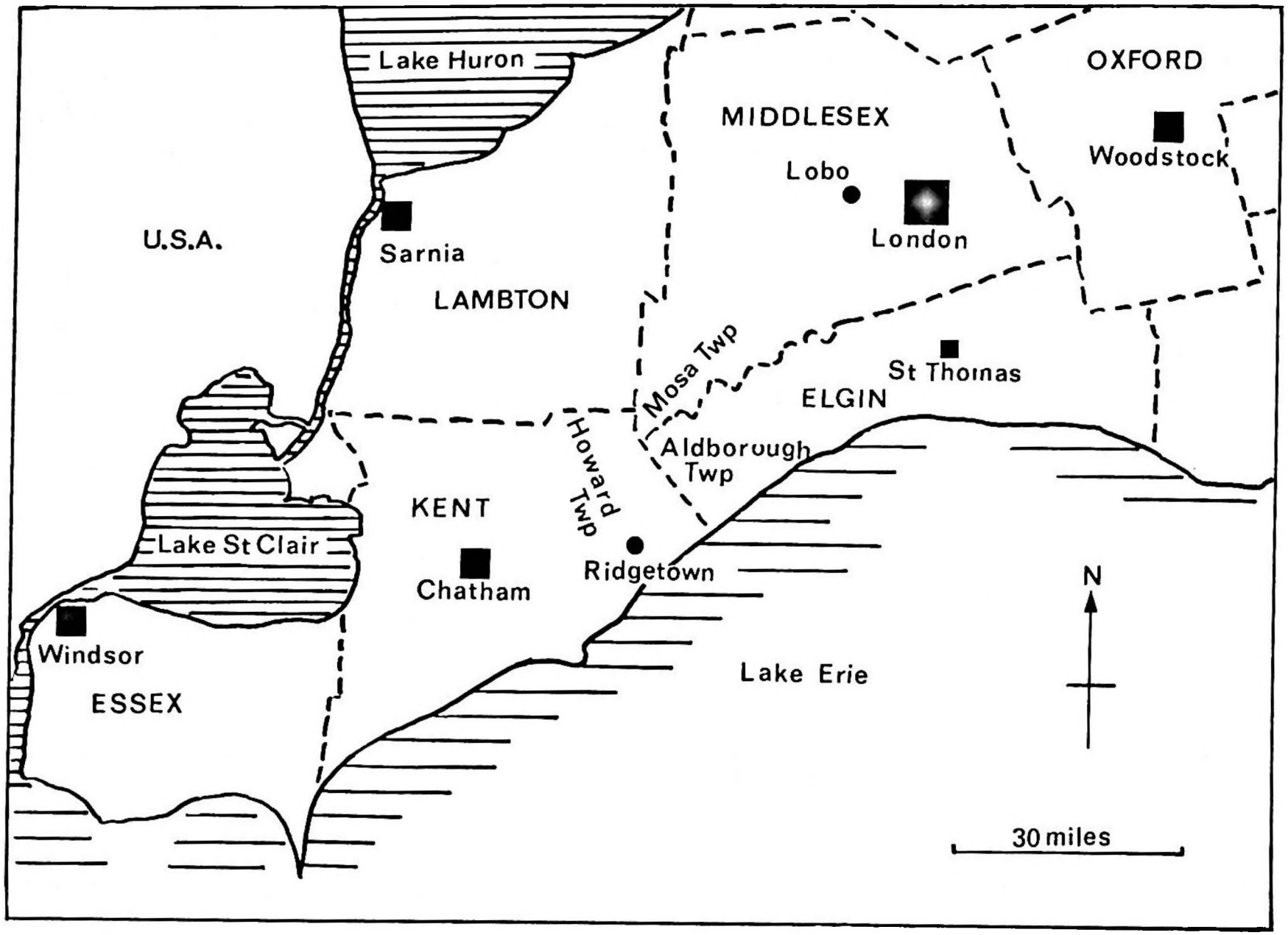

Fig. 3 South-western Ontario.

Sinclair with the literature of the Disciples' movement while he (Sinclair) was still in Lochgilphead (Butchart 1933: 14). In later years both Sinclair and Black earned a place as two of the six 'Pioneer Preachers' of the Disciples of Christ in Ontario (Butchart 1942: 11). Indeed, it is a fascinating aspect of the history of the Canadian branch of the Disciples that their movement owes much to Scottish Baptist emigrants from Argyll, and particularly to influential leaders from the Glassary, Knapdale and Lochgilphead districts.

In affiliating themselves to the Disciples of Christ, the Scottish Baptist churches of south-western Ontario joined a much wider movement which was particularly strong in the United States. This movement shared much common ground with that which had produced Baptist churches in the Highlands, but it was also different in several significant ways. For one thing, the Disciples were 'baptists', but they affirmed that baptism by immersion was essential for the forgiveness of sins. 'Orthodox' Baptists would have regarded baptism as a symbolic outward sign of an earlier experience of forgiveness. Like the Highland Baptist churches too, the Disciples sought to make the Scriptures the sole guide to church polity and practice, and they renounced the use of creeds and the formulation of subordinate standards. In matters of theology, however, they were opposed to Calvinism, and rejected the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, which was Particular Baptist (and thus Calvinist) in emphasis, and which was followed by many Baptist churches in North America. They maintained that a statement of belief, accompanied by baptism, was the only necessary basis and proof of salvation (Butchart 1949: 26-7).

The theological tenets of the Disciples of Christ were formulated by their principal leader, Alexander Campbell, an Irishman who had studied in Glasgow in 1808, and who had been influenced by Greville Ewing and the Haldane brothers, before he emigrated to the United States. His father, Thomas, had preceded him to the United States, where he served for some time as a minister of the Secession Church. After a stormy career with this denomination, he became a Baptist in 1812 at the same time as his son, Alexander. Father and son then launched out to lay the foundation of what later became the Disciples of Christ (Butchart 1949: 7-21; Thompson 1980: 13-20). The movement thus drew to itself a number of different strands of theology and church polity, but it retained a strong distinctiveness, especially through its understanding of baptism.

Yet in spite of such distinctiveness, the movement as a whole was, in broad terms, remarkably similar to that which had gripped certain parts of Scotland under the preaching of the Haldanes and related home missionary enterprises. It sought to restore the primitive New Testament model of the church, it was led by men with magnetic personalities and considerable intellectual gifts, it was characterised by revivals and a strong evangelical zeal, and it encouraged the founding and development of autonomous churches which, like the Baptist churches of Scotland, could assert their individual identities (McMillon 1983: 69-94). In Scotland itself after 1830, the Disciples influenced the development of several of the earlier Scotch Baptist churches, and their principles appealed to those who had a more rationalistic view of the evangelical faith (Murray 1984: 53-6). It is possible that for Dugald Sinclair, who possessed noticeable intellectual talents,

the intellectual brilliance of Alexander Campbell had a strong, if not overwhelming, attraction.[3]

When Dugald Sinclair and his fellow Baptists from Scotland identified themselves with the Disciples' movement, they had reached a significant stage in their religious development and national consciousness. Already they had moved from being Scottish Baptists to being 'Sinclair-Baptists'. By implementing a desire to belong to a body which was associated primarily with the New World, they made the final transition to another cultural context. As Scottish Baptists, they had contributed significantly to the emergence of a new movement in their homeland, and by absorbing the religious impulses from the United States of America, they were to make a similar contribution to the development of religious life in Canada.

Conclusion

A close study of the life of Dugald Sinclair helps to illumine the development of Highland society in the nineteenth century, especially with regard to religious experience. It provides a picture of the growth and consolidation of religious dissent in the West Highlands in the period from 1800 to 1830, and it underlines the importance of a single individual in contributing to a religious movement of this kind. Although Sinclair did not become a leader of national significance, he was undoubtedly a leader of note within his own community and among the religious cells which he helped to establish.

Sinclair's life also demonstrates the close links which existed between social change and religious experience in this period. This can be seen particularly in the emigrant context and in Sinclair's role as a leader within an emigrant group bound together by common territorial origins, kinship and religious identity. Men like Sinclair exercised a profound effect on the development of such groups, and in the land of their adoption they led their people in their response to a new cultural and religious setting.

An examination of the circumstances attending Sinclair's emigration shows that, for him, the decision to emigrate was not easy, and that he made this decision in the light of several factors, weighed up over a period. The later (1926) Lochgilphead account of Sinclair indicates that the role of such men can be re-interpreted misleadingly in subsequent years, probably under the influence of preconceptions in vogue at the time. In assessing the place of Sinclair (and others of his kind) in history, there can be no substitute for the rigorous examination of the primary sources of historical evidence.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper could not have been written without the unstinting help of several individuals and institutions in Scotland, Canada and the United States. It owes its origin to the Scottish Baptist History Project, to which it was read at an early stage, and I have benefited

from the comments and practical help of Dr David Bebbington and Dr Derek B. Murray. Dr Deryck Lovegrove, of the University of St Andrews, has also given valuable references. The librarians at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh University Library and New College Library, Edinburgh, guided my initial studies. Mr Murdo MacDonald, the Archivist of Argyll and Bute District Council, has furnished material relating to Mid Argyll. At a critical point in the development of the article, Dr Margaret Mackay of the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, put me in touch with Edward W. Lollis, then serving at the American Embassy in London, and later Ambassador at the American Embassy in Bordeaux. Mr Lollis's family is related to Archibald McLarty, who emigrated with Dugald Sinclair in 1831, and he graciously allowed me the use of family papers. Mr Lollis's help provided the first significant link with Sinclair in the New World, and I am deeply grateful to him.

On the American side, I owe a special debt to the warm-hearted and enthusiastic assistance of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee, and to the Society's Assistant Librarian, Mrs May Reed, who searched through numerous publications. The Society provided much useful material, including the photograph of Dugald Sinclair reproduced in this article. From Canada, Pastor Gregory P. Males of Poplar Hill Christian Church, Ontario, provided transcriptions and photographic evidence from the gravestones of the Sinclair family, and Mr Jim Whitehead of Kitchener, Ontario, clarified a number of points. The librarians of the National Library of Canada, Ottawa, gave all possible help when I researched there in 1986, and Miss Judith Colwell, of the Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario, answered several enquiries. When visiting the Province of Ontario Archives, Toronto, Dr Margaret Mackay kindly extracted important material from the Lobo Township Censuses of 1851-2 and 1861-2.

NOTES

1 See Note 2.

2 The three other men who studied at Bradford Academy with the support of the Lochgilphead Church in this period were John Paul, 1818-21, who moved to Boston, Lincolnshire, and then to Burslem; John McKaog, 1819-22, who went initially to Ireland as an itinerant with the Baptist Itinerant Society; and Archibald McPhail, 1822-3, whose studies were terminated before he completed his course. It is noteworthy that only John McMillan returned to a Highland station. Although Baptist enterprise in the Highlands could have benefited from many more itinerant preachers, the means to support them was probably insufficient in the period before the establishment of the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland in 1827 (Northern Education Society Reports 1804-25). For the later career of John McKaog (otherwise McKaeg), see Manley and Petras 1981: 38-52.

3 The distinction between 'Scotch Baptists' and 'Scottish Baptists' is very important in this context. The Scotch Baptists, the older of the two main Scottish movements, whose churches were led by a plurality of elders, owed much to the work and writings of John Glas and Robert Sandeman. So, too, did the Disciples of Christ, and for this reason they shared common ground which made it easier for some Scotch Baptist churches to embrace the teachings of the Disciples. The term 'Scottish Baptists', which is comprehensive, includes the so-called 'English' Baptists, whose churches were led by a single pastor and deacons. Dugald Sinclair, like Christopher Anderson and George Barclay, belonged to this latter group.

It is therefore all the more fascinating that Sinclair was subsequently attracted to the Disciples. While the influence of the Disciples on Scotch Baptists has been recognised, their possible influence on the 'English' Baptists in Scotland has received less acknowledgement (McMillon 1983; Murray 1984).

APPENDIX

The Family of Dugald Sinclair

Glassary OPR shows that the main concentration of Sinclair families in the parish was in the area from Kilmichael Glassary to Glasvar, the district with which Dugald Sinclair claims closest connection. Three families merit attention:

(1) Archibald Sinclair and Katrina MacKellar, resident at Glasvar. Children: Archibald, 31 July 1771; Elizabeth, 2 June 1776.
(2) John Sinclair and Christian MacKellar, resident at Kilmichael (1772), Ballimore (1785) and the Mill, Uila (1789). Children: Catherine, 9 February 1772; Donald, 3 August 1785; Duncan, 4 April 1789.
(3) Duncan Sinclair and Anne McFadyen, resident at Ballimore (1774) and Uila (1785). Children: Peter, 3 September 1774; Duncan, 26 December 1785; Mary, 20 February 1788; Colin, 17 May 1790; Archibald, 10 June 1792; Colin, 1 November 1794.

Since Dugald Sinclair had a brother, Donald, who died on 3 March 1868, aged eighty-two years and nine months (Males 1985), the evidence points to the possibility that John Sinclair and Christian MacKellar (family (2)) may have been the parents of Dugald Sinclair, and it may be significant that Dugald named his second son John (see below). It is likely that there was a close relationship between family (2) and family (1) above. Two brothers may have been married to two sisters. That the first two families were also related to the third family is suggested by the names of Dugald Sinclair's children, which include Archibald and Colin.

The family gravestones at Lobo (Males 1985) record an Elizabeth Sinclair, who died on 16 August 1890, aged 90 years. She was Dugald Sinclair's sister-in-law (Campbell 1917: 40).

Dugald and Christina Sinclair had six sons and two daughters. The names of three sons are recorded on the family gravestones: Malcolm, who died on 13 August 1845, probably in infancy; Duncan, who died on 11 March 1861, aged 20 years, seven months and 21 days; and Dugald, who died on 12 May 1892, aged 66, and who is known to have been a preacher with the Disciples (Lister 1892). Archibald (aged 14 in 1852) and Colin (aged 18 in 1852) are on record in the Lobo township Census of 1851-2. Both were prominent in the Lobo church, and Colin became the pastor of the Disciples' church at Ridgetown, Howard Township, Kent County (Butchart 1949: 394-6). The Sinclairs' second son was John, aged 23 in 1852 (Lobo Census 1851-2). The two daughters were Maria D. (probably

representing 'Donalda'), aged 24 in 1852, and Mary Ann, aged 16 in 1852 (Lobo Censuses, 1851-2, 1861-2).

In 1851-2 the Sinclair family lived in a two-storey frame house on Lot 3, Concession 8, in Lobo Township. The lot comprised 200 acres, of which 50 were under cultivation, and 150 under wood or wild (*ibid.*).

REFERENCES

ANDERSON, HUGH
1854 *The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson.* Edinburgh.

BHMS REPORTS
1829-33 *Annual Reports of the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland, 1829-46.* Edinburgh. [Glasgow University Library.]

BROWN, RAYMOND
1986 *The English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century.* London.

BUCHANAN, WILLIAM
1813 *Reports of Certain Remarkable Cases in the Court of Session and Trials in the High Court of Justiciary.* Edinburgh.

BURLEY, M. E.
1963 *Archibald McLarty of Argyll.* Kingston, Ontario.

BUTCHART, REUBEN
1933 'Early History of the Disciples of Christ in Ontario'. Paper read at Wellington County Convention at Guelph, October 1933, with emendations to the year 1951. [Archives of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee.]
1942 *A Primer of Disciple History in Canada.* Toronto.
1949 *The Disciples of Christ in Canada since 1830.* Toronto.

CAMERON, A. D.
1978 *Getting to Know the Crinan Canal.* Edinburgh.

CAMPBELL, D. J.
1917 'The Settlers of Lobo Township', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society,* Part VIII: 36-44. [The paper was delivered in 1904.]

DOUGLAS, N.
1799 *Journal of a Mission to Part of the Highlands of Scotland in Summer and Harvest 1797.* Edinburgh.

FES
1923 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* 4, ed. Hew Watt. 8 vols, 1915-50. Edinburgh.

GLASSARY OPR
Glassary Parish Register, 1750-1806. OPR 511/1. [Scottish Record Office.]

KILGOUR, JAMES
1888 Obituary of Mrs Dugald Sinclair. *The Christian Standard,* 29 September 1888.

LISTER, J. B.
1892 Obituary of Dugald Sinclair [Jnr]. *The Canadian Evangelist.* June.

LOBO CENSUS
1851-2, 1861-2 Lobo Township Censuses, Province of Ontario Archives.

MACLEOID, RUAIRIDH
1980 'Tòmas Telford agus na h-Eaglaisean Pàrlamaid'. *Life and Work* Gaelic Supplement, March.

MALES, G. P.
1985 Letter from Gregory P. Males, Pastor of Poplar Hill Christian Church, Ontario.

MANLEY, K. R., and PETRAS, M.
1981 *The First Australian Baptists*. Eastwood, N.S.W.

MARTY, MARTIN E.
1985 *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America*. New York. [Penguin edition.]

MCCOLL, HUGH
1979 *Some Sketches of the Early Highland Pioneers of the County of Middlesex*. Ottawa. [Canadian Heritage Publications. First published 1904.]

MCMILLON, LYNN A.
1983 *Restoration Roots*. Dallas, Texas.

MCNEILL, JOHN
1914 *The Baptist Church in Colonsay*. Edinburgh.

MEEK, D. E.
1987 'Evangelical Missionaries on the Early Nineteenth-Century Highlands'. *Scottish Studies* 28: 1-34.
1988a 'The Highlands' in *The Baptists in Scotland: A History*, ed. D. Bebbington. Pp. 280-308. Glasgow.
1988b 'Evangelicalism and Emigration: Aspects of the Role of Dissenting Evangelicalism in Highland Emigration to Canada' in *Proceedings of the First North American Congress of Celtic Studies*, ed. G. MacLennan. Pp. 15-35. Ottawa.
1988c *Island Harvest: A History of Tiree Baptist Church 1838-1988*. Edinburgh.
1988d 'The Bible and Social Change in the Nineteenth-Century Highlands' in *The Bible in Scottish Life and Literature*, ed. D. F. Wright. Pp. 179-91. Edinburgh.

MEEK, D. E., and MURRAY, D. B.
1988 'The Early Nineteenth Century' in *The Baptists in Scotland: A History*, ed. David Bebbington. Pp. 26-47. Glasgow.

MILITARY LIST
1803 List of Men of Military Age in the Parish of Glassary. [Argyll and Bute District Archives.]

MINUTE
1827 Minute of a Meeting held in Mr Innes's Chapel, Edinburgh, 13 June 1827, for the Purpose of Forming a Union of the Baptist Churches of Scotland. [Archives of the Baptist Union of Scotland.]

MORRIS, J.W.
1816 *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Rev. Andrew Fuller*. London.

MURRAY, D. B.
1984 'The Influence of John Glas', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 22, pt. 1: 45-56.

NORTHERN EDUCATION SOCIETY REPORTS
1804-25 *Annual Reports of the Northern Education Society*. [In a bound volume in Manchester Congregational College Archives. I owe this information to Dr Deryck Lovegrove.]

RYMER, L.
1974 'The Kelp Industry in North Knapdale'. *Scottish Studies* 18: 127-32.

SANDEEN, ERNEST R.
1970 *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930*. Chicago.

SASINES
1820 *Abbreviated Register of Sasines*, Argyll 1820, no. 3139.

SINCLAIR, DUGALD
1810-15 *Journal of Itinerating Exertions in Some of the More Destitute Parts of Scotland*. 6 vols. Edinburgh, 1814-17. [National Library of Scotland.]

SHEPPARD, EDMUND
1870 Obituary of Dugald Sinclair. *The Christian Standard*, 5 November 1870.

THOMPSON, DAVID M.
1980 *Let Sects and Parties Fall: A Short History of the Association of Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland*. Birmingham.

THOMSON, A. B.
1902 'Some Baptist Pioneers in Scotland during the Eighteenth Century and the Early Years of the Nineteenth'. *Scottish Baptist Year-Book* 1902: 24-31.

WESLEY, JOHN
1987 *The Journal of John Wesley: A Selection*, ed. Elizabeth Jay. Oxford.

WHITEFIELD, GEORGE
1978 *George Whitefield's Journals*, ed. Iain Murray. Edinburgh.

YUILLE, GEORGE
1926 *History of the Baptists in Scotland from Pre-Reformation Times*. Glasgow.

"Sgeulachd a' Chait Bhig 's a' Chait Mhóir"*

A Gaelic Variant of 'The Two Travellers' (AT 613)

JOHN SHAW

Bha siod ann: bha cat beag 's cat mór ann. 'S e naidheachd—sgeulachd—na Banrighinne Ruaidheadh a bh'ann: bha nighean aice. Agus ge b'e dh'fheumadh i, nuair reachadh an t-searbhanta amach dha'n t-sabhal a h-uile madainn dh'fheumadh i cupan do bhainne blàth fhaighinn a h-uile madainn nuair thigeadh i astaigh. Ach madainn a bha seo bha 'n cat beag agus an cat mór 'san t-sabhal agus dh'fhalbh iad agus chaidh iad 'sa mhiosair bainne—'sa chuman—miosair bainne bh'aig an t-searbhant' agus bhuail i *slap* orra car . . . an cumail as. Agus dh'fhalbh ròineagan dha'n fhionndadh as na cait, agus chaidh iad 'sa bhainne. Agus cha tug i sian fos dear 's nuair thànaig i astaigh thug i cupa dha'n bhainne do nighean na Banrighinne Ruaidh. Ach, a Dhia, nuair a ghabh an nighean am bainne nach tànaig na ròineagan beò 'na broinn agus dh'fhàs an nighean tinn. Ach co-dhiùbh cha robh fhios ac' . . . Dia 's aig Moire dé bh'air an nighinn.

Ach bha 'n sin seann duine bochd ann. Bha e dall agus e coiseachd a' rathaid agus bha a bhràthair còmhla ris agus cha b'urrainn dha 'n aire thoirt dha agus chuir e taobh a' rathaid e agus cuman uisge aige le thaobh. Agus an sin bha cìobair ann agus a dhròbh chaorach aige agus chunnaic na caoraich an duine seo agus ghabh iad an t-eagal. Ach thuirt an cìobair leis an duine bhochd bha 'na shuidhe seo 's e dall,

"A dhuine, chuir thu 'n t-eagal air na caoraich."

"Chan urrainn dhomhsa cuideach'. Tha mise dall," thuirt esan.

"O, ma tha," thuirt an duine, "a dhuine bhochd, thig astaigh."

Agus chuir e astaigh 'san t-sabhal aig a' Bhanrighinne Ruadh e.

Ach cha robh e fad astaigh a sin nuair thànaig an cat beag 's an cat mór astaigh dha'n t-sabhal. Agus thuirt an cat beag ris a' chat mhór,

"Tha nighean na Banrighinne Ruaidh glé thinn an diugh. Agus cha'n eil fhios aca dé [an tinneas fo Dhia][1] nan Gràsan a th'oirre.

"Ach tha fhios agam-as dé th'oirre," thuirt esan. "Bha mis' an dé 'san t-sabhal ann a' seo agus thànaig an t-searbhant' amach agus i leagail. Chuir mis' amach an goban bochd 'sa mhiosair bhainn' a bh'aice agus thug i buille dhomh aist' agus chaidh na ròineagan agam ann agus shluig i na ròineagan agam agus tha trì piseagan 'na broinn."

"O uill," thuirt an seann chat an uair sin, "cha'n eil fhios a bheil leigheas sam bith air a sin."

* Recorded 19/1/78 from Flora MacLellan, Broad Cove, Inverness County, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. (See page 3 for translation.)

"Tha. Tha uisge 'san tobar ud shios," thuirt esan—an tobar an leithid seo do dh'àite—"agus 's e an aon rud a nì feum oirre. 'S cha'n eil sian nach leighis e agus tha iad a' gràdhainn gun leighis e na doill fhéin cuideachd."

Cha robh fhios aca gu robh 'n seann duine seo astaigh idir. Dh'éisd am fear seo leis 's nuair a chaidh na cait amach dh'fhalbh e. Agus dh'fhalbh e air a ghlùinean 's bha e feuchainn 's a' feuchainn 's a' feuchainn. Mu dheireadh thànaig e gu tobar. 'S uill, tha seans' gur e seo an tobar a bh'ann. 'S bhog e a làmh 'san tobar 's chuir e 'n t-uisg' air a shùilean 's nach d'fhuair e a fhradhrarc! Cha robh fhios aige dé bha ceàrr 's ghlan e a rithist e 's bha fhradhrarc cho math 's a bha i riamh. Dh'fhalbh e 'n sin gu taigh suas an sin agus dh'iarr e soitheach orr' anns an cuireadh e uisge: gu robh toil aige deochan uisge a ghabhail. *All right,* thug bean an taighe sin dha 'n soitheach agus dh'fhalbh e gu àite na Banrighinne Ruaidh. 'S o, dh'fhairich e glaodhaich 's gearain astaigh 'san taigh agus chaidh e astaigh.

"'S cha chreid mi fhìn," thuirt esan, "nach eil duine tinn agaibh a' seo."

"Tha," thuirt a' Bhanrighinne Ruadh, "tha 'n nighean agam tinn bho chionn leithid seo do dh'ùine 's tha mi 'n deagh' a h-uile seud a chosg leath' is tha e fàirlinn orm a leigheas."

"O, uill, nach eil sin uamhasach ait. Am faod mise faicinn?" thuirt esan.

"O, 's tu a dh'fhaodas. Cha dean thu cron na feum dhi," thuirt ise.

Dh'fhalbh e 's thug e amach seo as a phòca na ge b'e c'àite robh e aige.

"Tha stuth agam-as," thuirt esan, "an seo agus tha iad a' gràdhainn gun dean e leigheas do dhuine sam bith agus am biodh gràin agad-as air a ghabhail?"

"O, nach fhaod mi a ghabhail?" thuirt ise. "Cha dean e sian orm co-dhiùbh. Cha bhi mi ach mar a tha mi."

Ghabh i pàirt dha'n uisge. A Dhia dh'fhairich i rud neònach 's leum piseag mhór ghlas amach as a broinn. O, ghabh i eagal a bha gàbhaidh 's,

"Ciamar a tha thu an dràsda?"

"Tha mi beagan na's fheàrr," thuirt ise. Bha i tinn fhathast.

"Uill, dh' fhaoidte gum b'fheàrr dhut beagan eile dhe ghabhail," thuirt esan.

Ghabh i beagan eile dhan uisge seo 's leum piseag mhór, bhàn amach as a broinn. Bha i 'n uair sin . . . ghabh i 'n t-eagal ach air a shon sin bha i na b'fheàrr.

"Dh'fhaoidte gun gabhadh tu dileag eile dha'n uisge seo," thuirt esan. Ghabh i sin 'us leum piseag mhór, dhubh amach as a broinn.

O, bha i 'n uair sin cho math 's a ghabhadh i agus bha i uamhasach 's bha i leighiste 's bha i cho toilichte 's bha a' Bhanrighinne Ruadh cho toilicht' as a h-uile sian a bh'ann.

"Ach dé a nist am pàigheadh a bheir mi dhut?" thuirt àsan ris an fhear ann a seo.

"Uill, chan eil bhuams' ach deise mhath aodaich," thuirt esan, "agus beagan do dh'airgead."

O, cha deanadh sin an gnothach. Bha nighean na Banrighinne Ruadh, bha toil aic' am fear seo fhaighinn ri pòsadh. O, uill, bha esan tuilleadh is bochd 's siod 's seo ach cha dhùineadh is' a beul gus an d'fhuair i e le phòsadh.

Uill, bha e 'n sin air a dhreasadh 's dh'fhalbh iad amach agus iad tha mi cinnteach ann

an *coach*. Agus thachair caraide dha fhéin air do dhuine bochd air choireiginn agus dh'fhoighneachd e dha,

"Ciamar a fhuair thus' a bhith cho beairteach 's cho dreaste sin?"

"O, uill," thuirt esan, "thig astaigh còmhla liom 'sa' *wagon* (na 'sa' *choach* a seo na gc b'e dé bh'ann) agus na biodh e cur trioblaid idir ort dé chuir mise cho math seo."

Agus cha dhùineadh am fear seo a bheul gus an d'fhuair e amach ciamar a fhuair e a bhith cho beairteach.

"*All right,*" thuirt esan, "bi falbh. Cha bhi thu còmhla riumsa tuillidh." 'S dh'inns' e dha nuair a fhuair e 'm beairteas, gun do chaill e a fhradhrarc, gun deach e a shabhal na Banrighinne Ruadh, 's na cait a bha astaigh, agus gun do dh'inns' iad dha mun tobar seo.

All right. Dh'fhalbh am fear seo 's bha e fhéin 'na shuidhe taobh a' rathaid mhóir agus dé rinn e ach thug e na sùilean as fhéin! Thug e na sùilean as fhéin agus shuidh e taobh a' rathaid mhóir 's cuman uisge le thaobh. 'S thànaig an aon chiobair mun cuairt 's na caoraich aig'.

"O, a dhuine bhochd," thuirt esan, "chuir thu an t-eagal air mo chuid chaorach."

"O, chan urrainn dhomhsa sin a chuideachadh. Chan eil fradhrarc agam," thuirt esan.

"O, uill," thuirt esan, "mura h-eil cuiridh mi 'n ath . . . ach cha chreid mi nach tu fhéin a thug na sùilean asad fhéin," thuirt e.

All right. Dh'fhalbh e 's thog e (e) 's chuir e 'n sabhal na Banrighinne Ruaidh shuas e. Agus cha robh e fada 'n sin gus an tànaig an dà chat astaigh 's bha iad a' bruidhinn. Thuirt an cat beag ris,

"Tha mis' a' deanadh dheth gu bheil cuideiginn astaigh a seo ag éisdeachd leinn."

"Saoil a bheil?" thuirt am fear eile.

"Tha," thuirt an cat beag. 'S dh'fhalbh iad mun cuairt dha'n t-sabhal. Mu dheireadh fhuair iad a' fear a bha seo 's gun sùilean ann 's dh'éirich iad air 's dh'ith iad e. 'S chan eil fhios agam-as—dh'fhàg mis' iad an sin.

'S ann aig mo mhàthair a chuala mi bho chionn fhada i.

The Small Cat and the Big Cat

(Translation)

There was once a small cat and a big cat: the story—tale—concerns the Red Queen who had a daughter. And whatever the princess needed, when the maidservant went out to the barn each morning she had to get a cup of warm milk when the maidservant came back in. But this one morning the small cat and the big cat were in the barn and they went and got into the milk vessel—the milk pail—that the maidservant was using and she gave them a slap to keep them out. And some hairs from the cats' fur came out and landed in

the milk. But the maidservant noticed nothing and when she came back in she gave a cup of the milk to the Red Queen's daughter. But, Heavens! When the girl drank the milk what happened but the hairs came alive in her belly and she grew ill and they didn't know in the name of God and Mary what was wrong with her.

Now there was a poor, old man. He was blind, walking along the road with his brother. His brother could not take care of him, so he left him at the roadside with a vessel of water beside him. And along came a shepherd with a drove of sheep, and when the sheep saw the man they panicked. So the shepherd addressed the poor, blind man where he sat, saying,

"My good man, you have frightened the sheep."

"I can't help that. I'm blind," said he.

"O, in that case, my poor fellow," said the other man, "come in here."

And he led him into the barn belonging to the Red Queen.

But he wasn't in there for long before the small cat and the big cat came into the barn. The small cat said to the big cat,

"The Red Queen's daughter is very ill today and they don't know in the name of God above what her illness is.

"But I know what is wrong with her," said he. "I was here in the barn yesterday and the maidservant had come out and was milking. I put my poor little face into her milk pail and she knocked me out of it and my hairs landed in the milk. The princess swallowed the hairs and now there are three kittens in her belly."

"Well, well," said the old cat, "no one knows whether there is any cure for that."

"There is. There is water in the well down there," said he,—the well that was somewhere [nearby]—"and that's the only thing that will help her. There is nothing it won't cure; people say it will cure the blind as well."

The cats didn't know that the old man was in there at all. The old man listened to this and when the cats went out he started off on his knees feeling and groping around. At last he came to a well and it seems that was the very well. He dipped his hand in the well, applied the water to his eyes and didn't he regain his sight! He didn't know what was wrong so he bathed it again and his sight was as good as ever. So he went up to a house above and asked them for a container in which to put water: he wanted a drink of water. Very well, the woman of the house gave him the container and he set out to the Red Queen's dwelling. He heard cries and complaints inside so he went in.

"I believe," he said, "that you have a sick person here."

"Yes," replied the Red Queen. "My daughter has been ill for some time and I have spent everything on her and still I've failed to cure her."

"Well, well. Isn't that curious. May I see her?" he said.

"O, indeed you may. You'll neither hurt her nor help her," she said.

So he went and took this out of his pocket, or wherever he kept it.

"I have a substance here," he said, "which they say will cure anyone. Would you object to taking some?"

"Why shouldn't I?" replied the girl. "It won't hurt me anyway. I'll only be as I am now."

She took some of the water, and by God she felt something strange and a large grey kitten leapt out of her belly. Well, she took a terrible fright, and,

"How are you now?"

"I feel a little better," she said, but she was still sick.

"Well, perhaps you had better have a little more of it," he said.

So she took a little more of the water and a large white kitten leapt out of her belly. She was . . . she took a fright that time but nevertheless she felt better.

"Perhaps you could have another little sip of this water," he suggested. So she did and a large, black kitten leapt out of her belly.

By then she was as healthy as could be—extremely so—and completely cured as well. She was so pleased and the queen was so pleased with everything.

"What payment shall I give you now?" they asked the man [standing] there.

"Well, all I wish is a good suit of clothes," he replied, "and a small sum of money."

But that would not do: the Red Queen's daughter wanted to have him in marriage. Well, he said he was too poor for that, and so on, but she would not shut her mouth until she got to marry him.

Well, he was dressed up then and off they went I'm sure in a coach. And he met a friend of his who was just a poor man and he asked him,

"How did you manage to become so wealthy and so well dressed?"

"Well," he replied, "come into the wagon (or the coach ot whatever it was) with me and do not trouble yourself any more with what made me so well off here."

But the other man would not shut his mouth until he learned how he had managed to become so wealthy.

"Very well," he told him, "but then you must be on your way and not stay around me any more." So he told him when he had come by his wealth: how he had lost his sight and had gone to the barn belonging to the Red Queen and about the cats inside who had told him about the well.

All right. The other man went and sat beside the main road and what did he do but put out his own eyes! He put out his eyes and sat beside the main road with a vessel of water beside him, and the same shepherd came around with the sheep.

"O, my poor man," he said, "you have frightened my sheep."

"O, I cannot help that. I have no sight," replied the other.

"Well, in that case I'll put the next . . . but I think it was you who put out your own eyes," he said.

All right. The shepherd went and took him and put him up above in the Red Queen's barn. And he wasn't there long when the two cats came in and started talking. The small cat said,

"I believe there is someone in here listening to us."

"Do you think so?" said the other cat.

"I do," said the small cat. So they did the rounds of the barn and at last they found the man without his eyes and they attacked him and ate him. And I don't know—I left them there.

I heard this story from my mother long ago.

Commentary

This is the only known Cape Breton example of AT 613 'The Two Travellers', an international tale with a wide distribution and a considerable literary history.[2] A further recording of the tale was made (22/8/88) from the same informant by D. A. MacDonald with the writer, for the School of Scottish Studies (SA1988/48), showing minor changes in the sequence of episodes between the two sessions.[3] No other Gaelic versions have been recorded from Nova Scotia reciters, nor is the tale among those known by storytellers to have existed there earlier.[4] Flora MacLellan gives her mother and her mother's grandmother, among others, as her sources. Her mother was descended from Gillies' at the head of Loch Morar and from MacPhersons in Moidart, in the Western Highlands. Much of the family tradition recorded from Flora and her late brother Archie Dan derives from Morar; thus the Cape Breton story very likely has its origins in Mainland Scotland.

The tale-type is likewise rare in Scotland, with a single Gaelic example, '*Sùil-a-Sporan agus Sùil-a-Dia*', first recorded from the South Uist reciter Donald Alasdair Johnson, Ardmore, by Angus John MacDonald for the School of Scottish Studies (SA1969/120/A1). A subsequent recording from Mr. Johnson was made by Donald R. MacDonald (SA 1970/214 A1), and a filmed version was later recorded by Donald A. MacDonald and the School's technical staff (VA 1973/1). For purposes of comparison the version recorded in 1969 and published soon after (Angus John MacDonald: 1972) can be summarised as follows:

> Sùil-a-Sporan and Sùil-a Dia live together in the same house. Sùil-a-Sporan believes in his purse while Sùil-a-Dia places his faith in God. An argument arises where Sùil-a-Sporan maintains that the purse will supply anything for him and Sùil-a-Dia answers that even if Sùil-a-Sporan is to put out both his eyes God will replace them. Sùil-a-Sporan blinds Sùil-a-Dia and leaves him there.
>
> The cats with their king Gugtrabhad gather that night in a nearby house and the *Piseag Shalach Odhar* [Scruffy Dun-coloured Kitten] gives them the news of a well containing water that will cure all afflictions, including blindness.[5] Sùil-a-Dia, on hands and knees, finds his way into the house and overhears the news of the well and the directions to it. After the cats fall asleep he finds the well, applies the water to his eyes and his sight is restored.
>
> He returns home to Sùil-a-Sporan and Sùil-a-Sporan asks him to go to the same place and blind him. Sùil-a-Sporan reaches the cats' house and conceals himself under the same tub that covered Sùil-a-Dia. The *Piseag Shalach Odhar* arrives with the news that someone was present

the night before, overheard their conversation and is healed because of it. The cats search the house, eventually finding Sùil-a-Sporan [whom they call Mac Mharais], and tear him to pieces, killing him.

Sùil-a-Dia finds the body the next day and removes it. He returns one night and sets fire to the house, burning the cats to death.

A look at the numerous variants of the type recorded in Ireland and further afield makes it clear that neither of the Scottish Gaelic versions has retained the entire story. The Cape Breton rendition does not mention the cause of blindness or the motivating religious and philosophical argument between the two brothers/travellers concerning the belief in God or money. Likewise the episode of the princess' illness and her cure is not contained in the South Uist story. Both episodes, however, are present in slightly altered but recognisable form in Duncan Williamson's rendition of 'True and Untrue' (recited in English and the only other known example of the type recorded in Scotland)[6] and in those published in Ireland.[7] The absence of the introductory quarrel/wager is unique among the published Gaelic versions available, as is the absence of the illness and cure episode with one minor exception in each case.[8] On this combined evidence we may regard the absence of the episodes in Scottish Gaelic as a secondary development.

If we accept the likelihood that the two episodes above were dropped at some time from the South Uist and Cape Breton stories—both recorded in the latter twentieth-century—the main differences between them are those of omission rather than story content. Furthermore they are linked by an episode which appears elsewhere in Highland tradition. In a passage recorded during the nineteenth century describing the demonic properties of cats the slap given to the cat drinking the milk in the barn is paralleled in an account of a woman who catches a strange cat drinking milk in her kirn and raps its nose against the floor. It goes on to describe the cat's return that night with two others:

One said they would take the back of their paws to the woman, but the other said the front of their paws. The resolution was carried by the casting vote of the injured cat, and the woman was torn to shreds (J. G. Campbell 1902: 39-40).

The end of the passage corresponds closely to the cats' treatment of Sùil-a-Sporan in the South Uist story:

Thòisich iad air sliobadh Mac Mharais aig an teine—Sùil-a-Sporan—agus thòisich cùl a spòige, agus thug iad treis air a sin.

"Siuthadaibh a nis," orsa Gugtrabhad, ors ise, "gabhaidh a cùl 's a h-aghaidh," ors ise.

Thòisich na fir air "cùl 's a h-aghaidh," 's ma dheireadh ma'n do stad iad cha robh greim air fhàgail a Shùil-a-Sporan nach robh air a reubadh as a chèile, agus chaidh crìoch air Sùil-a-Sporan bochd ann a shin.

'They started to stroke MacMharais by the fire—Sùil-a-Sporan—and they began with the back of the paw and they went on like that for a while.

"Right, now," said Gugtrabhad, "try both back and front."

The lads started with "back and front" and, at last, before they stopped, there wasn't a bit of Sùil-a-Sporan left that hadn't been torn to pieces, and that was the end of poor Sùil-a-Sporan'. (Angus John MacDonald 1972: 222-9)

Gugtrabhad (or Cugrabhad/Cugarbhad), king of the cats, in the South Uist version, is

known elsewhere as well. Fr Allan McDonald (McDonald 1958: 89) quotes a passage from an unidentified South Uist story: "*A phiseag bheag pheallach odhar, mharbh mo choin Cùgrabhad*", 'Shaggy little dun kitten, my dogs have killed Cugrabhad.' This is undoubtedly the answer given in a story recorded in late 1963 in South Uist titled *MacMhuirich agus na Cait Mhóra,* 'MacMhuirich and the Big Cats', where one of the famous family of bards while hunting with his dogs at Hàbharsal encounters Cugrabhat, a giant cat who fights with and beats his dogs. MacMhuirich, however, captures its kitten and fetches a great dog from Benbecula and the three dogs kill Cugrabhat. Returning home, he tells the kitten of the victory and the kitten, suddenly growing to the size of a stirk asks, "Did the dogs kill Cugrabhat?" MacMhuirich dons a suit of mail and cuts off its head with a sword.[9] Alexander Carmichael gave a similar reference (Carmichael 2: 263) with no location: ' "*Cugarbhad Mor righ nan cat,*"—Great Cugarvad, king of the cats is the title of a weird story full of graphic scenes and elliptical runes, interesting to the mythologist and the grammarian.' The name appears in English in a story from Ayrshire 'The Barn is Burning' (AT 1562A; also an international tale) where the mistress of the house requires the servant to call everything by extraordinary names, and the cat becomes Old Calgravatus.[10]

Leaving aside the question of the absent (or missing) episode of the princess'/king's illness and cure, the South Uist version shares as many features with some of the Irish variants as it does with that recorded in Cape Breton. In the case of one Ulster version (MacManus 1904) the number of shared features is even greater. Of some interest here is the concluding episode common only to the South Uist and one Connaught story (Hyde 1911) of the destruction of the building.[11]

The Cape Breton variant shows correspondences with its Irish counterparts, particularly with regard to the princess' illness and subsequent cure which are strikingly close. We should note that the episode is not confined to a single detail; it incorporates a causal sequence where a cat is struck or abused while trying to take milk or food and leaves its hair or spittle in milk taken by the princess who then falls ill with (usually) cats in her belly. She is then cured by the healing substances and expels them. The episode is found in one of the two published Ulster versions (MacManus 1904; the cause is not mentioned in the other) and in three of the four from Connaught (Hyde 1911; Ó Cadhain 1935; Ó Fotharta 1892).[12] None of the Munster stories contains this episode, or indeed describes the cause of the illness. A more general study of the available Irish material shows that variants from Ulster and Connaught have the closest affinities with those found in Scottish Gaelic and that the Munster stories show marked differences from all of the above.[13]

Evidence of a more general nature from outside the Gaelic world is also helpful in placing the Scottish Gaelic variants of the tale in their context. In his wide-ranging comparative study of the tale-type Christiansen notes the earliest traces in India—the central episode is in the *Pañcatantra*—perhaps from the first half millenium of our era (Christiansen 1916: 118; 191-2). Christiansen divides the mass of Asiatic and European variants into a popular, northern type (A-type), 'more like a real popular tale' (*op. cit.*: 144) and a southern, literary didactic type (B-type) with religious or moral content. The B-type

appears in Jewish tradition in Palestine in the tenth century, being used to illustrate *Proverbs* XI.8 ('The righteous is delivered out of trouble and the wicked cometh in his stead') and in *The Arabian Nights*, possibly from the fourteenth century. This literary type may have entered Europe through Hebrew tradition, and spread through its use as an *exemplum* (*op. cit.*: 162-3). The earliest appearance of the tale in Europe is in *Libro de los Gatos*, a Spanish collection of *exempla* from *c.*1300, and it may have been introduced to Europe at the time of the Crusades. It appears again as an *exemplum* cited by the Hungarian Oswald Pelbart in Timisoara in 1490. All the Southern European variants are derived from Christiansen's B-type (*op. cit.*: 152); the story appears in this form in the novelistic tales of Basile's *Pentamerone* (1637 edition).

In Gaelic tradition the tale adheres closely to the Southern European type[14] and is characterised by the presence of cats to represent the demonic aspects of the animals in the tale. Religious tales, including international types, enjoyed wide popularity in Ireland from medieval times, but there is no evidence to indicate when the tale arrived there. In Ireland as in mainland Europe *exempla* were used by the clergy to illustrate a moral or religious point and passed into the oral storytelling repertoire (Ó Súilleabháin: 18-19; Jackson 1936: 280); a number survive in Irish manuscripts (Greene 1961; Mac Niocaill 1955, 1966).

The literary and didactic antecedents of our tale in Ireland and Southern Europe provide some indications as to probable lines of transmission into Gaelic-speaking Scotland. Given the absence of written evidence of the tale in Scotland we cannot, of course, dismiss the possibility that it may have arrived there at any time from Ireland (or elsewhere) through regular processes of oral transmission as some international tales undoubtedly did. Bruford (1980: 49) notes there is no surviving written record of any complete *Märchen* in Scotland from before 1600, and the distribution patterns of similar tales on Scottish Gaelic territory, particularly *exempla*, suggest another possibility. In the Scottish and Cape Breton Gaelic-speaking areas, both rich territory for the folklore collector, tales of the *exemplum* type recorded are far from plentiful, both in number and in variety.[15] In terms of history and distribution an interesting parallel to 'The Two Travellers' is to be found in the *exemplum* AT 759A 'The Sinful Priest'. The story is in the *Gesta Romanorum*, a medieval collection of *exempla*,[16] and has survived into this century among Irish storytellers (Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen 1963: 97-8, 155; Ó Súilleabháin 1951). There are only three examples of the story in Scottish Gaelic known to me, all of them recorded relatively recently, from Nan MacKinnon of Vatersay; a Lewis reciter; and Joe Lawrence MacDonald of Boisdale, Cape Breton.[17]

One explanation for the relative rarity of our tale and other *exempla* in Gaelic Scotland worth examining is the possibility of their introduction to the Western Highlands and Islands by post-Reformation Irish missionaries in the seventeenth century. At the time of the beginning of the Irish Franciscan mission to Scotland in 1619 there were no Gaelic-speaking Catholic priests in the Highlands (Giblin 1964: viii), and Ireland was seen as the only source of missionaries with the necessary language and training. All the Franciscan

missionaries were from Ulster (Giblin 1964: xii) and their headquarters was the friary of Bonamargy in County Antrim. During the twenty-seven years of their mission in Scotland, extending from Kintyre in the south to the Mainland and Harris in the north, they were instructed to 'try diligently to improve their knowledge of the Scottish tongue; moral themes are to be propounded in their sermons . . .' ['*In Scotica lingua sedulo cavent proficere. Inter concionandum proponant aliqua moralia . . .*'] (*op. cit.*: 26-7). Unfortunately no record survives of the actual content of the sermons and their treatment of moral themes, but there is no reason to assume that the form and content of the sermons differed greatly from those delivered in Ulster or elsewhere in Ireland, once we accept that a large degree of cultural and linguistic unity in Gaeldom persisted into the early seventeenth century. A report in 1626 from missionary Fr Cornelius Ward gives an account of his work in Uist and Barra (*op. cit.*: 83-7) and describes religious dreams and minor miracles reported among the common people of those islands, which greatly facilitated his mission; the didactic nature of these recalls *exempla* and parables from medieval sources as well as recent oral tradition.[18]

Post-Reformation contacts between Highland Gaels and Irish clergy were also frequent in Ireland. Pilgrims from Barra are reported in 1593 to have customarily visited Croagh Patrick in Mayo (W. C. MacKenzie 1937: 193). Some fifty years later Fr Hegarty, a Franciscan in charge of the friary at Bonamargy reported to the Congregation of Propaganda in Rome that 'he has been guardian of the friary of Bonamargy for the past eight years, and that he has done just as much there in the work of converting the Scots as if he were actually labouring in Scotland itself, because Scots converted by him and his fellow missionaries or wishing to be converted flock to Bonamargy daily like bees to a hive; . . .' (Giblin 1964: 180).

Irish missionary activity continued through the latter half of the seventeenth century, most notably with Fr Duggan and the Lazarist Fr Francis White who died in 1679 (Bellesheim 1890: 82-6). During this time considerable activity seems to have taken place in Uist and Barra, and in Morar,[19] Arisaig and Moidart where Fr Ward had preached in 1636 (Giblin 1964: 172). These mainland districts were served by the missionaries active throughout the Highlands at the time, most if not all of whom were from Ireland (Blundell 1917: 135). Morar had a resident Irish priest between 1681 and 1704, and George Fanning, an Irish Dominican, left Arisaig around 1678 having served there for an unknown length of time (Blundell 1917: 87, 117). The need for more Gaelic-speaking Irish missionaries here and elsewhere was expressed in 1664 and again in 1665 by Fr Francis White in his requests to St Vincent of Paul (*op. cit.*: 117-18). During three-quarters of a century the missionaries preached to a large audience in the Western Highlands and the Isles. As early as 1633 Fr Ward claimed that the missionaries had made over 6,000 converts and baptised 3,000 (Giblin 1964: xi). His claims were regarded with scepticism for a time in Rome but were eventually accepted. The combined missionaries' reports indicate that the number of people converted and preached to was in the tens of thousands, and the mission took care not to neglect the aristocracy.

In the absence of datable texts in Scottish Gaelic of AT 613 and other *exempla*, or contemporary accounts of their being recited, our evidence cannot be more than circumstantial. If all, or most, *exempla* were introduced to the Highlands from Ireland during the seventeenth century it would fit well with what is known about the appearance of other similar stories in Scotland. During medieval times—and later, in Gaelic areas—the transmission and spread of tales involved a constant interplay between oral recitation and written sources (D. A. MacDonald 1989: 185). Bruford (1980: 50) notes that tales known from medieval Irish sources generally appear in Scotland in a form which reflects post-medieval manuscripts. Like many of the hero-tales *exempla* had a literary basis, and the occasions were ready-made for them to be presented to a wide audience. According to Bruford's study of hero-tales (*op. cit.*) those which were likely to have been literary compositions of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries could gain the popularity and variety of most *Märchen* among oral reciters. If *exempla* entered the oral repertoire in Scotland in much the same way, we may suppose that their limited distribution is a result of their being delivered orally by travelling missionaries in sermons over a far shorter period than that which witnessed the reading aloud from manuscripts.

NOTES

1 This is unclear on the initial recording. It was added by the informant 17 October 1988.

2 See Thompson 1946: 80-1.

3 In the 1988 recording, the *Banrighinn Ruadh*, 'Red-haired Queen', is a king (*righ*) and the blow to the cat is administered by a male farm-hand. A seer (*fiosaiche*) tells the royal family the cause of the illness, which can only be cured by a man who tells the princess a true story. The blind man returns to his brother, tells him what he overheard in the barn, then finds the well with the healing water and his sight returns. The curing of the princess and the fate of the other brother are as given in the earlier recording. The substitutions over a ten year period of the king and farmhand servant suggest how easily similar differences between Irish variants may have arisen.

4 It does not appear to be among the list of names and fragments of the 70 or so lost tales that I have noted from Cape Breton informants. The Nova Scotia Micmac story 'The Honest Man and the Rogue' (Rand 1894: 120-5) clearly belongs to the same tale-type but does not appear to be closely related to our Gaelic variant. It may well have arrived with Acadian storytellers or clergy; 9 Franco-American variants have been noted (Aarne-Thompson 1961: 223).

5 VA 1973/1: ". . . *chan eil seòrsa anschocair a th'air an t-saoghal," ors ise, "nach leighis e . . .*" ". . . there is no affliction in the world," said she, "that it won't heal . . ." Compare Flora MacLellan above: " *'S chan eil sian nach leighis e agus tha iad a' gràdhainn gun leighis e na doill fhèin cuideachd* ", "There is nothing it won't cure; people say it will cure the blind as well." Angus John MacDonald (1972: 224-5) after a similar passage has "*. . . agus ged a . . . chailleadh tu do . . . fhradharc fhèin gu . . . na faigheadh tu suathadh dhe 'n uisg' ad gu faigheadh tu fradharc.*" ". . . and that even if you were to lose your sight you would get it back if you got a rub of that water."

6 See Appendix below.

7 See References below.

8 De Bhaldraithe (1966) gives a fragment which ends with the beginning of the cat's story. Hyde (1911) supplies an introduction which does not belong to the tale-type. The tale proper begins with a group of mischievous boys, except for the fool among them, being blinded by a ball sent by an old woman whom

they have angered. In Ireland and indeed throughout Europe the tale is often combined with AT 1535 'The Rich and the Poor Peasant'.

9 SA1963/68 B5 Recorded from Mary Ann MacInnes, Stilligarry, S. Uist by Donald Archie MacDonald. The English summary is from the archives of the School of Scottish Studies. My thanks are due to D. A. MacDonald for drawing this to my attention.

10 Could Carmichael's description hint that the story may have belonged to that group which entered oral tradition from sixteenth- to eighteenth-century manuscripts? The reference to Calgravatus is from a letter kindly supplied by Dr Alan Bruford of the School of Scottish Studies. A Fife variant (*Tocher* 3 [1971]: 82-3) calls the cat 'Great Man of Crayantis'.

11 This would seem to be a 'logical' independent innovation except for the fact that the same feature occurs in Russian versions of the tale. According to Christiansen (1916: 154-5) it is connected with his southern B-type (see *infra*), to which all our Gaelic variants, with the possible exception of one from Munster, belong; see note 14 below.

12 In the Ulster variant the princess carries serpents instead of cats and is cured with healing water. In two of the Connaught tales where the episode occurs (Hyde 1911; Ó Cadhain 1935), the healing substance is a plant. De Bhaldraithe's variant ends before this point in the story.

13 Here we should bear in mind that the Irish variants available in publications represent only a small proportion of the total number recorded or in manuscripts. See the listings given in *The Types of Irish Folktale* (Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen 1963: 131-2). These were assembled as a result of the Irish Folklore Commission's massive collecting effort begun in the 30s and show a regional distribution similar to that suggested by the published sources: Ulster 24; Connaught 104; Munster 65; Leinster 7. Barring distortions arising from factors external to storytelling (*e.g.* the rapid demise of Irish in certain districts, or greater folktale-collecting activity in others) we may suppose that the tale enjoyed a particularly strong representation in Connaught, with variants which appear in Ulster and correspond closely with the two Scottish Gaelic examples.

14 *Na Trí Préacháin* (Ó Laoghaire 1908) seems to be an exception. The lack-of-water motif (*cf.* Duncan Williamson's story in the Appendix) and the appearance of crows instead of cats in the tale, both unique in the published literature from Ireland, are associated with Christiansen's northern A-type (Christiansen 1916: 144, 73).

15 See the tale-catalogue at the School of Scottish Studies *s.v. exempla*; MacNeil 1987: 464.

16 So also is the *exemplum* edited by MacNiocaill (1955) from a late-fifteenth-century manuscript.

17 Nan MacKinnon: SA1965/18/B11; the Lewis reciter: John MacInnes 1983: 227-8; Joe Lawrence MacDonald (of South Uist and Barra descent): 212A1 rec. 2/5/79 by the writer. See also Jackson 1936: 276. An interesting exception is AT 910B 'The Servant's Good Counsels' which, by comparison, is popular in Gaelic Scotland (Aarne-Thomson 1961: 313-14; MacNeil 1987: 202-9, 464; with some 20 cards in the SS Tale Archive) as well as being abundantly represented in Irish tradition (O Súilleabháin and Christiansen: 175-6).

18 The Franciscans, along with other mendicant orders, recognised from medieval times the advantages of incorporating *exempla* into a preaching tradition intended to reach large audiences (Welter 1927: 133).

19 Bishop Nicholson notes in a report on his visit to Uist in 1700 that the three (Catholic) schools in the Highlands were in Uist, Barra and Morar (Blundell 1917: 28). By then Morar was recognised as a meeting place for Catholic missionaries in the Highlands.

APPENDIX

The summary below is of a story from the Archives of the School of Scottish Studies, recorded from Duncan Williamson by Linda Williamson (*née* Headlee) at Tarvit Farm, Cupar, Fife, in August 1976 (SA1976/140). It is given here with their permission.

Duncan remembers hearing the story from a close relative, Willie Williamson, who spoke both English and Gaelic. This version deserves to be studied on its own, for it

differs markedly from the others from Scotland given above. Comparative evidence from Christiansen's study reveals a strong affiliation with a group of variants of a popular, non-literary origin (A-type) frequent in Northern Europe: within this group the greatest similarity seems to be to variants found in Scandinavia. No examples of the tale-type are known to have been recorded in England or English-speaking North America.

True and Untrue are brothers. True does not lie, but Untrue lies and does many bad things. Their father sends them out to make a living. They quarrel over food and Untrue blinds True with a burning coal. True climbs a tree and the animals gather below him—it is the 1st of May—to tell stories. Fox tells of a blind king who would give a fortune to see again, and that a dewdrop from a buttercup squeezed into his eyes on the 1st of May will cure him. Wolf tells of a healing well blocked by a bullfrog on a stepping stone, and Hedgehog tells of the tree with the Fruit of Happiness padlocked by a wizard.

After the animals leave True descends, finds the dew from a buttercup and regains his sight. True takes more of the dew with him. He finds the king, who offers him riches which he declines, and cures him. He tells the king how he was blinded by Untrue, and marries the king's daughter. True kills the black bullfrog under the stone at the Well of Health, its curative properties are restored, and he is rewarded with gold. In the next village he cuts the chain binding the Tree of Happiness and is rewarded again with gold.

At the castle True sees his brother Untrue, now an old beggarman. True does not punish him, but tells him his story. It is exactly one year since True was blinded. Untrue climbs the same tree and the animals gather below, but determine not to share their secrets from that night on. Untrue is heartbroken, slips out of the top of the tree and breaks his neck. True becomes king.

REFERENCES

AARNE-THOMSON (AARNE, ANTTI and THOMSON, STITH)
1961 The Types of the Folktale, a Classification and Bibliography. *FF Communications* 184. Helsinki.

BELLESHEIM, ALPHONS
1890 *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland.* Vol 4. Edinburgh and London.

BLUNDELL, ODO
1917 *The Catholic Highlands of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

BRUFORD, ALAN
1980 'Legends Long Since Localised or Tales Still Travelling?' *Scottish Studies* 24: 43-62.

CAMPBELL, J. G.
1902 *Witchcraft in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.* Reprint 1974, East Ardsley.

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER
1928-71 *Carmina Gadelica.* 6 vols. Edinburgh.

CHRISTIANSEN, REIDAR TH.
1916 'The Tale of the Two Travellers.' *FF Communications* 24: 1-194.

DE BHALDRAITHE, TOMAS
1966 *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, Co. Galway.* Dublin.

GIBLIN, CATHALDUS
1964 *Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland 1619-1646.* Dublin.

GREENE, DAVID
1961 'Na Léig Mo Mhealladh, a Mhuire'. *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 9, Part 1: 105-15.

HYDE, DOUGLAS
1911 *Sgéaluidhe Fior na Seachtmhaine*. Dublin.
1973 *Legends of Saints and Sinners*. Shannon.
JACKSON, KENNETH
1936 'The International Folktale in Ireland'. *Folklore* 47: 263-93.
MACDONALD, ANGUS JOHN (ed.)
1972 'Sùil-a-Sporan agus Sùil-a-Dia' *Tocher* 7: 222-9.
MACDONALD, DONALD A.
1989 'Tri ginealaichean de sgeulachd' in *Gaelic and Scotland*, ed. William Gillies. Edinburgh.
MACINNES, JOHN
1983 'Religion in Gaelic Society'. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 52: 222-42.
MACKENZIE, W. C.
1937 *The Highlands and Islands of Scotland*. Edinburgh and London.
MACMANUS, SEUMAS
1904 *In Chimney Corners*. New York.
MAC NIOCAILL, GEAROID
1955 'Exempla'. *Eigse* 8 Part 1: 237-8.
1966 'Quatuor Exempla'. *Celtica* 7: 214-17.
MCDONALD, FR ALLAN
1958 *Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist and Eriskay*, ed. J. L. Campbell. Dublin.
NI GHUAIRIM, SORCHA
[n.d.] *Sorcha Ní Ghuairim Sings Traditional Irish Songs*. Transl. Francis P. O'Connell. Folkways Records FW 861.
Ó CADHAIN, MAIRTIN
1935 'Cnuasach ó Chois-Fhairrge'. *Béaloideas* 5: 219-20; 268.
Ó CEALLAIGH, SEAN
1913 *Scéaluidhe Eireann*. Dublin.
Ó DUILEARGA, SEAMUS
1930 'An Sgolaire Bocht agus am Pedilaer.' *Béaloideas* 2: 82-6.
Ó'FOTHARTA, DOMHNALL
1892 *Siamsa an Gheimhridh*. Dublin.
Ó LAOGHAIRE, PADRAIG
1908 *Na Trí Préacháin*. Dublin.
Ó SUILLEABHAIN, SEAN
1951 'So agus súd.' *Béaloideas* 21: 268-79.
Ó SUILLEABHAIN, SEAN and REIDAR TH. CHRISTIANSEN
1963 *The Types of the Irish Folktale*. Helsinki.
RAND, SILAS
1894 *Legends of the Micmacs*. Reprint 1971, New York, London.
SA
Sound Archive, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.
THOMPSON, STITH
1946 *The Folktale*. New York.
VA
Video Archive, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.
WELTER, JEAN THIÉBAUT
1927 *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique*. Reprint 1971, Paris, Toulouse.
YEATS, W. B. [ed.]
1888, 1892 *Fairy and Folk Tales of Ireland*. Reprint 1973, Gerrards Cross.

Book Reviews

Travellers' Tales

Fireside Tales of the Traveller Children by Duncan Williamson. Canongate, Edinburgh 1983. 153 pp. £5.95. Second (Illustrated) edn. 1985. 159 pp. £3.95 paperback.

The Broonie, Silkies and Fairies: Travellers' Tales by Duncan Williamson. Canongate, Edinburgh 1985. 157 pp. £3.95, now £4.95 paperback.

Tell me a Story for Christmas by Duncan Williamson. Canongate, Edinburgh 1987. 117 pp. £7.95 hardback, £4.95 paperback.

A Thorn in the King's Foot: Folktales of the Scottish Travelling People by Duncan and Linda Williamson. Penguin Folklore Library, Harmondsworth 1987. 304 pp. £6.95 paperback.

The King o the Black Art and other folk tales, edited and introduced by Sheila Douglas. Aberdeen University Press, 1987. 170 pp. £12.90; £7.95 paperback.

Exodus to Alford by Stanley Robertson, pictures by Simon Fraser. Balnain Books, Nairn 1988. 215 pp. £7.95 paperback.

May the Devil Walk Behind Ye! Scottish Traveller Tales by Duncan Williamson. Canongate International Folk Tale Series, Edinburgh 1989. xii+134 pp. £9.95; £5.95 paperback.

In the thirty-seven years since Hamish Henderson first brought Jeannie Robertson to public notice, the quality and quantity of the Scots songs preserved in oral tradition by the travelling people has been widely appreciated almost from the start. Jeannie was no mean storyteller too, as may be seen by the tales printed in *Tocher 6* and Katharine Briggs' *Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language*. The latter includes texts or summaries of two or three dozen fine stories, mostly international wonder-tales, recorded from other travellers in the '50s. But it is hardly fifteen years since we began to realise that the prose narrative repertoire of the travellers was as extensive as that in song, and a good deal more individual. Like traveller society, traveller storytelling has absorbed whatever it wanted from the outside world and transmuted it all into something recognisably its own. In *Scottish Studies 24* I drew attention to the way the repertoire includes traditional tales from Scots and Gaelic sources alongside stories from Hans Andersen and Greek myths retold by Nathaniel Hawthorne, and sentimental stories that for all one can tell may come from an old *People's Friend* or the like. Moreover any part of this repertoire can be re-combined to make new stories, and entirely new wonder-tales seem to have been made up to point a moral. A little of this repertoire was published by the School of Scottish Studies in Nos. 21 to 24, 33 and 40 of *Tocher*, and makes up the greater part of *The Green*

Man of Knowledge and other Scots Traditional Tales (ed. Bruford, Aberdeen University Press 1982), but the book-length collections of travellers' tales considered here are mostly produced by travellers themselves, and run in parallel with a new interest in oral story-telling; both Duncan Williamson and Stanley Robertson now tell stories in schools, folk clubs and other venues as professionals, and Sheila Douglas and her husband have joined them. The stream of books started slowly in 1983, but is now moving rapidly: there are three more books from Duncan and at least one from Stanley in preparation as I write.

The published repertoire is not, I believe, a representative sample of the remembered repertoire of travellers as a whole. This is partly because publishers have asked, for instance, for examples of local supernatural legends, a genre which belongs essentially to one place and is not properly appreciated by migratory families; and partly because the storytellers involved are rather exceptional in their memories, and (apart from Willie MacPhee) seldom tell clear unaltered versions of recognisable international folktale types such as were more often collected from a number of narrators in the '50s. This review will deal first with the content of the volumes listed above (titles generally abbreviated for convenience as *Fireside Tales, The Broonie, Christmas, A Thorn, Black Art, Exodus* and *The Devil* respectively), and will then discuss their presentation, where the order of merit is quite different, separately.

Fireside Tales, being the first of Duncan Williamson's books accepted by a publisher, was naturally designed to include some of his most attractive stories. As one who advised on presentation but had no substantial influence on the contents, I think I can fairly say that this selection is the most representative and would make the best textbook of all Duncan's books to date. The title does not mean that these are all stories for children: there are dramatic, amusing and even gruesome elements for any audience to enjoy. Six of the twelve tales are recognisable versions of international folktales in the Aarne-Thompson (AT) catalogue: some may have come into oral tradition from books, but 'White Pet' differs significantly both from the story that Campbell of Islay published under that title and from the better-known 'Musicians of Bremen' of the brothers Grimm. 'The Pot that Went to the Laird's Castle', like the very similar 'The Three Fittit Pot' (*Black Art*: 124), is a clear traveller variant of type AT 591, already printed in Scots as 'The Wee Wifie and her Coggie' (Hannah Aitken, *A Forgotten Heritage* [Edinburgh 1973] p. 108). 'The Goat that Told Lies' (AT 212) is surely not expanded from a mere introductory episode (to 'Table, Ass and Stick') in Grimm: it has a different sequel and in any case the vivid dialogue is much more dramatic than the conventional rhyme of the German tale. There are also two traveller creations in the mould of international wonder-tale or *Märchen*, 'The King and the Lamp' and the ingenious 'Jack and the Witch's Bellows', a sinister traveller variant on the story of Lot's wife, a 'holy story' for Christmas and two other rather sentimental tales, 'Mary and the Seal' and 'The Hunchback and the Swan'. The latter to me has a musty smell of the Edwardian drawing-room, and could well have been written originally by some magazine romancer of the period, but modern children seem to accept this sort of thing.

The Broonie, Silkies and Fairies was produced in response to the publisher's request for more like 'Mary and the Seal' and was at first to have been a full dozen of 'silkie' stories. (Duncan himself pronounces the word quite normally as 'selkie', but the spelling follows the popular misconception of the pronunciation of Captain Thomas's 'Great Silkie of Sule Skerry', and with typical traveller readiness to oblige Duncan provides a derivation from the silky softness of sealskin: he also explains that 'not all seals are silkies', endorsing another misconception derived from the ballad, that 'silkie' means only a seal with the power to take human form. For the facts see *Scottish Studies* 18: 63 ff.) In the end only five seal stories went into the book, along with other supernatural legends: as I have said such tales are not typical of traveller repertoires, and indeed over half of them and four of the five seal stories are said to have been learned from settled Highlanders. In any case the seal stories have little in common with older Gaelic legend and read like modern romantic inventions. The four tales of the Broonie (a rather more impressive being than most people's concept of a brownie, and one who means a lot to Duncan) are far more traditional, while the fairy tales include an elaborate re-telling of a standard changeling legend, 'The Taen-Awa', a tale with an old-fashioned moral, 'The Tramp and the Boots', and an enjoyable attack on the work ethic, 'Archie and the Little People'. The book is worth reading for these, but it is not a representative sample of traveller or any sort of Scottish traditional storytelling.

The next Williamson volume, *Tell Me a Story for Christmas,* again seems to reflect the publisher's request for a repeat batch of one of the less traditional kinds of story in the first book; and again it is saved by those items which do *not* meet the specification, animal fables and moral tales which might be told at Christmas but are not actually about it, including the long and symbolical 'Jack and the Silver Keys'. *May the Devil Walk Behind Ye!* is quite a different sort of Canongate book, probably because the success of *A Thorn* had weakened the publishers' monopolist control. It is still a selection of twelve stories on one theme, but not for children, as its placing in the 'International Folk Tale Series' shows. Only the sub-title 'Scottish Traveller Tales' is shown on the spine, though the preface explains the sinister-sounding title as a good wish rather than an ill one. In most of the stories the Devil, or an almost equally evil character, like the 'Sea Witch', is defeated after a struggle; but the totally black and cynical 'The Minister and the Devil', with its horrific picture of the torments of an inescapable Hell awaiting everyone, is certainly not for children and has no hint of the vaguely Christian moral that usually comes with traveller tales.

A Thorn in the King's Foot is a handsome volume with twice as many items as the Canongate books (two ballads as well as 22 stories, both newer recordings of Child types already printed in *Tocher*, but here with the music to every verse). None of them has the journalistic flavour of some of those in *The Broonie,* or was learned outside the traveller culture: but I hope this will not remain the only volume to represent Scotland, or even the Lowland travellers, in the Penguin Folklore Library. The trouble is that travellers, or at least some travellers, cannot let well alone, and there are only four 'straight' inter-

national tale-types in the book. More than twice as many are recognisable as supplying elements that have been combined or transmuted to make new stories. 'Mary Rashiecoats and the Wee Black Bull', for instance, sounds as if it could be related to 'Rashiecoat', the Scots Cinderella (AT 510B) or to 'The Black Bull o' Norroway' (AT 511A+425 vars.), both published by Robert Chambers over 150 years ago and still known to some travellers. In fact after a novelettish beginning about an orphan girl, her granny and her pet calf, it ends as a variant of 'The Magic Flight' (AT 313). 'Jack and the Water fae the World's End' uses the quest for the traditional remedy as the frame for an entirely new adventure in which Jack is joined by a band of pilgrims seeking cures for their problems very much in the manner of *The Wizard of Oz* (there is even a cowardly giant taking the Cowardly Lion's place on the end of the line). The title story similarly hangs a new story on an element from 'The Maiden without Hands' (AT 706), known to other travellers as 'Daughter Doris'. There are also purely moral tales like 'The Happy Man's Shirt' (AT 844), gnomic allegories like 'The Henwife and Aul Father Time' and a strange tale of a merman, 'La Mer la Moocht', which surely goes back to someone's short story, written perhaps in another language. More traditional are the tales of 'George Buchanan the King's Fool', the Burkers and their 'noddies', or the well-known Highland legend of 'The Tailor and the Skeleton'—'I see that, but I'll sew this.' But the balance of the book is typical of no other oral storyteller's repertoire.

The King o the Black Art contains fifty stories, more than the four Canongate books put together. Certainly some are very short—'The Whitterick and the Crow' is a single paragraph of dubious natural history from an unnamed narrator—and the editor has admitted to pruning her texts (of which more below) to get more of them in. There is at any rate a better balance between 'straight' and traveller-altered *Märchen*—about a dozen of each—though 'The Little Herdsman and the Master Bull' is still not 'The Black Bull o' Norroway'. Half the stories are Burker or ghost stories—the travellers' own substitute for the local legends of settled folk—or instances of other beliefs, with only a couple of broad comic tales. A representative sample would probably include some more of the last sort, though the international trickster tale or *Schwank* is relatively unpopular with travellers. But with so much to choose from this would certainly be a possible textbook. My main criticism of the content of this very readable book is that for understandable reasons of sentiment the editor has included too much. The contents list does not name the storytellers, but John Stewart, the only surviving son of John, the Duke of Atholl's piper (see *Tocher* 21: 165 ff. for Maurice Fleming's account of this family, whom he was the first to record, and 31: 35-49 for this member of it), is the teller of 24 of them, nearly half the total. His late brothers Alec and Andrew provide eight and one respectively, Alec's wife Belle, six, and their daughter Sheila, one, and nine are from their cousin Willie MacPhee. It would have made sense to confine the book to John and Willie, who tell most of the longer, more traditional and better-told stories. Thirty-five stories from Alec, Belle and their children were already included in Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger's collection *Till Doomsday in the Afternoon* (Manchester University Press, 1986). This is perhaps more

a volume for libraries and specialists: it includes song, autobiography and a variety of curious lore—some of which gave offence to other travellers when it was published without consulting the Stewarts. Dr Douglas did have some notice of what was going to go in, but perhaps she felt that it was worth repeating a dozen of the tales in a lighter-weight book, and could not pass over the family members she had known longest. Unfortunately her recordings of Alec Stewart were mostly made in his last illness, and the version of 'The Three Feathers' (AT 402) in *Black Art* is not nearly as good as that in *Till Doomsday*, recorded a decade or more before, and that in turn is nowhere near as good as his brother Andrew's racy version (*Tocher* 14: 225-34) or as I have heard John tell it: it really does no credit to Alec's memory to include this one. John Stewart feels that his contribution to the existing book has been too little recognised, and I agree: it would have made more artistic sense to acknowledge John as providing the best part, and choose the rest of the contents accordingly. Incidentally Willie MacPhee's good selection of stories includes one, 'The Devil's Money', which he says he learned from Duncan Williamson, and another, 'The Blacksmith', which closely follows a recording printed in *A Thorn* as he told it to Willie—a rare opportunity to study the process of oral transmission using printed books.

Stanley Robertson's *Exodus to Alford* differs from all these books transcribed from recordings of oral storytelling. Stanley is an excellent oral storyteller (see *Tocher* 40 for samples and some discussion of his technique) but he is dissatisfied with the way his words come out on paper and prefers to keep full control by writing his stories out himself. The resultant language will be discussed later: the form of the book is also markedly stylised. It is framed by a journey, like the *Canterbury Tales*, though there is sadly little description of the trip of the Robertson family to the flax fields at Alford on the Don and back down the Dee in the summer of 1946, when Stanley was six and recovering from his first experience of prejudice at school in Aberdeen. The 34 stories are told at sixteen camp-sites in three groups: sets of four stories at Alford itself and Echt and Lumphanan on the way there, three more sets at Aboyne, Tarland and Strathdon ('Alford and Beyond'), and ten longer stories at ten sites on the way 'Home with Jack' to Aberdeen. The 33 storytellers are described in a sentence or two at the head of each story, but their voices in the stories do not usually throw much light on the characters of the real travellers who, Stanley told me, lie behind the disguised names and nicknames: the lively bit of husband-and-wife bickering quoted on the cover of the book is unfortunately the only such passage.

The first two parts consist mainly of 'memorates', accounts of personal experiences with the supernatural—ghosts and other spirits, good and evil, wise women, cannibals, nemesis, curses, answers to prayer and so on. There is one purely romantic tale of a traveller girl who falls in love with a gentleman who proves to be her half-brother, one well-known local legend about the Maiden Stone of Bennachie, and fairly traditional tales of a broonie's gifts and a supernatural wife. The ghost and horror stories do not work so well on paper as they do with Stanley's range of oral techniques. The remaining twelve tales—two told by Stanley's mother and father at the end of the first part, and the ten in

the third part—are all wonder-tales with Jack as hero: mainly contests with the Devil, black lairds (enchanters), witches or the Black Knight. There are variants on old patterns—the quest for the Water of Life (AT 551), the three tasks (AT 577), the three riddles (AT 922), the rescue from the underground kingdom (AT 301), the magic flight (AT 313)—but all changed: the underground kingdom is the Land of Dreams, the magic flight is escape from a witch—a girl's tale, where Jack is rather awkwardly brought in by using the King Thrushbeard motif of the too-proud princess (AT 900) as introduction. The concluding riddle tale, linked to a prophecy of Stanley's own role as chronicler of his people, is simply what other travellers tell as 'The King and the Miller', with the role of the miller (bishop in other versions) taken by a symbolic Clever Man, who falls into the power of the Devil instead of the king. It is a bit of a disappointment that Jack, the poor traveller who takes the Clever Man's place and answers the Devil's questions, is given no more brilliant answers than 'the moon his four quarters and four quarters mak a pound, so that means that the moon weighs one pound'.

Stanley's second volume, *Nyakim's Windows* (1989), has still more of the supernatural and horror stories, less of the traditional wonder-tale, and is too much a book of short stories by a coming fantasy author to be considered as a folktale collection. (Nyakim is an ancestral figure met in a dream who acts rather like a medium's spirit guide.)

All the other books follow the recorded words of storytellers in some way but the presentation is very different in each. The Canongate books for children put all Duncan Williamson's Scots pronunciations and most of his Scots words into standard English, as the publishers felt was necessary for a school-age audience. However, Dr Linda Williamson, who transcribed her husband's stories from her own recordings for all the books, has preserved his individual choice and arrangement of words as exactly as possible through the standardisation, and much of the idiom comes through unharmed, even if the full oral flavour is diminished by the loss of superfluous repeats and digressions and 'he says' used as punctuation throughout reported speech. Duncan himself, who only wants to tell his audience what happens in a story and has little interest in traditional verbal formulas, is quite happy with this. In *Fireside Tales* Linda has been able to keep a few evocative Scots and cant words, especially in the specifically traveller tales, glossed in footnotes. In later volumes she may leave the words of the characters in Scots, amidst the English narrative—following the practice of Scottish novelists since Scott and Galt—and provide a brief glossary. Left a free hand in *A Thorn*, she transcribes exactly what she hears, and indeed goes further than I would from standard spellings: I see little advantage to 'Dher wur' over 'There were' (or 'The war') in what must anyway be unstressed words. The many inconsistencies are typical of the way many Scots speak, so you have 'over the brig', 'ower the brig', and 'over de bridge' in successive speeches. There are still minor cuts, and a few words missing probably through hasty proof-reading, not to mention some longer digressions silently dropped, but the overall effect is evocative of the storyteller's voice and generally not hard to read. Linda Williamson is happy to report that her own children

find it easier to read than the Canongate books, though no doubt teachers who have to teach children to write standard English would be less happy.

The treatment of the Stewarts' stories is different again. Both Dr Douglas and the MacColls probably tend to use standardised Scots spellings (Dr Williamson too follows the *Concise Scots Dictionary* in most cases, according to her Preface). The occasional departures seem to be due to the editors' preference, like the MacColls' tendency to use the Geordie 'wor' for 'wir', or Sheila Douglas's demotic 'affy' and 'gonny' for 'awfae' and 'gaunnae'—though 'canny' and 'cannae' appear in successive paragraphs on page 135, in the same sense and surely with the same sound. The MacColls occasionally misspell names, as when Meikleour of the Beech Hedges becomes Muckle Hour (in accordance with its folk etymology), but the stories generally read like minimally edited oral texts. The Douglas texts seem shorter, and this is evidently not just because they were recorded when the tellers were older.

In her introduction Dr Douglas describes how 'An oral tale is very different from a literary one . . .' and goes on: 'Many of the story collections of the past, even John Francis Campbell's, have consisted of polished up or summarised versions of stories. Nowadays the tape recorder has made it possible for us to record and transcribe the stories exactly as told with the whole atmosphere of the story occasion and the flavour of the storyteller's personality to bring it to life. I have tried to present the stories in this way, with a minimum of editing.' These are noble sentiments, apart from the unnecessary and unjustified slur on Campbell of Islay (who hardly ever left out a word that his collectors presented to him from his main text, as against comparative notes.) Unfortunately the author does not live up to them, and her 'minimum of editing' proves on examination to involve a lot of cutting and compressing, with the aim, she has told me, of fitting more stories into the book. I feel it would have been better with fewer stories and less surgery. One can compare 'Jack and the Seven Enchanted Islands' with Dr Douglas' own earlier transcription in *Scottish Studies* 24; 'The Water of Life' can be compared with her text in *Tocher* 31, and 'Geordie MacPhee' with Robert Garioch's transcription from the same tape in *Tocher* 11. In all three cases the earlier text is about half as long again as that in the book, not just because it has been pruned of 'he says' and other repetitions and digressions: whole paragraphs are rewritten, sometimes losing the sense. "So he's lyin there till the morning cam, it was near daylight, and he rose and he kennled a fire, and he tellt his wife to get up and get some breakfast made. So Geordie had an old razor, an open razor and he's shavin himsel—aye when he shaved hissel he was going some place, ye see. The wife says, 'Where are ye goin tae?' she says" boils down to "So next mornin Geordie's shavin himsel and his wife kens he's goin some place. 'Where are ye goin?' she says"—and both flavour and clarity are boiled out of it. Jack in 'The Water of Life' tells his father of the woman he met at the kitchen door, " 'But', he says, 'I was at the cook about her,' he says, 'this morning, and nane o them can mind o a wumman bein at the back door' "—and a good deal more, telling how his father fails to recognise her from his description. None of this is in the book, and some of the magic and mystery of Jack's helper is lost.

This treatment seems risky when dealing with John Stewart, whose vivid descriptions Dr Douglas rightly praises: he makes words work for him, defining 'courtiers' as 'thon men wi white stockins an spears tae bump on the grun' and happily throwing off terms like 'illimosity' (animosity?) or a 'great inorjurous roast' (inordinate?). These are kept, but 'I wad raither loss ma legs as dae that' is turned into 'I wad raither lose ma legs than dae that'—to avoid corrupting young readers' English? It is even more annoying that 'Geordie MacPhee', the only story not recorded by the editor herself but 'too good to leave out', is treated the same way, though its goodness is all in Andrew Stewart's oral style. Occasionally Douglas is more accurate than Garioch: 'I used tae play the village tae mak pennies' makes more sense than 'I played the tune wi my pipes, like in Venice', though what Andrew said was 'I used tae play the village here . . . I played the toon wi ma pipes, beggin pennies.' Elsewhere she distorts: the story ends with two sentences not in *Tocher* about Geordie MacPhee's return to poverty, but the last is editorial interpretation: 'He's the happiest man that was ever playin his pipes an goin roon the doors tae make a livin!' All Andrew seems to say as his voice tails off is 'Ye'll see him playing his pipes at that pub in Newbiggin . . .' and a later and still longer recording of the tale ends with Geordie pushing all his worldly goods about in a pram, the poorest sort of traveller—not unhappy at the easy loss of his easily found fortune, but not notably happy.

I accept that some readers of what is intended to be a popular edition may be glad to sacrifice accurate transcriptions for the sake of more stories; but others might have appreciated a few words explaining what had been done. It is only because the implication remains that these stories have not been 'polished up or summarised' but are given 'exactly as told' that I have dissected at such length what is nevertheless the best collection of traveller tales to date.

Stanley Robertson has avoided editorial interference by writing down his own words: unfortunately this also results in the loss of most of the oral flavour, apart from some favourite clichés like 'the deed ceelings o the night'. He compensates by using far more cant than he would in telling a story orally to a non-traveller audience—some travellers might say, more than they would use among themselves with nothing to hide. These are surely the longest continuous texts in Scots cant yet printed. With up to a dozen words to look up at the bottom of a page and probably others to seek in the glossary at the end if you don't remember them from earlier, it can be slow reading until you learn the basic vocabulary. This includes Scots and slang as well as words from Romani and Gaelic, and, I suspect, a few words used only by Stanley himself or his family. Now and then a story-teller uses a phrase that comes from Stanley Robertson the much-travelled Mormon elder, and would jar by a Deeside camp fire—'it works the same wye as the great Oracle o Delphi' or 'fin I wis a young gade (oh! eons ago)'. ('Gade' is a young man, pure cant, but Stanley uses the same spelling for his Scots for 'gave', or 'went'.) The Scots spellings are sometimes idiosyncratic, confusing or indeed irritating: 'he asked mi, "faa I wis gang?" ' for 'far I wis gaun'; 'aye' for 'ae', one and even 'aa', all; 'were' where the MacColls use 'wor'. Folk etymology or reinterpretation may influence spelling and form: 'spey wife' for

'spaewife' is also in the late Betsy Whyte's *Rowans and Wild Honey* and may rest on a traveller's feeling of the holiness of the River Spey; 'leaf alane' for 'lee-lane'—well, why not? There are nice (unglossed) phrases like 'It's jist eexie-pixie tae the gate-hoose first'. The traditional inventiveness which allows a story to be built round playing an 'ancient game' called *Brackie brackie* with seventy-seven cards in seven coloured suits of ten 'spotted cards' and a 'swan' is the great attraction of the book. On the other hand Stanley's free handling of words can cause trouble with the glossary: it may not matter to him that 'foumart' means 'polecat', rather than 'fox' as he says, but he gives wrong meanings for some cant words too. 'Sweetny' normally means 'sugar', not 'sweets', and 'chore (a branch aff mi ain tree)' means 'steal', not 'saw'. Were these supplied by the publishers in a hurry to fill a gap (as I confess I did with Stanley's own 'dry-hunt', not realising it was hawking *without stock*, in *The Green Man of Knowledge*)? But I cannot believe anyone thought 'bold middens' on page 140 meant 'maidens' . . .

Stanley has no notes on anything but words, and his too-brief Introduction simply sets the scene and emotional background for Part 1. Sarah Fraser, presumably the wife of the illustrator and publisher Simon Fraser, adds a short Foreword, drawing woolly romantic parallels with other nomadic races such as the 'Mongolian hoards' and the 'Laps'. Sheila Douglas' Introduction, apart from the omission noted and an inability to copy the titles of Gaelic parallels cited correctly, is an excellent concise outline of her storytellers' lives and techniques, which the interested reader can flesh out by consulting their own words in *Till Doomsday*. Sadly she gives no notes at all, no doubt to save space, though it would not have taken a line more to add AT numbers where appropriate to the storytellers' names scrupulously given in all but one case below the tales. Again the MacColls can help, for they give type and even motif numbers where they can. Among the Williamson books only the first edition of *Fireside Tales* gives AT numbers in the notes at the end, but most of the relevant ones for *A Thorn* can be tracked down in Hamish Henderson's characteristically ebullient Introduction. Informative as this is, it is an outsider's account and rather less evocative than the Introduction to *Fireside Tales,* which is transcribed from Duncan Williamson's own words describing 'The Traveller Children's way of life, 1914–1955' and 'The Importance of Storytelling to the Traveller Children'. In the later Canongate books both the introduction and notes on the sources and meaning of the tales are given in Duncan's own words, with the notes before and after the stories just as they were recorded. However the adult reader may be glad of Linda Williamson's comparative notes at the end in the original *Fireside Tales* and *A Thorn*, where, even if there are no type numbers, there are details of Duncan's own different renderings of a type, which are valuable evidence for his narrative technique.

Alas, Canongate dropped the notes from the second edition of *Fireside Tales*, apparently in order to include some drawings of variable quality by Alan Herriot, who illustrates later volumes. His silhouettes between stories in *The Broonie* can be amusing, but some of the larger pictures just do not get it right: for instance, the insect-winged fairies in 'Archie and

the Little People' ('nasty little buzz-flies' as Kipling's Puck calls them) are a Victorian conceit with no basis in country belief and no relevance to the tipsy dancers of Duncan's story. (Incidentally, this story has something which I wished for in some of Stanley's—the music which is sung in the telling.) *The Devil, Black Art* and *A Thorn,* less closely aimed at children, get by without illustrations, apart from Bill Sanderson's lively cover for the last, which has very little to do with any of the stories inside, but the wood-engraved textures look as if you could reach out and touch them. *Exodus*, however, was published partly as a showcase for Simon Fraser's pictures. These are perhaps inspired by Stanley's more mystic stories in general, but they hardly ever illustrate the story they stand beside. Mr Fraser provides at the end an explanation of the symbolism in the full-page colour plates (unfortunately with the wrong page numbers) which shows that most of these are not tied to any of the stories in this book; and while some of the spidery drawings among the print show camp-fire scenes or travellers with horses, more show mythical beasts or winged figures on tenement roofs. The maps of the storytelling locations have some relevance—even if you have to read them from several different angles and the travellers in the foreground look disconcertingly like Bacchanals. But at least the pictures do not interfere with the visual imagination of the scene in the story, which is an essential part of the experience for most readers and listeners.

Whatever the faults of the presentation, and however much invention has been added to tradition, these books make up an immensely enjoyable addition to the body of Scottish traditional tales in print, which until recently still tended to be very heavily weighted towards stories collected in the nineteenth century; and they are evidence of a repertoire and a creativity which give cause to respect the once despised travelling people.

ALAN BRUFORD

Books Received

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

Béaloideas 1988. The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society, edited by Padraig Ó Héalaí. General Editor, Bo Almquist. Dublin. 247 pp.

The Innes Review. The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, edited by Michael Lynch.

Index of Authors and Titles Vol. 1-40 1950-89. 50 pp.

Vol. XLI No 1. pp. 1-135, £12.

Vol. XLI No 2. pp. 139-253, £12.

Études Celtique XXVI 1989, fondées par J. Vendryes Editions du Centre National de la Récherche Scientifique, Paris. 311 pp. 330F.

Mauricewood Disaster: Mining in Midlothian by Andrew B. Donaldson. Midlothian District Libraries, Roslin 1989. 64 pp. £2.95.

Bebyggelsenamnen i Björkekinds härad av Gösta Franzén. Ortnamnen i Östergötlands Län 4. Skrifter Utgivna Genom Ortnamnsarkivet i Uppsala, Ser. A: Sveriges Ortnamn. Ortnamnsarkivet i Uppsala 1989. 104 pp. [N.P.]

The Making of Scotland: Nation, Culture and Social Change, edited by David McCrone, Stephen Kendrick and Pat Straw. Explorations in Sociology 29. British Sociological Association and Edinburgh University Press 1989. 234 pp. [N.P.]

The Life and Work of Samuel Rutherford Crockett by Islay Murray Donaldson. Aberdeen University Press 1989. 357 pp. £19.50.

East Perthshire Gaelic: Social History, Phonology, Text and Lexicon by Máirtín Ó Murchú. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1989. xi+432 pp. IRE £24.

Bryght Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland, edited by Derrick McClure and Michael R. G. Spiller. Aberdeen University Press 1989. 482 pp. £16.50.

The Shaping of Scotland. Eighteenth Century Patterns of Land Use and Settlement by R. J. Brien. Aberdeen University Press 1989. 140 pp. £7.50.

The Scottish Dog, edited by Joyce and Maurice Lindsay. Aberdeen University Press 1989. 281 pp. £12.95 (hardback) £7.95 (soft back). (An anthology. Illustrated with 67 black and white photographs and drawings).

Improvement and Romance. Constructing the Myth of the Highlands by Peter Womack. Language, Discourse, Society. General Editors: Stephen Heath, Colin MacCabe and Denis Riley. MacMillan, Basingstoke 1989. 212 pp. £29.50.

Traditional Music of Britain and Ireland: A Research and Information Guide by James Porter. Garland Publishing, New York 1989. 408 pp. $50. (A select bibliography).

Review of Scottish Culture (ROSC), edited by Alexander Fenton, with Hugh Cheape and Rosalind Marshall. John Donald and the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Number 5, 1989: 112 pp. £10.

Number 6, 1990: 102 pp. £10.

Cromartie: Highland Life 1650-1914 by Eric Richards and Monica Clough. Aberdeen University Press 1989. 536 pp. including 68 photographic illustrations and 7 maps. £29.50.

Sexuality and Social Control: Scotland 1660-1780 by Rosalind Mitchison and Leah Leneman. Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1989. 254 pp. £27.50.

Battlefield Band. Forward with Scotland's Past: A collection of their Songs and Music. Kinmor Music, Temple, Midlothian 1989. 126 pp. [N.P.] (Pipe tunes, fiddle and other tunes, and songs).

The Prisoners at Penicuik: French and other Prisoners of War 1803-1814 by Ian MacDougall. Midlothian District Council 1989. 94 pp. £3.95.

Rob Stene's Dream, edited by David Reid. University of Stirling occasional publications, Stirling 1989. 112 pp. £6.50. (Dream vision, fable and satire 1591-2).

Sword and Pen: Poems of 1915 from Dundee and Tayside, edited by Hilda D. Spear and Bruce Pandrich. Aberdeen University Press 1989. 136 pp. £6.95.

Eastwood District History and Heritage by Thomas C. Welsh. Eastwood District Libraries 1989. 232 pp. [N.P.]

Gaelic and Scotland. Alba agus a' Ghaidhlig, edited by William Gillies. Edinburgh University Press 1989. 250 pp. £29.95.

Politics and Reviewers: The 'Edinburgh' and the 'Quarterly' in the early Victorian Age by Joanne Shattock. Leicester University Press 1989. 174 pp. £25.

The French Revolution: A History by Thomas Carlyle, edited by K. J. Fielding and David Sorensen. the World's Classics, Oxford University Press 1989. 528 pp. £7.95.

Gaelic and Scots in Harmony. Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Languages of Scotland at the University of Glasgow, 1988, edited by Derick S. Thomson. Department of Celtic, University of Glasgow 1990. 192 pp. £9.

Studia Celtica Volume XXII/XXIII (1987-8), edited by Professor J. E. Caerwyn Williams. Published on behalf of the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales. University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1990. 290 pp. [N.P.]

The Comic Poems of William Tennant, edited by A. Scott and M. Lindsay. The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1990. 232 pp. £15.

The Ballad and the Matrix: Personality, Milieu, and the Oral Tradition by William Bernard McCarthy. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, USA. 1990. 192 pp. $27.50. (Examines the songs of Agnes Lyle of Kilbarchan).

Iona: The Living Memory of a Crofting Community by Mairi MacArthur. Edinburgh University Press 1990. 260 pp. £14.95.

An Album of Scottish Families 1694-96: being the first instalment of George Home's Diary, supplemented by much further research into the Edinburgh and Border Families forming his extensive social network by Helen and Keith Kelsall. Aberdeen University Press 1990. 158 pp. £14.95.

Dundee's Suffragettes: their remarkable struggle to win votes for women by Norman Watson. Published by the author, Perth 1990. 46 pp. [N.P]

Tracing your Scottish Ancestors: A Guide to Ancestry Research in the Scottish Record Office by Cecil Sinclair. HMSO, Edinburgh 1990. 154 pp. (Photographic illustrations in the text.) £5.95.

North East Castles: Castles in the Landscape of North East Scotland, edited by John S. Smith. Aberdeen University Press 1990. 126 pp. £5.95.

King's College, Aberdeen, 1560-1641: From Protestant Reformation to Covenanting Revolution by David Stevenson with a translation of the New Foundation by G. Patrick Edwards. Quincentennial Studies in the History of the University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press 1990. x + 180 pp. £8.90.

Covenant, Church and Party: Traditions of Revolt and Protest in Modern Scottish History, edited by Terry Brotherstone. Aberdeen University Press 1990. 143 pp. £16.50.

Scotland: Literature, Culture, Politics. Verantwortlicher Herausgeber für den thematischen Teil dieses Bandes, Peter Zenzinger. Anglistik & Englischunterricht Band 38/39. Heidelberg 1990. 358 pp. DM 50.

Beyond the Brochs: Changing Perspectives on the Atlantic Scottish Iron Age, edited by Ian Armit. Edinburgh University Press 1990. 228 pp. [N.P.]

Index

Volume 30

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