SCOTTISH STUDIES 33

Scottish Studies

Contents

Contributors

Ronald I. M. Black, Department of Celtic, University of Edinburgh

John Burnett, National Museums of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh

Dr Shari A. Cohn, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

Professor Alexander Fenton, European Ethnological Research Centre, c/o National Museums of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh

Dr Emily Lyle, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

Dr Sharon Macdonald, Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield

Dr Kaye McAlpine, Flat 7, 27 Comely Bank Street, Edinburgh, EH4 1AR

John Morris, 36A Brunstane Road, Edinburgh, EH15 2QR

Gary J. West, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

Editorial

EMILY LYLE

At the transition point between the editorship of Professor Alexander Fenton (Volumes 31 and 32) and the editorship of Dr John Shaw (Volume 34 onwards), I am editing a volume with an emphasis on fairs, as proposed at the 4th annual conference of the School of Scottish Studies Cosmos Project which was held in 1995 on the topic of 'Fairs and Fair Days'. Since this is the only publication specifically arising from that project, it will be appropriate here to outline its activities. It was established in 1990, when Donald Archie MacDonald was Acting Director of the School, and held its first conference in 1992. The complete series of conferences to date has been on the topics: 'Between Cosmology and History in Scotland and Ireland' (1992), 'The Twelve Days' (1993), 'Gender, Religion and Society' (1994), 'Fairs and Fair Days' (1995), 'Fairs and Festivals' (1996), 'Set-Apart Places' (1997) and 'Custom, Cosmos and CD-Rom' (1998). In 1999, some of the ideas put forward at the last of these conferences took rapid shape through a very timely and generous anonymous donation to the Traditional Cosmology Society which allowed a Fellowship to be offered to one of the School's postgraduate students, Aude Le Borgne, to produce a pilot CD-Rom of 'The Lyle Cosmological Model' for use in teaching the Scottish Ethnology Honours class in Traditional Cosmology. The model takes a multi-layered and three-dimensional approach which is offered as appropriate to the understanding of a worldview first projected in an archaic period without writing and flowing from a deictic standpoint.

It is now possible to approach prehistory through three disciplines: archaeology, language and cosmology, and the last of these is capable of dispersing some of the mists that have hung over the beginnings of our customary practices. The traditional cosmology at the root of our customs, of course, long precedes the formation of nation states and accordingly, when the focus is on Scotland as in this journal, much early national material is better treated historically, as is done here. However, when introducing the topic of fairs at the 1995 Cosmos Project conference, I made a plea for awareness of that small part of our information that requires to be understood in cosmological terms such as, for example, the placement of fairs at the quarter days. Cosmological understanding is partly advanced through comparative methods and so cannot be confined within national borders. The journal *Cosmos*, founded in 1985, aims to provide a forum for broad discussion in this area and can be used to complement such journals as *Scottish Studies* which have a specific cultural and geographical remit. In this particular volume of *Scottish Studies* it has proved possible to offer an interesting range of topics

in addition to its opening articles on fairs and to treat also sport, neighbourliness, second sight, and language shift in Gaelic. I am grateful to all those who have advised me on illustrations and worked on production, especially David Patterson, Carol Smith and Liz Short.

Scottish Fairs and Fair-Names

RONALD I. M. BLACK

This essay is based principally on a paper entitled 'Scottish Fairs and Fair-Days: Some Thoughts from a Celtic Perspective' given at the fourth annual conference of the School of Scottish Studies Cosmos Project in 1995. Following (1) some preliminary comments on the origins of our oldest fairs, I will (2) consider the existing literature on the subject, and (3) lay out some academic desiderata. I will then discuss (4) the nature of medieval fairs in general, and (5) the 'fencing' of fairs in particular. Next (6) I will return to the question of the antiquity of fairs, presenting the types of evidence that can be offered by (7) particular place-name elements, (8) Celtic saints' names and quarterdays, and (9) races, fires, handfasting, etc., finally (10) moving on to specific discussion of some of the more opaque or intractable of the fair-names, grouping them according to what may loosely be described as calendar customs, (11) place-names, (12) personal names, (13) material culture or (14) religion, specifically including the moveable feasts, the feasts of the B.V.M., the two feasts of the Rood, and saints' days. I will give slightly more extended consideration (15) to Aikey Fair in Aberdeenshire, based on a paper entitled 'Aikey Fair and the Cult of St Féchín' given in 1996 at the fifth Cosmos Project conference, and (16) to the *Fèill Èiteachain* in Ross-shire. After some discussion (17) of the seventeenth-century innovation of naming fairs after members of the contemporary landlord class (sometimes with the prefix 'Saint'), based on a paper on 'Scottish Fair-Names' presented in 1997 at the sixth annual conference of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, I will (18) consider the thorny issue of Sunday Markets (*Fèilltean Dòmhnaich*), then (19) touch on how the imagery of the fair came to be woven into the fabric of religious thought. Finally (20) I will suggest a categorisation for the corpus of fair-names thus presented.

1. THE EMERGENCE OF FAIRS

People have always come together to trade, or, in earlier societies, to exchange gifts. This tended to be connected with worship, with the observance of holy or festive days, with pilgrimages at certain times to wells and shrines. The whole cumulative process was well described by the Rev. Alexander Maxtone in 1837 in his account of the parish of Fowlis Wester in Lowland Perthshire:

> St Methvanmas market is held at Fowlis annually, on the 6th of November, and is a useful market for the sale of black-cattle, and hiring servants. This was anciently the festival of the parish, and the anniversary of the saint to whom the church was dedicated at its consecration,

when the people constructed pavilions and booths to indulge in hospitality and mirth, which also became a commercial mart, and assumed the name of *feriæ* or holy-day. Many of our most ancient fairs have a similar origin. (*NSA* 10: 260)

The same model is presented in greater detail in this discussion of St Fioghaid (Fichit, Figget, Figgat) of Inverallan on Speyside.

The old Celtic habit was in vogue in Fichit's day. As he was no famous man, no head of Iona or Lismore, we are safe in believing that he was a humble and quiet monk or missionary, who came to Inverallan preaching the gospel, who lived beside the 'well', where he drank for his daily use, and where he baptised his converts, who probably ended his days here, and was afterwards regarded as the 'founder' of the Christian Church in this district. He of course was never formally 'canonised' but simply regarded as a 'saint' by 'popular repute'. The day of his death was annually consecrated to his memory. In order to avoid a saints' day falling on a Sunday, the *day of the week* and not the day of the month was kept. Fichit Fair was on the first Friday of June, Old Style. At first religious gatherings would be held on that day in the Churches consecrated with the saint's name – to recount his life, extol his faith, laud his good deeds, exhibit his relics, perhaps visiting his 'well', to commemorate the local saint, and invoke his intercession. The day came to be regarded as the parish annual holiday (Holy Day). At the parish shrine or chapel the people of the district would assemble annually with visitors from the parishes round and pilgrims from a distance, and after the preliminary religious service, the crowd would take opportunity for business or for pleasure; so on the saints days *markets* came to be held with booths, pedlars, crowds of visitors, for merchandise or feeing, and naturally they bore the saint's name. Fichit Fair was held down till about the year 1870.[1]

Another excellent example is provided by the equally extensive comments of the Rev. Allan Stewart in 1793–94 on the Michaelmas market at Kirkmichael in Highland Perthshire (*OSA* 12: 671), summarised and updated as follows by Sir James David Marwick:

An annual fair called the Michaelmas market was also held here from of old. It probably took its rise from the concourse of people who assembled on the day sacred to St Michael at a place consecrated to his memory and worship. Half a century ago this fair was one of the principal cattle markets in the kingdom, and continued for several days . . . The population of the Highlands was much larger then than now, and the only supplies to be obtained were through these fairs. For the last ten years at least no transaction of any kind has taken place at this fair, and latterly no one has attended it. The weekly sales at Perth and Blairgowrie have superseded it. (Marwick 1890: 77)

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Marwick's *List of Markets and Fairs now and formerly held in Scotland*, prepared for the Royal Commissioners on Market Rights and Tolls, is the main source for the present study. Marwick (1826–1908), an Orcadian who became Town Clerk of my native city

of Glasgow, was a founding member of the Scottish Burgh Record Society and editor of its publications. He also wrote two of our most fundamental historical studies of Glasgow and the Clyde, *Early Glasgow* and *The River Clyde and the Clyde Burghs*. The *List of Markets and Fairs* is an encyclopaedic collection of lightly-edited information, arranged alphabetically by place, whose sources can be categorised as follows: (1) *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* and *The Register of the Great Seal*, two very substantial and well-indexed publications which may readily be consulted today (these have not, however, been revisited in preparing the present study, the intention of which is mainly to map out paths to further research); (2) a large variety of charters, burgh records and other documents, both published and unpublished, listed by Marwick (1890: 1–2), some of which have since appeared in such series as *Regesta Regum Scottorum* (again, no attempt is made here to revisit these, and indeed an analysis by a historian of their nature and present location would be valuable); (3) the 'Old' and 'New' Statistical Accounts (*OSA* 1790s, *NSA* 1845) of all the parishes of Scotland (Marwick frequently paraphrased these, so I present his citations as they stand in the original accounts and provide full references, which in the case of *OSA* are to the reorganised 1983 edition – the chaotic first edition can still be accessed via the parish name); (4) information obtained during the 1880s by personal communication, described by Marwick (1890: 1) as 'supplied by sheriff clerks, town clerks, clerks of police commissioners, inspectors of poor, &c.'. Needless to say, even when the first three categories of source material have all been reploughed the fourth will remain as Marwick's lasting contribution to the subject.

Marwick's book is not without a small number of errors. At p. 19, a paragraph on Auchtergaven has found its way into the account of Auchterarder, and it is stated that *NSA* gives the market at Auldearn on the first Wednesday after 19 June as St Colin's, but this should read St Colm's (*NSA* 13, pt 3: 18). His substantial *NSA* quotation under 'CAMPBELTOWN, Argyleshire' belongs under 'CAMPBELTOWN. – Village in Inverness-shire', i.e. Ardersier (p. 28). His reference to 'Kessogs fair' under 'CUMBRAE. – Buteshire' belongs at Comrie in Perthshire (pp. 32, 36). Some of his information about Innerwick and Kinloch Rannoch will be found under those heads, some under Fortingal (pp. 55, 65, 75). Similarly, some of his information about fairs at the Kirktown of Lochell will be found under 'LEOCHELL, parish in Aberdeenshire', which is really the same name (pp. 81, 83). As a glance at *NSA* (14, pt 2: 37) will show, a quotation about 'Hugh's fair' under 'KIRKMICHAEL. – Parish in Ross and Cromarty' (p. 77) belongs to another parish in the same county, Nigg, which is therefore deprived of any entry at all; this explains why Marwick reports of Kirkmichael, 'No such fair has been held here during the recollection of the oldest people in the parish.' A paragraph under Milton of Glenesk at p. 88 belongs under Methlick on the same page. Two paragraphs at p. 103 under 'RUTHVEN. – Village and parish in Forfarshire' which refer to a charter granted to the Duke of Gordon have in fact to do with Ruthven in Badenoch, and therefore belong under Kingussie at p. 74. And the intriguing 'Lung fair' at Tarland in July (p. 112) has nothing to do with

internal organs; it is merely a misprint for 'Luag fair', dedicated to St Mo-Luag (*NSA* 12: 843). Such errors serve as a warning (though they are as nought compared to the courageous Victorian sweep of the work as a whole), and indeed Marwick himself was conscious of the deficiencies of his work, which he later described with exquisite modesty as 'a memorandum':

> Market Rights and Fairs in England, Scotland, and Ireland formed the subject of investigation by Royal Commissioners, whose Reports on 9th August, 1888, and 15th January, 1891, and the voluminous evidence taken by them, fill fourteen folio volumes. A memorandum on the history of these institutions in Scotland, hurriedly prepared by the writer of this article, is incorporated in volume vii. pp. 559–674. But the subject, which is closely associated with the development of this country, deserves fuller treatment. (Marwick 1903–04b: 274)

This requires some elucidation. The fourteen 'volumes' (I refer to them below as 'parts') produced by the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls were bound as nine volumes and published as UK Parliamentary Papers 1888 vols 53–55 and 1890–91 vols 36–41. As these form a fundamental work of reference for the study of our fairs and markets, I summarise their contents here:

1888	vol. 53	part 1	Commissioners' First Report: history of fairs and markets in UK, referring to Scotland at p. 7, with appendix of Scottish legal texts at pp. 94–103, and lists of relevant Scottish Acts of Parliament at pp. 224 and 230. I note at p. 224: 'The Scottish legislation with respect to fairs and markets appears to have commenced with Acts in 1456 and 1493 as to excessive distress and freedom of sales. Markets held on Sundays and holidays, or in churchyards, are dealt with by Acts of 1503, 1579, 1581, 1592–3–4, 1640–1, 1656, and 1661. Marketing on Mondays and Saturdays was prohibited by Acts of 1644, 1663, and 1695. Trading was limited to regular market days in 1567.'
		pt 2	Minutes of evidence taken in England.
	vol. 54	pt 3	Minutes of evidence taken in England.
	vol. 55	pt 4	Minutes of evidence taken in England.
1890–91	vol. 36	pt 5	Minutes of evidence taken in Ireland.
		pt 6	Minutes of evidence taken in Ireland.
	vol. 37	pt 11	Commissioners' Final Report, referring to Scottish historical matters at p. 13, and to the contemporary condition of Scottish markets at pp. 32–44, 62–63, 67–68 and 114–15.
		pt 7	Minutes of evidence taken in England, Ireland and Scotland. The Scottish evidence is at pp. 377–455. Marwick's 'List of Markets and Fairs now and formerly held in Scotland' (pp. 559–674) forms the last of a number of appendices. He arranged for some copies of it to be run off as a monograph, paginated 1–116. This monograph (a signed copy presented to Edinburgh University

Library, pressmarked Zq.2.20) has been used as the basis for the present study.

vol. 38	pt 8	Minutes of evidence taken in England.
	pt 9	Minutes of evidence taken in England.
vol. 39	pt 10	Minutes of evidence taken in Ireland.
	pt 12	Précis of minutes of evidence.
	pt 13.1	Statistics of markets in London and of markets owned by local authorities in England and Wales.
vol. 40	pt 13.2	Statistics of markets owned by persons other than local authorities in England and Wales.
vol. 41	pt 13.3	Statistics of markets in Scotland and Ireland. The Scottish statistics are at pp. 9–59, with a table of charges for tolls, rents and stallages in selected markets in Scotland at pp. 281–93.
	pt 14	Reports on foreign markets.

The introduction to Marwick's *List* ranges through the history of markets and fairs throughout the world, but stops short of any analysis of the history of markets and fairs in Scotland. This is also true of his later work (Marwick 1903–04a), whose approach is anthropological and strongly Frazerian. The influence of his introduction upon the study of Scottish fairs is thus revealed mainly in the way subsequent writers on the topic (e.g. Haldane 1952: 133) seem to echo its ringing tones about how 'wherever large numbers of persons were drawn together at fixed times for purposes of business, or religion, or pleasure, an inducement was offered to the marchant or pedlar, as well as to the craftsman, to attend, and to provide by the diversity and quality of his wares for the requirements of the persons there congregated' (Marwick 1890: 3).

The first academic reaction to the *List* appears to have been a paper on 'The Incidence of Saints' Names in Relation to Scottish Fairs' (Paul 1918). Paul provides a list of dedications and points out that Marwick mentions nearly 900 places in which fairs are or were held, 317 of which are specified to have been held on the anniversary day of 102 saints. The next scholar to give undivided attention to the subject was Mrs Mary MacLeod Banks. In vol. 1 of *British Calendar Customs: Scotland* she devotes a twenty-page section to it (1937: 171–90), consisting of a succinct introduction and a tabulated list of 'fairs of which there is evidence before 1500', including place, date, name, authority and notes.

Next into the ring was A. R. B. Haldane with *The Drove Roads of Scotland* and a paper given to the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society (1952; 1961). Other general studies since then have included Skinner (1962) and the chapters 'Pillars of the Year' and 'Fairs and Trysts' in Cameron (1997: 85–101). To these however we must add more specialised items like the miscellaneous references to fairs in *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Watson 1926), a paper on Highland fairs read to the Gaelic Society of Inverness in the same year (MacDonald 1925–27), and a geographical study of the growth of fairs and markets in the seventeenth century (Whyte 1979; cf. Whyte 1995: 180–82). There

are also studies of aspects of celebrated fairs such as Pitlessie (Andrews 1966; Megaw 1966) and Skirling (Skinner 1966) and items on specific fairs in *Tocher* and other journals. Most of the material on fairs in *Tocher* is in nos. 40 and 41 (1986–88). Also ripe for study and analysis is the information given in countless almanacs untouched by Marwick, such as *The Exact Dealer's Companion* (Smith 1727) and many others both earlier and later (see McDonald 1966). McCraw's excellent *The Fairs of Dundee* (1994) contains much of general as well as of local interest, and demonstrates how rewarding the subject can be when tackled in depth at a local level; as the present study will reveal with regard to Dumfries and Galloway (see especially sections 8, 11 and 15), a regional approach could be equally rewarding.

Above all, for our purposes, a wealth of information has come out piecemeal since the late nineteenth century in countless works on local history. Some, such as Warden (1880) and Melville (1935), devote entire sections or even chapters to the subject; other authors have contented themselves with passing references, but sometimes these are substantial. Recent Scottish historians have paid too little attention to fairs, however, and it is difficult to find historical monographs which include 'fairs' or 'markets' as headwords in the index, even though there may be valuable references to fairs and markets in the text. Some useful works which I would exempt from this criticism are Adams (1978), Mair (1988) and Ewan (1990). Mair, in particular, devotes a chapter to 'Merchants, Shops and Markets'; his book is for the general reader and contains no references or bibliography, but instead there is a section 'How to find out more' in which stress is quite properly laid on the appeal of his subject to ordinary individuals who wish to understand the evidence that surrounds them. Recent work with which I am familiar on fairs in Ireland – a comparable country where the study of fairs is currently more advanced, although it never found its Marwick – includes O'Flanagan (1985), Logan (1986) and Buttimer (1992); useful anthropological contextualisation is provided by Hodges (1988).

3. DESIDERATA

In the short term, we need a volume of essays on aspects of Scottish fairs and fair-days, looking at topics such as the administration of fairs, legislation,[2] names, dedications, origins, weekly markets, the relationship between churches and fairs, eighteenth–twentieth century almanacs, tales, verse and proverbs about fairs in Scots, English and Gaelic,[3] illustrations of fairs in different media,[4] chapmen and cramers, specific types of fairs such as seed fairs (see Marwick 1890: 55), hiring fairs, wool fairs, harvest fairs, cattle fairs, horse fairs and so on, fairs associated with races and with plays, and the way fairs and markets have changed and adapted to modern times, turning into Highland games or agricultural shows. In the longer term, we need a complete updating of Marwick: in other words, a database or gazetteer of information on fairs and markets, listed alphabetically by place overall, and chronologically within each entry. Within

each entry there would be three types of information: (1) introductory, gathering together general information (location, origins, etc.) and references, and, very importantly, attempting to distinguish the different annual fairs, whether named or not, in that location; (2) date-specific discursive information such as the above three quotations; (3) date-specific non-discursive information. Type (3) would consist mainly of computer-sorted references from fair-lists in almanacs; I have experimented with it, and the first few entries produced by an analysis of fair-lists in just five almanacs,[5] once sorted alphabetically, read as follows:

Abbotshall, at the Links of, 10 April. *EDC* 1727.
Aberdeen, 1st Tuesday and Wednesday of December. *EA* 1754, 1759.
Aberdeen, 1st Tuesday of May. *EA* 1754, 1759.
Aberdeen, 1st Tuesday of October. *EA* 1754, 1759.
Aberdeen, 2nd Tuesday of June. *EA* 1754, 1759.
Aberdeen, 7 December. *EDC* 1727.
Aberdeen, Old, see Old Aberdeen.
Aberdeen, St Monence in, 1 March. *EDC* 1727.
Aberdour, 6 June. *EDC* 1727.
Aberdour, 8 June. *EA* 1750, 1751.
Abernethy, 2 July. *EDC* 1727.
Abernethy, 4 October. *EDC* 1727.
Abernethy, 9 June. *EDC* 1727; *EA* 1750, 1751.
Abernethy, St Bridge Fair at, 1 February. *EDC* 1727.

The last item picked up here is clearly ancient and of great interest – a St Brigid's Fair in a Pictish cult site of major importance, where the parish church is dedicated to St Brigid to this day.

To see how complete a guide Marwick is, I checked the available literature on Peebles fairs in my local library there – basically Chambers 1864, Gunn 1908, 1912 and 1914, Renwick 1912, and Buchan 1925 (I have the good fortune to live in a remarkably well-documented burgh). In summary, what I found is that Peebles appears to have had ten fairs at various times, of which Marwick gives seven. He has Fasten's E'en in March, Beltane in May/June, St Peter's in June/July, a fair on the Tuesday after 18 July, St Bartholomew's in August, St Dionysius' in October, and the Siller Fair in December. In addition to these, however, there were St Giles' or Roodsmas in September, the Runt Fair in November, and the Yule Fair in December/January. Seven out of ten is not bad, but I noticed that Marwick only scores about 5 out of 10 for overall information. For example, St Peter's was also known as the Lamb Fair, the fair on the Tuesday after 18 July was called the Wool Fair, and it appears that St Bartholomew's was known as the Hook (Heuk) Fair, presumably for the hire of reapers with their hooks or sickles, as was Old Cumnock's Scythe Fair in July (Skinner 1962: 4; Cameron 1997: 95). The Siller (Silver) Fair was also called the Winter Fair or St Andrew's, and only Chambers (1864: 301) explains it:

> This is a settling-day among farmers and others for many transactions during the season.
> Lime, drainage materials, and other articles connected with farming, are paid for this day,
> which is accordingly the busiest day with the banks during the whole year.

The above figures will be true for the present study too, since it is based on Marwick:
that is to say, detailed study of local historical sources seems likely to yield 50 per cent
more fair-names and 100 per cent more crucial information.

4. MEDIEVAL FAIRS

Traders needed a recognised circuit or 'market ring' by which they could travel from
place to place, finding large numbers of people congregated in some suitable location,
ideally a flat, open space with plentiful grazing, good access, a water supply and an
alehouse (cf. Whyte 1979: 14). At a given time in its history, a place might have anything
from one to a dozen fairs in a year, depending on its commercial importance. Each of
these would have originated according to one of two economic principles which may
safely, I think, be described as 'market forces' and 'interventionism'. In other words,
many fairs appear to have existed from time immemorial (indeed, that is a phrase
frequently used by Marwick's informants), such fairs having been created, or at least
sustained and carried forward until we catch sight of them, by 'market forces'. By
'interventionism', on the other hand, I mean the active establishment of a fair, on the
historical record, by commercial interests. In Scotland this goes back to the Normans,
and specifically to David I (1124–53), Malcolm IV ('the Maiden', 1153–65), and William
the Lion (1165–1214), who, through their agents in the Church, brought in foreign
craftsmen, merchants and traders. This did not happen without conflict. In 1587 the
burgesses of Forres complained of the injury suffered by their town 'from the holding
of markets and fairs at kirks, chapels, and other unfree places near it, to the prejudice of
the liberties of burghs'. In 1599 Wigtown complained to the Convention of Burghs
about unfree fairs being held at Minnigaff and at landward kirks in the vicinity. And in
1692 a report to the Convention of Burghs states that a fair was being held at North
Water Bridge in Angus 'without any warrant, within four miles of Brechin, and that it
altogether destroyed the town's markets' (Marwick 1890: 54, 93, 116; Whyte 1979: 21).

These three examples synthesise the clash between Celtic and Anglo-Norman, rural
and urban, or what O'Flanagan (1985: 364) has called 'franchised and clandestine' market
centres. A good example of the Celtic/rural/clandestine part of the syndrome is the
cult of St Angus in Balquhidder – a saint, not in the Roman breviary, who was
commemorated down to the nineteenth or twentieth century in sacred stones, in
oratories, and in rural fairs never authorised in legislation (Marwick 1890: 74, 111; Watson
1926: 272; Beauchamp 1986: 24–33, 37; MacIlleDhuibh 1989). Moreover, in addition to
the enemy 'without' there might be an enemy 'within', as exemplified by a letter of
James V in 1541 which charged the freemen of Peebles not to make any private market
within the freedom of the burgh (Marwick 1890: 96).

Although our earliest extant burgh charters are from the reign of William the Lion, they tend to refer back to that of King David. For example, a charter granted by William to the bishop and culdees of the church of Brechin confirms a grant by David I of a right of market on Sunday (Marwick 1890: 25). William's three extant charters to Glasgow are particularly interesting. The first, datable to 1175–78, grants to Bishop Jocelin the right to have a burgh in Glasgow with a market on Thursday, and all the freedoms and customs which any royal burgh in Scotland possessed. The second, datable to 1189–95, grants the right to an annual eight-day fair beginning on the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, 6 July; this sounds familiar, and the suspicion that this represents a remarkable piece of continuity is confirmed by an Act of the Town Council of 1744, referred to in more detail in section 11 below, which speaks of the Glasgow Fair as being traditionally held on 7 July. The third, probably datable to 1202–10, is interesting for what it tells us about the legal protection of commerce, for it renews the grant of the King's peace 'to all who shall come to Glasgow Fair and to the burgh of Glasgow, in coming thither, remaining, and lawfully returning; provided they do what they ought to do according to the assize of his burghs' (Marwick 1890: 59; Barrow 1971: 413).

From the twelfth century to the eighteenth, there is a continuous stream of speculative sheepskins granting to local magnates, for a fee, the legal right to hold a market. The Glasgow Fair was one that has survived, albeit developing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into a 'working class festival' and trades holiday (Burnett 1999). Most vanished sooner or later. Others never 'took' at all, as far as one can judge, an example of this being Stornoway. In 1597 an Act of Parliament ordained a burgh to be established in Lewis with all the privileges granted to other burghs in the realm. On 18 October 1607 the King, who had now become James I of England as well as James VI of Scotland, granted a charter to Lord Balmerino erecting Stornoway into a burgh of barony with a weekly market on Saturday and two yearly fairs – on St Andrew's Day, 30 November, and on St George's Day, 23 April. Clearly the days were chosen for no reason other than that they symbolised James's rule over the two kingdoms. Since the MacLeods succeeded in expelling Balmerino's 'Fife Adventurers', it was a piece of legislation that remained entirely symbolic, and the next charter on the matter acknowledged political reality in the shape of Kenneth, Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, who was in 1610 granted the right of 'new erecting' Stornoway into a burgh of barony as before, this time without mention of fairs (Marwick 1890: 109).

The early burgh was a commune of skilled entrepreneurs of diverse origin, operating under a set of precise rules which tied them legislatively to the King – either directly, in the case of Royal Burghs, or indirectly through some great landlord, abbot or bishop. The burgess had both privileges and responsibilities. He must, says Adams (1978: 42), defend his burgage, build a house on it within a year, and maintain it thereafter. He should keep long weapons for defence, help guard prisoners, and keep watch at night. Houses were usually of timber and thatch, so fear of fire was ever present. The night watch started by seeing that all fires were covered. He must also attend three head

courts yearly, keep his weights and measures sealed with the burgh seal, pay his part of the civic burdens, and take his turn as a burgh official. Last but not least:

> Once the burgh was established under the charter of erection, the duty of the burgesses was to establish trade, undertaken during markets and fairs. Two weekly markets and an annual fair were usually granted. Stallengers set up their open stalls or booths and the dues were an important item of burgh revenue. Trading restrictions were often removed for the period of the market, and other community restraints were also lifted so that no one could be arrested unless he broke the peace of the fair. Special courts . . . were set up to deal immediate justice to any wrongdoer. (Adams 1978: 37)

The right of holding fairs and markets was a prerogative of the King, exercised only through Act of Parliament. Anyone setting up a fair or market without such authority was liable to penalties, while those duly authorised to hold one could prevent the establishment of another near enough to be a nuisance (Marwick 1890: 9). The right to hold a fair was valuable, for it carried with it the right of exacting toll on goods sold, while giving certain judicial rights to the holder. Those attending fairs became subject to laws made for and peculiar to the occasion, and the sites of fairs thus acquired some semblance of community organisation. The laws of the fair were administered in courts set up for the purpose. They gave special protection to traders going to or returning from fairs as well as while at the fair itself. In fact, as Haldane once pointed out (1961: 2), the 'Peace of the Fair' seems to have carried with it almost the rights of sanctuary.

There was logic in this. Annual fairs were held on holy days, and dedicated to a saint. They would come under the protection of this saint and thus have the same status as one of his (or her) relics. They were normally held in the churchyard until this practice was, in theory, stopped by Act of Parliament in 1503. Commercial announcements continued to be read from the pulpit, however, and trading was allowed in the church porch except during divine service (Adams 1978: 44). Many fairs continued to be held in churchyards, such as at Kincardine O'Neil, where the table-tombs were still being used as stalls in the late eighteenth century (McCraw 1994: 13).

5. FENCING

There is a further strong parallel between fairs and religion. The fair was 'fenced' in the same way that all medieval courts were 'fenced', and in exactly the same sense in which the tables are, or were, 'fenced' at communion – that is, reserved to those who had earned the right to sit at the Lord's Table, a form of preaching defined in Gaelic as *a' cur gàrradh mun bhòrd*, or, less commonly, *a' dìon nam bòrd*, or *a' cuartachadh nam bòrd* (Murchison 1960: 133, 180, 185). 'Fencing' is well described by John McLean, minister of Grantully, speaking of *Fèill nam Bannaomh*, the 'Fair of the Female Saints', which was held on 26 July (the Feast of the Nine Virgins, daughters of St Donald) every year at Kenmore in Highland Perthshire (Gillies 1938: 56).

The 'Holy Women's Fair' used to be opened with great state and ceremony. We have it from one who, in his youth, less than fifty years ago, was a delighted spectator of the scene, that the ground officer, carrying a drawn sword, walked in state, preceded by a piper, and followed by a dozen or so of young men walking in regular order, each carrying a halbert. On the procession arriving at the cross or centre of the market the official proclaimed the 'Peace of the Fair'. (McLean 1887: 43)

The following describes in detail the fencing not only of *Feill nam Bannaomh* but also of *Faidhir Mhór an Earraich*, the 'Big Spring Market' held at Kenmore on the first Tuesday of March OS.

In connection with this market, and the one held in March, a time-honoured ceremony, abolished about 1840, was wont to be held. We refer to the fencing of these by the market guard, accounts of which we have from those who witnessed the proceedings. The lands on Loch Tayside were formerly divided into officiaries, for the most part according to the different estates. In each of these officiaries was a resident ground officer, chosen from among the tenants, who had to bring with him a certain number of stout young men, who constituted the guard. The old public school, which stood on Kenmore brae, formed the last guard-house. There the halberts of the rank and file were stored. At twelve o'clock noon, on the day of the fair, the market guard was mustered in front of the guard house by the Taymouth ground officer. A halbert was delivered to each man, and with the Breadalbane piper up front, the company started on its march of the boundaries of the fair. On their return to the guard-house the men delivered up their halberts, and the ordinary business of the fair, meanwhile at a standstill, was allowed to proceed. Although denuded of its insignia of office, the guard was still responsible for the peace of the fair, and any one raising a disturbance was committed to durance vile in the guard-house, to await the sentence of the Baron Bailie Court next day. The Taymouth ground officer received from the Earl of Breadalbane a yearly allowance of two merks, which was expended in regaling his company in Kenmore Inn. A ceremony similar in character to the above took place, we believe, at the Killin markets. The old halberts have been lost sight of, but one, now in the writer's possession, was found some four years ago in Loch Tay, when crossing by boat betwixt the Island and Taymouth gardens. (Christie 1892: 26–27)

'The Island' is a reference to *Eilean nam Bannaomh*, 'the Isle of the Female Saints', now known as Priory Island, a substantial crannog off the north shore. McLean interpreted the ritual as follows (1887: 43–44; cf. Marwick 1890: 11):

This was no unmeaning ceremony in the days when fairs were first instituted. From the moment the peace of the fair was cried there was perfect liberty. The debtor could not be taken up for his debt, or the riever for his theft; even the fugitive bondman was free from arrest on that day, and though his owner met him in the fair he dared neither 'chase nor tak him', nor apprehend him, on his way home. And besides, there was unrestricted free trade, while at other times only those privileged to sell could do so.

As on holy ground, then, there was a form of amnesty for crimes committed under secular jurisdiction, but so, too, did outrage and bloodshed become a form of sacrilege.

Time and again the site of a fair was changed after an act of violence had been committed during its term. There was a tradition at Whitsome in Berwickshire, for example, that there were once two annual fairs there, but that the privilege was lost when a scuffle took place at one of them which resulted in a man being killed (*NSA* 2, pt 3: 169; Marwick 1890: 116). Similarly, of Lord Lovat's Regality of Beauly in 1628 we learn from the Rev. James Fraser (1634–1709):

> The 3 prime men in Beuly, William Fraser, Patrick Anguis, and John Whit, undergo the regulation of the faires, and ingages for a set soum for a tack of the faires yearely; and the Hallowmas marcat being then at Kilmorack, there happened a great riot betuixt the Frasers and Mckenzies, and severalls wounded; therefore by Act of Court, wherin the Master sat personally, the Hallow faire is transplant to the town of Beuly for the future, and the Cross which stood westward from the Town, in the spiggadach near Teawigg, is carried to Beuly and erected where now we see it, fixed in the midest of the town. It was called the Reed-Cross, either becaus Abbot Reed, Bishop of Orknay, built it, or becaus of its collowr, I will not determin; but it is a necessary ornament now in a marcat town wherein stand 3 fine faires yearely – 1/ Crose Beoday, May 3; 2/ Michaelmas day, Septr. 29; 3/ All Saints or Hallowmas day, the first of November; and Beuly lyes in a fit place for faires. (Mackay 1905: 249–50)

I understand *spiogadach* to be equivalent to English 'picketing', i.e. it would have been a stockade or other area fenced off with wooden stakes. However, as Fraser says it was near Teawigg, we are not to understand that it was the original market site, which was a mile still farther west at the parish church of Kilmorack. The clear implication is that when a fair was moved to a different site, or simply outgrew its churchyard, it remained imperative for the Peace of the Fair that it continue to have a sacred centre and a well-understood perimeter. 'In an age when few people were able to sign a written contract,' explains Marian McNeill (1957: 87), 'the parties to a bargain touched the Cross and thus came under solemn obligation.' The fact that a standing stone served just as well – as for instance at the *Feill Mo-Chalmaig*, St Colm's or Colman's market in February at Moulin in Perthshire – appears to illustrate the antiquity of our fairs (Watson 1926: 279; Fraser 1978–79). For other instances of the moving of crosses into towns for this purpose see Stewart (1979: 7–8).

The Law of the Fair must be proclaimed at the cross and its marches publicly delineated, and these marches might well enclose the entire burgh. So for example the records of the Royal Burgh of Edinburgh of 10 June 1584 state:

> Ordanis the provest to be wairnet to gadder his awin customes at the Trinity fair now at hand, and proclamatioun to be maid that forswamekill as it wes statute in December last that the town suld visy thair mairchis at the Trinity fair on fute, that thairfore the nichtbouris convene on Setterday nixt at fyve houris in the morning, at the provests lugeing, to pas and visy the sam, ilk persoun vnder the payne of xviij s.; and ordanis that the loch be visitet the said day. (Marwick 1882: 341)

In many other cases, by contrast, the King's grant of the fair was not direct to a burgh but to a local magnate, and he it was who rode the marches. Thus, for example (to return to Beauly), the Rev. James tells us of Hugh Fraser, 10th Lord Lovat (d. 1544):

> He setled Cross faire in Beuly, which Lord Thomas had tabled and purchased act of Parliament in favoures of the Monkes there for a Wednesday market also. As for the old faires of his country they were beyond debat of an ancient date, such as Coans fair in Convents, S. Mauritius in Dounbachlach, All Saints faire in Kilmorack, and Michaelmas faire in Beuly, all which markets he usually did ride with a noble train at their proclamation. He once had 3 lords and 6 barrons with him at the rideing of a faire in Beuly, with all their retinue, a very fair sight. (Mackay 1905: 131–32)

At a later date the Duke of Perth similarly used the fencing of the Michaelmas Fair at Crieff to assert his authority.

> In former days the principal fairs at Crieff were opened with considerable pomp by the Duke of Perth in person. He held his court (often in the open air) in the morning, with a view to make the necessary arrangements, settle differences, and provide against the commission of outrages among the community. He afterwards rode through the market at the head of his guard, and proclaimed his titles at the different marches or boundaries of his property. Many of the feuars are bound by their charters to provide a given number of the halbert-men that composed the guard at the fairs; and it is not many years since their services were dispensed with. The regulation and management of the fairs are now entrusted to the committee (formerly mentioned) who have the charge of the town's affairs; and the public funds of the town are principally derived from the grass upon the bleaching green, the public weights, and the rates of customs charged upon the different articles, and subjects that are exposed for sale during any of the market days. (*NSA* 10: 525–26; cf. Marwick 1890: 35)

That account conceals any historical tensions that may have existed between landlord and burgh over the right to hold the fair, but they are laid bare for Dundee in this reference of 12 October 1643 to the Feast of the Assumption there (15 August):

> Indenture between James Viscount Dudhope, constable of Dundee, and the magistrates acknowledging the right of the former to customs of first fair, and consenting to his riding through the town during the fair, accompanied by not more than 20 followers. (Marwick 1890: 44)

The indenture settled what we may call, from the Constable's surname, the 'Scrymgeour Affair'. This long-running dispute was about the Scrymgeours' hereditary right 'of ryding the first faire of Dundie throw the toun thairof, receaving the keyes of the tolbuith, uplifting the customes of the said faire and doing justice'. The last-named privilege was described by one deponent as 'judgeing all causes civill and criminall for the space of eight dayes', that is, for the duration of the fair; the 1643 settlement stipulated that the court was henceforth to be held in the Tolbooth instead of on the Castlehill (McCraw 1994: 19–23). Tension is also evident in the unexpected use of the word

'trespassers' in a charter by Charles II in favour of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh for the lands of the barony of Bute – it speaks of 'the keeping of the fairs within the burgh of Rothesay' and 'a right to have a gallon of ale out of each brew-house in the burgh, as use is, and of fining all trespassers within the burgh during the time of the fairs' (Marwick 1890: 102).

After 1700 such tensions disappeared to some extent, but the need to keep the Peace of the Fair remained, and although heritable jurisdictions were abolished by Act of Parliament following the '45, the last success of Duncan Forbes of Culloden (who died in 1747) was the preservation to the baron courts of a 'modest but meaningful jurisdiction' which included the keeping of the peace at fairs and markets (Lenman 1984: 280). The minister of Kiltearn in Easter Ross writes in 1791 of two annual fairs at Drummond where 'though the proprietor exacts no toll or custom, he maintains a guard while the market lasts, to keep order, and prevent riots' (*OSA* 17: 491), while in 1797 the minister of Dunkeld in Perthshire writes of six yearly fairs at which 'a *guard*, paid by the Duke of Atholl, and provided with arms, is always in readiness to preserve the peace, and apprehend any offenders who may be detected' (*OSA* 12: 336; cf. Marwick 1890: 45).

After 1800 the economic landscape changed. Communications improved, shops opened, people were driven from the land, and, by legislation of 1846, the burghs lost their privileges (Paul 1918: 161). Marwick (1890: 11) commented that 'fairs and markets for general commodities thus became practically valueless, and the right to hold them – whether conferred by charter or Act of Parliament – has fallen largely into disuse'; a later writer described the disappearance of fairs and markets as 'one of the most significant changes that have come over the rural districts of Scotland in recent times' (Stewart 1928: 186). Sometimes customs were kept alive for their own sake, however. By 1840, in the fair at Eaglesham on the last Thursday of August OS, 'the feuars have a procession, which generally terminates with a horse race for a Kilmarnock bonnet' (*NSA* 7, pt 1: 404–05). In Berwickshire by 1890, even though the fair at Chirnside on the last Thursday of November had dwindled to one or two stalls selling gingerbread, it was still 'cried' by a servant of the lord of the manor, and a penny was still levied from each stallholder; nearby in Swinton the 'crying of the fair' was still gone through twice a year, even though the two annual fairs had been discontinued (Marwick 1890: 30, 47, 111).

I will conclude this account of the fencing of the fair with two quotations which demonstrate exactly how it survived into modern times. First, an account of the great July fair at St Boswells in Roxburghshire – known to the Highland drovers as the *Feill Boisil*, if we may judge from the Gaelic almanacs – which begins with a reference to 'burley' or 'birlie' (local customary law, English 'by-law').

> Until 1870 the custom, known as 'cryin' the Burley' was observed. Shortly before 11 a.m. on the Fair day, three men, carrying halberds on their shoulders, and preceded by a drummer in a 'tile hat', marched through the Fair ground proclaiming the Fair open. The last man to 'Cry the Burley' was Mr Charles Lamb. One of his henchmen, known as Black Davey, had dark bushy hair and whiskers and dressed for his part in a claw-hammer coat with a double

row of bright metal buttons down the front. The drum and tile hat are still in existence, in the care of Mrs Tom Melrose of Elderbank. (Lawrie 1974: 12)

Next, the First Fair (Lady Mary Fair), held at Dundee, as we have seen, on the Feast of the Assumption (15 August OS, 26 August NS):

> To protect the legitimate stallholders who had paid rent to the Constable, and to maintain order in the days before a police force, it had been customary for a small company of retainers to march out on the morning of the First Fair, preceded by a piper, and to assemble at a bell tent pitched on the muir. Each man had been armed with a halberd as an emblem of authority, with the but at least, on occasion, being used to quell a disturbance. Circular forms had been provided on which these men sat grouped around the tent in the course of their guard duty. This office continued even after the police assumed responsibility for preserving order. Old traditions die hard and on the morning of 26 August 1908, although the Fairmuir was deserted, apart from a few youths playing football, Mr Charles Nicoll, tenant of Balgray Farm, and thirteen other men assembled on the muir and drew their pay of 4s. per head for their service, good remuneration at the time for what was merely a token appearance. While the tent was not erected, nor did they bear their arms, it along with the forms and the halberds were reported to be still in good condition and in the custody of Mr Nicoll. (McCraw 1994: 63–64)

Mr McCraw points out to me (personal communication, 4 January 2000) that First Fair was officially proclaimed until 1930, possibly until 1933, on Friday morning at 6 o'clock, latterly by the Superintendent of Markets.

6. THE OLDEST FAIRS

I now turn from 'interventionism' and the historical record to those fairs held 'from time immemorial'. Can it seriously be suggested that the above-mentioned MacLeod of Lewis, for example, did not have gatherings of his own? The trained historian has a tendency to claim that the thing that is not written down did not happen. Says Marwick (1890: 11),

> In Scotland as in other countries markets and fairs have existed from the earliest period in which men have been drawn together in villages and towns, and any record of their mode of life is preserved. Evidences of this are to be found in charters granted by Scottish sovereigns to religious houses and ecclesiastical lords, to royal burghs, and to lords of regality and barony. Undoubtedly, however, the trade and manufacture of Scotland in early times may be said to have been practically confined to royal burghs.

Were they? There is evidence here of something slightly less than an open mind. It is a point of view whose most extreme, not to say absurd, articulation came from William Cunningham (1916: 170): 'There seems to be no reliable evidence of periodical assemblies for purposes of trade in primitive times. Medieval fairs in Scotland were not so ancient as those in England.' In point of fact there is no way to be sure, even in such a case as

the fair in Glasgow beginning on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paul, that the first charter was not simply legalising, regularising or renaming a fair that already existed. In other words, the Glasgow Fair in July may be older than the twelfth century, and indeed it is not unlikely that an annual gathering would have taken place at the lowest point where the river could be forded and at a time of year when it could be forded in safety (the same applies to Fochabers on the Spey, see section 11 below). Haldane's viewpoint (1961: 3) was the opposite of Cunningham's:

> It is not possible to attach even an approximate date to the earliest Scottish Fairs. All we can say is that they are of great antiquity and that the Christian Saints whose names came to be associated with many Fairs in historical times may well have been only the successors of pagan gods associated with the more primitive gatherings of earlier ages.

An instance of this is the possible connection between St Boswell's, once the biggest sheep-market in the south of Scotland, and nearby Eildon Hill North, which archaeologists are coming to believe was an Iron Age site of ritual importance (Dent and McDonald 1997: 65–66). Around its summit are at least 290 house-platforms which could only have been occupied in summer, and St Boswell's is a July fair.

> For many years the Fair was held on Maxton Haugh below the heights where Boisil's church had stood. In 1743 the river, Tweed, rose rapidly on July 18th and covered the Haugh to a depth of 2ft. flooding the Fair. After that date the Fair was transferred to the Green. (Lawrie 1974: 11)

Could this be, to use Máire MacNeill's terms (1962: 12–25), a Lughnasa survival? A pre-Christian hilltop gathering?

7. *AONACH* AND *CÒMHDHAIL*

We know that the ancient Celts had great gatherings, frequently on hill-top sites, for law-making and other purposes. Caesar tells us for example that the tribes of Gaul met for this purpose at a place in the territory of the Carnutes (Rees and Rees 1961: 158, citing *De Bello Gallico* vi, 13). In early medieval Ireland such gatherings took place (usually on certain quarterdays, every third year or so) at Tara, Tlachtga, Tailtiu, Cruachan, Carman, Nenagh (*an tAonach*) and other places. A great deal went on besides law-making. There were judgements, political discussions, religious observances, entertainments, feats of arms, horse-racing, sports and trading. Our most graphic source for all this is a Gaelic poem on the fair (*aonach*) of Carman, which was somewhere in south Leinster in Ireland, possibly at Wexford. It portrays a market with three clear divisions – foodstuffs, livestock and luxury goods.[6]

With regard to *aonach* in Scotland, it has (historically, at least) two meanings: not merely a market-place, as in Ireland, but a mountain plateau, as in *an t-Aonach Eagach* ('the Notched Plateau') above Glencoe. Watson (1926: 491) points to five instances of it as 'market-place'. One is *Taigh an Aonaich*, Teaninich ('the House of the Market-Place')

at Alness, which gave its name to a distillery and a malt whisky. Another is *an t-Aonach*, a fine flat field on Drummond Farm near Evanton, formerly the site of a market (presumably the 'Goose Market' referred to in section 10 below). Then there is *Blàr an Aonaich* in Strathpeffer, Blairninich or 'the Market Ground'. These three places are within a couple of hundred yards or so of the parish churches of Alness, Kiltearn and Fodderty respectively; this establishes a pattern which can be looked for elsewhere. Watson's fourth instance is *Aonachan*, perhaps 'Little Market Place', on the south side of the Spean in Lochaber; Spean Bridge nearby is *Drochaid Aonachain* in Gaelic. *Aonachan* does not fit the pattern, but comes close to it, as the parish church of Kilmonivaig faces it just a mile away across the river. Was the original *Aonach*, as opposed to *Aonachan*, close to the church on the north side of the river? Watson's fifth is a quotation from a *port à beul – Gobhainn Druim an Aonaich*, 'the Smith of the Ridge of the Market (or Plateau)'. One Druim an Aonaich that I know of is in Raasay, another is in Mingulay, the latter site (on the shoulder of Hecla) being one for which, for entirely different reasons, I have postulated a Lammas gathering:

> We can assume that MacNeil had brought his gentlemen with him from Ciosmul in a fleet of galleys; did they climb the slope of Hecla that summer's evening to greet the new moon atop the sheer 800-foot cliff of Biolacreag, and feast upon *fachaich* ['fatlings', the young of the shearwater] and ale, and cast some upon the waters for good luck? There is no doubt that Mingulay had symbolic, perhaps even ritual, significance for the MacNeils – in the island was the only church dedicated to Calum Cille in all their territory, and 'Biolacreag' was their gathering cry. Was it here, perhaps, that MacNeil proved his manhood and received inauguration as king of his people? Did he then preside, like many an Irish king, over horse races and boat races? (MacilleDhuibh 1991)

Barrow (1981; 1992: 217–45) offers a list of 56 placenames which seem to contain the element *còmhdhail* ('assembly'). With one exception (*Clach na Còmhalaich* at Achiltibuie) all are in the eastern half of Scotland, and Barrow bases his understanding of the term on a passage in a Latin contract of 4 April 1329 between the Abbot of Arbroath and a certain Fergus son of Duncan:

> Fergus and his heir shall have the court which is called Couthal for the men residing within the said land, to deal with the countless acts arising amongst themselves only, and they shall have the fines arising therefrom. (Barrow 1981: 3; 1992: 220)

So he sees the *còmhdhail* as a court for mediating local disputes, and indeed he points out that there hardly ever seems to be more than one *còmhdhail* per parish; this suggests that each parish had its meeting-place. Moreover, a great many such meeting-sites were on hills, resulting in names like Cuttlehill, Cult Hill, Coleduns, Cothiemuir and so on. But it would accord with the Celtic style of doing things if such land-courts also went hand in hand with activities like games and markets. In the Carman poem a stanza on legal functions is sandwiched between lines on horseracing and foodstuffs.

They would hold seven races, for a glorious object, seven days in the week. There they would discuss with strife of speech the dues and tributes of the province, every legal enactment was settled right piously every third year. Corn, milk, peace, happy ease, full nets, ocean's plenty . . . (Gwynn 1991: 19, slightly rearranged).

So we must look for evidence linking *còmhdhail* names with fairs. I have some examples. One is Cockhill Fair at Callander on 16 May, a major event in the Highland drover's year. The drovers enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of grazing their cattle free of charge for the week previous to the fair, over the whole area of Cockhill, which was very fine grazing. The origin of the privilege was unknown in 1890, and it all suggests a meeting-ground of great antiquity (Marwick 1890: 28; Macdonald 1938: 190–99; Black 1996: 48, 56).

Another is Cuff Hill in the parish of Beith, Ayrshire, where a fair was held every St Inan's Day, 18 August. The fair was moved into Beith itself when the town had increased in population and become a more suitable place for a market (Marwick 1890: 22–23, 36). Cuff Hill bears all the marks of having being a sacred site. It has a cleft in the rock called St Inan's Chair, while not far away there is, or was, a well of excellent water called St Inan's Well – reflecting Gaelic *Suidhe Fhìonain* and *Tobar Fhìonain*, no doubt. Dr Thomas Clancy has kindly investigated the name locally for me, and reports that the 'Cuff' element is free-standing – Cuff Farm, etc. The proposed derivation from *còmhdhail* is therefore unsupported, but remains tempting in light of the older evidence.

There are other candidates. Glencuthell in Aberdeenshire, which was granted two annual fairs in 1672. Saltpans in East Lothian, where in 1669 Sir Alexander Morrison of Prestongrange got parliamentary authorisation to have a weekly market on Tuesday and a free annual fair on 27–28 July, both to be held at the place in the town commonly called Cuthil. And perhaps Cuttieshillock in the parish of Strachan in Kincardineshire, which had an annual fair down to sometime after 1842 (*NSA* 11, pt 2: 243; Marwick 1890: 60, 105, 109). Two 'kettle' names which appear in Marwick's *List* are Kettle (now usually Kingskettle) in Fife, where in 1608 a person was ordained by the Convention of Burghs to be punished for trading at the kirk, and Bonnakettle in the Aberdeenshire parish of Udny, where John Forbes of Bonnakettle was authorised by Act of Parliament in 1701 to hold two annual fairs, a Thomas Fair on the third Tuesday of June and a Latter Mary Fair on the third Tuesday of September (Marwick 1890: 24, 70). Our evidence here is rather confusing. Forbes's fairs look bogus and therefore unlikely to date from before 1701, as there is no feast of St Thomas in June and Latter Mary Day is 8 September, see sections 14 and 17 below. Barrow (1981: 8) believes that 'kettle' is unlikely to represent *còmhdhail*, but I am not so sure. Judging from Bonnakettle (*Balnakeddill* 1390, *Bannacadill* 1544), the element is in origin a Gaelic feminine noun, and it may be that in the change of vernacular the common Gaelic word *còmhdhail* simply became assimilated to the common Scots word *kettle*; indeed, this can be seen happening to the first element in the eighteenth-century forms *Bonnykeddle* and *Bonnykettle* (Alexander 1952: 16).

It has of course to be pointed out that *aonach* and *còmhdhail* are by no means the only place-name elements indicative of gathering sites. As Barrow (1981: 12) reminds us, Gaelic also offers *eireachd* 'an assembly' and *tional* 'a mustering or rallying place', as in the names Ericht and *Cnoc an Tionail* (Watson 1926: 491–92). There are also Anglo-Saxon *mōt*, Gaelic *mòd*, and Norse *þing*, all of which mean a court of assembly rather than a fair or market *per se*, and which are found, for example, in Meet Hill (Peterhead), Moathill (Cupar), Moothill (Rosemarkie), in innumerable hills called *Tom a' Mhòid*, and in Dingwall and Tinwald (Dumfriesshire), both of which represent Old Norse *þing vǫllr* 'field or place of the court of assembly'. Nor should the obvious be neglected, i.e. the Gaelic words *feill* and *faidhir* (as in *Cnoc na Feille*, *Cnoc na Faidhreach*, both meaning 'Market Hill'), *margadh* ('market'), and *dròbh* (from English 'drove'), as in *Beinn na Dròbh* (Bennadrove) in Stornoway, and the English words 'fair' and 'market' themselves, as exemplified by the Fairmuir in Dundee (see section 13) and by street-names and close-names in various towns such as Glasgow's Saltmarket, Edinburgh's Haymarket and Grassmarket, Fleshmarket Close and Market Street. The meanings of such names are not necessarily obvious – while hay was certainly sold at the Haymarket, 'Grassmarket' denotes a market held upon grass (and therefore devoted mainly to the sale of stock) as opposed to a 'causey fair' held upon cobblestones, see section 11.

8. QUARTERDAYS

There are, or were, fairs all over Scotland bearing the names of Celtic saints. If a fair is named after a Celtic saint like Patrick, Brigid, Columba, Finan or Maolrubha, it is reasonable to guess that it rose naturally out of commercial transactions between people visiting the church, chair, well, shrine or tomb of such a saint, and that it developed gradually from the date of the saint's death, or at least from the date of the first miracle ascribed to him or her at that place. For example, St Columba died AD 597, but his relics were not transferred from Iona to Dunkeld until the time of Viking attacks in the ninth century; his great fair at Dunkeld, the *Feill Chaluim Chille*, is on record from 1512, so we should assign its development to AD 800–1512. Conversely, we must look closely at the history of unnamed fairs held on the feast-days of such saints in order to determine whether or not they represent survivals of their cults. An unusually large number of unnamed fairs took place on or around St Columba's Day, 9 June. Examples of this are a yearly fair at Strathmiglo in Fife on 9 June and another at the Port of Menteith on the second Wednesday of June (Marwick 1890: 45, 89, 111). The Lake of Menteith is *Loch Inis Mo-Cholmaig*, the Loch of Inchmahome, the priory on Inchmahome being dedicated to St Colmán or Mo-Cholmóc of Druim Mór in Ulster (7 June), but I believe it is unlikely that popular tradition distinguished him from St Columba (Watson 1926: 279). As proof of the validity of such an exercise, we may note that *Latha Fheill Mo-Cheasaig*, St Kessog's Fair at Callander, became known to non-Gaelic-speakers in the nineteenth century as 'The Tenth of March Fair' (Marwick 1890: 28).

In the same way, the Celtic quarterdays of Lammas (1 August), Samhain (1 November), St Brigid's (1 February) and Beltane (1 May) are of great antiquity, so fairs on these days deserve particular investigation. There are many Lammas fairs which look old. Some are on record from an early date – Fettercairn 1504, Merton in Berwickshire 1504, Newburgh in Aberdeenshire 1509, Turriff 1512, Stonehaven 1567, Stranraer 1595, Dumbarton 1600, St Andrews 1614, Melrose 1621, Torphichen 1669, Tomintoul 1686, Finhaven in Angus 1686 (Marwick 1890: 42, 52–53, 87–88, 92, 104, 108–10, 113–14). Some may be disguised by dedications to St Peter ad Vincula or St Peter's Chains (1 August), St Margaret (31 July) or possibly St James (25 July). A number are on hilltop sites, thus fulfilling an important criterion for Lughnasa survivals cited by MacNeill (1962: ix, 67, 71–243). Examples of this for investigation would be the Lammas Fairs on the Hill of Invermarkie in Aberdeenshire (on record from 1669) and on the top of a range of hills to the north-east of Lockerbie, mentioned in 1836 (*NSA* 4, pt 1: 458; Marwick 1890: 66, 84). We should also note St James's Fair on the Hill of Garvock in Kincardineshire, whose duties were paid immemorially to a Mr Scott of Commiston even though the ground belonged to the Earl of Kintore (Marwick 1890: 58). As always there are warnings: there were trysts on 31 July at Pennymuir in Roxburghshire and in Selkirk, but it appears that these were established in 1830 and 1832 respectively (Marwick 1890: 96, 106). The Burryman Fair at South Queensferry, where a man is led around covered from head to toe in burrs from the burr thistle or burdock, is also worth noting in this context, because it is a St James's Day festival, held on 25 July OS, 4 August NS. It was described in 1843 as having been observed 'from time immemorial' (*NSA* 2, pt 1: 16; Marwick 1890: 100; McNeill 1968: 189–92).

Likely Samhain survivals come disguised as All Saints, All-Hallows, or Hallowmas. Early references include Edinburgh 1447, Falkland 1458, Fordyce in Banffshire 1499, Kilmorack *ante* 1544, Fortrose 1592, Innerroy in Lochaber 1669, Strathblane 1670, and the Burn of Scoulag in Bute 1681 (Marwick 1890: 48–49, 52, 54–55, 65, 106, 110; Mackay 1905: 132). The All-Hallow Fair in the Grassmarket in Edinburgh about 1800 is the subject of a print in the Central Library as well as of Howe's paintings (Haldane 1952: plate 11). The fair held on the first Wednesday of November at Kilwinning in Ayrshire was Bell's Day (see section 13 below). Perhaps most interesting however is the 'fair of Hill' at Lochwinnoch in Renfrewshire, held on the first Tuesday of November OS. The Rev. Robert Smith wrote in 1836 that it was the oldest of the three Lochwinnoch fairs and had been held 'from time immemorial' (*NSA* 7: 110; cf. Marwick 1890: 84). It took place originally on the Market Hill, from which it got its name, and was then transferred to the village.

We should also regard as potential Samhain survivals the feasts of the Apostles Simon and Jude (28 October) and of St Tallerican (*Taraghlan*, 30 October). St Orland's (or Airland's) Stone is a carved Pictish monolith that stands at Cossins in the Angus countryside; its name suggests a connection with Tallerican and therefore with Samhain assemblies and rituals (Allen and Anderson 1993: 216–18). We may also note the parish

of Tarland in Aberdeenshire, an unexplained name, Gaelic *Tarulan*, in 1171 *Tharueland*, *Tharflund*, in 1268 *Taruelone* (Macdonald 1899: 314, Alexander 1952: 387); cf. *Cill Taraghlain*, the parish of Kiltarlity in Inverness-shire (Watson 1926: 298).

For St Brigid's, due no doubt to the inhospitable time of year, there is not a great deal, but the few that there are certainly seem old. A St Brigid's Fair in Logie Wester (*Lagaidh Bhrìghde* or St Brigid's Hollow) near Dingwall had moved to Inverness by 1592. Other places where a St Brigid's Day fair is on record as early as 1727 are Forres, Blair Athol and (as we have seen) Abernethy. If we also include fairs at Candlemas, 2 February (which may be referred to as the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary), as I think we must, the list extends to Dingwall, Kinloss in Morayshire (on record from 1497), Banff, Methlick in Aberdeenshire, Dunkeld and Rattray in Perthshire, Cupar in Fife, Biggar and Douglas in Lanarkshire, and Dumfries (Smith 1727; Marwick 1890: 22–24, 40, 42–43, 45, 67, 75).

For Beltane there is a splendid crop of early references: Kilmun in Argyll 1490, Kirkcudbright 1509, Pitlessie in Fife 1541, Beauly *ante* 1544, Kilconquhar in Fife 1609, Rothiemay in Banffshire 1617, Gartmore in Stirlingshire 1681, Moybeg in Strathdearn 1669 (Marwick 1890: 57, 71, 73, 76, 90, 97, 102; Mackay 1905: 131–32, 250). These include not just Beltane itself, varying from 1 to 5 May, but the feasts of SS Philip and James (1 May) and of the Invention of the Holy Cross (James Fraser's 'Crose Beoday', presumably *Fèill na Croise Beò*, 'the Feast-Day of the Living Cross', 3 May, see section 5). Smith (1727) refers under April to 'Belton the first, being the 26 Day, at Ruthglen 28 Day', perhaps meaning that Beltane fairs might occur at any point from 26 April. There were 'Bailton' or 'Belton' fairs at Comrie on the second Wednesday of May, and at Montrose, Kinnocher and Peebles as late as the third Tuesday of May, even before the change in the calendar (Smith 1727; Marwick 1890: 32). Of particular interest is the fair at Tullybelton in Perthshire, since the name is clearly *Tulach Bealltainn* ('Beltane Hillock'); according to the Rev. Thomas Nelson, minister of Auchtergaven, writing in 1838, 'an annual fair or market was once held on the banks of the Ordie, at a place called the Hole of Tulybelton, a beautiful dell, at which many Highlanders attended to sell wool, cheese, and butter, and other produce of their land and industry' (*NSA* 10: 449; cf. Marwick 1890: 114). Was it held at Beltane?

The Beltane Fair at Peebles, or at least the Beltane horse-race, is on public record from 1608, and there is also a poem in Scots about Beltane Day, 'Peblis to the Play', which dates from *c.* 1430–50, and was dubiously attributed by John Mair or Major to James I (1394–1437). It describes the journey of some country people to Peebles to take part in Beltane celebrations there. Young girls get out their best clothes before setting off; groups begin to arrive, singing or preceded by a piper; boys and girls pair away to enjoy the games and the dancing. Two men get into a fight over the bill in a tavern, the brawl then spilling into the street. A nearby carter is drawn in and is soundly beaten until pulled out of the gutter by his wife. Coming to, he declares that he doesn't know what it was . . .

> I wait weill nocht quhat it wes,
> My awin gray meir that kest me,
> Or gif I wes forfochtin faynt,
> And syn lay doun to rest me
> Yonder,
> Of Peblis to the play.

The worst offenders are clapped into the stocks, but good humour is restored when someone strikes up a tune on the pipes; everyone dances until it is time to say farewell until the next feast day (MacLaine 1996: 1–9). Clearly James, if he it was, enjoyed the annual pilgrimage to the Church of the Holy Cross (or Holy Rood) at Peebles, but we can dig deeper than that. Beltane was christianised as the Feast of the Holy Cross, as we have seen, so we need not doubt but that the Church of the Holy Cross was established (in 1261) in response to existing Beltane rituals. The same would have been true of Holyrood in Edinburgh. The evidence of Peeblesshire placenames suggests that Gaelic lingered long in the county – perhaps to around 1261, with accompanying traditions surviving to King James's time. Such traditions clearly included the enthusiastic celebration of Beltane. We can take things a step further back still, to a time in the early Middle Ages when Peeblesshire was Celtic but not Gaelic, for the name Peebles is Cumbric *Pebyllau* and means 'tents', that is, shieling bothies.[7] Beltane is in its very origin the time when cattle were brought up to the shieling pastures, so the connection between Peebles and Beltane can be shown to be intimate in every way (see for example Rees and Rees 1961: 84 and Carmichael 1928: 190–91).

I think I have made the point that a fair attached to a quarterday may turn out to have its roots in something very old. I believe I have also shown that it takes a long time for those connected with a great religious or sporting event to acknowledge that its commercial aspect has become the most important thing about it.

Now we should look at places which boasted fairs on more than one of the Celtic quarterdays. Going from north to south, Beauly had fairs at Beltane, Lammas and Hallowmas. Ardersier in Inverness-shire had fairs at Candlemas and Lammas, the latter becoming a so-called 'gingerbread fair', where gingerbread was sold in attractive shapes, such as miniature men and women, covered in gold or silver paper (Marwick 1890: 22, 28; McCraw 1994: 33). The gingerbread women of Ardersier seem to have been unusually buxom. 'One reverend researcher at least took them to represent the knights of the Crusade,' says Cameron (1997: 95–96), 'though in view of Ardersier's numerous inns and the wildness of the event they may well have symbolized something erotically nearer to nature.' Kildrummy in Aberdeenshire had fairs at St Brigid's, Lammas and All Saints, two of them on record from 1593. Aboyne had fairs at Candlemas and Hallowmas, Stonehaven at Candlemas and Lammas, and Doune in Perthshire, again, at Candlemas and Lammas. In 1890 Shian in Glenquoich, Perthshire, had fairs on 12 May and 12 November, which may be understood as Beltane and Samhain OS; the name Shian (*sìthean*, 'otherworld dwelling') is suggestive of a primal sacred site.

Campbeltown had Lammas and Hallow fairs (Marwick 1890: 15, 28, 41, 71, 106, 108–09).

Falkland in Fife, too, had important fairs at All Saints and Lammas, on record from 1458 and 1595 respectively, and in 1845 the Rev. Andrew Wilson, minister of that parish, tells us that 'these markets were held at one time upon the Lomond Hills, but of late years they have been held alternately in the streets of Falkland, and in a small commonty adjoining the town' (*NSA* 9: 936; cf. Marwick 1890: 52). Similarly, Redding in Stirlingshire had fairs at All Saints and Lammas, both held out in the hills. In 1672 an Act of Parliament authorised a yearly fair on the last Wednesday of October at the Redding, 'in a moorish place within the barony of Polmont'. The Wallacestone Fair took place on 2 August on a hill beyond Redding which was named after a stone said to have marked the spot from where Wallace watched the Battle of Falkirk (Marwick 1890: 98, 101). The Redding and Wallacestone fairs gave rise to the great cattle-markets at Falkirk, for which see Haldane (1952: 138–43, 211, 219–21, 240–41).

Cumulatively, the evidence from the far south-west is the most impressive of all. Maybole in Gaelic-speaking Carrick seems to have had the 'full set' – Lammas 1516, Candlemas 1599, Beltane and All Hallows 1672. So did Sanquhar in Dumfriesshire, except that one must constantly peer through a disguise – in 1484 we have St James and SS Simon and Jude, which are close to Lammas and Samhain, and in 1693 an Act of Parliament simply authorises a free fair there on the first Thursday of every quarter. By 1794 Thornhill in Dumfriesshire had fairs on the second Tuesday of February, May, August and November. And by 1661 Whithorn in Wigtownshire had fairs on 30 July and 1 November (Marwick 1890: 86, 105–06, 112, 115–16). What this suggests to me is that, thanks to surviving Celtic influence of a kind about which we know little, the people of the south-west remained particularly devoted to their ancient quarterdays; or, to put it another way, perhaps it was by clinging to the quarterdays that they remembered their roots.

9. CUSTOMS

'Where races and fires have outlived certain ancient fairs we may suspect an origin earlier than that of the fair itself,' says Banks (1937: 175). I am not quite sure why the races or fires should have to *outlive* the fair for this to be an indication of early origin; what is more, it is clear from John Burnett's work that races are a characteristic feature of the workers' festivals which arose in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But at this stage in research I am content to agree that we should look for fairs with races or fires, and see what lasted the longest, and what traces of extreme antiquity they seem to exhibit. One example picked up by Marwick is the annual Cadgers' Fair and races at Stewarton in Ayrshire. Another is the big fair at Errol in Perthshire in July called the Errol Race – it lasted two or three days, a race always being held on one of them, then developed into Highland Games and a funfair. It was in fact started *c.* 1830

by an innkeeper, James ('Mickie') Watson of the Errol Arms (Marwick 1890: 51, 108; Melville 1935: 74).

There was a fair near the church at Broughton in Peeblesshire every 22 September OS (3 October NS) which was 'distinguished by horse and foot races' (*NSA* 3, pt 2: 97). At Eaglesham, as we have seen, a fair in August began with a procession and ended with a horse race for a Kilmarnock bonnet. There was a fair at Carnwath on 10 August with a race and other games the day after. The race was one of the conditions of the Lockhart family's tenure of Carnwath, the prize being a pair of red hose. By 1836, at least, there were horse and foot races at the Lammas Fair at Inverkeithing (*NSA* 9, pt 1: 248). In 1845 Torryburn in Fife still had the remains of a fair in July which might have been the same one authorised there in 1669, and in the evening there was usually a horse race (Marwick 1890: 26, 29, 47, 66, 114).

The examples of fire festivals given by Banks are Galston and Irvine in Ayrshire. At Galston in 1792 fires were still being lit on all the neighbouring hills on the eve of St Peter's Fair (10 July), even though the fair itself was in decay. At Irvine there was a Marymas Fair on 15 August (the Feast of the Assumption). On the eve of the fair a beacon of wood was lit on a nearby hill, and the people 'made merry' round it. This custom was kept up till the late eighteenth century after the fair had been forgotten (Marwick 1890: 57, 68). The beacon was called a tawnel, in origin Early Irish *tendál*, later *teannál* ('beacon-fire').

Equally, there are other customs which may indicate antiquity, though of course evidence based on customs alone must be treated with extreme caution. The annual fair at Eskdalemuir in Dumfriesshire was held 'time out of mind' at the meeting of the Black and White Esks. It was 'entirely laid aside' by 1793, when the Rev. William Brown wrote:

> At that fair, it was the custom for the unmarried persons of both sexes to choose a companion, according to their liking, with whom they were to live till that time next year. This was called *hand-fasting*, or hand in fist. If they were pleased with each other at that time, then they continued together for life; if not, they separated, and were free to make another choice as at the first. The fruit of their connexion (if there were any) was always attached to the disaffected person. In later times, when this part of the country belonged to the Abbacy of Melrose, a priest, to whom they gave the name of Book i' bosom (either because he carried in his bosom a bible, or perhaps, a register of the marriages), came from time to time to confirm the marriages. (*OSA* 4: 165; cf. *NSA* 4, pt 1: 404–05 and Marwick 1890: 51)

It is reminiscent of the 'Teltown Marriages' that survived at the *Aonach Tailteann* or Teltown Fair in Meath down to the eighteenth century. There was a wall at Teltown with a hole in it, and if a woman put her hand through the hole, the first man to grasp it would be her husband for nine months, even though the wall was so high that they could not see each others' faces (MacNeill 1962: 316–17, 424). Handfasting has been the subject of some controversy among Scottish legal historians – the continued existence of the principle of trial marriage in customary law, long after the introduction of Christianity, was denied by Anton (1958) but reasserted by Sellar (1978–80).

At St Serf's fair at Culross in Fife on 1 July the people marched in procession carrying green boughs: clearly a pre-Reformation survival. Serf or Servanus was a Celtic saint whose Gaelic name is given by a nineteenth-century Perthshire source as *Searbh – Latha Fheill Seirbh*, St Serf's Day (Black 1996: 48). Culross was a centre of his cult, so it is interesting to note that the first Culross charter mentioned by Marwick (1890: 36) appoints a fair on St Matthew's Day, 21 September. That was in 1490. Only in 1592, after the Reformation, is St Serf endorsed – but massively, with the authorisation of an eight-day fair beginning 1 July.

At Bothwell in Lanarkshire a procession of flowers on the unlikely date of 13 November marked the site of an old fair till about 1870 (Marwick 1890: 24). Banks (1937: 175) says it may commemorate an ancient well-dressing. And at Kilbarchan in Renfrewshire on the third Tuesday of July, St Lillias' Fair was celebrated for many years by the erection of floral arches across the streets of the town (Marwick 1890: 70). I suspect however that Lillias was in reality the wife or daughter of William Cunningham of Craigend, who obtained a charter authorising the fair in 1704; McNeill (1968: 127) calls her 'the lovely Lilias Cuninghame, a descendant of the Earl of Glencairn'. Many further examples of this kind are cited in section 17.

10. STRANGE NAMES

Fair-names form an extraordinary litany. There are Whistle Fair and Troit Fair, Stobbs Fair and Bells Fair, Aikey Fair and Pepper's Fair, Gowk Fair and Trewel Fair, the Rook Fair and Porter Fair, the Clog Market and the Goose Market. There are Paldy Fair and Groset Fair, Hagg Fair and Bathie Fair, Hogget Fair and Seingie Fair, Breag Fair, the Japping Market and the Sleepy Market, not to mention strange-sounding fair-days like Tennant's Day, Play Feersday and Scarce Thursday. There are of course many fairs dedicated to saints, but what of those seemingly unknown to calendar or martyrology? St Tarse and St Norman's, St Carden's and St Marthom's, St Tear's and St Trothersmas – who are they all? In this section I will introduce, in calendar order, what may be described as the most miscellaneous of such names.

'There are six annual fairs held at Alyth,' wrote the Rev. William Ramsay in 1843, 'but two of these, St Malogue's, and another about Christmas, known by the unaccountable name of *Troit* Fair, have fallen into disuse, and are now merely nominal' (*NSA* 10: 1125; cf. Marwick 1890: 16). Troit Monday was an alternative name for Handsel Monday, the first Monday after New Year's Day, and it may be assumed that Ramsay was referring to Christmas OS, which fell in the nineteenth century on 6 January. The word means 'treat', Handsel Monday being the one legally-sanctioned holiday in the year for farm servants, associated above all with presents and treats. The younger and poorer members of the community went from door to door in quest of bannocks and other gifts, and favours (handsels, small gifts) were exchanged in school between teacher and pupils, following which the class was dismissed for the day. In Gaelic the day was

Di-Luain Sainnseil (from 'Handsel') or *Di-Luain Traoight* (or *Troight*, or *Trait*, or *Traoit*, or in Skye *Traosta*, from 'troit' or 'treat'). The English word 'treat' is applied to this festive context even in the highest register of Gaelic in the present day, e.g. of New Year: *Bha 'n oidhche crìochnachadh leis an* treat, *far an robh na chaidh a chruinneachadh sna taighean air a riarachadh a-mach eadar na gillean* ('The night ended with the *treat*, where what had been gathered in the houses was shared out among the lads', O Hianlaidh 1999). By 1843, it seems, the minister of Alyth no longer had any need to know how the English language was used or misused by Gaelic-speakers.

In 1581 Parliament ratified the fair or market called the Seingie Fair of St Andrews, extending for 15 days from (and including) the Monday after Easter Monday, and held within the city and cloisters of the Abbey 'from time immemorial' (Marwick 1890: 104). A senzie is a synod or deliberative meeting of clergy (*SND*). A charter of 1614 referred to the Sengie Fair beginning on the ninth day after Pentecost and lasting 15 days, while an account of the pre-Reformation monastery of St Andrews, written in 1683, states:

> The CLOYSTER stood just west from the prior's house, the Dortour only intersected, and is a quadrangle, and of old was the great mercat-place of that renowned faire of St Andrews, called the Senzie mercat, held and kept for fifteen dayes, and beginning the second week after Easter, whereunto resorted marchants from most of the then trading kingdomes in Europe, trade in this kingdome being then in its infancie. The place over the merchants stalls was covered, to defend them and their goods. The cloyster is now turned into a little orchard, having the south side wall of the church for a pairt of its fence. The four pairts of the cloyster were covered by William of London the thirteenth prior. The SENZIE-HOUSE, senzie-hall, and senzie-chamber, called the sub-prior's house, is a tolerable dwelling. (Martine 1797: 188, quoted in part *NSA* 9, pt 1: 495)

By the 1840s the Senzie Fair was confined to a single day (the second Thursday of April OS) and very little business was transacted.

The 'Gowk Fair' was recalled about 1890 by an 80-year-old resident in Kippen, Stirlingshire, as being held on the second Wednesday of April OS for seed, oats and barley sold by sample, and also for a stallion show. By then it had been discontinued for some years (Marwick 1890: 76). The OS dating proves that it was in existence in 1752 when the calendar was changed; the name 'Gowk Fair' ('Cuckoo Fair') is another seasonal one, but I am unsure as to whether it refers to 'hunting the gowk' – being sent on a fool's errand – on 1 April, or to the arrival of the real 'gowk' later in the month.

The 'Hogget Fair' and April Show at Lockerbie in Dumfriesshire were held on 10 April (Marwick 1890: 84). This will be hogget in the sense of a hog or yearling sheep.

Biggar had a 'Seed Thursday' in March (Cameron 1997: 95). Further north, by 1838 Fortingall in Perthshire had a 'Seed Fair' in the end of April 'because the tenants and others resort to it for their lintseed, clover-seed, &c' (*NSA* 10: 557). Stewart (1928: 188) gave its date as 28 April and its name as '*Feill Ceit an Fhrois* or St Catherine's Seed Fair', but both elements can be readily explained. The feast-day of St Catherine of Siena (d.

1380, canonised 1461) was 29 April; the word *fras* ('shower' or 'seed'), though feminine elsewhere, was masculine in Perthshire, so the unexpected genitive *an Fhrois* is correct (Armstrong 1825: 267; Gillies 1938: 354).

At Logierait, also in Perthshire and also in April, was '*Feill 'an vois*, or the seed market' (Marwick 1890: 84). It was of considerable importance in its day, but was discontinued about 1825. There are two equal possibilities here. *Feill 'an vois* is either a misreading of *Feill an rois* (for *Féill an Fhrois* 'the Seed Fair', with silent *fh* as is normal) or a characteristically Perthshire corruption of *Feill Eoin Baiste*, the Feast of St John the Baptist. Since his day is 24 June, the calendar referent would be to Holy Thursday in Easter Week, which was sacred to the memory of John the Baptist (and also, at least in more westerly locations, to his *doppelgänger* St Bannan or Manannan). Given the very strong associations of these figures with water, the fact that Logierait is situated at one of the most important confluences in Scotland – that of the Tay and Tummel – may not be coincidental.

Thursday of Easter Week was a popular fair-day in pre-Reformation times. In Gaelic it was generally known as *Diar-Daoin a' Bhrochain* ('Gruel Thursday', 'Porridge Thursday') from the gifts or sacrifices made to Bannan, Manannan or St John on that day (MacilleDhuibh 1987). In Scots it was Skire or Skires Thursday (*SND*), a name capable of infinite degrees of corruption; according to public records, 'Skyre Thursday' was held at Old Aberdeen, 'Sky-Thursday' at Coupar Angus, and 'Skyries Thursday', 'Skeir Thursday' or even 'Scarce Thursday' at Melrose. Fairs were held 'on the Wednesday before Skeirs Friday in April' in both Fenwick and Stewarton, and a 'Skeir Fair' survived in Glasgow till 1890 on the third Friday of April (Marwick 1890: 14, 33, 52, 59, 87, 108). The term means 'clear, bright', hence 'pure', and appears to be connected with Old Norse *Skíriþorsdagr*, Norwegian *Skirtorsdag, skjærtorsdag* ('Holy Thursday'), on which ritual bathing, symbolic of purification, took place (*SND*).

'A hundred years ago, for the majority of people in rural areas,' wrote James Mackie in 1949 of the Aberdeenshire parish of Auchterless, 'life was pretty grim and few travelled out of the parish, except to the markets at Turriff. Farmers and workers attended the feeing market, Porter Fair, held twice a year, the farmers using their gigs, but the workers generally having to walk' (Hamilton 1960: 685). One such farmer was a man named Swaggers.

> Come all ye jolly ploughman lads,
>   I pray you, have a care,
> Beware o' going to Swaggers,
>   For he'll be in Porter Fair.
>
> He'll be aye lauch-lauchin',
>   He'll aye be lauchin' there,
> And he'll hae on the blithest face
>   In a' Porter Fair.

> Wi' his fine horse and harness,
>   Sae well he'll gar ye true,
> But when ye come to Auchterless,
>   Sae sair's he'll gar ye rue. (Cameron 1997: 88)

Porter Fair at Turriff was a hiring fair, then, held at the Whitsunday and Martinmas terms, but why is it so called? 'Porter' is an English word rather than a Scots one, so the name cannot be very old. Curiously, it matters little whether it refers to drink or people, since the two meanings are etymologically one: *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* defines 'porter' as 'one who carries burdens for hire, or does similar manual labour: a dark-brown malt liquor, prob. because a favourite drink with London porters'. Such a liquor was brewed and consumed no less than in Scotland than in England or Ireland, but it has to be said that while fairs in general – and these Whitsunday and Martinmas hiring fairs on Saturdays at Turriff in particular – were condemned by the clergy for the dissipation at their edges (see section 18 below), they seem to have received their names from the dedication, function or symbolism at their heart (cf. *NSA* 12: 1004).[8] The function of the Porter Fair was to provide porters (what might nowadays be called 'heavies') for manual labour, and there can scarcely be a better illustration of the word than a letter in the *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser* of 16 July 1819 which speaks of an incident that year at Stobb's Fair in Dundee.

> There was indeed no lack of landward idlers, trying to commence their destructive operations, but to counteract their wicked designs there was sent out by your Provost . . . a party of porters about a dozen strong headed by a feeble town's officer or two . . . The fair thus passed off without any broken heads . . . Two of the porters, I heard, fonder of keeping up the ancient character of this fair than of preserving the peace, did indeed get drunk . . . (McCraw 1994: 41)

The 'Sleepy Market' was held in May on the green beside Christ's Kirk of Udny at Kennethmont in the Garioch. It began about sunset and ended an hour after sunrise. Around 1758 the proprietor changed it from night to day, but so devoted were the people to their custom that they abandoned it completely rather than comply with the alteration (Marwick 1890: 30, 70). Its name is preserved in a farm called Sleepytown (Cameron 1997: 101).

The fair at Callander on the third Tuesday of July, still surviving in 1890 and generally known as the 'Groset Fair', was a fruit market. By 1955 a fair of the same name was being held nearby in Doune (*SND* s.v. groset). Also called the Groset (or Grozete) Fair was one at Rutherglen, also still existing in 1890, and held on the Friday after 25 July for horses and cows (Marwick 1890: 28, 103). The most celebrated Groset or Grozet Fair of all, however, was the one held in Kilmarnock on 25 July OS and thus, latterly at least, in the beginning of August.

> 'Grozet' Fair. – The customary agricultural July fair was held on Thursday last . . . In the cattle market . . . there was a considerable turn-out of horses, which were sold briskly at

> high prices . . . There was also a good number of pigs . . . An immense number of people left town by rail on Saturday – the town holiday known as 'Grozet Saturday'. (*SND*, citing *Ayr Advertiser*, 4 August 1870)

Clearly such a fair was held when the corn was still growing but the grosets (gooseberries) were ripe. There were Gooseberry Fairs at this time of year throughout Ireland, too, 'called by that name for the good reason that gooseberries are then ready for sale, the first of the cultivated fruits to ripen, just as bilberries are the first of the wild fruits' (MacNeill 1962: 307).

The Japping Market was at Dowally, on the Tay between Logierait and Dunkeld. According to *SND*, to 'jaup' or 'jap(p)' is 'to make a splash by throwing water, striking the surface of water, puddles or the like, in riding, walking, etc.' Our only source for the event is, I believe, Thomas Baird, writer in Dunkeld, describing the parish of Dunkeld and Dowally in 1843:

> The ancient markets within the parish were the Kindallachan market for sheep, and the herd's 'japping' market at Dowally for fruit. The japping market was discontinued about 100 years ago. The herds, in the course of the day, arranged themselves on each side of the Burn of Dowally; on a signal given, they beat the water one against the other with sticks, till one of the sides gave way. The vanquished then left the market, and the victors had the exclusive honour of treating the lasses to fruit, and of enjoying their society at the ball. (*NSA* 10: 998; Banks 1937: 175)

According to Baird, then, the Japping Market was discontinued *c.* 1743. He does not say at what point in the year it was held, but its identity as a fruit market would appear to place it around 1 August, and it is possible that the japping custom is connected with a tradition in Ireland of young men racing horses in water at Lughnasa assemblies held by lakes and rivers: 'Coming from far-apart places,' says MacNeill (1962: 243), 'it testifies to the existence of a once widespread and significant custom.' There are some hints of horse-worship in the Irish evidence, including the leaving of sacrificial offerings, so it may be that the japping is connected to stories about kelpies or other river-spirits (MacNeill 1962: 252, 256). But that is pure speculation.

The next seasonal marker along the line appears to have been 'Rook Fair', that being the name of a fair held at Rutherglen, again for horses and cows, on the Friday after 25 August (Marwick 1890: 103). The word appears to be 'ruck' or 'rouk', a hay- or corn-stack of a standard shape or size (*SND* etc.).

The 'Goose Market' was the name given to the annual fair at Drummond, near the present village of Evanton in the Easter Ross parish of Kiltearn, in the first week of December (Marwick 1890: 41; Maclennan 1985: 15). Being one of those referred to in section 5 above where the proprietor exacted no toll but maintained a guard to 'prevent riots', it was clearly a long-established gathering, and we may contrast it with Drumoak on the Kincardine/Aberdeenshire border: there were five annual fairs there, and 'being of recent appointment, they are exceedingly ill-attended, and consequently little business

is transacted in them' (*NSA* 12: 898). In 1791 the minister of Kiltearn, Harry Robertson, explained:

As no geese are sold at it, the name Goose-market has probably taken its rise from an entertainment usually given by the gentlemen of the parish to the principal inhabitants on the second day of the market, where a goose (being then in season) always makes a part of the feast. On this occasion, there is no excess in drinking encouraged; and the company meet merely for the sake of social intercourse. (*OSA* 17: 491)

It is comforting to know that the Christmas goose was being enjoyed in the North even in 'the Days of the Fathers'. A moderate minister was once reputedly censured for eating it. One of the opposite inclination, the Rev. Murdoch Mackenzie of Elgin – said to have been so zealous that he swore to the Covenant fourteen times – searched the houses of that town at Christmas 1659 in an effort to root out the cooking of the pernicious bird. 'These feathers,' he is alleged to have told the people, 'will rise up against you one day.' Another story tells of an old lady whose Christmas dinner was boiling merrily over a blazing fire when she saw the minister coming to the door. She snatched the pot from the fire, but could not think of any better place to hide it before the minister entered the door than under the bedcover. She was sitting at her spinning-wheel when he came in. He was so delighted to find that she 'longed not for the flesh-pots of Egypt' that he overstayed his welcome, and suddenly the bedclothes burst into flame (Banks 1941: 225–26).

Finally, 'Pepper's Fair' was held at Dingwall, five miles from Drummond, on the Tuesday before Christmas OS (Marwick 1890: 40). First mentioned in 1837 as the Pepper Market, its OS dating shows that it already existed in 1752 (Macrae 1974: 161–62, 253). In his account of the Ross-shire *feills*, as he calls them, Colin MacDonald remarks (1944: 71): 'Then there were the more local markets – *Feill a' Pheabair* (The Pepper Market) was one; it died out in Ross-shire in the seventies.' I deduce from this that it originated as a spice market aimed principally at the Christmas dinner-plate, that the possessive-sounding 'Pepper's Fair' arose by analogy with Janet's Fair, Colin's Fair and Martha's Fair in the same location, and that MacDonald regarded its name, or at least its function, as being replicated elsewhere, perhaps both within and outwith Ross-shire. It may be, then, that a 'pepper fair' should be seen as a type rather than merely an individual fair, in the same way as 'groset fair', 'rascal fair', 'gingerbread fair', etc.

11. PLACE-NAMES

In the naming of fairs the temporal element may be described as the specific, the spatial as the generic: 'the Goose Market at Drummond', for example, or 'the 10th of April at the Links of Abbotshall'. As a rule, then, the role of place-names is merely as a qualifying element. It may be said to be of four types: (a) in the absence of any other

designation, a primary name; (b) traditionally, a name informally applied to a well-known fair outside its own locality; (c) more recently, the result of a single fair surviving (or being created) to dominate the annual cycle of its community; (d) the result of a fair being moved. So when Cameron (1997: 95) states that Pitlessie Fair was 'held twice-yearly in Fife in May and October' he is treating it as type (a); by 1804, the time of Wilkie's painting, however, the October fair had shrunk to nothing, and the 'Pitlessie Fair' that he depicts is of type (b), a Beltane survival, first recorded in 1540–41 as a yearly fair on SS Philip and James's Day, 1 May (Marwick 1890: 97). A true example of type (a) is Dunsmuir Fair in Angus, which Erskine of Dun held by parliamentary permission of 1669 on the second Wednesday after Whitsunday upon the Muir of Dun, through which passed the road from Perth to Aberdeen (Marwick 1890: 46; McCraw 1994: 15, 39). In addition, I have noted three curious instances in Marwick's *List* of Parliament bestowing a place-name on a fair while giving traditional names to other fairs in the same location. An Act of 1681 granted Gartmore in Stirlingshire a Beltane Fair in May, St Mark's Fair in July, Gartmore Fair in October, and St John's Fair in December. An Act obtained by Sir John Johnston of Caskiebend (now Keith Hall) in Aberdeenshire in 1705 stated that one of three annual fairs to be held on Tyrebagger Hill in the parish of Dyce was simply to be called Tyrebagger fair, the others being left with their much more medieval-sounding titles of Pasch fair and Martin Bulyeon fair. And an Act of 1707 granted Sir David Carnegie of Pittaro two yearly fairs to be held on Cammockmuir in Kincardineshire – one on the last Tuesday of May to be called Cammock fair, and one of the third Tuesday of June to be called St John's Fair (Marwick 1890: 28, 57, 114).

The 'Glasgow Fair' has developed, as pointed out in section 4, from a yearly fair held since the twelfth century at least on SS Peter and Paul's Day (6 July). Exceptionally, it was formally named as such on 3 January 1744, when an Act of the Town Council ordained a horse fair called 'the twenty day of Yule' to begin on the second Monday of January, and to continue for that week and each Wednesday thereafter till Skyre Thursday, and 'the Glasgow fair' on 7 July to begin on the first Monday of that month and to continue for a week, a cow fair being held on the Friday (Marwick 1890: 59). The Council had of course the authority of William the Lion's charter of 1202–10 (referred to in section 4) as well as the precedents just mentioned, but we may nevertheless be permitted to view their use of the name as a gesture of economic confidence by the fathers of what was now Scotland's fastest-growing community.

Generally speaking, when a traditional fair-name incorporates a place-name it is because, in the same way as a saint, the place gives it legitimacy. If a fair is moved, for example, it may retain the name of its previous location. Good examples of this are to be found amongst the names of the great cattle fairs at Crieff, for, as James Fergusson wrote in 1838 (*NSA* 10: 525), 'As Crieff occupies a central situation, and as Lord Willoughby has granted a commodious stance, it has been found expedient to transfer the markets that previously belonged to the neighbouring parishes, to this place.' He

then listed nine names: (1) St Thomas' fair on the first Thursday of January, (2) Strowan fair on the third Thursday of February, (3) Big Thursday fair on the second Thursday of March, (4) Lady fair on the first Thursday of April, (5) Turret fair on the first Thursday of June, (6) Douchlage fair on the last Thursday of June, (7) Monivaird fair on the second Thursday of July, (8) Monzie fair on the third Thursday of August, and (9) Michaelmas fair on the Thursday immediately preceding the October Falkirk Tryst. Five of these – Strowan, Turret, Douchlage, Monivaird and Monzie – are names of places outside Crieff. Douchlage (otherwise Duchlage) was the first to be moved; Turret (otherwise Turrat, Terot) was only half a mile from the town, but was transferred anyway (Marwick 1890: 34–35, 78, 89; Whyte 1979: 25). An earlier example is St Brigid's Fair at Inverness, referred to in section 8 above. Having been moved from the churchyard of Logie Wester (*Lagaidh Bhrighde* or St Brigid's Hollow) near Dingwall at some point before 1592, its name was recorded in the burgh's charter of that year as 'Legavrick' and in an Act of Parliament of 1641 as 'Legrievrike or Legraweik' (Marwick 1890: 67).

Other fair-names containing place-names may be found here and there in the *List*. The 'Reaster market' was held at Reaster in the landward part of the Caithness parish of Dunnet on the third or fourth Tuesday of October OS, but was identified to Marwick in the 1880s as Lukemas (*NSA* 15, pt 2: 47; Marwick 1890: 46, 100; Waugh 1985: 258). This is St Luke's Day, 18 October. The old Shandon fair was 'brought down from the Muir, north of the town . . . to the square in Drymen' about 1850. The annual sheep markets at Cortachy in Angus were called the Collow Markets, as they were held beside a farm of that name. A fair on 15 September at Balloch in Dumbartonshire was 'popularly known as the Moss of Balloch'; for Jimmy McShannon's song 'The Moss o Balloch Fair' see *Tocher* 43 (1991) 11–13. The Croft (or Craft) Fairs at Brechin and Kirriemuir were so called because they were held on a croft or crofts behind the houses rather than on the street or square in front of them, which was the location of a 'calsay' or 'causey' market, that is, one held on cobblestones, such as Brechin's 'calsay market on Tuesday weekly, beginning on the first Tuesday of Lent, and continuing till Pasche Sunday, being four days' (Marwick 1890: 25, 32, 36, 41, 78). An identical distinction is preserved to this day in the street-names of Edinburgh – cattle were brought for sale (usually by the Cowgate) to the Grassmarket on the meadows below the Castle Hill and slaughtered in the vicinity of Old Fleshmarket Close, the meat being exposed for sale either there or in the Lawnmarket above, whose name (originally 'land market') has been defined as 'a flesh-market held in some burghs for the unfree fleshers . . . from the country; the place where this was held, surviving as a place-name in the Lawnmarket, a street in the Old Town . . . of Edinburgh' (Robinson 1987: 356).

Conversely, 'Hill's Fair' on the third Tuesday of June at Balquhapple (now Thornhill) in Stirlingshire appears to have been so called because it was held on the hill, as opposed to the Lentron Fair in March, Margaret's Fair in October and the Martinmas Fair in November, which we may assume to have taken place in the village itself. By this analogy, I assume that 'Edzerstouns Day at Tillibardin' indicates a fair held on a farm

called Edzerstoun; held by 1727 on the first Thursday of October, it may be identified as the 'yearly fair on 6th October' authorised at Tullibardine by Act of Parliament in 1672 (Smith 1727; Marwick 1890: 21, 114).

In 1685 the December fair at Fochabers in the parish of Bellie was called the Belliefair; in 1598–99 it had been named Lady Day, subsequently it was given no name at all (Marwick 1890: 53). This appears to reflect the constantly changing course of the lower Spey, which dominated the parish. 'Bellie' can only, I think, represent *Beul Àtha* ('Ford'), given its strategic position at the river crossing. It was said locally that 'the Spey is like a bad woman wha winna keep to her ain bed' – she had gradually moved her course to the west, causing floods and leaving the church no longer at the natural place of commerce, and the focus of the parish moved two miles upstream to the ford at Fochabers, where a new parish church was eventually built in 1797 and a bridge in 1803 (*OSA* 16: 81; Hamilton 1965: 236, 248–50).

Uniquely, perhaps, the Kelton Hill Fair in Kirkcudbrightshire may be regarded as belonging to all three types (b), (c) and (d). A large hill-top gathering, it was held on 17 June OS, or the first Tuesday after 17 June OS, which points to possible primal associations with St John, Manannan and the summer solstice; it has no recorded name that I know of other than the Kelton Hill Fair, despite the fact that six other fairs appear to have been held annually on the hill, and about 1878 it was transferred to Castle Douglas (*NSA* 4, pt 2: 148, 177; Marwick 1890: 29–30, 70; Harper 1908: 32; Cameron 1997: 95).

It may not be generally known that the once famous Kelton Hill Fair was in early times held on this hill. The account of the origin and importance of this fair here given is taken from *The Castle-Douglas Miscellany*, published eighty years ago, and now a very rare volume. The writer says that he had his information from oral tradition, and that, at that time, 1825, the commencement of the fair was far beyond the reach of any living recollection. It was the greatest assemblage of the sort in the south of Scotland, but for many years there was no field appointed for the purpose. It was sometimes held on the Grainyford Island [in the R. Dee], especially when a dispute arose concerning the spot which had the original claim. About the year 1758 it was held on the eastern side of the hill called Kelton Hill, and very near the present manse of Kelton. For many years it was held on the south side of the road, and directly opposite to its present situation. It was also held on the farm of Hightae, and on the Furbar Hill. The tradition as to the origin of this fair is as follows:– A plodding pedestrian chapman from Glasgow, with a long pack *chuck-full* of finery, finding that his goods required an airing, spread them one fine day upon a thicket of whins upon the side of the hill, about half-way between Castle-Douglas and the place where the fair is now held. In the course of the day a great number of people collected, and purchased to a considerable amount. Encouraged by this lucky incident, the packman promised (health permitting) to appear in the same place on that day twelve months. This promise he punctually kept, and brought with him some other brethren of the trade, with a great variety of articles for sale. From that small beginning the fair gradually became so considerable, that in 1793 the following graphic picture was given of it by Heron, in his *Journey through Scotland*:–'Here are assembled from

> Ireland, from England, and from the most distant parts of North Britain, horse-dealers, cattle-dealers, sellers of sweetmeats and of spirituous liquors, gypsies, pickpockets, and smugglers . . .' (Harper 1908: 31–32)

Like Aikey in Pictland and St Boswells in the Borders, when placed in its geographical context this Galloway fair leaves one with the feeling that it may represent something profoundly ancient. It was 'a horse fair of European celebrity' (Agnew 1893: 188), 'perhaps the largest in Scotland, frequented by large numbers of horse dealers from England, Ireland, and the east, west, and south of Scotland' (Marwick 1890: 70, citing *OSA* 5: 165), and it was in this same parish of Kelton, in a bog at Torrs Farm *c.* 1820, that the 'Torrs pony cap' was found. This beautiful bronze chamfrain was presented to Sir Walter Scott by the local exciseman, and is now in the Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh. It has been dated to the 3rd century BC. In general terms Kelton (where my great-great-grandfather, Adam Black, a master joiner, was born in 1806) was notable for its antiquities.

> On the farm of Torrs there is an imperfect circle of upright stones, the remains of a Druidical temple, in the neighbourhood of which there is a copious spring of excellent water . . . Various antiquities, of different ages, have been found in the parish. Numerous hill forts occur on different hill tops. A sepulchral tumulus opened near Gelston (towards the south of the parish), contained a stone coffin 7 feet in length, in which was found human bones, a brass or copper helmet, with several implements of war, that were greatly corroded . . . Near Glenlochar Bridge . . . was turned up by the ploughshare, several years since, the head of a war horse in bronze . . . And lastly, the loch of Carlingwarth, with its islands and crannogs, has furnished many relics of antiquity in bronze and iron . . . (Smith 1870: 335–36, citing *NSA* 4, pt 2: 153–54)

Skitten Market was held at Killimster in the parish of Wick on the first Tuesday of March (*NSA* 15, pt 2: 176; Marwick 1890: 73). The name appears once again to be that of a gathering-place of some antiquity, and was the site of two battles. In the first, a Scottish earl called Macbeth and Skuli, son of Thorfinn Earl of Orkney, were defeated by Skuli's brother Ljot; concerning this, the Rev. Charles Thomson wrote in 1841 of how 'the confederates were encamped in an advantageous position in the Bogs of Skitten (*paludibus Skidensibus*), a name by which the Moss of Kilminster was anciently called', adding that 'the fair held on this moss is to this day called Skitten market' (*NSA* 15, pt 2: 178). The second battle arose from a challenge by a Scottish earl called Finnleik (*Finnlaech*) to Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, 'to fight him on a particular day at Skitten'. Says the saga of Sigurd:

> He got the support of the Orkney farmers by giving them back their land-rights, then set out for Skitten to confront Earl Finnleik. The two sides formed up, but the moment they clashed Sigurd's standard-bearer was struck dead. The Earl told another man to pick up the banner but before long he'd been killed too. The Earl lost three standard bearers, but he won the battle and the farmers of Orkney got back their land-rights.

It can be seen, then, how Skitten became a place of significance to the farmers of Orkney (by whom we may assume those of Caithness are also meant). In Old Norse the name is Skíðamýrr (Pálsson and Edwards 1981: 36–37, 250). Anderson (1873: xxvi, 112, 209–10) gives it as 'Skida Myre' and Foden (1996: 9–10), indicating that it has long since been drained, as 'the Skitten Mire'; it is not discussed by Waugh (1985).

Finally, an Act of Parliament of 1681 empowered Sir James Campbell of Lawers to have two free fairs at Easter Aberlednock in Perthshire, one on 30 June to be called St Serf's fair or market, another on 25 November to be called Fordew fair or market (Marwick 1890: 14). From being paired with St Serf's, it looks as if Fordew may be a pre-existing name. Easter Aberlednock is at Comrie in the old Pictish kingdom of Fortriu. Fordew is now Fordie, a mile and a half east of Comrie, while in the hills above it is Braefordie. The name appears as if it may preserve that of the Pictish kingdom, and the fair, like the Skitten Market, may thus be a relic of the gathering place of its people.

12. SURNAMES

If we were to seek an alternative origin for Fordew, we might wish to consider the possibility of its being a surname based on such a placename. In addition to Fordie at Comrie, Fordell (Fife), Fordie (near Dunkeld), Fordoun (Kincardineshire) and Fordyce (Banffshire) come to mind. All occur as surnames (Black 1946: 272), but, surprising though it may seem, fair-names of this type are rare. One example is Crawford's Day at Kilbirnie in Ayrshire, held on the last Tuesday of October OS. William Dobie of Grangevale, Beith, described it in 1840–41 as 'a cow-fair, instituted, it is said, by the Crawfurds of Kilbirnie', going on to say that it 'has long since ceased to be a cattle-market, or even to be observed as a holiday' (NSA 5, pt 1: 725; cf. Marwick 1890: 71). There is sufficient evidence to allow speculation as to its origin. The Crawfurds or Craufurds of Kilbirnie originated in 1470. Descent in the male line failed in 1661 on the death of Sir John, the 9th laird. By then, however, his second daughter had married Patrick Lindsay, second son of the 14th Earl of Craufurd, and Sir John had settled the estate of Kilbirnie on the heirs of this marriage on condition that they assume his own name of Craufurd (NSA 5, pt 1: 699–700; Paterson 1847: 114–16). My guess is that this marriage – which secured the preservation of the Craufurd line in the parish and took place at a time, c. 1660, when fairs were being created all over Scotland to take advantage of the new cattle trade with England – was marked by the declaration of an annual holiday in the parish to be called Craufurd's Day. A better-documented example comes from Dornoch in Sutherland:

An effort had been made in 1739 to arrest the decay of trade in the Burgh by the appointment of another fair 'to hold and Bear the name of Wemyss's Mercat', to be held yearly on the second Wednesday of June and to last for two days. It was so named after the Countess of Sutherland, who was a daughter of the Earl of Wemyss. (Bentinck 1926: 281; cf. Marwick 1890: 40)

It should be noted that in both of these cases the name is that of an earldom and has high social status. This must, I think, influence our consideration of a third 'surname fair', Melvin's, which, though not mentioned by name in public records until 1837, can perhaps be identified with a hiring fair at Dundee on the first Tuesday of October which was established in 1669 (McCraw 1994: 37).[9] Yet again we have the name of an earldom. George, 4th Lord Melville, was created 1st Earl of Melville in 1690; according to Black (1946: 594), 'James Melville, the Reformer, in his *Diary* (Bannatyne Club ed.) spells his own name Melville and Melvin even on the same page (e.g. p. 87, 238), and among older people in the country districts the name is still commonly pronounced Melvin.'

Other possible surname derivatives are Hagg Fair, Bathie Fair, Stobbs Fair and Bell's Fair. Hagg, Bathie, Stobbs and Bell are all on record as surnames, but that does not necessarily mean that it is as surnames that they became the names of fairs, and it is important to note that none of these surnames enjoyed the same status as Crawford, Wemyss or Melvin.

13. COMMODITIES, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Hagg Fair and Bathie Fair were both held at Greenbarn or Greenburn in Newhills parish, which is today the western part of the City of Aberdeen. They were authorised by Act of Parliament in 1701 for the second Thursday of June and the last Thursday of July respectively. They seem to have been well attended until the 1860s, and till the 1880s one of them (presumably the Hagg Fair) was still being held there on the second Tuesday of June OS, but by 1890 the stance had been 'enclosed by the Messrs Pirie, of Stoneywood Works, and given over as a people's park for the use of their workpeople' (Marwick 1890: 61). The names seem to make a pair. Bathie in particular is suggestive of a saint's name, but none of the candidates, Baithene (9 June), Bartholomew (24 August) and Bathan (25 December or 18 January), fit a date in late July; the feast of St Bartholomew, held at the Kirk of Kincardine O'Neil, was known as Bartel Fair (Marwick 1890: 74). I would in fact argue that Hagg and Bathie are not surnames, saints' names or place-names but vocabulary words. A hagg is defined by *SND* as (among other things) 'the cutting or felling of a certain quantity of timber . . .; that portion of a wood which is set aside each year for cutting'. On the face of it, any large-scale labour which occurs in an annual cycle and results in a commercial product might give rise to a yearly fair; the following *SND* quotations (*s.v.* hagg) make these points effectively.

(a) With regard to the oak woods, . . . they will be divided into 21 hags, and from that time a hag of nearly 30 acres can be cut down every year continually. (*Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 21 January 1819)

(b) That the Growing Woods in the high Parks of *Hamilton* . . . are to be exposed to Sale by way of publick Roup . . . either in Wholesale or by Parcels, or Hags, as the Purchasers shall incline. (*Caledonian Mercury*, 14 December 1747)

'Bathie' is given by *SND* as a variant of bothie, bothy, and I do not think it is too fanciful to suggest that the Hagg Fair in June began with the felling of a stand of trees, and that the Bathie Fair in July began with the making of bothies, booths or 'tents' from what was left of the previous month's timber. This theory is, I think, supported by the Rev. John Brown's description of the parish of Newhills, written in 1792:

> About 200 acres are covered with plantations; and there is a nursery of forest timber and fruit trees upon the lands of Auchmull . . . There are three annual fairs held at Greenburn in this parish, for the sale of cattle, horses, and different kinds of hard-ware. – There is plenty of fuel, not only for consumption, but also for sale. (*OSA* 14: 632, 635–36)

It should also be noted that by 1839 Aberdeen had a Timmer (Timber) Market – 'A brose caup, a horn speen, / A chapper and a ladle / Fae the Timmer Market, Aiberdeen, / Tae grace your kitchen table' (McCraw 1994: 35). It was held in Castle Street on the last Wednesday or Thursday of August 'for the sale of tubs and other wooden articles' (*NSA* 12: 102; Marwick 1890: 13).

> Even Aberdeen's Timmer Market, held once for the sale of wooden implements but later for the purpose of re-stocking the North-East Lowlands kitchens with their ubiquitous brose caups, coggies, luggies, spurtles and potato-mashers as well as the creepie-stools that could bring the bairns in to the fire between the big folk's chairs, was in sad decline by 1890 and an anachronism long, long before its move from that city's historic Castlegate in the 1930s. (Cameron 1997: 99)

Stob(b)s Fair was established by an Act of Parliament obtained by the magistrates of Dundee in 1669. It was held on the Muir of Craigie (Stobsmuir or Stobb's Muir) in the parish of Mains and Strathmartine, then just outside the burgh, on the first Tuesday of July, the date subsequently being altered to the first Tuesday after 11 July (McCraw 1994: 24).

> On 23 June 1679, the Council gave instructions 'for ane fair to be holden at the Mure of Craigie and within this brugh, beginand the first tusday of July nixt and to continue all that weik and the sd faire to be Custome free for this yeir alanerlie'. This seems to have been one of the earliest Stobb's Fairs with a custom-free concession, presumably to encourage trading at the relatively new market. The fair would appear to have been split at this time, partly on the muir and partly in the town, as was the case with the First Fair. It has not proved possible to identify on which part of the Muir of Craigie Stobb's Fair was located, or indeed to delineate the muir itself, maps of the period being of little assistance. However, it seems likely that the market would be held on or near the present recreation ground known as Stobsmuir, covering a greater area, and including ground which was later used for other purposes, including house feus. This was the part of the muir which the town agreed with a subsequent laird of Craigie should be used as the fairground. It had good road access, being near the main roads from Dundee to Forfar and Brechin. It has been claimed that the fair was called after the person renting the field where it was first held, or that the name derives from a Scots word for a post. Another suggestion links it to St Abb, but the few dedications to this saint are in Berwickshire and there is nothing to suppose an ecclesiastical connection.

> The first reference to it under this name traced in official records is in 1717, when the
> Council Treasurer was instructed to arrange for intimations in the parish kirks to the effect
> that the fair was not to be held at the Muir of Craigie, but at 'the Cowgait of Dundie and
> waist ground wt out the port'. Efforts were to be made to have similar announcements
> made at country markets, evidence of the importance placed on attracting patronage from
> rural areas. In the following July the fair was proclaimed to be held once more 'in the
> ordinari place in the muir'. (McCraw 1994: 38)

Stob(b)s Fair was transferred west to 'the Town's fair muir' (Fairmuir), north-east of
Dundee Law, in 1845, and was still being held there for cattle, sheep and horses in 1890
(Marwick 1890: 44, 85). The Stobsmuir became the nucleus of the suburb of Maryfield;
the specific survives there today not merely in the Stobsmuir recreation ground but
also in Stobsmuir Road, Stobswell Road and Stobswell School. Mr McCraw tells me
that these names are sometimes reduced colloquially to Stobie, e.g. the 'Stobie Ponds',
formerly reservoirs, which were created when the Dundee Water Company purchased
part of the Muir in 1850. It is certainly impossible to know for sure whether Stob(b)
represents a surname or a vocabulary word – individuals bearing the surname Stob
appear in the Perth area between 1365 and 1506, and as Stobb, Stobbie or Stobie it
remains common in the Dundee area to this day (Black 1946: 750; Ian McCraw, pers.
comm.). But a 'stob(b)' is a post or stake, while *SND* defines the word additionally as
'a Y-shaped stick with sharp points acting like a staple driven into the sods laid on the
sarking of a roof so as to compress the bundles of the overlaid straw used in thatching
(Bnff., Abd. 1971), later a two-pronged stick or rod used to push thatching straw into
roof sods'. Stob-thatching (stob-thacking, stob-theeking) was high-quality thatching
using stobs, and it is tempting to hypothesise that it was a demand for such materials
in high summer that had brought the fair partly into town in 1679; it also occurs to me
that a good supply of stobs would not go amiss in a scenario such as the one depicted
by Tennant for 'Anster Fair' (Scott and Lindsay 1989: 30):

> On the green loan and meadow-crofts around,
> A town of tents, with blankets roofed quick;
> A thousand stakes are rooted in the ground;
> A thousand hammers clank and clatter thick.

The '-s' might be thought to indicate a surname, but compare Pepper's Fair (section 10
above) and Bell's Fair below. All in all, it can be suggested with some confidence that
Stobb's lines up with the Hagg and Bathie fairs as a gathering held in summer with the
object of exploiting a woodland area to the benefit of the neighbouring city.

A hiring market for married farm servants called Bell's (or Bells) Fair was held on
the Fairmuir on the first Friday of October. Nominally at least, it survived as late as
1972, still appearing in the *Dundee Directory* for that year (Marwick 1890: 44, 85; McCraw
1994: 45; Ian McCraw, pers. comm.). Bell's may perhaps be another name for Melvin's,
for which see section 12 above – Mr McCraw has pointed out to me that the names of

fairs were by no means constant, and cites by way of example a kirk session fornication case of 1768 which stated that the offending deed had been committed at the time of the Duke of Douglas's Fair, meaning the First Fair of Dundee (see sections 5, 14), of which the Duke was superior at that period. By 1842 there was a Bell's Day at Kilwinning in Ayrshire on the first Wednesday of November, formerly for cattle, now for both cattle and horses; by 1890 it was being held on the first Monday of November (*NSA* 5: 833; Marwick 1890: 73). Thus far it seems likely that Bell is a surname, and indeed Mr McCraw informs me that a certain Bailie Bell seems to have owned part of the Meadows (cf. Meadowside) where the entertainments of the First Fair of Dundee were held, and to have given his name to Bell Street. However, other evidence makes me feel less certain. At Airth in Stirlingshire was a Whistle Fair, held till about 1890 on the last Tuesday of July. There was also a Clog Market at Comrie, held till about 1890 on the first Wednesday of December (*NSA* 10: 595; Marwick 1890: 15, 32). A 'clog' is a log of wood (*SND*), which suggests an origin similar to that posited for the Hagg, Bathie and Stobbs fairs, but it is equally likely that the word could represent Gaelic *clog* or *clag* 'a bell'. By this argument, the Whistle Fair, Clog Market, Bell's Fair and Bell's Day were so called because they started and finished to the sound of these instruments. In some (perhaps indeed most) burghs a bell sounded the start of selling, just as happens in the world's largest and richest fair today, the Wall Street Stock Market. In 1618 the Guildry of Dundee instructed all merchants 'by bell and drum' to observe St Clement's Fair (23 November), while the records of Banff declare in 1682: 'No man to buy or sell before the ringing of the bell at 9 o'clock in the morning' (McCraw 1994: 12; Mair 1988: 120). The Dundee fairs were announced by the bellman of the barony of Hilltown, a street which to this day leads due north from the city centre towards Fair Muir Park; as recently as 1845 the First Fair was proclaimed early on Friday morning on the High Street by John Frazer, the Town Drummer, while further announcements were made later in the day by the bellman, David Watt, who received 1s.2d. for '2 calls of the bell' (McCraw 1994: 55).

In the case of fairs which involved races, it is also possible that the bell was a prize. 'The greatest attraction at fairs were undoubtably the races,' says Mair (1988: 206), meaning principally horse races. 'At Lanark the most notable prize was the famous silver bell, which seems to have dated from around 1600 and was competed for until recent times when the local race course closed.' And of the July Fair in Errol, Melville says (1935: 74): 'The winner of the foot races carried a bell, and was chased by the other competitors who were blindfolded.'

14. RELIGIOUS NAMES

Religion provides a very large proportion of our fair-names. I have already noted in section 8 the influence of primal religious practice in the form of quarterdays. Other fairs take their name from moveable Christian feasts such as Shrove Tuesday ('Fasten's

E'en'), Lent ('Lentron'), Palm Sunday, Easter ('Pasch', i.e. Passion), Low Sunday, Ascension Day ('Holy Thursday in May', as at Inverbervie), Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday. The 'Lentron Fair' at Balquhapple (now Thornhill) in Perthshire was on the first Tuesday of March, and 'Huntly spring fair or Lentron fair' was on 29 April. 'Midlentron Fair at Tarnty Banchry [Banchory-Ternan, Kincardineshire] on the Tuesday before Midlentron Sunday' was 'whiles in March, and whiles in April' (Smith 1727). In 1492 the burgesses of Kethick in Perthshire were empowered by a charter of James IV to set up a cross in the burgh in front of the gate of the monastery of Coupar Angus, with 'a weekly market on Friday, and an annual fair on the day of the *Cena Domini* and the octaves thereof', that is, on Holy Thursday in Easter Week (the day of the Last Supper) and throughout the following week. The fair at Fortrose on Whit Sunday was called Pardon Day, reflecting the *OED*'s definition of 'pardon' as 'a church festival at which indulgence is granted'. The fairs at Brechin, in particular, were strung along these moveable feasts, finishing with a great Trinity ('Tarnty') Fair; these seem to have been allocated fixed dates after the Reformation (Marwick 1890: 21, 23, 25–26, 55, 64, 70, 113). However, many other places kept the moveable dates – under the heading 'Whiles in May, and whiles in June' Smith (1727) lists:

Ascension-day at Annan, Stirling, and Stonehyve in Merns-shire, and at Alyth in Shire of Angus, on Tuesday before Whitsunday; Newlesly on Thursday before Whitsunday; Whitsunmonday at Glasgow, Dumbartoun and Jedburgh; Whitsuntuesday, called Pardon-day, at Chanry in Ross, Borrowstounness, Peterhead, Kirk of Ninians, Ormistoun, Linlithgow, Dumblain; Trinity-monday at Edinburgh; . . . Trinity-tuesday in Ruthglen; Trinity-wednesday at the Moor of Dun; Trinity-thursday at Falkirk . . .

Many fair-names derive from the four annual feasts of the Virgin Mary. There were actually five, but for purposes of analysis the Purification of the B.V.M. (Candlemas, 2 February) should be taken together with St Brigid's (1 February), see section 8 above. From the Annunciation (25 March), which commemorates the mystery of Christ's incarnation, come 'Our Lady day' in Thurso and 'Lady Day in Lent' in Fochabers. An eight-day fair called 'Our Lady Day in Lentron' was established at Nairn in 1589, and subsequently also outside the burgh at Geddes (1600) and Rorichies (1661). The 'Lady Fair' at Crieff was on the first Thursday of April (Marwick 1890: 35, 53, 58, 91, 101, 113). Other Lady Day fairs were held at Banff, Auchtermuchty, West Wemyss and Carnwath on 23 March, and at Dunkeld on 25 March (Smith 1727). Finally, Lady Day at Anstruther Wester, first mentioned in 1587, is the forerunner of the Anster Lintseed Market (held by 1812 on 11 April or on one of the six following days) which inspired Tennant's poem 'Anster Fair', a riotous celebration of spring and abundance (Marwick 1890: 17; Scott and Lindsay 1989: 31).

The greatest of the Virgin's feasts was the Assumption (15 August), which commemorates her death in this world and her assumption into heaven, known in Gaelic as *Latha Fhèill Moire* or *Latha Fhèill Moire Mòr*. The day was marked by fairs in

Dunnet (Caithness), Inverness, Kinloss, Fochabers, Boharm (Banffshire), Kintore in the Garioch, Monymusk, Ruthven in Badenoch, Kilmalie (Lochaber), Islay, Irvine, Cults of Leny in the Pass of Callander, Cambusmore (Perthshire), Dundee, Dunglass (East Lothian) and Jedburgh. These went under names as varied as Marymas, Mary Fair, St Mary's Fair, Lady Day, Lady Mary Fair, and (to distinguish them from the Nativity) First Lady Day in Autumn and First Fair (Marwick 1890: 24, 28, 44–46, 53, 67–69, 72, 74–75, 81, 89, 103). The Mary Fair at Inverness on 15 August 1668 was marked by an affray long remembered as *Cath na Càise* ('the Battle of the Cheese') or Kebbock Day. An Inverness man, Fionnlagh Dubh, picked up a kebbock of cheese being displayed for sale by a Strathnairn woman and asked the price. On hearing it, whether by accident or design, the cheese fell out of his hand and rolled down the hill into the river. The woman demanded that he pay for it. He refused. A Strathnairn man pinioned him and captured his bonnet as a pledge that he would pay. So the fighting began. Hearing that his guards were losing control of the situation, Provost Alexander Cuthbert donned steel cap, sword and targe, rang the alarm bell, and gathered reinforcements, who began firing. Two people were killed outright and ten wounded, of whom two died later. The Provost is said to have defended his men with the words, 'Who durst disturb the King's free burgh at a market time?' (Mackay 1905: 479–80).

The third of these feasts was the Nativity of the B.V.M. (8 September), fairs on that day being known as Latter Lady Day, Latter Mary Fair, Latter Fair or Latter Lady Day in Harvest. They were held in, among other places, Fochabers, Boharm in Banffshire, Inverurie, Bervie (Inverbervie) in Kincardineshire, Dundee, Stirling, Irvine, Saltcoats, Ballinclach in Wigtownshire, Terregles in Kirkcudbrightshire, Dunbar, and Greenlaw in Berwickshire (Marwick 1890: 21, 23–24, 43–44, 53, 61, 67–68, 105, 108, 112; McCraw 1994: 11–12).

The fourth and last was the Immaculate Conception (8 December), approved by the Pope in 1476. The clearest examples of it are fairs called Lady Day on 6 December at Dunkeld and West Wemyss and on 8 December at Fochabers (Smith 1727; Marwick 1890: 53). One of the four annual fairs in Brora *c.* 1630 was 'our Ladye's fayre'; its identity is revealed by a charter of 1601 to the Earl of Sutherland erecting 'Inverbroray' into a burgh of barony with a weekly market on Saturday and four yearly fairs – the Feast of the Conception, St Peter the Apostle, St Peter Ad Vincula and St Michael (Gordon 1813: 7; Marwick 1890: 26, 65).

Fochabers and Banff appear to have been outstanding for their devotion to the Virgin Mary. In a charter of 1592 James VI granted Banff 'annual fairs on all the days formerly dedicated to the Virgin Mary', and in another of 1599 he made Fochabers a burgh of barony *cum potestate habendi crucem foralem, et forum hepdom(ad)atim die Sabathi, et liberas nundinas 8 Dec. (die Dive Marie), et 25 Mar. (die B. Marie tempore Carnisprivii), et 14 Aug. (primo die Dive Marie tempore autumnali), et 5 Sept. (posteriore die Dive Marie), cum custumis &c.* – 'with the right to have a market cross, and a weekly market on Saturday, and free fairs on 8 December (St Mary's day), and 25

March (the day of Blessed Mary of Lent), and 14 August (first St Mary's day of autumn), and 5 September (latter St Mary's day), with customs etc.' (Marwick 1890: 21–22, 53; Thomson 1984: 279).

The Invention of the Holy Cross (3 May) was mentioned twice in section 8 in connection with Beltane. It was one of two festivals dedicated to the cross, the other being the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September. Both are referred to in Scots as the Feast of the Rood or Roodsmas; the Gaelic equivalent *Feill an Ròid*, however, refers exclusively to the September festival, 3 May being *treas latha na Bealltainne* ('the third day of Beltane') or even *Bealltainn* itself, as opposed to 1 May, *Latha Buidhe Bealltainne*, 'the Yellow (or Lucky) Day of Beltane'. At Backlass Hill (Backleshill) in the Caithness parish of Bower, the Roodmas Fair in Barlin (barley-sowing time) was held on the second Tuesday of May and the Roodmas Fair in Harvest on the last Tuesday of September. Other Rood Fairs were held on the last Tuesday of April at Rattray in Buchan, on the Tuesday after 3 May at Ellon in Buchan, and in September at Inverness, Kilmonivaig, and, most famously, Dumfries (Smith 1727; Marwick 1890: 20, 25, 42–43, 67, 72).

Banks (1937: 176) pointed out that 'the names of Scottish saints underwent strange disguises on the lips of pedlars and hucksters, who could use greater freedom with these on merry fair days than with those of wider fame'. This is undoubtedly true. Trewel Fair at Kennethmont is the Fair of St Rule (or Regulus), just as St Trinnian's or St Ringan's is St Ninian's, Tantan Fair at Laurencekirk (and at the Kirk of Betheny in the Garioch) is St Anthony's, and Tennant's or St Inan's Day at Beith in Ayrshire is the Day of St Finan – in Gaelic *Latha Fhèill Fhìonain*, with silent *Fh*. Similarly, Paldy or Padie Fair at Auchinblae in Kincardineshire is the Fair of St Palladius, and Polander or Pollnar Fair at Inverurie is that of St Appolinaris (Smith 1727; Marwick 1890: 18, 53, 60, 67, 92).

By 'St Malachi day' at Milton of Belveny in Banffshire is meant St Moluag's day, as is clear from its date – 25 June. 'St Marthom's fair' at Ordiquhill in Banffshire is St Matthew's, again betrayed by the date – 20 September (Marwick 1890: 88, 94). Sumereve's Fair at Elgin and the Summer Eve Fair at Keith, despite being held on 5 September, had nothing to do with summer evenings: their name is that of St Ma-Ruibhe of Applecross (Cameron 1997: 95). A fair-name of similar construction is Sammaneuke's Day at Stevenston in Ayrshire, held on 30 October and therefore a possible Samhain survival; the saint in question is Monachus, Gaelic *manach* ('a monk'), anglicised as 'St Monk' (Forbes 1872: 412; Marwick 1890: 108).

In the 1880s an 80-year-old native of Kippen in Stirlingshire remembered 'Semvies Fair' being held there on the second Wednesday of October OS; it is clearly an abbreviation of St Mo Bhì, whose day was 12 October (Marwick 1890: 76; Watson 1926: 273). Little Dunning at Perth was latterly on the third Friday of October; a butter and cheese market and a hiring fair, its name is that of St Dionysius or Denis of Paris (9 October), assimilated to that of the burgh and parish of Dunning, seven miles away.[10]

Dunning itself had an annual eight-day fair at the Feast of St Fyndoc (13 October), which appears to have survived on the Monday before the first Tuesday of October, so it can clearly be seen why the Perth fair was called 'Little' Dunning. Fyndoc is here a hypocoristic form of Findsech ('Fair Lady'), who is given by the martyrologies at 13 October as 'a virgin from Sliabh Guaire' in Meath (Marwick 1890: 46, 97; Watson 1926: 286–87).

As stated in section 1, Grantown-on-Spey had a Figget (or Figgat) Fair on the first Friday of June OS, still existing in 1890 (Marwick 1890: 61). Figget may be identified with Fioghad or Fothad, a bishop of St Andrews who died AD 963 and whose day was 4 June (Forbes 1872: 350; Thomson 1908–09, bk 5: 3–4). *Clach Fhioghaid*, 'Figgat's Stone', may still be seen in the old churchyard of Inverallan, and the village also had a Figget's Well, 'Touper Uiget' or *Tobar Fhioghaid* (Thomson 1908–09, bk 2: 7).

> Originally (old Mr Grant, Balliefurth told me) the Fair was held near the Well, behind it; then near H.R. Station; then at Ballintomb; then Tornagarroch; then into Grantown (doubtless by Sir James). He removed the local Fairs into his new village, Abernethy Fair being the 'George Fair', after its Patron St George of the Dragon. Long ago 2 of the heads of Davochs were arguing as to the advisability of shifting the market site; the son of one was handling a heavy stone used at the market to 'try your strength' like the stones seen recently at Achernack gate; the other Davochman said, 'I'll consent to let the market go as far west as your son can carry that stone.' The lad carried it past Gaich to Ballintomb . . . According to Inkson MacConnachie 'Fichids' Fair' was held at Belivat (in Ardclach) down to about 1750 when it was transferred, it is believed, to Grantown, and there called Figgit's Fair. But Figat may have been patron saint also of Ardeclach. Belivat, Buaile Ichid, means the enclosure of Ichid. A well at Wester Belivat is known as Ichid's Well and a stone there used to be called Ichid's Chair . . . A man Figat Grant is named on a Strathspey Rent Roll, as at Gaich about 1770. Probably he had been born on the Market Day. (Thomson 1908–09, bk 2: 6)

Tarland in Aberdeenshire had a Breag Fair at Martinmas (around 11 November). By 1890 it was on 22 November, if a Tuesday; if not, it was on the Tuesday and Wednesday following (*NSA* 12: 843; Marwick 1890: 112). The *Aberdeen Almanack* of 1665 lists a 'Bryak Fair' at 16 November, but assigns it to no particular place (Forbes 1872: 291). The November date makes it clear that this is not St Brieuc, Brioc or Broc of April 29/30 and 1 May (patron of Rothesay), but it may well be Brice, Martin's successor as Bishop of Tours. *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* gives this Brice at 13 November and adds:

> Perhaps his early association with St Martin partly accounts for the reverence afterwards paid to Brice's memory: his name appears in many early English church calendars, and it still figures in the calendar of the Book of Common Prayer, in a Latin form, Britius. (Attwater 1983: 70)

The same dedication occurs in Inchbrayock (now Rossie Island) in the mouth of the South Esk at Montrose (Forbes 1872: 291). Similarly, in 1571–72 Anstruther Easter in

Fife had a fair on 'St Caran's day before Christmas', 23 December (Marwick 1890: 16). Caran is identified by Forbes (1872: 297–98) as an east-coast saint whose churches are at Premnay and Fetteresso, and there is a St Carran's well at Drumlithie in Kincardineshire. Another saint from this area is Fotin, whose fair was held at Torrie in Kincardineshire on 2 June; the church at Kirkpottie, formerly Potyn, was presumably another of his dedications (Forbes 1872: 350–51; Marwick 1890: 114).

A charter of 1593 confirmed one of the two yearly fairs in Cromarty as St Norman's Market, beginning 8 March and lasting five days (Marwick 1890: 35). William Mackay Mackenzie, the Cromarty historian, alleged that there never was a St Norman, and that the name derives from 'the Norman's market' – it appears to have been held in the gorge of a deep wooded ravine beneath the walls of the old castle of Cromarty, and may therefore have been presided over at one time by William de Monte Alto (later Mowat), who by 1264 had become first Sheriff of Cromarty and keeper of the royal castle (Miller 1994: 240). However, as even Mackenzie is willing to admit, St Neiman, bishop of Dairinis in Wexford, appears in the Irish martyrologies at 8 March, and though the phonological argument is weak, that based on the feast-day is incontrovertible (Todd and Reeves 1864: 70–71; Stokes 1895: 50–51). 'St Norman' can only be Neiman, and we must now look carefully at Normandshaw or Ormondshaw near Cromarty, St Norrie's Well at Stuarton, Inverness-shire, and Rothienorman in Aberdeenshire (Mackenzie 1903–06: 109–10; Mackenzie 1919–22: 339–41, 343–44; Mackenzie 1922–24: 295).

The Tarse Fair at Comrie in July, still existing in 1890, probably preserved the name of St Serf (Servanus) rather than that of St Tears (Marwick 1890: 32). There was in any case, as Watson (1926: 332–34) makes clear, no St Tear; the name, that of a fair in the parish of Wick, refers to the Feast of the Holy Innocents (the children slain by Herod), 28 December, presumably in Gaelic *Feill nan Deur*, cf. *Cell na nDér*, 'cella lacrimarum', St Beccan's church of Cluain Aird in Co. Tipperary. One writer has suggested that Tear is St Theodore the Confessor (28 December), but this seems unlikely (Craven 1886: 272; cf. Butler 1954: 1635). Describing a visit to Caithness in 1762, Bishop Robert Forbes (1708–75) wrote of the Chapel of St Tear:

> The country people, to this very day, assemble here in [the] morning of the Feast of the Holy Innocents, and say their Prayers, bringing their Offerings along with them, some Bread, others Bread and Cheese, others Money, &c., and putting these into the Holes of the Walls. In the afternoon they get Music – a Piper or a Fiddler – and dance on the Green where the Chapel stands. The roof is off, but the walls are almost all entire. One of the late presbyterian preachers of Wick thought to have abolished this old practice; and for that end appointed a Diet of catechising in that corner of the Parish upon the day of the Holy Innocents, but not one attended him; all went, as usual, to St Tear's Chapel. (Craven 1886: 272; cf. Foden 1996: 239)

The market of St Trother(s)mas at Olrig in the same county appears on maps as Trothanmas and is remembered in oral tradition as Tustimas (cf. Waugh 1985: 228); as has been pointed out in *Tocher* 42 (1989: 426), the saint here is neither Norseman nor

Gael but a Pict, St Drostan of Deer in Buchan, whose feast-day is variously given as 11 July and 15 December (26–28 December OS), see for example Towill (1983: 75). Given that the dedication of the Chapel of St Tear was also attributed to Drostan, it would appear that the name of his principal monastic foundation had endowed him with a winter feast-day as well as a summer one (Foden 1996: 239). 'Columba gave Drostán that monastery,' says a note in the Book of Deer (Jackson 1972: 33), 'and blessed it, and left the curse that whoever should go against it should not be full of years or of success. Drostán's tears [*déra*] came as he was parting from Columba. Columba said, "Let Deer [*Déar*] be its name from this on."'

15. AIKEY FAIR

By 1800, thanks to the cattle trade, the market held in the first week of July on Aikey Brae near Old Deer had become the biggest in the north of Scotland.

> On the day of the fair fifty or sixty acres of Aikey Brae were covered with human beings, cattle, horses, and various kinds of merchandise. Aikey Fair day was regarded as the great summer holiday; and both old and young flocked to it. Indeed, it was the boast to have seen so many fairs . . . As many as 10,000 persons are said to have been sometimes present, all attired in their Sunday best . . . Most of the cattle sold in the fair were driven south . . . to be fattened on the rich pastures of England. Seventy years ago as many as 6000 beasts are said to have passed through Tarves in a continuous drove, a mile long, on their way south on the day after the fair. (Alexander 1877: 80–81)

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the notoriety of Aikey Fair had come to exceed its commercial importance. 'Its reputation was such,' says Cameron (1997: 94), 'that genteel folk spoke of it only in whispers and after the children had gone to bed and even then with a shake of the head that suggested wickedness beyond all understanding.' First mentioned in 1640, by 1661 it began on the first Tuesday of July and continued for the rest of the week (Alexander 1952: 4). The earlier Alexander (1877: 79–80) described how Aikey Brae slopes downward to the north, affording an extensive view, with the ruins of the Abbey of Deer nestling among the orchard gardens of Pitfour. Six miles to the north, he pointed out, is Mormond Hill, the highest in Buchan, where the figure of a white horse occupies an acre of ground on the south slope, the space within the outline of the animal being covered with white quartzose stones. Banks (1937: 178) was equally captivated by the antique atmosphere of the place.

> The district was recorded by the Romans as a seat of Pictish authority, and the remains found in peat-bogs near, those of red deer and wild bulls of enormous size, with battle axes and flint arrow-heads, coffins with clay urns, as well as sculptured stones, carry us back to times long before its fame as a centre of Christian teaching. Legends tell of its first stone church, of St Drostan, commemorated by Dunstan Fair in December, and of the abbey, keeper for many years of the Book of Deer, with marginalia and decoration of early Celtic character. This treasure of historical and pre-historical remains points to early settlement

where gatherings for trade and entertainment must have been widely known long before an
Act of Parliament gave them licence in 1661.

The notes in the Book of Deer (now in Cambridge) date from the twelfth century and
are now regarded as the oldest surviving texts in Scottish Gaelic. But who or what is
Aikey?

Tradition, as relayed at some length by Alexander (1877: 79), has it that Aikey Brae
and Fair are named for a pedlar known as Aul' Aikey who had the misfortune to drop
his pack into the water while crossing the River Ugie on some stepping-stones, a mile
west of the Abbey. The rest of the story is similar to that told of Kelton Hill in far-off
Galloway, see section 11 above. Fishing it out, Aikey laid the contents to dry on the
slope above the river, 300 yards downstream. He had prints and woollens, some in
gaudy colours, and passers-by were so taken by them that he was soon sold out. He
promised to show them something better still if they would meet him next year at the
same time and place. Thus was a popular annual market established. A more concise
version was recorded in 1972 from Lucy Stewart, Fetterangus, by Hamish Henderson
and James Porter:

> There wis a packman, he wis calling on people door to door wi drapery – wi a pack, on his
> back. An he wis wantin a near cut, ye see, fae . . . the yin tae t'ither side o the water. He wis
> wantin a near cuttin, ye see. There was no bridges at that time, it wis stepping stones. So he
> wis steppin across, an he lost his fittin, an in he fell, pack an aa . . . He gaed up tae Aikey
> Brae, he thocht that wis the best place, 'cause it wis grow'd(?) wi fine broom bushes, there
> was never ony (?markers or nothing on the hill?) there. An he spread oot aa his claes, ye see,
> on the tap o this broom bushes an whin bushes – whitever he could get. An the folk aa
> wondered at the other side, ye see, whar aa this bonny fite things wis, aa on bushes. So that,
> them wantin to see what it wis, they aa hail't tae Aikey Fair. And the mannie sellt aa his
> pack. The folk startit tae buy the stuff, ye see. So he says, 'I ken whar I'll come anither year,'
> ye see. So, he cam back anither year, an, oh, he made an aafa trade . . . So, they did that for
> twa or three year, till there wis a great big market startit . . . 'At startit Aikey Fair, the packman.
> (*Tocher* 41, 1987–88: 313)

The story, or one like it, has also been told to account for the fair of St Ma-Ruibhe at
Keith ('The Origins of Aikey Fair and Maggie Fair', *Tocher* 41, 1987–88: 313).

Not surprisingly, Aikey's name was assumed to refer to the 'aik'- or 'oak'-tree. The
fair was referred to as *Mercatus Querceti* in 1732, its location as 'Oaky Brae' in 1793 and
'Yackie Brae' in 1859. 'The name is descriptive, although there are no oaks now on
Aikie Brae' (Alexander 1952: 4). I would argue however that Auld Aikey cannot be
ignored, and that he is St Féchin of Fore in Westmeath, who died in 665 or 668 and
whose name means 'little raven' (from *fiach*, later *fitheach*). He appears, through the
Latinisation 'Vigeanus', to have given his name to St Vigeans near Arbroath (Watson
1926: 321–22). Judging from the substantial concentration of symbol stones there, St
Vigeans was, like Old Deer, a seat of Pictish authority, and it may be conjectured that
Féchin was particularly venerated by the Picts, or later by the Gael of Pictland. The

hypocoristic form of his name in Cumbric territory was *Mo Fhécu* (or, when *Fh* became silent, *Mo Écu*). This occurs in the placename Lesmahagow in Lanarkshire, *Lios Mo Fhécu*, which may thus be translated 'My Aikey's Enclosure' (Watson 1926: 197). Further evidence is to hand in the Book of Deer, in which two separate legal documents are witnessed by a person or persons, *Mael Fhéchín*, whose name ('the Servant of St Féchín') arises from the cult of St Féchín. In one case it is spelt *Maléchín* and in the other *Malechí*, which may reflect the form 'Aikey' itself (Jackson 1972: 32, 35; Ó Maolalaigh 1998: 35).

The date of the fair offers another check, and here there is a difficulty. Aikey Fair is in July, but Féchín's day is 20 January, and indeed the best proof of all that St Vigeans near Arbroath is named after Féchín is that St Vigeans Fair was held there on 20 January. I would like to offer alternative solutions to this problem. Firstly, it may be that Féchín was commemorated in July as well as in January. Some evidence for this is forthcoming from Kirkcudbrightshire, where Auchencairn, five or six miles from Kelton Hill, boasted a 'Fykes Fair'.

> I wonder if there are in this district any old residents who have personal recollections of a rural gathering which was held every year at the village of Auchencairn, in the parish of Rerwick, and known as Fykes Fair. At these trysts our sires met and talked over the concerns of horn, corn, wool, and yarn, and transacted their business; pedlars gathered from many a shire and exposed their most tempting wares, and lads and lassies did wonders in courtship. Fykes Fair was one of the last of the old rural trysts. It was generally held in the latter part of July, and many visitors from the coast used to attend it. The principal sports consisted of pony, 'cuddy,' and foot races. The most popular event was a footrace between a party of old dames for a packet of tea. The old ladies 'kilted' their garments for the contest, and strained towards the winning post amid the cheering of their friends. The out-of-door sports being concluded, the houses of the village – public and private – were filled by the company, who enjoyed a regular tea and toddy drinking; the younger people held a dance. The happy recollections excited by Fykes Fair supplied the neighbouring rural population with matter for gossip until the advent of the same occasion in the succeeding year. (Rusticus 1913)

Banks (1937: 179) says that Fykes Fair 'began at 10 o'clock at night and continued through the night and part of the next day'; if true, this would make it another sleepy market, a sign of antiquity. The word *fyke* means 'fuss, bustle, commotion, excitement, pother' (*SND*), which might be considered an appropriate description for such a gathering, but, if so, it would be unique in Scotland as a fair-name; as I think I have shown by now, derivation from a saint's name is statistically the most likely option, and would also account for the use of the possessive. Fyke, then, may have been our saint.

My alternative solution is this. Aikey Fair in July makes a pair at Old Deer with St Drostan's in December. By 1890 Aikey Fair was being held on the Wednesday after 19 July, St Drostan's on the Wednesday after 19 December. Even at that late date, both were still large horse markets (Marwick 1890: 39). As we have seen, St Drostan's feast-day appears to have been 11 July, but the Feast of the Innocents effectively gave him a

second one in December. Both days would have been of great importance to the monks at Deer, the one commemorating their foundation, the other the founder's death. Drostan's fair ('Dustan fair') was also held at Aberlour in Banffshire on 11 December, and at Rothiemay in the same county on 14 December; his fair in Caithness, St Trothersmas at Olrig, took place latterly on the fourth Tuesday of November, which is a little early, but provides further confirmation that his winter commemoration gained precedence over his summer one (Marwick 1890: 14, 94, 102). The next step – a political act, perhaps – was to give the summer festival completely to Féchín the Gael, reserving the winter one to Drostan the Pict. Ultimately, however, it may be that the most convincing evidence of the identity of Auld Aikey with St Féchín lies in the thought-provoking similarity of Aikey's legend to this incident in the Life of St Féchín (Stokes 1891: 342–43). It refers to the people of 'Imaid' in Conamara.

> At another time, when Féchín went at the angel's command to preach to the folk of Imaid, (he and his monks) lost their way, and Féchín got from them neither food nor drink, because of their envy and jealousy towards him. And they used to throw those who were submissive to the monks, and their books and their garments, into the neighbouring sea (*7 rocurdis lucht umoloide na manach 7 a leabair 7 a n-edaigi isin muir comfhoguis*). And the divine power would bring them to land, every whit whole, without suffering loss of garment or book or human being (*7 dobered in cumachta dïadha docum tire gu hoghslan, gin dith etaigh ina leabuir ina duine forro*).

16. THE *FÉILL ÉITEACHAIN*

This fair was held annually in December at Ardgay in the parish of Kincardine. Formerly in Easter Ross, Ardgay has now been brought into Sutherland, to which it has been linked by the Bonar Bridge since 1812. *Feill Éiteachain* is the spelling preferred by Professor Watson, who came from Boath a few miles south over the Struie. It was still being held in 1924 (Watson 1924: 128), but does not appear to have survived the Second World War. An anonymous parishioner wrote in 1840:

> There is one public fair held in this parish, which is called 'Feille-Edeichan;' or the market of the quartz-stone. It takes place in the last week of November, and sometimes on the first week of December; and continues for three days. There is commonly a fine show of Highland cattle; and quantities of cheese and butter, as well as merchandise, are to be had at it. (*NSA* 14, pt 2: 432)

The church of Kincardine is a mile south of Ardgay along the shore of the Dornoch Firth, at the foot of a river called the *Allt Éiteachain*, originally noted by the Ordnance Survey as *Allt na h-Éiteig*. That is where the name *Éiteachan* belongs; it was only after the building of the Bonar Bridge that Ardgay, being closer to the bridge-end, began to increase its population at the expense of the ancient focal point of the parish. A glimpse of the situation before the bridge was built was offered by the Rev. Andrew Gallie, who

wrote in 1790: 'This parish has but one fair. It holds in the last week of November. There is commonly a fine shew of Highland cows, fattened on the best heath, and whose beef is allowed to be of the first flavour and taste' (*OSA* 17: 517).

It will have been noted that the *NSA* writer explained the *Feill Éiteachain* as 'the market of the quartz-stone'. Professor Watson gave the Gaelic name of the stone without endorsing it as equivalent to the name of the fair.

> The old-established Feill Eiteachan, the winter market still held at Ardgay, is said to owe its name to a certain quartz stone (clach éiteag), the old custom being that the market was held wherever this stone happened to be at the time. The stone was sometimes shifted west by the Assynt men, and east by the men of Ross, but finally it was built into the wall of the present Balnagown Arms Hotel at Ardgay, and so the market has ever since been held there. I give the story for what it is worth. (Watson 1904: 3)

The story of the stone's Assynt connection is a persistent one. Mary Beith, Melness, who knows it as the 'Bargain Stone' – bargains being sealed upon it – heard that it came from Assynt in the first place (personal communication, 1985). Another version is as follows.

> Apart from the regular, all-the-year-round traffic, crowds would gather in from all sides to the Feill Eiteachan, the winter market which was held at Kincardine for a year or two and then at Ardgay, after the famous stone, now placed in a prominent position in the village, was brought from the Sutherland side towards the end of the 18th century. The market, now a thing of the past, used to be held wherever the stone might be. (Maclennan 1985: 43)

It may be that, as a bargain stone, the *clach éiteag* was carried wherever it was required to legitimise a fair. It is worthy of note that the timing of the principal market in Assynt was linked to that of the *Féill Éiteachain* – Marwick (1890: 64) was informed that the only recognised fair at Inchnadamph was held 'on the fourth Thursday of November before the Kincardine market'.

So far, then, we have a river, a fair and a stone all bearing the same name, more or less – *Éiteag* for the river and the stone, *Eiteachan* for the river and the fair. Is there a connection between the name of the stone and the name of the fair? Colin MacDonald (1882–1957), a native of Strathpeffer, clearly thought that they were distinct. By implication, he derives *Éiteachan* from *aodach, éadach*, 'clothing'.

> *Feill Èideachan* was originally the special market at which the women bought ribbons and laces and such finer articles of apparel as they could not weave at home, and at which the men got themselves properly equipped with the 'harness of war' – body armour, shirts of mail, etc. – for the purveying of which the smiths and armourers were in attendance and did a roaring trade. But *Feill Èideachan* had lost all its original significance long before my time. (MacDonald 1944: 71–72)

By this token the name would mean something like 'the Accessories Market'. Watson (1904: 3) also thought that stone and fair were distinct. He took the river name from

éiteach ('root of burnt heather') and suggested that the name of the fair was based upon that, adding: 'But éiteachan cannot be based on éiteag, which is a loan word from English *hectic* (Macbain).' The reference is to Macbain (1896: 140), where *éiteag* is given as a 'white pebble, precious stone; from Eng. *hectic*, lapis *hecticus*, the white hectic stone, used as a remedy against dysentery and diarrhœa'. Macbain refers in turn to Martin's description of Skye (1981: 134).

> The *Lapis Hecticus*, or white Hectick Stone, abounds here both in the Land and Water: the Natives use this Stone as a Remedy against the *Dysenteria* and *Diarrhea*; they make them red-hot in the fire, and then quench them in Milk, and some in Water, which they drink with good success. They use this Stone after the same manner for Consumptions, and they likewise quench these stones in Water, with which they bathe their Feet and Hands.

I have traced the fair back to what appears to have been its origin at the parish church of Kincardine. To whom was this church dedicated? Was it a saint bearing some name like Éiteag or Éiteachan? Let us look at the date of the fair to see what saint is associated with that particular time of year. Marwick (1890: 74) tells us clearly that it was held on the third Tuesday after 1 November OS (i.e. the third Tuesday after 13 November in today's calendar, which is what pushed it latterly into December). This provides us with a possible answer: 25 November (6 or 7 December OS) was the feast-day of St Catherine of Alexandria, a fourth-century virgin martyr whose persecutors tried to break her on a revolving spiked wheel, hence the name of the firework; finally she was decapitated, her veins spouting milk instead of blood. There is some evidence that her cult focused on the name 'Carden'. Kincardine in the Mearns, like our Ross-shire Kincardine, bore a Gaelic name which was in part ultimately Pictish – *ceann* ('end') and *càrdainn* ('wood', 'thicket'), from a Pictish word resembling Early Welsh *carden* (/ð/) – but clearly this was unknown to its burgh council in 1540 when they proclaimed annual fairs dedicated to St Catherine of Siena (canonised 1461) on 30 April and to St Catherine the Virgin on 20 November (Marwick 1890: 73–74). Again, there is evidence of a cult of St Catherine on the Sutherland coast just north of our Kincardine – by 1630 both Golspie and Loth had St Carden's fairs (Gordon 1813: 7; Marwick 1890: 61, 85). All in all it seems highly likely that a place near Golspie which bore the name Kincardine and boasted a fair in the last week of November must have had a church dedicated to St Catherine.

Another parish that boasted fairs to both St Catherines was Fortingall in Perthshire, where a modest *Feill Ceit an Fhrois* ('St Catherine's Seed Fair') was held – as we saw in section 10 – on 28 April, and a much more substantial *Feill Ceit nan Gobhar* ('St Catherine's Goat Fair'), to which droves of goats were brought from Lochaber and the Braes of Rannoch, was held on 6 and 7 December (Stewart 1928: 187–88).

Why then was the Kincardine fair called not *Feill Ceit* but *Feill Éiteachain*? It must have to do with the stone. I would begin by rejecting Watson's 'root of burnt heather' and MacDonald's implied 'Accessories Market'. I would suggest that the stone had

healing powers very like Martin Martin's *lapis hecticus*. That would indicate a very good reason why the men of Assynt, Sutherland and Ross would want to claim it, and why people would flock to it wherever it was set up. By this argument, *éiteag* and *éiteachan* may be seen to derive equally from the word 'hectic' and from the name of some Celtic saint whose cult preceded that of St Catherine at Kincardine; it would have been the saint's power that gave the charm its efficacy, and I suspect that it was used by being dipped in the water of *Allt Éiteachain* or *Allt na h-Éiteig* which flows by the church, the water being thus made curative, and the river named after the saint or the stone. In fact, Watson himself provides a convincing explanation of the name in his discussion of the loch- and river-name Etive in Argyll.

> It represents M.Ir. *Loch Éitchi* (for *Éitche*), and *Éitche* is gen. sing. of *Éitig*, a feminine proper name (declined like O.Ir. *sétig*, gen. *seitche*, a mate, a wife), meaning 'foul one', 'horrid one'. The lady who had this ugly name was really the goddess of the loch and river, and if we ask why she was so called, we have only to know the stormy and dangerous nature of the loch, and in particular to look at the formidable sea-cataract at its entrance, known as *a' Chonghail*, the Connel. She is still well known as *Éiteag*, a diminutive form, 'the little horrid one'. In literature, *eitig(h)* is coupled with *salach*, foul, of which it is nearly a synonym, and it is not by accident that Eiteag's haunt is traditionally placed in *Gleann Salach*, Foul Glen, beyond Ardchattan . . . A man of my acquaintance declared that he knew a man who had met her in Glen Salach – after a funeral. (Watson 1926: 46, 426)

I would therefore argue that the name of our fair can be linked to a group of river- and loch-spirits which include Cuachag, Mórag, Seileag, Airceag, Niseag, Éireag and Speitheag as well as Éiteag (see MacilleDhuibh 1999a, 1999b, 1999c).

17. PITFALLS: THE VANITY OF POST-REFORMATION LANDLORDS

I have discussed a series of fair-names which represent the names of saints in extraordinary disguises, culminating in one which I believe to represent the name of a primal water-spirit. I would now like to move still deeper into the territory of historical pitfalls, beginning with an apparent conflation of two very different saints, and moving on to fairs which are older than their names or descriptions would suggest, then to some which are in fact younger than their names would suggest.

The saint venerated at Inveraray and Barra on 16 May was Brendan the Navigator. Charters of 1474 and 1648 to the Burgh of Inveraray refer to a fair held on St Brendan's Day in May, yet an Act of Parliament of 1641 refers to the same fair as St Andrew's. Marwick (1890: 65) took this to be an error, but I am not so sure. A pre-Reformation chapel in Vatersay, south of Barra, is on record as *Cill Bhrianainn* (St Brendan's), yet the late Nan Mackinnon, *Nan Eachainn Fhionnlaigh*, a very reliable informant, gave the name to the School of Scottish Studies as *Cill Anndrais* (St Andrew's).[11] Is it possible that traditions of the two saints had become fused in the same way as those of Manannan and John the Baptist?

On 4 October 1780 the town council of Lauder in Berwickshire abolished 'Maitland Fair'. At first this looks straightforward. The Maitland family were the local magnates, Earls and Dukes of Lauderdale, kings of the valley. The Maitland of the 1660s and 1670s was Charles II's Secretary of State for Scotland, as powerful as the spring tide and as corrupt as a barrel of apples. Kilbirnie had its Crawford's Day; why should not Lauder have its Maitland's Day? Yet Maitland Fair is a genuine religious festival. In 1641 Parliament had granted Lauder a fair for eight days to commence on 'St Magdalen's Day', 22 July. This is the day of St Mary Magdalen, often called simply the Magdalen, to whom the risen Christ appeared. The Lauder fair may well have been held then since the Middle Ages, but it would appear that with the rise of the Maitlands and of Presbyterianism, Magdalen Day had turned by a process of evolution into Maitland Day (Marwick 1890: 80).

In 1890 the isle of Coll had two annual markets, held on the Tuesday before the Mull fairs in the middle of May and October (Marwick 1890: 32). Earlier in the century, fairs were being held in both Coll and Tiree in May, August and October 'solely for the sale of black-cattle' (*NSA* 7, pt 2: 218). Information of this kind (no early references; no fair-name; no precise date; purpose of fair specified) usually seems to indicate something recent. But Marwick rivets us with the words 'held here from time immemorial', and we remember the deep roots of *an Fhaidhir Mhuileach*, the great Mull Fair at Druim Taigh Àrais – the mossy ridge above Aros Castle in that island – described by Ramsay of Ochtertyre (Allardyce 1888: 405–06). Once again, then, we have a fair that is older than it looks.

A St Monance Fair was held every year at Dunblane on 1 March. This was the feast-day of St Monan, who had given his name to St Monance in Fife, where his fair was held on 1 March – an event of some importance which, according to a charter of 1596, continued for eight days. St Monan was identified by Watson (1926: 294–95, 328–29) with Móenu, whose name in the genitive case was Móenenn, later Maoineann, and who was a bishop and abbot of Clonfert in Ireland and died AD 572. Unfortunately, St Monance Fair at Dunblane, for all its ancient credentials, turns out to have been the invention of an enterprising landlord. An Act of Parliament of 1669 tells of 'a new fair granted to Lieut.-General William Drummond and his heirs, to be held on 1st March yearly, and called St Monance fair' (Marwick 1890: 43). Drummond clearly wanted a fair on his land on 1 March for economic reasons – it is, or was, a profitable time of year for markets, the start of spring labour. King Charles was on the throne, however, and the old saints were still in fashion. So St Monance Fair at Dunblane is not evidence for a cult of St Monan in that particular place. It is a new fair with an old name.

The beginnings of landlordly vanity – and humour – in the matter of fairs can be traced to 1609, when a charter was granted by George Archbishop of St Andrews to George Lauder of Ban, granting a yearly eight-day fair at Leven in Fife to be held on 23 April, which is of course St George's Day (Marwick 1890: 82). As long as Episcopalianism remained strong the old names retained their power, and it is worth noting that when

a fair at Selkirk was moved in 1641 from 8 December to 4 July, 'chiefly on account of the swelling of the rivers in December preventing the transport of goods', the new date was given its correct traditional name, St Martin of Bullion's Fair (Marwick 1890: 106). It was not until the corrupt era of Lauderdale – a Presbyterian who served an Episcopalian king – that a touch of blasphemy crept in. In 1670 Sir George Monro got a charter authorising him to hold two yearly fairs at Culrain in Ross-shire, one to begin on 20 June to be called Monro's Fair, the other to begin on 24 September to be called St George's Fair (Marwick 1890: 36). This was the golden era of fair-making. Smout (1972: 109) points out that while only one grant of a market or fair outside a burgh had been made in 1517–70, and only ten 1571–1660, no fewer than 246 such grants were made between 1660 and 1707. The Maggie Fair at Garmouth is said to have been named after Lady Margaret Kerr, wife of the Laird of Innes, in the 1660s.[12] In 1681 James and David Bethoune of Balfour got an Act of Parliament allowing them to have two free annual fairs at Kennoway in Fife, each for two days – on 2 March, called St David's Fair, and on 24 September, called St Mary's Fair (Marwick 1890: 70). The first is only a day off St David of Wales, but the second is entirely spurious, being a full sixteen days adrift of the Nativity of the B.V.M., and may be another instance of a man naming a fair after his wife.

By the 1690s Lauderdale was gone, but so was King Charles. Presbyterianism was firmly entrenched as the state religion, and saints could be mocked with impunity. In 1693 Sir Alexander Mackenzie got an Act of Parliament authorising him to change a free fair belonging to him at Contin in his barony of Coul from the first to the third Wednesday of October and to call it Janet Fair. At the same time he got permission to change another free fair from the first to the third Wednesday of January and call it St John's Fair, so we begin to suspect that Janet and John were relatives of his own. He may have had in mind St John the Almsgiver, 23 January, the patron of the 'Knights of Malta', but that is very doubtful, and indeed the name was to sink without trace – in 1837 when the town council of Dingwall, seven miles east, resolved that these fairs be held thenceforth in the burgh, they referred to St John's merely as the New Year Market. Janet Fair, or the *Feill Seònaid* as it was by then generally known, was fixed at the first Wednesday of June, a huge leap through the calendar which was unthinkable for a saint's day. By 1837 there were also a Colin's Fair and a Martha's Fair, the latter held on the first Wednesday of November (Marwick 1890: 32–33, 40; Macrae 1974: 161–62, 253).

Macrae confirms (1974: 161) that Janet's and Colin's Fairs both embodied Coul family names, and the list of Sir Alexander's children is indeed highly suggestive. By his first wife (Jean, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown) he had John, his heir, 3rd Mackenzie of Coul; Colin, who succeeded John as 4th Mackenzie of Coul; an unnamed daughter who married Mackintosh of Cullachy; and Janet, who married Alexander Mackenzie of Davochmaluag in 1695 (Mackenzie 1879: 449). It is thus highly likely that the fair in Dingwall on the first Wednesday of November supplies us with the missing name of the daughter who married Mackintosh of Cullachy – Martha.

Colin's Fair, the *Féill Chailein*, presents us with a tangle of sacred and secular

nomenclature which is difficult to resolve. When the town council transferred it to Dingwall in 1837 they fixed its date on the first Tuesday of July (Macrae 1974: 161–62, 253). Subsequent accounts refer to it variously as *an Fhèill Chailein* and *an Fhèill Choluim*, placing it at the first Tuesday of July, the last Tuesday but one of July, or the second Tuesday of August (Marwick 1890: 40; Watson 1926: 279). With this we may compare a charter of 1684 in favour of George, Duke of Gordon, which authorised a free yearly fair at Gordon's Burgh, formerly the Burgh of Barony of Inverlochy, for three days, on 9 July, called St Colin's or Colm's fair (Marwick 1890: 61). The apparent free variation between Colin and Colm, Gaelic *Cailean* and *Calum*, need not surprise us – on the analogy of *Moirean*, *Maol Moire*, *Gille Moire* (names derived from *Moire*, the Virgin Mary), *Peidirean*, *Maol Pheadair*, *Gille Pheadair* (names derived from *Peadar*, St Peter), etc., *Cailean* would certainly have been seen as related to *Maol Caluim* and *Gille Caluim*; Highland families which used Colin (e.g. MacKenzies, Campbells) tended not to use Malcolm, and *vice versa*. What *is* puzzling is the firm adherence, both at Contin and at Inverlochy, to a fair-day one full month later than the very well-known feast-day of Columba, 9 June. I would reject Watson's tentative suggestion (1926: 279) that the dedication is an ancient one to Mo-Cholmóg, 19 July. Pending further research, I can only guess that Sir Alexander initiated the trend in 1681 by establishing a fair at Contin on the first Tuesday of July in honour of his second son Colin;[13] that it was referred to indifferently in Gaelic from the beginning as the *Fèill Chailein* or the *Fèill Chaluim*; that it was economically successful; that its name was misunderstood by many outside Ross-shire as being in honour of St Columba; and that the Duke of Gordon sought to emulate its success in his proposed new burgh in Lochaber by fixing his own new fair there at the same time of year but with the kind of overt links to the saint that befitted both the more westerly location and his own Episcopalian beliefs. His charter of 1684 also authorised for 'Gordon's Burgh' a free yearly fair for three days on 2 September to be called St Giles' fair; St Giles' day is indeed 1 September (Marwick 1890: 61); here, then, were two loyal Episcopalian dedications in an Episcopalian era, and if my hypothesis is correct, the fixing of St Colin's or Colm's fair at 9 July rather than 9 June is the Duke's acknowledgement of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's pioneering work in establishing new Highland markets.

It must be admitted, however, that other fairs seemingly dedicated to St Columba are on record for dates which defy explanation. An Act of Parliament of 1670 confirmed two fairs 'called St Colmes days, in use to be kept' at Drymen in Stirlingshire on 9 June and 23 August (Marwick 1890: 41); stranger still, an Act of 1681 authorised Archibald Earl of Argyll to hold two free fairs, each for three days, to be held at the clachan of Torsukbeg in the parish of Torosay in Mull – one on 5 March to be called St Columb's fair, and one on 15 July to be called St Ann's fair (Marwick 1890: 114). Given the state of affairs in Mull at that time it may well be that the Act was never put into effect, nor does Earl Archibald's choice of dates and patrons seem likely to have endeared him to his newly-purchased MacLean subjects, for they appear to me to reflect nothing more

than his vanity. There is no St Columb at 5 March, no St Ann at 15 July; St Ann, mother of the B.V.M., is at 26 July (Paul 1918: 165). My guess is that these were simply his relatives, Columb being a 'translation' of the characteristic Campbell name Colin into the form used by the MacLeans. If a concession, it was a clumsy one. Of one thing I feel certain, however: Dornoch's 'Callons fair in January' reported to Marwick (1890: 40) will not be a *Feill Chailein* but a *Feill Challainn* or New Year's Fair, literally a 'Fair of the Kalends', and this leaves open a possibility that 'Sanct Callen his fayre', held in nearby Rogart at an unknown time of year (Gordon 1813: 7), was also a *Feill Challainn*, for Calum Cille was not well remembered north of Inverness.[14]

On 15 June 1693, Parliament authorised Sir Ludovick Grant to hold a free fair to be called Louis Fair after himself, to be held at the church of Kilmore in Urquhart on the last Tuesday of August in each year, and another, to be called Lady Fair in honour of his wife, to be held yearly in November at the same place (Mackay 1914: 225–26; MacDonald 1925–27: 135). Twelve years earlier, in 1681, an Act of Parliament had granted the Duke of Atholl authority for a 'Lady Fair' on 15 February at Moulin (Marwick 1890: 90). It is hard to know quite what to make of this – it appears to be an alternative name for *Feill Mo-Chalmaig*, St Colm's or Colman's market, referred to in section 5 above; what is more, Smith (1727) refers under February to 'Valentines Day being still the 14. at Moulen in Athole', adding: 'Linlithgow and Forfar, 15 Day, holding eight Days'. Paul (1918: 168) assigned it to Candlemas, but Candlemas was never known as Lady Day, and in any case it is thirteen days adrift from Candlemas at a time long before the Calendar Act (1751) made such confusion commonplace. I can only pull these strands together by suggesting that 'Lady Fair' is Atholl's parliamentary name for the *Feill Mo-Chalmaig*, devised as a St Valentine's Day gift to his wife on the same principle as Grant's later 'Lady Fair' of 1693.

Similarly, Nigg in Easter Ross had a Hugh's Fair in November (*NSA* 14, pt 2: 37; cf. Marwick 1890: 77). It was dying away fast in 1836. Probably Hugh was the name of one of the Ross or Munro heritors of the parish; it is unlikely to represent St Adomnán, whose feast-day, 'Hughie's Festival' or *An Fheill Eònain*, was 23 September (MacDonald 1925–27: 127).

Some Lowland landlords were more brazen still. In 1695 Thomas Forbes of Waterton was authorised to have four free fairs at Ellon, each for three days: on the first Tuesday of June, to be called St John's Fair; on the first Tuesday of July, to be called St Jean's Fair; on the first Tuesday of November, to be called St Thomas' Fair; and on the first Tuesday of December, to be called St Elizabeth's Fair (Marwick 1890: 50). His neighbour William Gordon showed a little more taste. He got permission in the same year to have four free fairs at Huntly, each for three days: on the last Tuesday of February, to be called Huntly Fair; on the second Tuesday of May, to be called May Fair; on the second Tuesday of September, to be called Charles Fair; and on the second Tuesday of October, to be called the Marquis Fair. The Thursday of the Marquis's Fair came to be called Play Feersday, because its main feature was amusement (Marwick 1890: 64).

I am uncertain about the motives of the Laird of Swinton in Berwickshire, who in 1693 obtained free fairs on the second Tuesday after Trinity Monday, to be called Allan's fair, and on 12 October, to be called St Francis' fair. The feast-day of St Francis of Assisi (canonised 1228) is 4 October, that of St Francis Borgia (canonised 1671) 10 October. I know of no saint called Allan, however, except perhaps the unidentified patron of a fair at Clyne in Sutherland 'called Sanct Aloyne his fayre' (Gordon 1813: 7), and this leads me to suspect that Allan, and perhaps also Francis, were members of the Laird's family. The last such in-the-family canonisations appear to have taken place in 1705 in Aberdeenshire, when Sir Samuel Forbes of Foveran got an Act of Parliament allowing him to have two yearly fairs at Swanfoord – on 1 July, to be called St Margaret's Fair, and on the first Thursday of November, to be called William's Fair. There were saints of this name, but not at the dates given (Marwick 1890: 111).

After all this it is not difficult to see through 'St Jonah'. In 1669 Parliament authorised Adam Urquhart of Meldrum to hold a three-day fair at Old Meldrum in Aberdeenshire on the third Tuesday of May to be called St Jonah's Fair, and a subsequent charter of 1671 authorised a three-day fair there on the last Tuesday of May to be called St Jonas Fair (Marwick 1890: 87). The only St Jonah known to me is a Persian martyr Jonah or Jonas whose day is 29 March (Attwater 1983: 200). It is much more likely that Adam was thinking of someone like his Uncle Jonah.

Such naming practices, which may seem bizarre if not blasphemous to the Roman Catholic or the Episcopalian, must be understood in their Presbyterian context. Fairs were secular institutions which nevertheless required a semi-religious prop – a mercat cross, a religious-sounding name – to give them legitimacy. In due course new churches also required names, and this gave rise to a related set of onomastic practices which continue today. I know of no study of modern church dedications, so one example will suffice. My old parish church in Joppa (Edinburgh), St Philip's, received its name at a meeting of the Kirk Session in 1900. I have no doubt that part of the elders' intention was to honour the Apostle Philip, but their stated purpose was 'to honour the Rev. Alexander Philip, during whose ministry the congregation was built up, and whose name and services were remembered with affection' (Mekie 1999: 2).

18. SUNDAY MARKETS

The last fair-name that falls to be discussed is the *Fèill-Dòmhnaich*. My attention was first drawn to it by its appearance in a list of calendar terms recalled by Angus Campbell from Ness in Lewis (1903–82): *Bha na faoiltich gheamhraidh is earraich, Fèill-Mhàrtainn, Fèill-Phàdruig, Fèill-Bhrìghde, agus Fèill-Dòmhnaich.* ('There were the winter and spring wolftimes, Martinmas, St Patrick's, St Brigid's, and *Fèill-Dòmhnaich*.') Campbell's editor, John Murray, pointed out in a note (I translate): 'The author says that this is not one particular festival, but festivals that were kept on a Sunday, like Easter Sunday or Whit Sunday' (Caimbeul 1973: 46, 362). Literally translated, *Fèill-Dòmhnaich* means 'the

Lord's Festival' or 'the Lord's Market'; it is in fact simply a reference to the ubiquitous Scottish 'Sunday Market' (cf. *Di-Dòmhnaich*, the Lord's Day). The story of the Sunday market is one of tension between religious and civil authorities, relating to matters such as the desecration of churchyards, the intrusion of secular concerns – commercial announcements, for example – into religious observances, and impious behaviour in church, such as drunkenness. Marwick (1890) cites countless instances of Sunday markets being switched to other days, the earliest being at Glasgow in 1397.

I have already mentioned one or two fairs which were noted for being held at night, pointing out that this may be a sign of antiquity. People do not meet in the dark for purposes of trade, after all, but if the aim is to hold a fire festival, to carry out a rite of sacrifice, to mark a boundary of time, or to greet the arrival of some particular dawn, the hours of darkness are entirely appropriate. One such gathering was held at night, however, for a very different reason. The weekly market on Saturdays at Kirkcaldy in Fife began between 3 and 4 a.m. and was generally over by 6 a.m. The custom appears to have been introduced, as the Rev. Thomas Fleming pointed out in 1795, to evade the law which prohibited Saturday and Monday markets. 'And the convenience of attending the market in the morning, and returning home in time for the ordinary labour of the day, has induced the country people to continue the custom, notwithstanding that frequent attempts have been made to alter it' (*OSA* 10: 559; cf. Marwick 1890: 76).

That is just one of the strange twists in the story. Markets have always arisen where people have congregated on a regular basis, and in historic terms the most basic market of all was the one that took place at the door of the church every Sunday once the service was over. But there were bound to be conflicts of interests. For parishioners from remote districts it was the only chance of the week to buy essential supplies. For traders it was therefore an opportunity too good to miss. But for the church it might mean sacrilege and desecration. A few generations ago tobacco was sold in Uig (Lewis) after the sermon, and before the eras of travelling vans and of shops, the *ceannaichean siubhail* or pedlars clustered round the church door on Sundays like bees to a honey pot (MacThòmais 1938: 103). Back a little further, in the seventeenth century, the Baron Court records of Breadalbane tell us how Sunday markets were regulated. Every Sabbath the tenants of Campbell of Glenorchy in Kenmore parish had to come to church with their 'bowis and baggis, or ellis with swordis and targis under paine of XX. lbs. for disobedience'. It may be assumed that the 'baggis' should contain a good clutch of arrows to practise with. The quality of ale was controlled by 'cunstaris' (*cunnstairean?*) or inspectors who visited the ale-houses every Sunday. To ensure that the ale was fit for use on Sunday it must be brewed on Thursday. No ale could be sold before preaching on Sundays. And whisky was completely banned (Gillies 1938: 254–55).

Governments swayed this way and that. In the Middle Ages, Sunday markets were encouraged (or at least legislated for) by Acts of Parliament. For example, when Robert I erected Seton in East Lothian into a free burgh he gave it liberty to have a market on the Sabbath Day. And in 1542 Crawford in Lanarkshire was made a free burgh of barony

with a right to a weekly market on Sunday. One of the latest grants of a Sunday market was to Prestonpans in 1552, when Queen Mary granted the town as a burgh of barony to the abbot and convent of Holyrood; in 1617 a charter of James VI confirmed the town's status but changed its market day to Saturday (Marwick 1890: 34, 99, 106).

When things got out of hand, however, or when spiritual interests predominated over commercial ones, governments went the other way. In 1397 Robert III directed his chancellor to issue a charter empowering the burgesses and community of Glasgow to keep their market day on Monday instead of Sunday (Marwick 1890: 59). It was perhaps the earliest of a number of statutes in which pre-Reformation governments can be found trying to prohibit the holding of markets or fairs on Holy Days because of the ungodliness they created. They tried, but with only partial success, for what people do on Sunday cannot ultimately be controlled by legislation – as is demonstrated, I feel, by these stanzas composed by a Skye poet remembered as Mac an Lighiche, presumably a Beaton (MacDonald and MacDonald 1911: lviii, 346).

Moch 's mi 'g èirigh air bheag èislein	As I rose early despite some weariness
Madainn Chèitein Dhòmhnaich,	On a Sunday morning in May,
Bha eòin an t-slèibhe gairm gu h-eutrom	The birds of the hill were calling cheerily
'S grian nan speur cur ròs dheth;	And the sun of the skies glowed red;
'N tùs moch mhadainn 's mi 'm èideadh	In dawn's first light once I was dressed
Ghabh mi sìos gu sràid na fèille –	I walked down to the market stance –
Choinnich na càirdean r'a chèile	Friends and kinsfolk met each other
'S dh'fhalbh mi fhèin 'nan còmhdhail.	And I went along to join them.
Dh'fhalbh mi fhèin agus fear no dhà dhiubh	I went off with one or two of them
Ghabhail sràide còmhla:	To take a walk together:
Smaointich sinn, 's an latha fuar,	We decided, the day being cold,
Ruaig thoirt don taigh òsta;	To drop in at the tavern;
Chunnaig mi fear gàireach ruadh	I saw a laughing red-haired man
A' tighinn a-nall le làn na cuaich –	Come over with brimming cupful –
Bha glacadh làmh againn mun cuairt	Joining hands around the circle
Le gloine chruaidh ga pògadh . . .	We kissed the sturdy glass . . .

The balance was tilted against commercial interests by the Reformation. The General Assembly of the earliest Reformed church, c. 1560–75, began by expressing disapproval of the holding of markets on the Sabbath. This, as session records show, was merely part of a wider campaign to avoid distractions in time of preaching (Smout 1972: 77). So, for example, an Act of the Privy Council of 1574 enjoined the magistrates of Aberdeen to prohibit the keeping of Sabbath markets, and from this point on, successive burgh charters of Aberdeen specified the power of holding a weekly market on Saturdays (Marwick 1890: 13).

Sabbatarianism of a more Mosaic kind gained ground in the time of Andrew Melville. In 1579 the Scots parliament forbade all forms of working by hand, bodily recreation

and drinking on Sundays, and the General Assembly added condemnation of Sunday dancing and travel. There commenced a spate of legislation in which Parliament struggled to enforce its hardline views on the merchant burgesses who controlled the country's markets. So a charter of James VI, 1587–88, changed the weekly market at Tain from Sunday to Saturday (Marwick 1890: 111). Reading between the lines of such legislation, one can detect a long-standing tendency for markets to be held on Sundays in defiance of the law. For example, a charter of 1540 had granted Dalkeith a weekly market on Thursday, yet in 1581 it somehow required an Act of Parliament to change its weekly market from Sunday to Thursday. Again, Parliament changed Crail's weekly market in 1587 from Sunday to Saturday, yet another Act of Parliament was required in 1607 to change it from Sunday to Friday. In 1589 Nairn was given a weekly market on Saturday, yet in 1661 another Act of Parliament was required to change it from Sunday to Friday. In the case of Pittenweem no legislation appeared to be necessary, given that pre-Reformation statutes of 1526 and 1540–41 had provided for markets on Saturday and Monday. Yet an act of 1663 changed the markets hitherto held on Sunday and Monday to Tuesday. Combined with the decay of such little Fife towns, the result was perhaps inevitable – by 1692 there was no weekly market there at all (Marwick 1890: 33, 37–38, 91–92, 98).

In other cases one senses that a process of weaning was deemed necessary. So, for example, Culross in Fife had a Sunday market, with a charter of James IV from 1490 to justify it. The charter of James VI which erected Culross into a Royal Burgh in 1588 granted the town a weekly market on Tuesday, but a further charter of 1592 authorised it to be held on a Saturday (Marwick 1890: 36).

Rural districts appear to have received less subtle treatment. In August 1590 Lord Somerville was cited before the General Assembly for holding a market on the Sabbath in his burgh of Carnwath in upper Lanarkshire. He appeared, brandishing the charter of 1491 that authorised a market to be held there on Sundays, and pleading 'an ancient custom and privilege granted to him and his predecessors by the kings of Scotland, and confirmed by James IV and V'. But on being threatened with the censure of the Church, he agreed that no market should be held there any more on that day (Marwick 1890: 29).

Legislation could be a tortuous matter, however, as regimes changed and policies shifted accordingly. A charter of 1594 to the burgh of Elgin confirmed all previous charters and granted the power to hold free markets and fairs 'as often and on such days as they had been in use to be kept'. A tactical error, perhaps, for by 1696 the magistrates of Elgin were being warded by another Reforming government for not executing the acts against holding markets on Sundays. Again, a charter of 1598-99 specified that the Elie market should be on Saturdays, but it seems to have done little good, for in 1672 an Act of Parliament changed the town's market from Sundays to Tuesdays (Marwick 1890: 50; Smout 1972: 80).

If Elgin could be overlooked, far-off Fortrose could be forgotten. A charter was issued to Fortrose on 6 August 1590 confirming its burgh charter of 1455. Unfortunately

for the Reformers' point of view, this had given its burgesses and inhabitants the right (among other things) to two weekly markets, one on Monday, the other on the Sabbath. Not until 1661 was the mistake rectified, and the Fortrose markets changed by Parliament from Sunday and Monday to Tuesday and Friday (Marwick 1890: 55).

Parliamentary meddling of this kind must have caused great local strife. We have already noticed the fate of Pittenweem. Traditional market days were strung along the circuits of merchants and pedlars like beads on a necklace. Sunday markets were among the most lucrative, and communities losing them faced an uncertain economic future. The point is well illustrated by the plight of Forfar. In 1593 Parliament changed its weekly market from Sunday to Friday (Marwick 1890: 54), but by 1792, when the Rev. John Bruce wrote his account of the parish, it was being held on Saturdays.

> At what time is [sic] was changed from Friday to Saturday, the incumbent has not been able to learn, but the reason of the change has evidently been, that Friday interfered with the great weekly market in Dundee, and that the other days in the week were kept as fair days by the other towns in the shire. (OSA 13: 265)

During the seventeenth century the cattle trade increased gradually in importance just as sabbatarianism was gaining an emotional grip on the minds of the Scottish people. Drovers were 'rough folk to whom it seemed that the Sabbath was made for man', and all through the century the records of the Privy Council and of the Church contain constant complaints of Sunday droving and describe efforts to prevent it (Haldane 1952: 43). For that and other reasons, markets which fell on a Saturday or Monday were gradually switched to another day of the week. The Fife town of Largo had a Saturday market, granted by charter in 1513 and confirmed in 1542 and 1594, but in 1596–97 it was changed to Friday. An Act of Parliament of 1603 granted weekly markets to Edinburgh on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, but successive Acts to prevent the profanation of Sunday in 1639, 1640 and 1644 transferred all Monday markets in Edinburgh and Glasgow to Wednesdays. According to the 1640 Act, wool, butter, cheese, skins, hides, shoes and 'unfreeman's work' were traded on Mondays in Edinburgh, while horses, live cattle, meal, bear (barley), craftsmen's work, salt, salt butter, cheese and timber were traded on Mondays in Glasgow (Marwick 1890: 49, 80).

Later accounts spell out graphic reasons for such changes. In 1645 the town council of Linlithgow 'appointed Tuesday and Saturday to be market days for the sale of leather, but afterwards substituted Friday for Saturday on account of the drinking which took place on the latter day, with the consequent effect that many could not attend church on the Lord's Day with becoming preparation' (Marwick 1890: 82). Two hundred years later the Rev. James Cruickshank described the Porter Fairs at Turriff like this:

> Feeing-markets have also been established at the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, for the engagement of male and female servants; and if these have been found an accommodation in some respects, it has, we conceive, been dearly purchased, by their corrupting influence on the morals of a large class of society. At all events, if these markets are to be kept up, it

would be well if the Scots statute of 1605 were acted on, and any other day than Saturday chosen for holding them. (*NSA* 12: 1004)

Feeing markets were of course for the hire of agricultural labour, and it is worth noting that the Turriff hiring fairs remained on Saturdays for as long as they lasted – into the twentieth century. The Reformers' legislative tide had long since ebbed. It had reached its high-water mark in an Act of 1656 which forbade anyone to bake bread, 'profanely walk', travel, or do any other worldly business on Sundays, and even then, at least two Lowland markets were still being held on Sundays as they had been 'from time immemorial' (Smout 1972: 80). The last little splash of the tide had been, perhaps, when at some point prior to 1799 Arbroath unilaterally changed its Saturday market to a Thursday (*OSA* 13: 40; cf. Marwick 1890: 17).

19. THE FAIR IN RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

The imagery of the fair came in post-Reformation times to be woven in various ways into the fabric of religious thought, at least in Gaelic. Firstly, the communion season was often spoken of by the godly as a *fèill* or fair. So when James Mackay of Proncy in Dornoch came back from a communion at Tain where the Rev. Dr John MacDonald of Ferintosh was preaching, he said, *Chaidh mi gu Baile Dhubhthaich dhan fhèill agus nuair a ràinig mi bha Iain a' piobaireachd, 's cha b' fhada nach robh mi fhìn san ruidhle.* 'I went to the fair at Tain and when I got there John was piping, and in no time I had joined in the reel.' MacDonald had been a piper in his youth (Kennedy 1978: 286–87). Next, the so-called 'tent' from which the minister preached at outdoor communions was in Gaelic *bùth*, from English 'booth', the same word that would be used of a market stall or shop. In the early days of communions the tent might be a few oars in the form of a cone, covered with sails or blankets, with a fixed board in front to hold the Bible ('R.M.' 1927a: 206). Later it would be purpose-built of dressed timber. Finally there was the Lord's Table, which brought people to speak of entering the *seòmar aoidheachd* or hospitality room, just as one might do to seal a bargain on market day (MacLeòid 1948: 28, 75).

Now a couple of anecdotes to emphasise the point. The first concerns a pious man called William Main, known as Willie Teetee, who lived at Ardersier in the parish of Petty during the ministry of the Rev. John Morrison. Willie was once walking to the communions at Inverness, and somewhere between Castle Stuart and Lonnie, Mr Morrison came riding by on his shaggy pony, on his way to assist at the same event. Morrison asked Willie where he was going, and he said, 'I am told there is to be a market in that big town to the west, and I have got a lot of coppers that I want to get rid of. I am also told that a man will attend at the market who will be glad to give me good valid coinage for my worthless coppers, and I am going to strike a bargain with him.' By which he meant, of course, that he was going to communion in Inverness with his sins, and that Christ would be there to exchange them for grace. This answer

pleased Mr Morrison so much that he got off his horse and told Willie to mount in his place, saying, 'Willie Teetee, you are far more worthy of having a horse to carry you than I am.' The saint got on the horse and the minister walked at the horse's side all the way to Inverness (Maclennan 1906: 24–25, quoted in Sutherland 1987: 175).

Finally there is a story about Tormad mac Shomhairle, one of the saints of Harris in the nineteenth century. He was once asked, *A Thormaid, nach eil òrain dìomhain idir agaibh?* 'Don't you have any secular songs at all?' He said, 'I did at one time but on the great day of the Lord's grace they were spoiled on me (*chaidh am milleadh orm*) and anyway, at the fair I am going to, I wouldn't get a penny for them' ('R.M.' 1927b: 230).

These anecdotes are by no means marginal to my subject. They demonstrate the power of the imagery of the fair even on the minds of those farthest, one might have thought, from the habits of commerce. This power is evidence of an economic phenomenon that has deep cultural, religious, linguistic and onomastic roots throughout Scotland. I have tried in this essay to sketch some of these roots, and to illustrate the difficulties involved in doing so. I would like to think that I have made some reflections on the *List* of which Marwick might at best have approved, or which he might at least have tolerated. But a full and comprehensive account of Scotland's fair-names in general, and of the names of fairs dedicated to saints in particular, remains to be written.

20. TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF FAIR-NAMES

The following is an attempt to categorise the corpus of fair-names presented above. It is hoped that it may serve both as a stimulus to further research and as a guide to where in the essay particular types of name are discussed. Figures in brackets are the sections in which the examples may be found; examples are given in the order in which they appear in that section.

1 Non-onomastic evidence (e.g. archaeological) suggestive of assemblies, e.g. on Eildon Hill North (6).

2 Place-name elements suggestive of assemblies, fairs or markets:
   (a) *aonach*, e.g. Teaninich, *an t-Aonach*, *Blàr an Aonaich*, Aonachan, *Druim an Aonaich* (7).
   (b) *còmhdhail*, e.g. *Clach na Còmhalaich*, Cuttlehill, Cult Hill, Coleduns, Cothiemuir, Cockhill Fair, Cuff Hill, Cuttieshillock, Bonnakettle (7).
   (c) *eireachd*, *tional*, e.g. Ericht, *Cnoc an Tionail* (7).
   (d) *þing*, e.g. Dingwall, Tinwald (7).
   (e) *fèill, faidhir, mòd, dròbh*, e.g. *Cnoc na Fèille*, *Cnoc na Faidhreach*, *Tom a' Mhòid*, Bennadrove (7).
   (f) *mōt*, e.g. Meet Hill, Moathill, Moothill (7).
   (g) *fair*, e.g. Fairmuir (7); Fair Muir Park (13).

- (h) *market*, e.g. Saltmarket, Haymarket, Fleshmarket Close, Market Street (7); Grassmarket, Lawnmarket (11).
- (i) other, e.g. Tullybelton, St Orland's Stone (8).

3 Calendar evidence:
  - (a) unnamed fairs, e.g. at the Links of Abbotshall, 10 April, or first Tuesday and Wednesday of December in Aberdeen (3).
  - (b) unnamed fairs whose dates are suggestive of a saint, e.g. at Strathmiglo on 9 June or at Port of Menteith on second Wednesday of June = St Columba(?), 'the Tenth of March Fair' at Callander = St Kessog (8); at Leven on 23 April = St George (17).
  - (c) unnamed fairs whose dates are suggestive of a primal calendar day, e.g. 1 or 2 February = St Brigid's, last Wednesday of October at Redding = Samhain (8).
  - (d) fairs bearing religious names whose dates are suggestive of a primal calendar day, e.g. All Saints or All Hallows = Samhain, Candlemas Fair = St Brigid's, SS Philip and James (1 May) = Beltane, Invention of the Holy Cross (3 May) = Beltane (8).

4 Fair-names denoting:
  - (a) commodities, e.g. Wool Fair (3); gingerbread fair (8); Pepper's Fair, Groset Fair, Seed Fair (10); Hagg Fair, Bathie Fair, Timmer Market, Stobbs Fair (13).
  - (b) live animals, e.g. Runt Fair, Lamb Fair (3); Goose Market, Hogget Fair (10).
  - (c) activities, e.g. Siller Fair, Hook (Heuk) Fair, Scythe Fair (3); Seingie Fair, Japping Market (10); Play Feersday (17).
  - (d) occupations, e.g. Cadgers' Fair (9); Porter Fair, Rascal Fair (10).
  - (e) symbolic features, e.g. Sleepy Market (10); Bell's Fair, Whistle Fair, Clog (=Bell?) Market (13); *Feill Eiteachain* (16).

5 Fair-names denoting:
  - (a) months or seasons, e.g. Winter Fair (3); *Faidhir Mhòr an Earraich* (5); April Show (10).
  - (b) quarterdays, i.e. Lammas, Samhain, St Brigid's, Beltane (8).
  - (c) days of the week, e.g. Scarce Thursday, Rascal Friday, Seed Thursday, Skyre Thursday (10); Big Thursday at Crieff (11); Whitsunmonday, Trinity-tuesday, Trinity-wednesday (14); Play Feersday (17); *Feill Dòmhnaich* (18).
  - (d) miscellaneous calendar terms, e.g. Troit Fair, Gowk Fair, Handsel Monday (10).

6 Fair-names denoting:
  - (a) saints' days, e.g. St Peter's (3); Trewel Fair, Tennant's Day, Paldy Fair, Breag Fair, St Norman's Market, Tarse Fair, St Trothermas (14); Aikey Fair, Fyke Fair (15); Maitland (=Magdalen) Fair (17).
  - (b) other religious festivals, e.g. Yule Fair (3); Scarce or Skyre Thursday (10); Fasten's E'en, Roodsmas (14).

- (c) secular forenames, e.g. Thomas Fair, Latter Mary Fair on third Tuesday of September (7); St Lillias' Fair (9); St George's Fair at Culrain on 24 September, Maggie Fair at Garmouth, St Mary's Fair at Kennoway on 24 September, Janet Fair at Contin/Dingwall, St John's Fair at Contin, Martha's Fair at Dingwall, Louis Fair at Kilmore in Urquhart, St Jonah's Fair (17).
- (d) secular titles or surnames, e.g. Crawford's Day, Wemyss's Market, Melvin's Fair (12); Monro's Fair, Lady Fair in November or on 15 February (17).

7 Fair-names including place-names or locations:
  - (a) as primary element, e.g. Wallacestone Fair (8); Dunsmuir Fair, Tyrebagger Fair, Glasgow Fair, Reaster Market, Croft or Craft Fair, calsay market, Skitten Market, Fordew Fair (11).
  - (b) informally applied to fair outside its locality, e.g. Pitlessie Fair (11), *an Fhaidhir Mhuileach* (17).
  - (c) as single fair dominating annual cycle of community, e.g. Anster Fair (14).
  - (d) as result of fair being moved, e.g. Strowan, Turret, Douchlage, Monivaird and Monzie fairs at Crieff, Shandon Fair at Drymen (11).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

1 Thomson 1908–09, bk 5: 5–6. The Rev. William Thomson was born in Inverallan in 1861. He was minister at Wallaroo, S. Australia, 1889–92, but resigned on account of ill-health and returned to live at Grantown-on-Spey, where he took charge of the mission at Dulnain (Scott 1928: 600). Portions of his typescript, in the possession of Mr Bill Sadler, Grantown, were re-typed by Mr Bruce Morgan, Grantown, and copies sent to me by his son, Mr Peadar Morgan, Culbokie. I am grateful to them all.

2 A relevant issue here is the difference between a fair and a market. As Marwick says (1890: 3), quoting Lord Coke, 'Every fair is a market but every market is not a fair.' A report on Glasgow to the Convention of Burghs in 1692 states that the city had a weekly market, a yearly fair of five or six days' duration, and three yearly markets, each of one day's duration (Marwick 1890: 59). I draw three conclusions from this: that no 'market' lasted more than one day; that 'fairs' drew people from far and wide, and had their own laws, suspending the burgesses' monopolies on trade; and that 'markets' were more local in catchment, relying on a settled pattern of trade with an urban infrastructure, and falling within normal burgh jurisdiction.

3 For Scots poems and songs about fairs see for example McCraw (1994: 40) and Cameron (1997: 88–93). For William Tennant's huge mock-epic 'Anster Fair' (1812) see Scott and Lindsay (1989: 1–100). Gaelic poems include an unpublished song on Portree Fair in 1694, full of valuable detail, in NLS MS 14876; Mary Flora MacDonald's 'Bliadhnach Ailein' in Cameron (1932: 311–12); two songs published by Shaw (1977: 122–27), with a related passage in John Campbell's 'Òran a' Pheinsean' (Black 1999: 26–29); and one in *Tocher* 41 (1987–88: 328–31), for which see also *The Stornoway Gazette*, 18 March 1989. Among the stories are those concerning the name *Loch a' Bhaile Mhargaidh* ('the Loch of the Market Town'), e.g. in Jura, telling how a great market town with paved streets was flooded by the wrath of God for its iniquities (MacGille Sheathanaich 1954: 134). Gordon (1935: 316) offers a more functional explanation for the Jura name, i.e. that this was where Islay cattle destined for mainland markets were rested after crossing the Sound of Islay.

4 I hope that this might lead in turn to an exhibition on the subject in one of our galleries or libraries. Skinner (1962) discusses the following paintings of fairs: Pitlessie (one picture by David Wilkie, 1785–1841); Skirling (three by James Howe, 1780–1836); St Andrews (one by Alexander Fraser, 1786–1865); All Hallows, Edinburgh (two by Walter Geikie, 1795–1837). There is a painting of a fair at Dundee by an unknown artist, dated 1763 but probably later; 'Home from the Fair' by Alexander Burr (1837–99) should also be noted (McCraw 1994: 35, 51–52). Mrs Elizabeth Ferro, Dept of Fine Art, University of Edinburgh, has drawn my attention to 'Oldhamstocks Fair, 1795' by Alexander Carse (d. 1843); a painting by Paul Sandby (1731–1809) of a horse fair on Bruntsfield Links, Edinburgh, provides the cover for Whyte (1995).

5 James Smith, *The Exact Dealer's Companion* [*EDC* 1727]; *Edinburgh Almanack, For the Year M.DCC.L.* [*EA* 1750]; *Edinburgh Almanack, For the Year M.DCC.LI.* [*EA* 1751]; *Edinburgh Almanack, For the Year M.DCC.LIV.* [*EA* 1754]; *Edinburgh Almanack, For the Year M.DCC.LIX* [*EA* 1759].

6 The poem on Carman will be found, with translation, in Gwynn 1991: 2–25, with notes at 469–80. The threefold division is mentioned at 24–25: 'Three busy markets in the land, / the market of food, the market of live stock, / the great market of the Greek foreigners, / where were gold and fine raiment.' In his paper at the Cosmos Project conference in 1995 (the year of his death), Dr Bruford drew attention to the fact that the poem describes a gathering which is by no means exclusively Celtic in nature: Gwynn dates the poem on historical grounds to 1040–79, and the language (Middle Irish) certainly supports such a dating.

7 Fraser (1995: 182) sees the name as designating not shielings but 'conventions of various kinds, necessitating the erection of temporary booths as accommodation'. He adds: 'Flat land at the confluence of the Eddleston Water and the River Tweed was used for the usual jousting and sporting activities which invariably accompanied these meetings.' This supports my view of Peebles as a primal site of Beltane ritual.

8 A fair-name, or rather fair-nickname, that by no means fits this model is 'Rascal Friday', 'Rascal Fair', held a week after a feeing market. 'The people who came there were those who had either run away from their places after they'd fee'd or those who had been unable to get a fee. And it was common all over the country.' Not being the name of any particular fair but of a *type* of fair, it belongs in the same category as terms like 'hiring fair', 'feeing market', 'gingerbread fair', etc. See 'Porter Fair and Rascal Fair', *Tocher* 40, 1986: 225–27.

9 An Act of Parliament of 1837 (7 Giulielmi IV Cap. lix) authorised the magistrates and council of Dundee to allow the fairs named Stobs and Melvin, held annually on the field named Stobbs Muir belonging to the Town and Community of Dundee, to be held on part of the Muir (permission being granted for the rest to be sold or feued) or to be transferred to the Fair Muir (Ian McCraw, personal communication, 4 January 2000).

10 For more on Little Dunning see 'Perthshire and Angus Feeing Markets', *Tocher* 41, 1987–88: 319–23.

11 I am grateful to Anke-Beate Stahl for this information.

12 *Tocher* 41, 1987–88: 314, citing *SND*, but I can find no mention of the Maggie Fair in *SND*.

13 It was in 1681 that he obtained a charter under the Great Seal 'by which his lands of Coul and others were, upon his own resignation, erected into one free barony in favour of himself and heirs male, holding of the Crown' (Mackenzie 1879: 449).

14 Paul (1918: 166) puts Gordon's 'St Callen' at 28 November, on what authority I know not.

REFERENCES

ADAMS, IAN H.
    1978   *The Making of Urban Scotland.* London.

AGNEW, SIR ANDREW, OF LOCHNAW
    1893   The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway, vol. 2. Edinburgh.

[ALEXANDER, WILLIAM]
    1877   *Notes and Sketches Illustrative of Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century.* Edinburgh.

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM McCOMBIE
    1952   *The Place-Names of Aberdeenshire.* The Third Spalding Club, Aberdeen.

ALLARDYCE, ALEXANDER (ED.)
    1888   *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century: From the MSS. of John Ramsay, Esq. of Ochtertyre*, vol. 2. Edinburgh.

ALLEN, J. ROMILLY, AND ANDERSON, JOSEPH
    1993   *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, pt 3, vol. 2. Repr.
              Balgavies, Forfar. (1st edn 1903.)

ANDERSON, JOSEPH (ED.)
    1873   *The Orkneyinga Saga.* Edinburgh.

ANDREWS, KEITH
    1966   'A Preliminary Study for Wilkie's "Pitlessie Fair".' *Scottish Studies* 10:
              177–78.

ANTON, A. E.
    1958   ' "Handfasting" in Scotland.' *The Scottish Historical Review* 37: 89–102.

ARMSTRONG, ROBERT A.
    1825   *A Gaelic Dictionary.* London.

ATTWATER, DONALD
    1983   *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints.* 2nd edn, Harmondsworth. (1st edn 1965.)

BANKS, MARY MACLEOD (ED.)
    1937   *British Calendar Customs: Scotland*, vol. 1. London.

    1941   *British Calendar Customs: Scotland*, vol. 3. London.

BARROW, GEOFFREY (ED.)
    1971   *Regesta Regum Scottorum II: The Acts of William I.* Edinburgh.

BARROW, GEOFFREY

    1981   'Popular Courts in Early Medieval Scotland: Some Suggested Place-
              Name Evidence.' *Scottish Studies* 25: 1–24.

    1992   *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages.* London.

BEAUCHAMP, ELIZABETH
    1986   *The Braes o' Balquhidder.* Milngavie. (1st edn 1978.)

BENTINCK, REV. CHARLES D.
    1926   *Dornoch Cathedral and Parish.* Inverness.

BLACK, GEORGE F.
    1946   *The Surnames of Scotland.* New York.

BLACK, RONALD
    1996   'James Macintyre's Calendar.' *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 17: 36–60.

BLACK, RONALD (ED.)
    1999   *An Tuil: Anthology of 20th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse.* Edinburgh.

BUCHAN, JAMES WALTER
    1925   *A History of Peeblesshire*, vol. 2. Glasgow.

BURNETT, JOHN
    1999   'Glasgow Fair: The Hail Week.' *Scottish Local History* 45: 31–37.

BUTLER, REV. ALBAN
    1954   *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and Other Principal Saints.* Abridged edn, vol. 4. London. (1st edn 1745.)

BUTTIMER, CORNELIUS G.
    1992   '*Tuairisc Amhailt Uí Iartáin*: An Eighteenth-Century Poem on a Fair.' *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 7: 75–94.

CAIMBEUL, AONGHAS ('AM PUILEAN')
    1973   *Suathadh ri Iomadh Rubha.* Stornoway.

CAMERON, DAVID KERR
    1997   *The Ballad and the Plough.* 2nd edn, Edinburgh. (1st edn 1978.)

CAMERON, REV. HECTOR (ED.)
    1932   *Na Bàird Thirisdeach: The Tiree Bards.* Glasgow.

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER (ED.)
    1928   *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. 1. 2nd edn, Edinburgh. (1st edn 1900.)

CHAMBERS, WILLIAM
    1864   *A History of Peeblesshire.* Edinburgh.

CHRISTIE, JOHN
    1892   *The Lairds and Lands of Loch Tayside.* Aberfeldy.

CRAVEN, REV. J. B.
    1886   *Journals of the Episcopal Visitations of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes.* London.

CUNNINGHAM, WILLIAM
    1916   'Differences of Economic Development in England and Scotland.' *The Scottish Historical Review* 13: 168–88.

DENT, JOHN, AND McDONALD, RORY
    1997   *Early Settlers in the Borders.* Newtown St Boswells.

EWAN, ELIZABETH
    1990   *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland.* Edinburgh.

FODEN, FRANK
    1996   *Wick of the North: The Story of a Scottish Royal Burgh.* Wick.

FORBES, ALEXANDER PENROSE
    1872   *Calendars of Scottish Saints.* Edinburgh.

FRASER, IAN
    1978–79   'Place Names from Oral Tradition (6).' *Tocher* 30: 407.

1995 'Border Place-Names.' *The Borders Book*, ed. Donald Omand, 179–92. Edinburgh.

GILLIES, REV. WILLIAM
 1938 *In Famed Breadalbane*. Perth.

GORDON, SIR ROBERT
 1813 *A Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*. Edinburgh.

GORDON, SETON
 1935 *Highways and Byways in the West Highlands*. London.

GUNN, DR CLEMENT
 1908 *The Book of Peebles Church: St Andrew's Collegiate Parish Church, A.D. 1195–1560*. Galashiels.

 1912 *The Book of the Cross Kirk, Peebles, A.D. 1560–1690*. Peebles.

 1914 *The Manual of the Cross Church, Peebles, 1261–1914*. Peebles.

GWYNN, EDWARD (ED.)
 1991 *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, part 3. Dublin. (1st edn 1913.)

HALDANE, A. R. B.
 1952 *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh.

 1961 'Old Scottish Fairs and Markets.' *Transactions of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* (Series VI): 1–12.

HAMILTON, HENRY (ED.)
 1960 *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Aberdeen*. Glasgow.

 1965 *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The Counties of Moray and Nairn*. Glasgow.

HARPER, MALCOLM McLACHLAN
 1908 *Rambles in Galloway*. 3rd edn, Dumfries. (1st edn 1876.)

HODGES, RICHARD
 1988 *Primitive and Peasant Markets*. Oxford.

JACKSON, KENNETH H.
 1972 *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*. Cambridge.

KENNEDY, REV. JOHN, DINGWALL
 1978 *The Apostle of the North: The Life and Labours of the Rev. John MacDonald, D.D., of Ferintosh*. 2nd edn, Glasgow.

LAWRIE, JEAN S.
        1974   *Old St Boswells.* St Boswells.

LENMAN, BRUCE
        1984   *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689–1746.* 2nd edn, London. (1st edn
                    1980.)

LOGAN, DR PATRICK
        1986   *Fair Day: The Story of Irish Fairs and Markets.* Belfast.

MACBAIN, ALEXANDER
        1896   *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language.* Inverness.

McCRAW, IAN
        1994   *The Fairs of Dundee.* Abertay Historical Society, Dundee.

MACDONALD, ALEXANDER
        1925–27   'Social Customs of the Gaels, Part II: Fairs and Festivals.' *Transactions
                    of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 33: 122–46.

MACDONALD, REV. ANGUS, AND MACDONALD, REV. ARCHIBALD (EDS)
        1911   *The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry.* Inverness.

MACDONALD, COLIN
        1944   *Echoes of the Glen.* Edinburgh. (1st edn 1936.)

MACDONALD, JAMES
        1899   *Place Names of West Aberdeenshire.* New Spalding Club, Aberdeen.

MACDONALD, JAMES
        1938   *Character Sketches of Old Callander.* New edn, Callander.

McDONALD, WILLIAM R.
        1966   'Scottish Seventeenth-Century Almanacs.' *The Bibliotheck* 4: 257–322.

MACGILLE SHEATHANAICH, NIALL
        1954   'Eilean Dhiùra.' *Gairm* 10 (An Geamhradh): 130–34.

MACILLEDHUIBH, RAGHNALL
        1987   'Fire, water and the St John con.' *The West Highland Free Press*, 19 June.

        1989   'St Angus and his stones.' *The West Highland Free Press*, 11 August.

        1991   'The moon, the weather – and MacNeil.' *The West Highland Free Press*,
                    4 October.

        1999a   'Nessie: water-horse, *Cìrean Cròin* and loch spirit.' *The West Highland
                    Free Press*, 26 March.

        1999b   'In the name of the unholy spirit.' *The West Highland Free Press*, 9
                    April.

1999c   'Otherworld messengers of death.' *The West Highland Free Press*, 23
           April.

MACKAY, WILLIAM (ED.)
    1905   *Chronicles of the Frasers: The Wardlaw Manuscript . . . By Master James
            Fraser.* Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

    1914   *Urquhart and Glenmoriston.* 2nd edn, Inverness. (1st edn 1893.)

MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER
    1879   *History of the Clan Mackenzie.* Inverness.

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM MACKAY
    1903–06   'Cromarty: Its Old Chapels and Parish Church.' *Transactions of the
              Scottish Ecclesiological Society* 1: 103–24.

    1919–22   'The Old Sheriffdom of Cromarty.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of
              Inverness* 30: 329–59.

    1922–24   'The Royal Burgh of Cromarty and the Breaking of the Burgh.'
              Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 31: 289–325.

MACLAINE, ALLAN H.
    1996   *The Christis Kirk Tradition: Scots Poems of Folk Festivity.* Association for
            Scottish Literary Studies, Glasgow.

MCLEAN, REV. JOHN
    1887   *Translations of the Names of Places Contained in the Deeds of Entail of
            the Breadalbane Estates.* Grantully.

MACLENNAN, A. B.
    1906   *The Petty Seer.* 2nd edn, Inverness. (1st edn 1894.)

MACLENNAN, FRANK
    [1985]   *Ferindonald Papers.* Ross and Cromarty Heritage Society, Evanton.

MACLEÒID, AN T-URR. IAIN
    1948   *Am Measg nan Lili: Tormod Sona a bha 'n Siadar Bharabhais.* Inverness.

MCNEILL, F. MARIAN
    1957   *The Silver Bough, Volume One: Scottish Folklore and Folk-Belief.*
            Glasgow.

    1968   *The Silver Bough, Volume Four: The Local Festivals of Scotland.* Glasgow.

MACNEILL, MÁIRE
    1962   *The Festival of Lughnasa.* Oxford.

MACRAE, NORMAN
    1974   *The Romance of a Royal Burgh: Dingwall's Story of a Thousand Years.*
            Repr. Wakefield. (1st edn 1923.)

MacThómais, Seumas
          1938   'Leódhas.' *Am Measg nam Bodach*, ed. Eoghan Mac a Phì, 98–105.
                        Glasgow.

Mair, Craig
          1988   *Mercat Cross and Tolbooth*. Edinburgh.

Martin, Martin
          1981   *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*. 2nd edn, repr.
                        Edinburgh. (2nd edn 1716, 1st edn 1703.)

Martine, George
          1797   *Reliquiae Divi Andreae, or the State of the Venerable and Primitial See of
                        St Andrews*. St Andrews.

Marwick, Sir James D. (ed.)
          1882   *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, A.D. 1573–1589*.
                        Scottish Burgh Records Society, Edinburgh.

          1890   *List of Markets and Fairs now and formerly held in Scotland*. London.

Marwick, Sir James D.
          1903–04a   'Some Observations on Primitive and Early Markets and Fairs.'
                        Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow 35: 120–49.

          1903–04b   'The Municipal Institutions of Scotland: A Historical Survey.' *The
                        Scottish Historical Review* 1: 123–35, 274–90.

Megaw, B. R. S.
          1966   'The Topography of "Pitlessie Fair".' *Scottish Studies* 10: 178–80.

Mekie, Margeorie
          1999   *Old Portobello*. Ochiltree.

Melville, Lawrence
          1935   *Errol: Its Legends, Lands and People*. Perth.

Miller, Hugh
          1994   *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland*. New edn. Edinburgh. (1st
                        edn 1835.)

Murchison, Thomas M. (ed.)
          1960   *Prose Writings of Donald Lamont 1874–1958*. Scottish Gaelic Texts
                        Society, Edinburgh.

NS   New Style.

NSA   1845   *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*. 15 vols, Edinburgh.

OED   *The Oxford English Dictionary*.

O'FLANAGAN, PATRICK
    1985   'Markets and Fairs in Ireland, 1600–1800: Index of Economic
                Development and Regional Growth.' *Journal of Historical Geography* 11,
                pt 4: 364–78.

O HIANLAIDH, AILIG
    1999   'A Ghillean na Cullaig, an till sibh?' *The Scotsman*, 31 December.

Ó MAOLALAIGH, ROIBEARD
    1998   'Place-Names as a Resource for the Historical Linguist.' *The Uses of*
                Place-Names, ed. Simon Taylor, 12–53. Edinburgh.

OS   Old Style.

OSA   1983   *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791–1799.* 2nd edn, 20 vols,
                Wakefield.

PÁLSSON, HERMANN, AND EDWARDS, PAUL (EDS)
    1981   *Orkneyinga Saga.* 2nd edn, Harmondsworth. (1st edn 1978.)

PATERSON, JAMES
    1847   *History of the County of Ayr*, vol. 1. Ayr.

PAUL, SIR JAMES BALFOUR
    1918   'The Incidence of Saints' Names in Relation to Scottish Fairs.'
                Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 52 (5th Series, vol.
                4): 159–70.

'R.M.'
    1927a   'Cuimhneachanan: Fionnladh Munro 'am Bernera na H-Erradh.' *The*
                Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland 27: 205–06.

    1927b   'Cuimhneachanan.' *The Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland*
                27: 229–31.

REES, ALWYN, AND REES, BRINLEY
    1961   *Celtic Heritage.* London.

RENWICK, ROBERT
    1912   *The Burgh of Peebles: Gleanings from its Records 1604–52.* 2nd edn,
                Peebles. (1st edn 1892.)

ROBINSON, MAIRI (ED.)
    1987   The Concise Scots Dictionary. 2nd edn, Aberdeen. (1st edn 1985.)

RUSTICUS
    1913   'Fykes Fair.' *Dumfries and Galloway Notes and Queries*: 216. Dumfries.

SCOTT, ALEXANDER, AND LINDSAY, MAURICE (EDS)
    1989   *The Comic Poems of William Tennant.* Association for Scottish Literary
                Studies, Edinburgh.

SCOTT, HEW
     1928   *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, new edn, vol. 7. Edinburgh.

SELLAR, W. D. H.
     1978–80   'Marriage, Divorce and Concubinage in Gaelic Scotland.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 51: 464–93.

SHAW, MARGARET FAY
     1977   *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist.* 2nd edn, London. (1st edn 1955.)

SKINNER, BASIL C.
     1962   'Scots Fairs and Markets.' *Scotland's Magazine* 58 (February): 20–24.

     1966   'Skirling Fair and the Painter James Howe.' *Scottish Studies* 10: 113–14.

SMITH, JAMES
     1727   *The Exact Dealer's Companion.* Edinburgh.

SMITH, JOHN ALEXANDER
     1870   'Notice of a remarkable bronze ornament with horns, found in Galloway, now at Abbotsford. Also of a bronze ornament like a "swine's head", found in Banffshire.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 7: 334–57.

SMOUT, T. C.
     1972   *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830.* 2nd edn, London. (1st edn 1969.)

SND   *The Scottish National Dictionary.*

STEWART, A. I. B.
     1979   'Campbeltown Cross.' *The Kintyre Antiquarian and Natural History Society Magazine* 6: 3–9.

STEWART, ALEXANDER
     1928   *A Highland Parish or The History of Fortingall.* Glasgow.

STOKES, WHITLEY (ED.)
     1891   'Life of S. Féchín of Fore.' *Revue Celtique* 12: 318–53.

     1895   *The Martyrology of Gorman.* London.

SUTHERLAND, ELIZABETH
     1987   *Ravens and Black Rain: The Story of Highland Second Sight.* 2nd edn, London. (1st edn 1985.)

THOMSON, JOHN MAITLAND (ED.)
     1984   *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, vol. 6. Repr. Edinburgh.

THOMSON, REV. WILLIAM
    1908–09   'Miscellaneous Notes on the History or Antiquities of Grantown and
               Neighbourhood.' Books 2, 4 and 5. Unpublished typescripts.

TODD, JAMES HENTHORN, AND REEVES, WILLIAM (EDS)
    1864   *The Martyrology of Donegal.* Dublin.

TOWILL, EDWIN SPROTT
    1983   *The Saints of Scotland.* 2nd edn, Edinburgh. (1st edn 1978.)

WARDEN, ALEXANDER J.
    1880   *Angus or Forfarshire, the Land and People,* vol. 1. Dundee.

WATSON, W. J.
    1904   *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty.* Inverness.

    1924   *Ross and Cromarty.* Cambridge.

    1926   *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

WAUGH, DOREEN J.
    1985   'The Place-Names of Six Parishes in Caithness, Scotland.' Unpublished
               PhD thesis. University of Edinburgh.

WHYTE, IAN D.
    1979   'The Growth of Periodic Market Centres in Scotland 1600–1707.' *The
               Scottish Geographical Magazine* 95, no. 1: 13–26.

    1995   *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social
               History c.1050–c.1750.* Harlow, Essex.

'Those Having Business There': Fairs in Scottish Almanac Lists

KAYE McALPINE

The following paper is not intended to be an all-encompassing discussion of either the bibliographical history of Scottish-printed almanacs or of Scottish fairs. Instead, I hope to demonstrate how almanacs can be an important aid for furthering study of fairs known to have been extant in Scotland, through augmentation of existing information and, perhaps, as a source of new data.

Before turning to the fair lists contained in the almanacs, some points should be made about the almanacs themselves. The almanacs referred to in this paper are the 'annual' type, rather than the 'everlasting' form and, as such, these almanacs – also commonly called 'prognostications' – are ephemeral, generally only meant to be used for one year, then discarded. Within their pages the reader can find short discourses on the seasons, tide tables for a specific year, and mathematical and scientific information such as the dates of lunar eclipses, as well as the lists of fairs which concern this paper. Almanacs printed in the mid to late eighteenth century onwards also include information such as peer lists, House of Commons lists, University lists, and army and navy lists.

The price of these little books was relatively low. They seem to have been originally priced somewhere between 3d and 4d Scots: after the death of his wife in March 1603, the Edinburgh printer and bookseller, Robert Charteris, had an inventory of their respective goods drawn up which includes 'fyve hundreth Prognosticatiounes, at iii s iiij d of the do' (Dickson and Edmond 1890: 491) – that is, just under 3d ha'penny each. In 1684, James Forbes, printer of almanacs in Aberdeen, indicated that his were selling at 4d, since his publication of *The Whole Yearly FAIRS and Weekly Mercats of Scotland* was to cost 'twelve pennies Scots more' than his almanacs – and this fair listing sold at 16d (McDonald 1963-6: 257).

The main centres for printing were Aberdeen, Edinburgh and, to a lesser degree at first, Glasgow. In these cities, the names of several printers became closely linked with the printing of almanacs, although it should be noted that no-one made a living solely from this aspect of the trade. The earliest Scottish almanac with an identifiable printer came in 1623 from the press of Edward Raban, who introduced printing to Aberdeen, having worked previously in both Edinburgh and St Andrews.[1] However, in Aberdeen, the names of James Brown, Raban's successor, and John Forbes, father and son, are more commonly linked to the printing and sale of almanacs through surviving material. In Edinburgh, men such as John Corss, Peter Bruce, John Reid and Andrew Anderson

and his successors (primarily his widow, Agnes Campbell, and their son James) are notable as printers, while John Mann and James Paterson are predominant as authors. Robert Sanders, a printer and bookseller in Glasgow, is most commonly associated with that city in the earlier years of almanac printing.

The printers did not always exist comfortably alongside one another. There was obviously a market for the prognostications – the matter of who the printers viewed as being their buyers will be addressed a little later on – but, in the seventeenth century especially, the market may not have been overly extensive.[1] Thus, it was in the printer's best interests to promote his or her almanacs as being the most accurate and of better quality than those from the competition's presses. In the almanacs themselves, accusation and counter-accusation of piracy can be found, from the general – in his *Bon-Accord's Ephemeris, or New Prognostication for 1684*, Forbes printed 'If counterfit, then hang for it' on the title page (McDonald 1963-6: 256) – to the specific.

In 1685, the target for Paterson was the author of the *Aberdeen Almanack*, Duncan Lidel, described as 'professor of the mathematicks in the Coledge of Aberdeen' by Paterson, who criticises his scientific abilities – 'Note, that the *Aberdeens* Almanack for 1684 erred 2 hours in the eclipse of July from observation also he errs a whole day in the last quarter Moon of August 1685.' (NLS x.45.f.1[11], A1'). The Andersons, especially, are commonly accused of piracy and counterfeiting activities. In his 1684 *Mariner's Everlasting Almanack,* Forbes accused Agnes Campbell of piracy: 'She . . . hath for the ensuing year 1684, caused Print an Almanack as it were set fourth at Aberdeen, and Printed in Aberdeen, which is a most notorious untrueth: impudently affixing thereto, some leynes in the End of Dogrell Rhyme, whereby she would have me to Patronise her base execrations.' (McDonald 1963-6: 259) In 1687 the Anderson press was the focus for James Paterson's anger, for he declared that their 1687 almanac was a pirated version of his own, 'As also,' he writes, 'there is a counterfit Edinburgh Almanack full of gross errors, copied by the heirs of Andrew Anderson from my last year's Almanack.' (NLS x.45.f.1[12], A7'). This printed cross-fire was also taken up by John Man in 1702, when he attacked two other almanac authors, Merry Andrew and John What You May Call Him, for their 'bantering Advertisements in their Almanacks against me.' (NLS mf 26[14], A2'-A3').

There does seem to have been a serious battle for the market. Just who the market consisted of is an interesting point. In 1625, Edward Raban printed a request for fair dates and he called upon chapmen and also upon 'who-so-ever will proove Deacon amongst you' requesting 'a Copie of these Fayres in more perfect order against the next yeare, that all confusion may be eschewed for your advantage.' (McDonald 1963-6: 260)

In Forbes' 1684 almanac, the appeal went out to 'Northern Gentlemen' and 'Magistrates of Cities and Burghs' (McDonald 1963-6: 261). In the 1689 *Edinburgh Almanack* – printed by Peter Bruce, who, incidentally, described himself as an 'enginier' rather than a printer on the title page of that almanac (NLS x.45.f.1[14]A1') – a horse

race is advertised and, again, 'noble men' and 'gentlemen' are called on to enter their horses. In the eighteenth century, printers were still requesting 'gentlemen in the Countrey' to provide them with details of any fair missing from their lists.

In view of the fact that the early almanacs gave much of their space over to fair lists and remarks on tasks for specific seasons, the readership must have been, as William McDonald has suggested, the merchants, farmers, dealers and so on – although the inclusion of tide tables also 'suggests a widespread readership amongst seafaring men' (McDonald 1963-6: 261). In his 1685 almanac, Forbes refers to both his 'vulgar' readers and also to 'noblemen, gentlemen, merchants and others', so we may presume that the readership covered much of the social strata of the country – and I believe that in establishing the printers' perceived readership for almanacs, there may be further information regarding the levels of at least basic literacy in Scottish society to be gleaned.[1]

The superficial physical appearance of almanacs does not change so very much throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Most of the earliest extant examples are of the same octavo format, inclusive of illustrated title page. Commonly occurring illustrations are astronomers, the Royal Seal, and the coat of arms of the town in which the almanac was printed. However, as the eighteenth century progressed, the physical size and presentation of the almanacs grew. For example, the *New Prognosticatioun for the year of our Redemption 1678*, printed in Aberdeen by the aforementioned Forbes, was of octavo format, giving eight leaves and sixteen sides to print on (NLS 5.2958: 3[1]). If we skip to the 1773 *Aberdeen Almanack*, printed by J. Chalmers, we find that it has fourteen pages, and, eighty-nine years on from that, the *Aberdeen Almanack and Northern Register for 1861*, printed by D. Chalmers & Co., has 308 pages, including a four-page index to the contents (University of Stirling Library, Q 41.25 ABE). Earlier almanacs lack indices. However, those Aberdeen Almanacks from the mid to late eighteenth century which I have examined contain indices which curiously omit the fair listings.

The primary, and most obvious, function of the fair list was to provide information regarding the date and location of specific fairs round the year. However, other intelligence was often included, either within the lists themselves or in advertisements, and this is the source of interesting evidence concerning the names associated with fairs, the church's relationship with fairs – geographically and theologically – and recreational activities associated with specific fairs.

Some almanacs claimed to list the 'Principal Faires of Scotland', others claimed to have a 'Correct List of Scots Fairs'. Others tried to be more specific – later Aberdeen almanacs list 'the principal North Country Fairs and the Days on which they are held'. The lists could form part of a diary, where the items of information on fairs are preceded by calendar information, such as planting times for crops and expected weather conditions. Alternatively, the fairs could be contained in specific fair lists. The fairs may be listed alphabetically, chronologically or randomly under each month.

The chronological spread of available information is impressive, but it is by no

means entire. The earliest Edinburgh almanac in existence is the 1632 *Whyte* almanac, from the press of John Wreitton. From such presses came an annual listing of fairs – although the extant material is rather fragmentary until the mid-seventeenth century.

If we turn to the *Whyte* almanac we find a fairly extensive fair list of 161 separate entries (Fig. 1). This may seem slight compared to, say, the 365 separate entries in the 1786 *Aberdeen Almanac*'s list, but the earlier fair lists, such as that for 1632, are more informative, for some 367 years after it was printed and sold, the list gives us information regarding just which fair was being held on which particular day, what was the name associated with it, how long the fair lasted, and, in one or two entries, precisely where the fair was held.

If we take the entries for March and April, giving a line to each day mentioned, we have:

MARCH.

S. Monence in Aberdene, Dumfermling, and S. Marnoch kirke, the first day,

S. Duthos in Tane of Rosse the 6 day

In Achtertuill the 10 day

S. Cousnan the 11 day.

S. Patricke in Dumbarton, and at the kirke of Stragreth the 16 day.

In S. Johnston the 19 day

S. Cuthbert in Langton of the Mers the 20 day

Ladie day in West-weems, and Bamfe the 25 day.

Palmsonday Even in Sainct Johnston, a Faire.

APRIL.

S. Donald at the kirke of Achteless 17 day.

Marke Evangell in Dysert the 23 day.

Beltan day the first, the 26 day.

a Faire at Leeven the 29 day.

and in Kilrenie the 30 day.

Whiles in March, and whiles in April.

Skirethursday before Pasche in Glasgow, Dumbartan, Cowper of Angus, Elgin of Murray.

Paschmonday in Cowper of Fyfe, LANERKE, and Irwin,

Lowsonday after Pasche in Killimure;

and all the weeke after the Senzie [i.e., the synod] of S. Androes.

This almanac list provides an insight into the patternings of fairs throughout Scotland in 1632 – a kind of historical snap-shot – and this snap will serve well enough to evidence some points regarding the information contained in these lists.

The Faires of S C O T L A N D.
IANVARY.

*S*Ain*ct* *Mungo in Glasgow the 13 day a Faire. And at Dunkel:
at Kilwinning the 21 day*

FEBRVARY.

*At Abernethie the first day, On Candlemesse day in Bamfe;
Dunkell, and Dingwall; the 2 day*

MARCH.

*S. Monence in Aberdene, Dumfermling, and S. Marnoch kirke,
the first day, S. Duthoc in Tane of Roße the 6 day In Achtertuill
the 10 day S Coufnan the 11 day. S. Patricke in Dumbarton, and
at the kirke of Stragreth the 16 day. In S. Iohnston the 19 day S.
Cuthbert in Langton of the Mers the 20 day Ladie day 1 n Weft
weems, and Bamfe the 25 day. Palmfonday Even in Sainct Iohn
ston a Faire.*   APRIL.

*S. Donald at the kirke of Achteles 17 day. Marke Evangell in
Dyfert the 23 day. Beltan day the first, the 26 day, a Faire at
LeeBen the 29 day. and in Kilrenie the 30 day.*

Whiles in March, and whiles in Aprill.

*Skirethurfday before Pafche in Glafgow, Dumbartan, Cowper
of Angus, Elgin of Murray. Pafchmonday in Cowper of Fyfe,
LANERKE, and Irwin, Lowfonday after Pafche in Killimure;
and all the weeke after the Senzie of S. Androes.*

MAY.

*Holy croße day the fecond Beltan, in Montrofe, Kinrocher, and
in Peebles the 3 day. At Bamfe the 16 day.*

Whiles in May, and whiles in Iune.

*Whitfonmonday in Glafgow, Dumbartan, LANERKE, and
Iedburgh. Whitfontuefday, called Pardon day, in the Chanry of
Roße, and at the kirke of S. Ninians aboue Kirkadie Trinitie
monday in Edinburgh and Brechen 8 dayes. In S. Androes 1 day.
In Bruntiland one day. Trinity thurfday in Falkland.*

IVNE.

*A faire in Aberdoure the 9 day the 10 day a faire in Forgon-
deny. S. Barnabie in Lawder & Dyfert 11 day. Saint Margaret in
Dumferuiling 13 day. Midfommer on S. Iohns day in S. Iohnfton
fiue dayes: in Air foure dayed: In Wigton, Bamfe and Athelfton
14 day. In Achtertuill the 15 day Saint Margaret in Abernethie*
          the

the 19 day, Peters day in Falkland, Bruntiland, Bamfe and Kelſo the 26 day.   IVLIE.

Culros the 1 day. Abernethie the 2 day. S Martin of Bulxeon 4 day. S. Thomas 5 day S. Palladius in Fordon in the Mernes 6 day. S Andrew in Glaſgow 7 day In Kilwining the 12 day Mary Magdalene in Linlithgow, Pettinweeme and Fethheid 22. day. In Airth 24 day S. Iames in Forfare, Cowper of Fyſe, LANERKE, and Roxburgh, Kinghorne & in Muſſelburgh 25 day.

AVGVST.

Lambmies day in Aturfe three dayes long: and in Ennerkeisthing S. Androes, and in Dumbartan the firſt day. Thurſday after in Falkland S. Laurence in Selkirke, & at the Kirke of Rane 10 day In Dumblane, and in Raine, two dayes before Kilmahug: and at the burne of Campeſie. Ladie day in Dundie & Bamfe 15 day. S. Bartlemew Apoſtle in Linlithgow, Kirkarne of Neil, and in Klakmanan the 24 day. S. Iohns day in S. Iohnſton the 26 day.

SEPTEMBER

S. Giles in Elgin 1 day in Skirline the 5 day. Latter Ladie day in Sterling, Dundie and Bamfe 8 day. Rood day in Carail, ſedburgh, Dumfermeling, Dumfreis & Atheſſon 14 day. in Achtertuill and Culane the 11 day Math. Apoſtle in Linlithgow 21 day A faire at Leeven the 7 day S Michae in Hadington, Leſſy, Aire, S Andr Creſſe, and Kirkubright 29 day S Ierome in Bamſe the laſt day.   OCTOBER

Saint Frances in Abernethie the 4 day. S. Denis in Aiton and Peebles 9 day. Dalkeith. and Tolliboll 10 day. S. Fenduck at Dunning 13 day in Forgondeny 15 day. S Luke in Lawder, Kinrocher and Rugland 18 day Mary Salamin in Sterling and Kelſo 22. day In Linlithgow 24 In Kilreny 25 day. Fowls faire in Paſley, and Falkirk 26 day Simon and Iudein Dyſert Falkirke, and Kirkliſton 28 day. In Alloway 29 day.   NOVEMBER.

Hallow day in Edinburgh 8 dayes: in Falkland, Dumblane Ferdys 1 day. In Kilwining 3 day S. Leonard in Lanerk 6 day. S Martin in Dumbar, S. Martin at Martinſkirke in Strabogie Cowper of Fife, Hamelton, Culroſ, Kilmahug, 11 day. Margretmes in Dumfermling 16 day S. Mackcharmuch in Taine and in Achtertuill 20 day Bruntiland 23 S Andrew in S. Iohnſton, Peebles and Chirnſide the 30 day.   DECEMBER.

S Nicolas in Aberdene 7 day Lady day in Weſtweemes 8 day, S Dunkan in bamfe, and at the Kirke of Diere 14 day S Thomas in Glaſgow 25 day. S. Iohns day in Bamſe 27. day.

Many of the fairs listed here have saints' names associated with them, some of them Celtic which points at antiquity, but there are also references to fairs that may have been in existence long before their first mention in charter or report. To take the four quarter-days of St Bridgit/Bride, Beltane, Lammas and Samhain, the almanac provides supplementary evidence regarding the existence of fairs on these dates across the country. To start at Lammas, there are fairs recorded as being held in Aturs (a three day fair), Ennerkeithing, St Andrews and Dumbarton on the first day of August while in Falkland the date was to be the first Thursday after the first. Following the suggestion made by Ronald Black in his article 'Scottish Fairs and Fair-Names' in this issue, that St James fairs on 25 July may also conceal earlier Lammas celebrations, we can add Forfar, Coupar in Fife, Lanark, Roxburgh, Kinghorn and Musselburgh. For Samhain, we look for Hallowmass fairs or even fairs of Simon and Jude – and in the 1632 *Whyte* list we have Simon and Jude fairs in Dysert, Falkirk and Kirkliston on the 28th October and a fair in Alloway on the 29th, while Hallowday fair was an 8-day fair in Edinburgh, and a one-day fair in Falkland, Dunblane and Fordyce. Regarding St Bridgit, although the *Whyte* gives no such named fairs in this list, there is a fair in Abernethy on the first of February, which should be related to the St Bridgit fairs 'on record as early as 1727' at Abernethy, Forres and Blair Athol, taken by Black as examples of the longevity of some quarter-day fairs.[4] The *Whyte* almanac clearly predates 1727 and it is in this context of supplementary evidence that almanacs can prove fruitful. The 1632 list also contains the known Candlemas (2nd February) fairs in Banff, Dunkeld and Dingwall. Two Beltane dates are also recorded – 'Beltan day the first' is on 26th April, and 'the second Beltane', Holycross day (3rd May), was the date for fairs in Montrose, Kinrocher and Peebles. The link between church and fairs is surely responsible for the fairs at Saint Marnoch kirk on the first of March, at the kirk of Stragreth on March 16th and the week-long fair 'after the Senzie of S. Androes'. However, this was not always a happily tolerated state of affairs, and various almanacs contain official notices regarding the changing of fair dates due to the disruption caused to church attendance, such as the advertisement from the 1697 Edinburgh almanac from the Anderson press, which noted that 'the magistrates and Council of Peebles considering, that the fairs belonging to this Burgh being upon set days of ilk Month, when the same falls upon Saturday or Munday, there is a great Profanation of the sabbath-day' (NLS Ry.IV.h.3 A7ᵛ) and goes on to assign the fairs specific week days. Likewise, John Reid's 1702 almanac for Edinburgh stated that, by Act of Parliament, 'all Fairs that falls on saturdays or Mondays are to be changed to tuesdays in all time coming' (NLS mf 26[14], A2ʳ).

I hasten to add that not all early almanacs contained lists as informative as that in the *Whyte*. Some of the lists which claim to be 'complete' are far from it, and, as the years progress, the names of the fairs are omitted, most probably mainly due to space restrictions, but perhaps a disregard for the origins of the fair days, whether pagan or Christian, also points to a greater concern with the commercial aspects of the events.

Almanacs also contained advertisements for new fairs – the Aberdeen and Edinburgh

almanacs for 1687 refer to new fairs at Beauly, Kinross, Parton Craig and those of Alexander Udny and Sir George Gordon, amongst a few others. New fairs tended to be advertised in subsequent years' almanacs, and these advertisements are not only one indication that people actually did inform the printers of new fairs, but they can also help to trace a fair's life – if I can so term it. After several years, the fair is included in the main list – any absence may suggest that it did not find favour or gain enough patronage. Advertisements do not only highlight new fairs. They also bring the reader's attention to existing fairs; for example, the 1683 Edinburgh almanac (NLS x.45.f.i[10]) contains the following:

> There are also yearly fairs within the shyre of Angus, belonging to the truly Noble Erl of Airly, which are as followeth, The first is called Colm's Fair, which stands on Muirskeith near the Kirk of Cortachie, upon the 2 tuesday of June. The second is called S. Ninian's fair, which stands upon the Muir of Alith, upon the tuesday before Whitsunday. The third is called Mary Fair, which stands upon the foresaid Muirkeith, near the Kirk of Cortachy, upoun the 2 tuesday of September. The 4 is called S. David's fair which stands upoun the foresaid Muir of Alith, the 1 tuesday of October. These are likewise giving advertisements, that these are special Fairs, standeth each of them four compleat dayes, where all sorts of Bestail, Countrey commodities; and all other necessaries are to be found, for ready money.

And the following advertisement appeared in *Edinburgh's True Almanack for 1692* (NLS x.45.f.i [16], A7'):

> There are two notable Fairs at Lamington within the shire of Lanerk, where are to be had god chap, Horse, Neat, sheep, and Corns, meal &c. The 1 on the 15 day of June, with a horse race, for a saddle, at 40 shilling starting value, set by the Laird of Lamington. The second upon the 22 day of October yearly, with a weekly mercat every Thursday.
>
> Also there are two fairs at Penstoun, within the shire of Haddington, consisting of Horse, neat, Sheep, Wool, Cheese, Corn and meal &c. The first upon the 1 Wednesday of August, with a Horse Race for a fiddle, price as before. The Second upon the first Wednesday after Christenmass yearly, with a weekly mercat every Wednesday belonging to the Laird of Lamington.

These advertisements are of obvious interest to anyone trying to discover what was happening at the various fairs in the country, for they may provide information which confirms statements made elsewhere, or they may be the primary source of information as to what could be expected to be found at certain fairs. There are also some interesting 'asides', provided by the authors or printers of the almanacs. In Raban's almanac of 1639, we are informed that 'Good Drinke shall bee so for[s?]ible, that it shall cause manie to weare their best Cloathes everie day' (NLS H 32.e.24[1]). A more sober approach was taken by James Brown in his almanac of 1658, regarding the Andermass Fair in Strathdon, 'In which foul fair will bee heard more Execration, from some of them, in that day, than Conseecration [*sic*] of themselves, unto God, in a whole year thereafter.' (NLS mf.26[14(18)]).

As can be seen from the examples given above, the almanac advertisements also listed who the fair belonged to. At times, it seems that some fair owners' names almost became a formulaic part of the fair lists, as, for example, when the Laird of Pinkell's name is included after the mention of the fair at the 'new burgh' of Girven in many of the almanacs of the 1680s and early 1690s. In the same way, entries for the March and September fairs at Kennoway tend to list both the goods which could be bought there and the owner: 'Horse, Neat &c. with a weekly Mercat every Wednesday of all flesh, fishes &c., belonging to the Laird of Balfour' (NLS x.45.f. 1[14], A3ʳ). John Forbes' 1678 almanac even contains a list of fairs and their owners, something which I have not come across in any other almanac to date. The list comes complete with the author's obsequious compliments to those such as 'Patrick Fraser of Broadland, with my hearty Commendations to Himself & to his Vertuous, Discreet, Modest and Most Christian Lady' (NLS 5.2958 [3(1)]).

Fair lists also informed the reader as to provisions made regarding the dating of fairs: stating dates is all very well, but certain considerations could move a fair's day. For example, if we turn to the *Aberdeen Almanack* for 1786 and to the month of February, we find that the fair in Strowan Murray, two miles from Crieff, is held on the 9th day 'but if that day be Saturday, Sunday or Monday, then it holds the Tuesday after'. This was important information to have, just as the following, from the 1772 *Aberdeen Almanac*, no doubt was. The printer informs the reader that 'Marnan fair at Marnan kirk, which used to be held the first Tuesday and Wednesday Old Style, is to be held this Year, and for the future, upon the second Tuesday and Wednesday New Style'. (The difference between old and new style dating, originating from the change from the Julian calendar to the Gregorian in 1752, is usually given as eleven days, although in some almanacs, the number of days 'lost' – if I can term it so – is stated to be twelve or thirteen.⁵)

Although this paper has been skipping back and forwards through the centuries, it should be apparent that the format and content of almanacs do not alter so very much as far as the fair lists are concerned. By the mid-eighteenth century, the name of the fair is generally absent, apart from certain notable exceptions such as Aikey Fair in Old Deer. However, the nature of the fair is more likely to be noted – as in the 1851 *Aberdeen Almanack & Northern Register*,⁶ which differentiates between the wool fair in Aberdeen in July and the timber fair in August – although the reader is left to differentiate between fairs and markets in the later lists.

Listing the fairs in a popular publication was a way to avoid confusion – it is surely a fallacy to believe that people in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries instinctively knew or remembered when all the local fairs were. An accurate almanac, listing fair dates and locations, was an important item for anyone dependent on trade of stock or goods for a living. Raban called for lists in 1625 in order to set the fairs 'in more perfect order against the next yeare, that all confusion may be eschewed' for his reader's advantage and, likewise, the requests for fair dates throughout the years,

TO THE PUBLIC.

To prevent all future miftakes, the FAIRS at BEAULIE, in the County of Invernefs, hold on the following Days if on a Wednefday, if not, on the firft Wednefday thereafter.

HOLY-CROSS, 3d May, Old Stile, or 14th May, New Stile.

LAMMASS, 1ft Auguft, O. S. or 12th Auguft, N. S.

MICHAELMASS, 29th September, O. S. or 10th October, N. S.

HALLOWMASS, 1ft November, O. S. or 12th November, N. S.

MARTINMASS, the firft Wednefday after Invernefs Market.

The Privileged Stance for Cattle, is on Rhin-Down, the Market Days.

DO GACH NEACH.

CHUM's nach bith mearachd 'fa Chuis bho fo fuas, 'Tha Feiltibh na Manachin ann Siuramachd Ionnar-nife, gu Seifibh mur fo.

Ift. FEILLE-NA-CROISSE air an treas la dhe'n Mhaidh, ann fa'n t'fean Chuntas, na'n Cearribh la deug an fa Chuntas ur.

II. AN LUNASDIN air a Cheud la, do'n Faoghmhar ann fa'n t'fean Chuntas na'n dar-la-deug ann fa Chuntas ur.

III. AN FHEIL MICHAEL, air an naoibh-la-fichad do Mhias miannach an Fhaoghmhar, fa'n t'fean Chuntas, na'n deichmha la do mhios deiranich an Fhaoghmhar 'fa Chuntas ur.

IV. FEILE na Saunne air a cheud la do'n Gheamhradh 'fan 't fean Chuntas, na'n dar-la-deug 'fa Chuntas ur.

V. AN FHEILF MARTINE, air a cheud diaceadoin an-deigh Feile Ionnarniffe. Tha Fheil na fpreidh o fo amach gu feifibh air Rhin-Down.

Fig 2. Bilingual public notice concerning fairs printed by Young and Imray, Inverness (NLS APS.el.84). Photograph by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

according to the printers, were to enable the presentation of more accurate lists.

In 1772, J. Chalmers said 'the Publishers are sensible, that the above List of the North Country [i.e. the North-East] fairs is far from being so complete as was designed, but they hope that the Gentlemen whose fairs have been omitted for want of Information, will send a Note of them any time in Summer, that they may be inserted in next year's almanac.' Even in the 1931 *Edinburgh Almanac*, the printers issued a notice waiving responsibility for any inaccuracies, although, with an echo of all the printers who had gone before, they added the request 'they will feel greatly obliged by having their attention called to any such inaccuracy' (p. 68).

That clear-cut understanding of fair dates within a parish was required is exemplified by a public notice, served in Beauly around 1800, which was printed in both English and Gaelic (see Fig. 2). With the change from the Julian to the Gregorian Calendar, the listings in the almanacs may have proved to be an essential dating aid. From this time, the almanacs state whether the fair date is Old or New Style, perhaps reflecting a duality of thought processes that is paralleled today in the persistence of inches and lb weight over metric system in many sectors of contemporary British society. This mode of reference is not merely carried over for a decade or so, but for much longer. Differentiating between Old and New Style seems to have become somewhat formulaic in later almanacs, for the practice is evident into twentieth-century publications, by which time 'O.S.' has become an obsolete reference in all other aspects of society. The fair lists were a continued presence in the almanacs of the twentieth century, although the fairs are mixed with markets and gatherings, and it may be that the printing of such may have been as much a traditional part of the almanac's contents as a required service. However, there is still interesting information to be found, which harks back to the need to know not only the fair dates in your own parish, but those of the surrounding area: this is the entry under 'Keltonhill' (p. 72) in the 1931 *Edinburgh Almanac & National Repository* – from a list that runs to some 602 entries: 'As the date of this long-since obsolete fair still rules the holding of several fairs in the district, the reference to it here may prove of service.'

Finally, to return to the earlier almanacs, the inclusion of the lists is of interest for the very fact that the source is a popular publication – it is not a charter or any other type of official document. The lists have been augmented from information provided by chapmen 'and others who have business at the fairs' – people who attended, and knew the type of enterprise to be found at, specific fairs. As I have said, these lists may be primary sources of such information, or they may provide supplementary evidence, such as the years when dates or locations were altered, to substantiate other material. The very presence of the fair lists in the almanacs also forces us to consider the fairs in a different context – after all, in 1684 Forbes decided to print his list in a separate publication entitled *The Whole Yearly FARES and Weekly MERCATs of Scotland* – and to charge 16d for it. If we look at them from the printers' point of view, the fairs, irrespective of their origins, their locations or their names, are a commercial concern. A

fair list was a good commercial move – after all, with the fair lists taking up to 80% of the earlier almanacs, it had to be a prime motive for buying the publications.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

NOTES

1 For further information on Raban and other printers mentioned, see McKerrow (1910), Plomer (1922) and Plomer, Bushnell and McC. Dix (1932).

2 For information regarding literacy in Scottish society, see Houston (1985), Houston and Whyte (1985) and Marshall (1983).

3 See Houston (1985) and Houston and Whyte (1989).

4 Black 1999: 21. From current research, Forres can be predated to 1678 from Forbes' *New prognosticatioun For the year of our Redemption 1678* (NLS 5.2958 [3(1)]) and Blair Athol to 1700 from Reid's *Prognosticatioun for the year... 1700* (NLS mf.26[14(15)]).

5 See Blackburn and Holford-Strevens 1999.

6 University of Stirling Library, Q 41.25 ABE.

7 That the persistence of Old Style dates may not have been the original intent is suggested in a notice contained in the *Edinburgh Almanack* for 1750, printed by Robert Fleming: 'The Courts of Session and Exchequer in Scotland, and all markets, Fairs and Marts, after the second day of September [1752], shall be held on the same natural Days they should have been holden on, as if the Act for regulating the Commencement of the Year, and correcting the Kalendar, made in the 24th George II had not been made, that is to say, Eleven Days later than the same would have happened according to the New Supputation of Time, except such fairs as depend on the moveable feasts, which must be regulated to the New Kalendar.' (p. 9)

REFERENCES

BLACK, R.

    1999   'Scottish Fairs and Fair-Names.' *Scottish Studies* 33: 1–75.

BLACKBURN, B. AND HOLFORD-STREVENS, L.

    1999   'The Gregorian Reform.' In *The Oxford Companion to the Year*, 683-8. Oxford.

DICKSON, R. AND EDMOND, J. P.

    1890   *Annals of Scottish Printing.* Cambridge.

HOUSTON, R. A.
    1985   *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity.* Cambridge.

HOUSTON, R. A. AND WHYTE, I. D.
    1989   *Scottish Society, 1500-1800.* Cambridge.

MCALPINE, KAYE
    2000   'Place Names in Scottish Almanacs.' *Review of Scottish Culture* 12: 69–84.

MCDONALD, WILLIAM R.
    1966   'Scottish Seventeenth-Century Almanacs.' *The Bibliotheck* 4: 257-322.

MCKERROW, R. B. (ED.)
    1910   *A Dictionary of printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640.* London.

MARSHALL, R. K.
    1983   *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980.* London.

NLS   National Library of Scotland.

PLOMER, H. R. (ED.)
    1922   *A Dictionary of printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1668-1725.* Oxford.

PLOMER, H. R., BUSHNELL, G. H. AND DIX, McC. (EDS)
    1932   *A Dictionary of printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1726-1775.* Oxford.

The Scottish Fair as seen in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Sources

JOHN MORRIS

Fairs and markets had a very important place in the social structure of historical rural Scotland. Much of the population was virtually fixed, and more or less evenly distributed throughout the countryside, engaged in agriculture, working full-time on the land and producing only marginal surpluses. Local shops did not exist except for the inhabitants of burgh-touns. In consequence many services came to the farmer and his people on the farm-toun. There were itinerant weavers and tailors to make up their homespun cloth into clothes, horners and tinkers to supply spoons and repair and make utensils, and above all the chapmen who carried a wider range of goods, finer cloth for shirts etc., bonnets, combs and haberdashery. The fair, and to a lesser extent the market, was the one opportunity for the farm servant to escape from his monotonous existence and have a holiday.

As it had such an important place in the social fabric of the year, it is not surprising that the fair was a favourite topic for songs, pictures, poems and reminiscences.[1] Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there appeared poems and songs which are about, or are set in, fairs. From the poet's point of view the fair offered a framework and a sequence of events from anticipation in the morning to the return home at night which gave the poem unity, together with a number of incidents which could be described or referred to, and which would be familiar to all his readers. One of the best is the poem written by James Ballantine to illustrate Walter Geikie's etching 'Grassmarket' in Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's edition of the artist's *Etchings* (Geikie 1841: preface and 6-8). Even that most pious of poets, James Nicholson, in the third edition (1876) of his much rewritten poem 'Kilwuddie' had a Part XII 'Kilwuddie Fair' which, by way of illustrating its enormities, gives a highly colourful picture of a Scottish fair. The section disappears in later editions. A wide range of fairs up and down the country are represented in verse, St Mary's Fair in Wick, Hallow Fair in Edinburgh, Glasgow Fair and the fairs of Falkirk. David Carnegie (1879: 3-5) celebrated 'St Tammas' Market', the fair at Arbroath, and 'New Cumnock Herd Fair' is the subject of a poem by Thomas Murray (1898: 223-4).

There are many songs about fairs, and these emphasise the very real extent to which fairs meant different things to different people. There is a vivid and revealing Gaelic

song among the collections of the School of Scottish Studies (Bruford, ed., 1986, 242-6) which gives an unusual insight as to what a fair meant to a small tenant farmer as the place where he would not be able to avoid his creditors. Drovers are not well represented among the songs. Drovers were outsiders, the middlemen who gathered cattle for the English meat-trade. The hiring function of the fair, however, is well shown, as is the opportunity for courting, and the purchase of fairings for young women, particularly gingerbread and sweetmeats. Dancing and fighting are also to the fore. The annual fair was often the only time of the year when the fighting man could find a larger range of opponents (Alexander 1877: 77-8; Bruford, ed., 1986: 236-9), and fairs offered a wider choice of sexual partners than could be reached on a long summer night. What the fair meant to children has to be approached with caution, not because there are no Scottish children's books on the subject, but because they all derive from the same English exemplar. So details need to be checked against other sources. They are however important, giving some idea of a child's perception of a fair, with a concentration on the gingerbread and the rides.

There are a large number of chapbook ballads on fairs. The commonest is the English song 'Jockey to the Fair'. I have found eight versions in Scottish chapbooks, the earliest being a Falkirk chapbook of 1794 (*Jockey* 1794). There are two other English fair songs which appear a number of times, 'The Humours of Smithfield' which is not about the market but about the dangers of strange young women in London, and 'Bartholomew Fair' which is a lively song with prose passages. The two best Scottish fair songs are 'Hallow Fair' with the first line 'There's fouth of braw Jockies and Jennys', not to be confused with Fergusson's poem of the same name with the first line 'At Hallowmas, when nights grow lang'. 'Hallow Fair' made its first appearance in the 1776 edition of David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, where it is given as to the tune 'Fy let us a' to the Bridal'(2.169-71). William Stenhouse (1839: vol. 5 entry for 451 in the index) claimed that it was by Robert Fergusson, but gave no reason, and was possibly confusing it with Fergusson's poem. David Herd would have been in a position to know whether the song was by Fergusson, and is usually careful to attribute songs to authors when he knew them. I have not seen it in a chapbook earlier than 1820, but it was popular from then on, appearing in at least six by the middle of the century. 'The Humours of Glasgow Fair', which is to the same tune, was written by John Breckenridge, a handloom weaver, a soldier in the Lanarkshire Militia, and latterly the owner of a small grocery shop in Main Street Parkhead, Glasgow. A copy of the song was obtained by and popularised by 'Livingstone, the famous Scottish vocalist, who sung it into extensive repute'. Breckenridge is said never to have forgiven him (*Humours* [1840?]; Murdoch [1881]: 151-8). A number of other fair songs appeared in chapbooks, some passable, but none of the quality of those two.[2] The Falkirk chapbooks are particularly notable for the number of different fair poems that they contain. Before leaving the subject of songs, mention should be made of 'Aikey Fair' recorded by Hamish Henderson from Jimmy MacBeath in 1952 (Bruford, ed., 1987-8: 314-7), if only because it emphasises

the continuity of Scottish song. It celebrates and comments on, to its own lively tune, the changing face of Aikey Fair, one of the oldest of Scottish fairs, after it had changed from a Wednesday horse market to a Sunday carnival, a change which took place about 1926. It is not only a comparatively recent fair song, but one of the best.

With the exception of the hiring of hands, the songs hardly give any detail of the business side of a fair, the real reason for its existence, the sale of agricultural commodities, grain, cattle and horses. Better in this respect are the accounts of fairs by local historians and a certain amount of useful if generalised information is offered there. Even these however are retrospective and emphasise the picturesque, and perhaps they are a little sentimentalised as well. One poem that seems to combine comprehensiveness in its picture of a fair, together with an antiquary's interest, is James Traill Calder's 'St. Mary's Fair; or The Marymas of Dunnet in the Olden Time' which takes up twenty-six pages and a hundred eight-line stanzas to describe the fair at Wick (Calder 1855: 18-43).

There was also a Scottish tradition of fair paintings. The earliest seems to have been the delightful watercolour of Hallow Fair executed in 1750 by the English artist Paul Sandby and now in the National Gallery of Scotland. David Allan is known to have drawn Rutherglen Fair in 1764, before he went to Italy (Skinner 1973: 27). From then on there was a constant stream of Scottish fair painting until the end of the nineteenth century. None of them shows more than part of a fair as studies of David Wilkie's great painting 'Pitlessie Fair' indicates (Andrews and Megaw 1966: 177-180). The only one that even attempts to do so is a lithograph of 'Glasgow Fair, Taken from the Roof of the Court House' published in the *Northern Looking Glass* 23rd July 1825 by the Glasgow lithographer John Watson. The pictures, though to be used with caution, are helpful in explaining and confirming details. This is particularly true of the paintings, drawings and etchings of Walter Geikie.

Fairs provided markets for livestock and manufactured goods, acted as a labour exchange, provided relaxation and a chance to buy manufactured goods, cloth, haberdashery, spectacles, bonnets, combs, pins, all the necessary small luxuries of life. They served also as a meeting place, a place to hear the latest ballad, to buy a pocket Bible or a small book of songs or prose. Chapmen performed an important function in regard to fairs. They attended them assiduously. After all, they represented the greatest accumulation of their customers to come together during the year. When not at a fair a chapman would go round a circuit, passing from place to place in regular order calling at farm touns and houses where he was known and welcomed. He had to rely on his welcome for somewhere to sleep and something to eat, as the places he went to rarely had inns or surplus food to purchase. The better-off chapmen had packhorses or even wagons, but the majority carried their packs on their backs, and, in some trades, particularly if they were carrying cloth, the packs could be very unwieldy, very heavy, and sometimes even dangerous. Also they often had to walk more than twice the apparent distance between any two places because they had to turn out of their way to each dwelling in turn, and then probably have to return to the road to turn off again at the

next house. So anything such as a fair that would concentrate their customers was no doubt very welcome.

Roger Leitch in his pioneering article 'Here chapmen billies tak their stand' (1990) gives a summary of the legal information about the participation and role of chapmen in the organisation of fairs in Scotland. There are also details in the records of Scottish chapmen societies. Fairs had their own courts of summary justice, the famous 'piepowder courts'. The judge, where there was a chapmen society involved, was the 'Lord' of the society. Each of the stall holders had to surrender a poind or pund on arrival, usually a piece of their trade goods, but sometimes a pocket Bible or other personal possession. This would normally be returned at the end of the fair, but was a guarantee of good behaviour and in extreme cases could be detained, or even forfeited. ' "My Lord" went about the stalls, at the opening of the fair, and uplifted from each member thirty shillings Scots, or the value in goods, as a 'paund' or pledge for appearance in Court next day to answer whatever charge might be preferred against him: which paund was forfeited by absence "in the hour of cause".' (Fittis 1874: 17) The chapmen were jointly responsible to the local magistrates for the management and good order of the fair. At the Lammas Fair in St Andrews, one of the oldest surviving street fairs in Britain, there is an annual on-site meeting at the end of the fair between a representative of the showman's guild and local authority officials to assess compensation for damage to kerbs, pavements etc. caused by the fair.

The chapmen marked out their stands at dawn on the fair day. The Laws and Acts of the Chapmen of Perthshire lay down 'That none offer to mark any Stands before the Market day, and he who marks first is to mark ane deal length, which is three elns long [i.e. eighteen feet]; and none is to mark above an deal length for himself or any comrade; and this foresaid deal is to be marked for my Lord's use, and that in the middle place of the market, and if it is neglected he is to take it where his pleasure is.' 'The fixing of stall-stances was a matter of much solemnity, being effected on the day previous to the fair, under the supervision of the town-sergeants, who drew the dues thereof for the Magistrates. Every station was chalked out on the causeway by its intended occupant, who then spat upon a stone within the diagram as an earnest of possession.' These contradictory accounts come from the same article and refer to the differing circumstances in a small place, and where the whole matter was in the hands of the local magistrates (Fittis 1874: 7, 14).

It is not to be thought that Scottish fairs were like the great cities of booths that sprang up for St Giles Fair in Oxford or Sturbridge Fair in Cambridge, with their regular streets. A pedlar might sell from his pack with the goods spread out on the ground as they would normally do in any farm-toun or clachan that they visited. The china merchant in Wilkie's 'Pitlessie Fair' is doing that. They were more likely to set up a stall, a crame, for the time, or lay out their goods in a room in a public house. The crames were made of deals covered with tarpaulins or blankets – 'Weel theacket wi blankets an mats' as it says in John Breckenridge's 'Humours of Glasgow Fair'. The

blankets are clearly in evidence in some of the pictures. One of the booths in Alexander Carse's 'Oldhamstocks Fair 1796' (National Gallery of Scotland) is clearly covered in blanket. The pictures show too the different structures of the chapmen's stalls and gingerbread stalls, the drink tents with their individual signs which are mentioned in 'The Humours of Glasgow Fair' and in 'Hallow Fair', and the large square tents used for the shows, which had canvas pictures of the attractions within over a raised platform at the front on which stood the drummer, the showman etc., and with steps up which the patrons walked to enter the show tent proper (Fig. 6). The dues payable at a fair varied according to how one set out one's goods. Covered stalls attracted higher dues than a simple trestle table. Another form of stall well-attested from the paintings is selling from a wheelbarrow (a hirlbarrow) with deals on top. Most shown are selling apples; a woman in Paul Sandby's watercolour is selling apples to two boys from a wheelbarrow spread with a white cloth and a man is trying to sell 'Apples 5 a ha'penny' from a wooden tray fastened to a wheelbarrow in one of Walter Geikie's etchings [ca 1840]. In Walter Geikie's painting 'Hallow Fair in the Grassmarket' (Hopetoun House) a man is selling pottery from a specially adapted wheelbarrow filled with straw.

The Fife Chapmen's records give the plans of a number of the fairs. At Anstruther Fair in Easter Fife on 1 November 1744 there were eleven booths; four of them were in dual occupation, so that there is a total of fifteen chapmen represented. The following year there were nine stalls, occupied by a total of twelve chapmen. It is probable that there would have been a number of other chapmen at the fair, no doubt selling from their packs. Crail Fair on 16 March 1744 had only six stands. Of these no less than five were in joint occupation, making a total of eleven chapman crameing. Some of the same individuals who had separate stands at Anstruther in the same year are here found sharing, which tends to confirm what one would have suspected anyway that the stands were supplied locally. No doubt the local magistrates might take a part, and perhaps provided material for the stalls, which would be stored from one year to another. We hear of a local joiner who made money by letting out deals and 'trees' for stalls, and H. Grey Graham states that Communion tables and forms were let out for fairs and weddings at Colinton till 1678 and at Currie to 1726. This may well have been the normal practice.

William Alexander wrote both about country fairs in Aberdeenshire in general and about Aikey Fair in particular:

At the last century fair, the business transacted was of an exceedingly miscellaneous kind. Live stock was by no means the most important feature. All sorts of household furnishings — including chairs, stools, wooden ladles, 'caups', and barrels and brewing 'bowies', rough wicker 'creels', and such like, were exhibited in quantity by the wrights and coopers and other artificers, so as the more strictly agricultural class might supply their needs in such matters. Even ploughs and harrows were taken to the fair for sale. On the other hand those who tilled the soil had the wool of their small stocks of native sheep spun into yarn at home, and then converted into webs of 'fingrams' by the weaver, to be taken to the fair and offered

to such as would buy; their customers, to a large extent, were itinerant 'merchants' who picked up the fingrams at the annual fairs in Aberdeenshire, and then found a market for them in other parts of Scotland, or by getting them exported abroad. And after the decline of the trade in fingrams, when spinning worsted and knitting stockings for 'the factory merchant' mainly engaged the attention of women in the country, dealers in soft goods in Aberdeen and the other country towns, found it worth while to shut shop for a day or two on the occurrence of some of the principal annual fairs, in order that they might cultivate business by exhibiting prints and fabrics there alongside the stocks of the regular packmen . . .

The traffic at Aikey Fair, as at other annual fairs of the period, included cattle, horses, sheep, merchandise, and chap-book literature of no very pretentious character. There was always a wonderful supply of 'carvy' and coriander sweeties wherewith the lads might treat the lasses. The shows and amusements at the fair were of a very simple kind. The pipers from the country around assembled, and often a dance would be improvised on the green-sward. As time wore on there appeared the 'slicht o' han' men' to divide the attention of the idle and curious . . .

The merchandise sold in Aikey Fair about 1800 consisted chiefly of webs of sacking, bed tick, a variety of prints often of gaudy colours, cottons in the shape of moleskins and corduroys, of which the outer garments of working men were then mostly made; wool and yarn were also sold in large quantities. On the day before the fair there used to be a large wholesale business done in woollen cloths among merchants and others. About the period indicated there were, as now, tents in the fair for supplying refreshments. Such a thing as whisky for sale was unknown, the liquor being confined to home-brewed ale, which was much drunk, though it was rare to see any one tipsy. (Alexander 1877: 78, 81-2)

Fairs and markets were the only regular breaks in the monotony of the countryman's year, together with those 'Holy fairs', the annual communions of the Church of Scotland. As such they were greatly looked forward to as holiday and an opportunity for courting, as in Breckenridge's 'The Humours of Glasgow Fair':

> O, the sun frae the eastward was peeping,
> And braid through the winnocks did stare,
> When Willie cried, Tam, are you sleeping,
> Mak haste, man, and rise to the fair;
> For the lads and the lasses are thranging,
> And a'body's now in a steer;
> Fye haste ye, and let us be ganging,
> Or, faith, we'll be langsome, I fear.
>
> Then Tam he got up in a hurry,
> And wow but he made himself snod,
> For a pint o' milk brose he did worry,
> To mak him more tough for the road.
> On his head his blue bonnet he slippet,
> His whip o'er his shouther he flang,
> And a clumsy oak cudgel he grippet,
> On purpose the loons for to bang.

> Now Willock had trysted wi' Jenny,
> For she was a braw canty queen,
> Word gade she had a gay penny,
> For whilk Willie fondly did grean.
> Now Tam he was blaming the liquor,
> Yae night he had got himsel' fou,
> And trysted gleed Maggy MacVicar,
> And, faith, he thought shame for to rue.

For the younger labourers the 'hiring fair' was the one time at which they could regularly change masters if they were not happy with their lot. Labourers did sometimes walk out, and there were regular movements of migrant workers, particularly at harvest time when larger work forces were temporarily welcome on small farms, and where, when the harvest was over, they would move on to the next. The labourer who had to rely on such seasonal work could, like Somerville the soldier, take a job breaking stones for road metal during the winter, but farm servants in regular work would tend to stay on the one farm until the next hiring fair brought an opportunity to at least ensure regular food and lodging for another year.

> To hire or to be hired – or spend the day
> In gaping at the wonders of the town –
> To look at all things curious, grand, and gay –
> Or buy for wife or sweetheart a new gown –
> Or wander on the causeway, up and down,
> To find a place among the farmer carles;
> Then, for a little happy time, to drown
> All thought, by drinking half their fee and arles,
> Until their tongues grow thick and noisy in their parles.
>
> Such are their errands;– while the young ones buy
> 'A pair of whips,' to drive the kine along,
> When they the weary herding trade shall try,
> Or learn to smack the horses with the thong.
> Perchance one spends his penny for a song,
> Or 'wares' his long-kept two-pence at the *shows*,
> Or, bustling hopeful through the merry throng,
> At gingerbread an oaken cudgel throws,
> Where, missing oft his aim, is vexed you may suppose.
>
> Hey for the market! All is life and crowd,
> And joy and bustle; and the busy hum
> Is like a huge beehive, whene'er the cloud
> Of flying emigrants from home first come.
> There walk the Limekiln lads, with fife and drum;
> Here fiddles, bagpipes, ballad-singers roar –
> And auctioneers, that bawl themselves quite dumb,

>   To sell knives, razors, combs, and cloths in store,
>   Till, having quenched their throats, they cry and shout the more.³

The amount of noise made by such a fair is difficult to realise, and examples of Scottish stall-holders' patter are seldom recorded, though they can still be heard where similar markets survive to this day. Here is a solitary example from a joke book of the early nineteenth century (*Odds and Ends* [1840?]):–

Here's the real good napkins; they'll neither tear, wear, ruffle, nor rive; throw in the washing, nor go back in the pressing. All the water between the rocks of Gibraltar and the Cape of Good Hope will not alter the colour of them. They were woven seven miles below ground by the light of diamonds: and the people never saw day-light but once in seven years. They were not woven by a brosy clumsy apprentice boy, but by a right and tight good tradesman, who got two eggs, and a cup of tea, and a glass of whisky to his breakfast; and every thread is as long and strong as would hang a bull, or draw a man-of-war ship into harbour.

An account of Paldy Fair, in the parish of Fordoun in Kincardineshire is given by Charles A. Mollyson in *The Parish of Fordoun* (1893: 77-81). Paldy Fair, held in conjunction with sheep, cattle and horse markets, was very ancient. The fair was on the first Wednesday, Thursday and Friday after the first Tuesday in July of Old Style.

At fairs in country towns and villages some of those travelling gaudy painted caravans, hailing from the great centres of the south, usually put in appearance, with their company of players or acrobatic performers, or their curious collection of exhibits – giants and dwarfs, or mayhap of some extraordinary woman, 'who could lift a stithy [anvil] with the hair of her head, and take her supper of real fire, composed of pitch, tar, rosin, and brimstone!' But at Paldy Fair those wonderful institutions were generally conspicuous by their absence. For one thing the access was difficult. It must not, however, be supposed that there was awanting sufficient variety of talent to entertain and amuse the heterogenous crowd assembled on the moor. There were the vintners' tents, set up with the regularity of a military encampment, with blazing fires behind, and broth pots suspended from tripods, with smiling damsels ready to ladle out the boiling contents, or measure out a gill or half-mutchkin according as tastes required. There was poet John Milne, of Livet Glen, like Homer of old, and Blind Harry of more modern days, reciting his own compositions and extolling the occupation of the ploughman as superior to that of every other craft or calling. There was Singing Willie, too, with his tasselled, knotted, and gnarled, and altogether curiously-fashioned walking-stick, drawling out his effusions with nasal twang, and trying to provoke mirth by piecing in, occasionally, allusions to local incidents. ... Robbie Stracathro, broad and short, in weather-beaten habiliments, was also there, piping such music as he could through his tin whistle. ... There were blind fiddlers, and pipers, clad in the garb of Rob Roy. There were vendors of Belfast Almanacs – then, be it remarked, an essential article in every country household. There were shooting galleries, with glib tongues doing their best to tempt the onlooker, as if the bag of hazel nuts in store for the prizeman was not in itself sufficient allurement. Add to this catalogue the usual sprinkling of legless and otherwise defective and

mis-shapen specimens, who by hook or crook had got themselves transported thither – some in their carriage drawn by a couple of panting dogs – and you have a tolerably accurate summary of the foreign elements mingled in the composition of Paldy Fair Market. Hither dealers in sheep, cattle, or horses, congregated from every parish in the county, as also from Forfarshire, and across the hills from the upper regions of Deeside. ... Young men resorted hither to engage for harvest work. Shoemakers, saddlers and other craftsmen turned out to collect accounts, while dealers in turnip seeds and other specialties appeared to solicit fresh orders.

The lighter diversions of fairs are touched upon by the adult sources mentioned above. In addition I have found two Scottish children's books which deal with the subject. Like most children's books of the period they moralise it too, but they are a valuable source of information. One is called *Fun upon fun; or The Humours of a Fair.* published in Glasgow by J. Lumsden and Son. [Price Twopence]. It is undated but 'copies examined have watermark dates 1816 and 182[ ], the latter possibly to be read as 1820'. The second and infinitely less common is *The humours of the fair; or a description of the early amusements in life; in which you may see all the fun of the fair; and at home be as happy as if you were there.* This was published in Edinburgh in 1819. Both have virtually the same text, which is a condensed version of that of an English children's book of the eighteenth century *The Fairing; or, a Golden Toy; for children of all sizes and denominations. In which they may see all the fun of the fair, and at home be as happy as if they were there.* This was published by John Newbery of London at least as early as 1764. It has been attributed to Newbery himself. The Scottish editions leave out some of the moralising, and the stories of Cinderella and Puss in Boots which form part of the London edition, while retaining the parts which describe the fair. The information about children's amusements at fairs is English but for it to have had currency in Scotland, and the Lumsden chapbook has survived in many copies, it must have been close to a Scottish child's perception of a fair. Some cannot be authenticated; there is a clown called 'Joe Pudding, with the gridiron on his back' who is shown playing a post horn and accompanied by a drummer, and there is a showman with a small monkey. Well-authenticated is Gaffer Gingerbread's stall, and little Giles behind it.

> Here's gingerbread, gingerbread here of the best,
> Come buy all I have and I'll give you the rest.

The only man in the world for gingerbread. What do you buy? says the old gentleman? Please to buy a gingerbread wife, sir, here's a very delicate one. Indeed there's too much gold upon the nose; but that is no objection to those who marry their wives by weight. Will you please have a gingerbread husband, madam? I assure you you may have a worse. Or buy a watch madam. Here are watches for belles, beaux, bucks and blockheads, who squander away their time, and then cry for it. Observe the motto on the dial-plate of this watch, madam, you never saw a finer dial-plate in your life, or a motto that deserves so much of your serious consideration–

> When time is gone,
> Eternity comes on.

Besides it is only a penny, with all the gold about it.

Gingerbread is important in Scottish fairs. The poems, accounts and songs do not mention it being gilded, and it will be remembered that the source of the Scottish children's books on fairs was English, and therefore it is important to make sure that details are confirmed. Here the paintings of James Howe come to our aid. John Howe's 'Skirling Fair (Cattle) 1829', which shows the cattle market below Galalaw has a gingerbread stall in the foreground which shows both gilded and ungilded gingerbread. Another stall with gilded gingerbread occurs in the same artist's 'Skirling Fair (Stallions) 1829' (Cameron 1986: between 38 and 39).

Gingerbread was sold as fairings to be given to one's sweetheart. It was also placed on stakes to be won by being knocked off with batons in the game called Rowly Powly, a game which seems to have been universal at Scottish fairs. One source mentions balls, but it usually seems to have been played with batons.

> There showmen bawled, and dice were thrown,
> An' rowly-powly cried, 'Come on,
> 'Now, fire away; faint heart ne'er won
> 'A lady fair;
> 'Three penny cakes for price o' one!
> 'What want ye mair?'[4]
>
> Before they got out o the bustle,
> Poor Tam got his fairing, I trow
> For a stick at the gin'bread play'd whistle,
> And knock'd him down like a cow.[5]

Walter Geikie shows them at it in his etching 'Rowly powly' (Geikie 1841: No. LVIII; Fig. 1). James Traill Calder (1855: 25) describes a curious game played with gingerbread in Caithness:

> Behind the tents, along the daisied green,
> That smooth as velvet to the north doth spread,
> Some scores of lads and boys – a novel scene –
> Are busy breaking ginger-bread;
> *This* cake, with glue as if it baked had been,
> Defies a stroke that would have split your head;
> While at the first blow *that* is seen to break,
> And so the owner forfeits all his cake.

To this Calder gives a note (p. 43):

A cake seemingly TOUGH being purchased, the owner bawled aloud, 'Wha'll strick at the cake?' until some one tendered a halfpenny or penny, according to the half price of the cake,

Fig. 1. Rowly powly. Etching by Walter Geikie (1841: No. LVIII).

for one blow of a stick, which was frequently prepared for the occasion, by being made sharp on one side, or by having even the blade of an old knife inserted and kept from view. As a match to this FRAUD, the knowing ones often PREPARED the cakes in various ways, especially by sewing them with worsted thread. When this could not be done, they were almost always lubricated with saliva, which was considered a toughening process. If any portion of the cake broke upon being struck, the owner forfeited the cake; but if not, and it could be suspended by the four corners, without falling separate, the owner retained it; and cakes frequently held together after repeated blows. We have seen 'the Marymas' become an almost general battle, from an altercation about 'sewed cakes,' or sticks with knife blades; and, we believe, that on one occasion at least, BROKEN HEADS became a subject of judicial investigation.

As time went on other sweetmeats superseded gingerbread in the favour of young women.

> Then on the street are rows of *sweety stands,*
> Ycovered o'er with blankets fine to see,
> Whose dainty fair brings water from the glands
> Of luckless wight who has not one bawbee.
> And there are dames, of high and low degree,
> All trimly dressed in fashions newest ware,
> Who walk in groups to show their bravitie,
> And on each leman look with smile so rare
> That he perdie must fill their mickle pouch with *fare.*[6]

> 28   *The Humours of*
>
> It is a horse in a box, a horse that flies in the air, like that which the ancient poets rode on. But here it is.
>
>
>
> LINES on the Up-and-down.
>
> *This sinks to the ground,*
> *While that rises high ;*
> *But then you'll observe*
> *He'll sink by and by :*
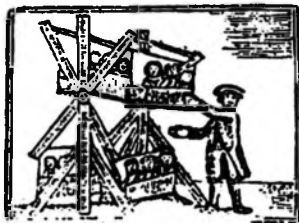
Fig. 2. A page from the chapbook *The Humours of a Fair* (1819), showing the 'up-and-down' (Hall.197.b.5[7]). Photograph by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

The fairground rides shown in *The Humours of a Fair* are the 'up-and-down' and the roundabout. The up-and-down was a sort of primitive ferris wheel. The illustration (Fig. 2) shows a four armed wheel each arm supporting a box with three children in it. The means of propulsion is not shown, and though the text mentions a horse in a box the reference is obscure. The roundabout illustration is equally vague, but here there is an excellent etching by Walter Geikie 'Scene at all hallow fair' (Geikie 1841: No. LX; Fig. 3), which shows that the roundabout was propelled by small boys pushing on bars on the inside of the roundabout. They were no doubt paid in free rides as some of my schoolfellows were when they helped out at a fair.

> And there are *shows* and wonders in the Links –
> Dwarfs, giants, monsters, Punch in all his pride,
> And old Dame Fortune's *wheel*, where the sly minx
> Makes the good pennies from the pouches glide;
> And *rowley-powleys*, where the balls oft slide
> Between the pins, and cheat the gamesters aim;
> *Thimble-and-shot* and *garters*, which deride

> The keenest eye; with all the kinds of game
> Which wretches have devised to cheat withouten shame.[7]

The other shows in *Humours of the Fair* include a wheel of fortune, with a showman playing with children for oranges. Geikie's etching 'Fair gamblers' (Geikie 1841: No. LIX; Fig. 4), however, shows only adults round the wheel of fortune. The three cup trick 'thimble rigging' is there. 'A Juggler with his cup and balls. Quick, presto, Be gone. This conjuring cur played a great many tricks; as putting down three empty cups, as he pretended, and commanding a ball to fly under each of the cups.' Other shows include monkeys holding a tea-party, the 'learned dog' – 'He spelt all our names from the letters before him, told us the time of day, and also told us our fortunes' – and a Punch and Judy.

Garters is explained by Calder (1855: 26):

> A country bumpkin here his luck will try
> At 'loop the garter,' with a dexterous rogue;
> He wins two shillings, and triumphantly
> He stakes a crown, and *loses* it, poor dog!

His note on ' "Loop the garter," or "prick the loop".' runs thus: 'The manner in which this piece of chicanery was played off was by involving the loops or folds of a long piece of selvedge, of which the owner held both ends, so as to render it difficult for the novice to insert the point of a wooden pin or large bodkin into the middle loop; in most cases the simple experimenter found his point outside the loop, and his stake lost.'

The shows were some of the most spectacular features of fairs as can be seen from some of the fair pictures.

> Yonder's a strolling show; outside of it,
> Upon a platform raised some little space,
> A mountebank is playing off his wit
> In comic garb, with still more comic face;
> Below, the crowd stand laughing like to split
> At his long nose, his drollery, and grimace;
> And, now and then, with limbs grotesque and sturdy,
> He flings and capers to a hurdy-gurdy.

> The charge is only twopence – in we go
> And see a giantess of marvellous size;
> But, there's a pony jet black as a crow,
> That doth the rustic crowd still more surprise:
> 'Tom,' says the master, 'what's the hour d'ye know?'
> When on a watch Tom fixes both his eyes,
> Then gives a dozen stamps, which tell the folk –
> Agape with wonder – that 'tis twelve o'clock.

> The showman next bids the sagacious brute
> Minutely all the company survey,
> And single out the man beyond dispute,
> Who kissed his neighbour's wife the other day;
> Tom slowly goes around, uplifts his foot,
> And slily touches haveral Hugh Macreay,
> Who, midst a roar of laughter, swears that he
> 'Did no such thing – 'tis a confounded lee.'[8]

The tents were rectangular and well made, so as to make it difficult for small boys to put their heads under the brailings, the floor being raised several feet above the ground. There was an open platform at the front with steps through which the spectators entered after paying their admission money. On the platform stood the showman and from it he delivered his patter, together with a horn player or a drummer, a clown and other performers. Over the top of the front of the show was a framework of poles on which were supported painted cloths. In the 'Grassmarket at Hallowfair' aquatint by C. H. Robertson of about 1820 in Edinburgh City Library (Figs 5 and 6) and James Howe's painting of 'Hallows Fair in the Grassmarket' in Edinburgh City Art Centre two such booths are clearly shown. In the Howe painting there is a drummer in elaborate uniform on the platform, the Robertson print has a man with a horn and a woman in full dress with ostrich plumes playing a drum, and a pantaloon and a straight comedian as well as the showman. The painted cloths show two stilt walkers and a fat lady. A painting of a fair by Walter Geikie in Edinburgh City Art Centre shows one of these booths from behind, allowing the construction of the walls and the struts that held up the panels over the platform to be seen. A painting by Jane Stewart Smith (1839-1925) in Edinburgh City Art Centre gives a vivid impression of the shows at All Hallows Fair in the Grassmarket after nightfall with their flares and flambeaux. It is one of a series of paintings of Edinburgh scenes that she executed about 1880.

As in modern fairs, there were refreshment tents, and these were run by local hostelries, so that there were a great many rival establishments offering food and particularly drink. In those circumstances it is not at all surprising that most of the participants in the fair returned home a little worse for wear. For the young people the fair would often end in a dance, in a tent set up for the purpose, or on the greensward as at Aikey Fair (Alexander 1977: 81), or at a particular establishment as in 'The Humours of Glasgow Fair' where the dance was held at 'Luckie Gunn's' who was selling ale and whisky 'and baps in great bourocks':–

> Blind Aleck the fiddler was trysted,
> And he was to handle the bow,
> On a big barrel head he was hoisted,
> To keep himsel' out o' the row.
>
> . . .

Fig. 3. Scene at all hallow fair (Edinburgh). Etching by Walter Geikie (1841: No. LX).

Fig. 4. Fair gamblers. Etching by Walter Geikie (1841: No. LIX).
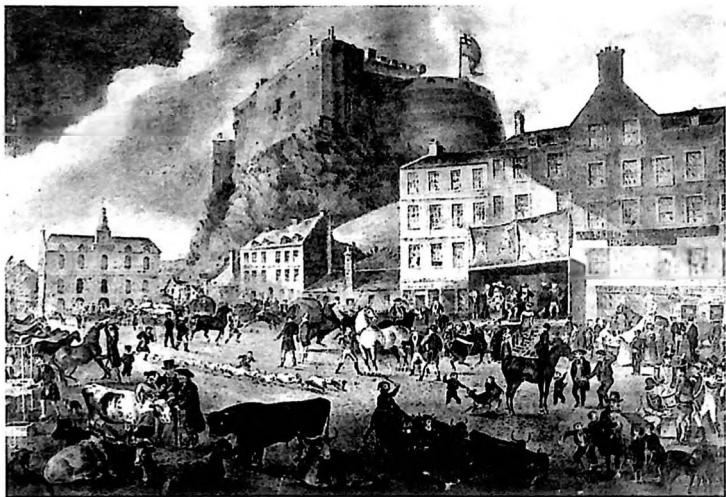
Fig. 5. Grassmarket at Hallowfair. Colour aquatint by C. H. Robertson (c. 1820) in Edinburgh City Library.

> Now they ate and they drank till their bellies
> Were bent like the head of a drum,
> Syne they raise and they caper'd like fillies,
> Whene'er that the fiddle play'd bum.
> Wi' dancing they now were grown weary,
> And scarcely were able to stan',
> So they took to the road a' fu' cheery,
> As day was beginning to dawn.

And then at last, tired and happy, and perhaps not fou, but having taken plenty, they would wend their way home:–

> But now the country folks begin to wend
> Home to their lisping children and their wife;
> While yet a few remain behind to spend
> Their coin on liquor, while the coin is rife;
> And there are staggerings, bickerings, noise and strife,
> And many a glowing breast and blustering brawl;
> And yet, I ween, the child with *penny fife*,
> A *crow-mill*, or a box for trinkets small, –
> Though many a heart is glad, – he's happier than them all.[9]
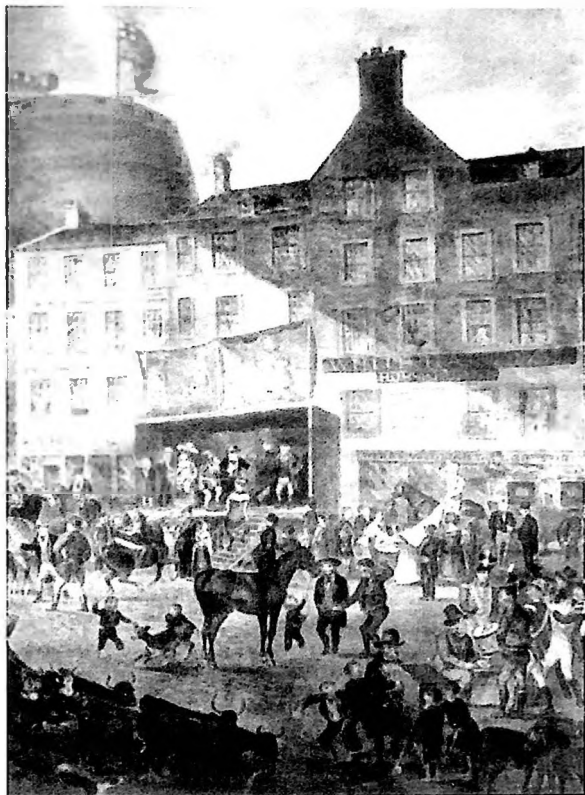
Fig. 6. Detail from Fig. 5, showing the booth.

NOTES

I explored this topic in an earlier form of this paper entitled 'The Picture of the Scottish Fair in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Literature and Art' at the School of Scottish Studies Cosmos Project 5th annual conference on 'Fairs and Festivals' in 1996.

For this paper I searched for fair chapbooks in the National Library of Scotland. An index of all Scottish chapbooks has long been needed. The project of the joint School of Scottish

Studies of the Universities of Glasgow and Strathclyde, which, with funding from the British Academy, is making a start on an index of Scottish chapbooks in Glasgow University Library and the Mitchell Library, will eventually fulfil this need. In the meanwhile it may be useful to scholars looking for fair songs to give shelfmarks which may make it easier to find examples of each of the fair songs that I found. 'A trip to the fair' in *Days* (APS.1.79.198); 'Humours of Falkirk Fair' in *Flora* (Hall.197.b[14]); 'A New Song Hallow Fair' in *Hallow* (Hall.197.b[37]); 'The Merry Fairs of Falkirk' in *Merry* (L.C.2872[5]); 'A Description of a Fair' in *Roger* (L.C.2836[7]); 'The Rigs o' Hallow Fair' in *Sweet* (L.C.2823[16]); 'Falkirk Stump Fairs' in *Three* (L.C.2823[49]); 'Cawder Fair' in *Trade* (L.C.2842[9]); 'Falkirk Fair' (basically Breckenridge's 'Humours of Glasgow Fair' with two extra verses) in *Two* (L.C.282.A).

3 Bowick 1880: 68-69.

4 Carnegie 1879: 4.

5 *Humours* [1840?].

6 Bowick 1880: 69-70.

7 Bowick 1880: 70.

8 Calder 1855: 25.

9 Bowick 1880: 70.

REFERENCES

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM
    1877   *Notes and Sketches Illustrative of Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Edinburgh.

ANDREWS, KEITH
    1966   'A Preliminary Study for Wilkie's "Pitlessie Fair".' *Scottish Studies* 10, 177-8.

BOWICK, JAMES
    1880   *Characters, Sketches, and Other Poems*. Montrose.

BRUFORD, ALAN (ED.)
    1986   'Fairs and Feeing Markets (1).' *Tocher* No. 40, 225-246.

    1987-8   'Fairs and Feeing Markets (2).' *Tocher* No. 41, 313-35.

CALDER, JAMES TRAILL
    1855   *Poems from John O'Groat's*. Wick.

CAMERON, A. D.
    1986   *The Man Who Loved To Draw Horses: James Howe 1780-1836*. Aberdeen.

Carnegie, David
       1879   *Lays and Lyrics from the Factory.* Arbroath.

Days
       1802   *The Days o' Langsyne, to which are added, The Happy Stranger, New Way.
                     The Contented Wife, with The Husband's Answer. The Happy Marriage.
                     O Dear! I'm So Pleased. A Trip to the Fair.* Glasgow.

Edinburgh Scene
       1951   *The Edinburgh Scene. Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the
                     Edinburgh Room Central Public Library.* Edinburgh.

Fairing
       1764   *The Fairing; or, a Golden Toy; for children of all sizes and denominations.
                     In which they may seee all the fun of the fair, and at home be as happy as
                     they were there.* London: printed for J. Newbery, 1764.

'Fife Chapmen's Records'
       1706   Minute Book of the Chapman Court of Fife. Killconquer. National
                     Library of Scotland MS.198.

Fittis, Robert
       1874   *Illustrations of the History and Antiquities of Perthshire.* Perth.

Flora
       1822   *Flora Macdonald and Charlie. A love song. To which are added, The
                     Humours of Falkirk Fair, The Emigrant's Lament, and A Sailor to my
                     mind.* Falkirk.

Fun
       1820   *Fun upon fun; or The Humours of a Fair. Giving a Description of the
                     Curious Amusements in Early Life; also An account of a mountebank
                     Doctor and his Merry Andrew.* Glasgow.

Geikie, Walter
       1841   *Etchings Illustrative of Scottish Character and Scenery; executed after his
                     own designs. By the late Walter Geikie, Esq., R.S.A. With biographical
                     introduction, by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder.* Edinburgh.

Graham, Henry Grey
       1937   *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century.* London.

Hallow
       [1812?]   *Hallow Fair. To which are added, Down the Burn Davie, My Spouse
                     Nancy, A Hunting Song.* Stirling.

HERD, DAVID
       1776   *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs Heroic Ballads etc Collected by David Herd in Two Volumes.* Edinburgh.

Humours
       1819   *The Humours of a Fair; or, A Description of the Early Amusements in Life: in which you may see all the fun of the fair; And at home be as happy as if you were there.* Edinburgh (The Edinburgh Juvenile Library).

Humours
       [1840?]   *The Humours of Glasgow Fair. And the Comical Song of Auld John Paul.* Glasgow: printed for the booksellers. 42. Chapbook in the National Library of Scotland L.C.2852(2).

Jockey
       1794   *Jockey to the Fair. To which is added, The Dusky Night. See your Country Righted. Tibby Fowler. Jamie Gay. Endermay.* [Falkirk] Printed in the year 1794. Chapbook in the National Library of Scotland L.C.2899(24).

LEITCH, ROGER
       1990   'Here chapman billies tak their stand': a pilot study of Scottish chapmen, packmen and pedlars. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 120, 173-188.

MEGAW, B. R. S.
       1966   'The Topography of 'Pitlessie Fair'.' *Scottish Studies* 10, 178-80.

Merry
       [1815?]   *The Merry Fairs of Falkirk. To which are added, The Happy Marriage. John Bluster's Wife Lay thy loof in mine lass, The Broad Swords of Auld Scotland, The Caledonian Laddie. A Hunting Song.* Stirling.

MOLLYSON, CHARLES A.
       1893   *The Parish of Fordoun: Chapters In Its History or Reminiscences of Place and Character.* Aberdeen.

MORRIS, JOHN
       1997   'Scottish Ballads and Chapbooks.' In *Images and Texts their production and distribution in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay, 89-111. Delaware.

       1998   'A Bothy Ballad and its chapbook source.' In *The Reach of Print making selling and using books*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay, 85-102. Delaware.

MURDOCH, ALEXANDER G.
       [1881]   *Recent and Living Scottish Poets.* Glasgow.

MURRAY, THOMAS
    1898   *Frae the Heather: Poems and Songs.* 2nd edn. Brechin.

NICHOLSON, JAMES
    1876   *Kilwuddie and Other Poems.* 3rd edn. Glasgow.

Odds and Ends
    [1840?]   *Odds and Ends, or A Groat's-worth of Fun for a Penny. Being a Collection
                of the Best Jokes, Comic stories, Anecdotes, Bon Mots, &c.* [Glasgow].

Roger
    1802   *Roger of Coverly; or, Monsieur come if ye dare. To which are added, The
                Good Ship Rover. Tibby Fowler. Genuine Beauty. A Description of a Fair.*
                Glasgow.

ROSCOE, S. AND BRIMMELL, R. A.
    1981   *James Lumsden & Son of Glasgow. Their juvenile books and chapbooks.*
                Private Libraries Association, 53.

SKINNER, BASIL
    1973   *The Indefatigable Mr Allan.* Edinburgh.

STENHOUSE, WILLIAM
    1839   'Illustrations' in James Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum.*
                Edinburgh.

Sweet
    [1815?]   *Sweet Hellen of the Dee. Hal, the Woodman. The Rigs of Hallow-fair. Ans.
                To the Blue Bonnet. Lovely Lass of Inverness. Robin Shure in Haerst.*
                Falkirk.

Three
    1816   *Three Excellent New Songs, called, I'll soon hae a wife o' my ain, The
                Bonny Lassie. and Falkirk Stump-Fairs.* Falkirk.

Trade
    [1820?]   *The Trade o' Langsyne, Or, The Mechanic's Farewell; To which is added,
                Cawder Fair, John Anderson my Jo, The Bonny Wood of Craigie-lee, and
                The Garland of Love.* Glasgow.

Two
    1825   *Two Popular Songs: viz. – Falkirk Fair. Highland Widow's Lament.*
                Falkirk.

Sport and the Calendar:
Archery and Rifle Shooting in
Scotland in the Nineteenth Century

JOHN BURNETT

INTRODUCTION

In the late Middle Ages, archery emerged from being an activity of war into a sport. The men who practised after mass on Sundays must have seen it at least partly as recreation, and the spread of firearms in the sixteenth century removed the military need for bow and arrow. In the Highlands, however, the silent and rapid-firing bow remained useful in skirmishing until the very end of the seventeenth century, and there were bowmen at the Battle of Killiecrankie in 1689. Scots burghs had already started to have archery competitions: the earliest known was at Musselburgh in 1603. In addition, in the seventeenth century the bow was still a weapon for hunting: a carved stone of 1660-80 shows an archer with his dogs (Reid 1912: 158). Richard Holt has pointed out that historians have had a tendency to overlook the substantial extent to which old-established sports were practised in nineteenth-century Britain (Holt 1989: 54): archery is clearly an example.

Before 1850 most sporting events, in Scotland as elsewhere in Europe, were a part of the traditional calendar which was based on the farming and (to a lesser extent in Scotland) the ecclesiastical year. By 1900 this pattern had largely disappeared. The primary aim of this essay is to examine the nineteenth-century history of shooting with bow and arrow, and with rifle, to see how and why the sporting calendar changed. Its secondary aim is to integrate one aspect of the material history of archery and shooting, the prizes, into the discussion. Two of the most interesting archery competitions were in Ayrshire: evidence from that county, typical of Lowland Scotland, has been used throughout.

Many sporting events were held on holidays, either ones which were respected nationally, or others which were local. Thus ba' games were played on Christmas Day, New Year's Day, and Fastern's E'en; there was cock fighting in schools on Fastern's E'en, and in the Western Isles horse racing was enjoyed on Michaelmas. An example of the holiday with sport is St Inan's Day at Beith, held on 30th August, at which there was a horse race until the middle of the nineteenth century. Dennis Brailsford has made a preliminary investigation of the relationship between holidays and sport, primarily in England (Brailsford 1991: 1-15).

In order to describe the relation between the calendar and traditional sport, two examples should be mentioned of ways in which sports did not relate to the calendar. Curling, the mostly widely-played game in Scotland between 1780 and 1880, partially breaks the pattern. Although the opportunity to play might arise at any time during the winter months, in practice curling could only be enjoyed for the short period when 'the ice was bearing' (Smith 1981: 66). Secondly, one long-standing form of competition did not depend on the calendar: this was the challenge, which stemmed from the medieval idea of a champion who retained his status until he was challenged successfully (Brailsford 1991: 13-15). It survives today in professional boxing.

THE ROYAL COMPANY OF ARCHERS

The Company of Scottish Archers was founded in Edinburgh in 1676, and Queen Anne granted it a royal charter in 1704: it is the oldest sporting society in Britain. The Royal Company's origins lie in the archery guilds of the Low Countries which had been formed between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their first purpose was the defence of towns, but they also had the range of social functions which were common to non-trade guilds on the Continent: encouraging sociability, providing for sick members, and funding and dignifying funerals (Roussiaud 1990: 161-5). The Royal Company did not have most of these functions. While in exile in Bruges in 1656-8, Charles II and his youngest brother Henry, Duke of Gloucester, became active members of the Ghilde Sint-Sebaastiaen and Charles remained an enthusiast for archery (Vanhoutryve 1988: 26-7). The founding of the Company in Edinburgh is an example of the way in which the monarch's tastes and enthusiasms were copied.

In the first half of the eighteenth century the Royal Company had a strongly Jacobite flavour, but after the '45 this diminished and during George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822 it was appointed the King's Bodyguard for Scotland. For the remainder of the nineteenth century it was self-consciously an élite body. With much ceremony it presented a *reddendo* – a gift from a vassal to his superior – of two barbed arrowheads to the king at Holyrood in 1822 (Balfour Paul 1875: 141-56). It had a court uniform, and George IV gave the Captain-General of the Royal Company a gold stick as a sign of office; William IV gave another, plus two silver ones; Queen Victoria added seven ebony sticks. The Captain-General took part in Victoria's coronation procession in 1838 (Balfour Paul 1875: 165-8, 184-8, 205). These roles and rituals were all innovations, examples of the phenomenon of the 'invention of tradition' which Hobsbawm and Ranger described (1983). The Royal Company stood at a distance from other archers. Whilst it exchanged freedoms with senior English archery societies, it did not shoot with or against any of the other Scottish archery bodies, and individual members of the Royal Company rarely appeared in more general archery competitions. Throughout its history a significant proportion of its membership has been drawn from the landed

classes. It is important to the history of archery in Scotland for two reasons: it sustained traditions, and it was a model for other societies.

The Royal Company of Archers kept archery alive in Scotland. Apart from scattered activity in country houses, and one small society in Kilwinning, it was the only group which was active in the middle of the eighteenth century. It built its own headquarters on the southern edge of Edinburgh – Archers' Hall – in 1776-7 (Balfour Paul 1875: 260-1). As the old burgh silver arrows fell into disuse, the Royal Company gathered them, preserved them in Archers' Hall, and visited their parent burghs every few years so that tradition could be seen to be active. The Royal Company is thus responsible for the continuity in shooting for the Musselburgh Arrow from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the present day, and for the Edinburgh Arrow from 1709. The Royal Company also revived the competition for the Peebles Arrow, which was in abeyance from 1664 to 1786, and for the Selkirk Arrow, which disappeared from sight from 1674 to 1818 (Balfour Paul 1875: 346-9).

In the history of sport in Scotland, the Royal Company is important because it provided continuity from the days of the burgh sport to the era of target archery. It had its uniform and its own internal traditions in the form of specific competitions for specific prizes at recognised times of the year. It was a private club in the sense that its membership was strictly defined and the members provided its sole means of financial support. It was also a public body, however, in that its existence was widely known: it appeared in printed guides to Edinburgh and the results of the more important of its competitions were announced in the press. On occasion, crowds numbering thousands watched their meetings (Balfour Paul 1875: 222).

During the growth of archery from the late eighteenth century, and down to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Royal Company was the model for other Scottish societies. Its élite nature made it an object of emulation. It did not lead actively; but others followed. The archery society at Kilwinning had been founded in 1688 by members of the Royal Company (Burnett and Urquhart 1998: 10). The Bowmen of the Border, founded at Kelso in 1788, were similarly socially exclusive. The Bowmen did not follow the Royal Company in building their own premises, but they did possess assets which similarly encouraged sociability:

XII. The liquors are to be purchased out of the funds of the society and to be kept in a cellar appropriated for this use alone. The wine shall consist of Port, Sherry, Claret and Madeira. (Hargrove 1845: 97)

The Bowmen survived for some time: they were still meeting for dinner in 1820, and may be linked to the society of the same name which James Hogg promoted at Innerleithen from 1830 (*Kelso Mail*, 10 January 1820; Burnett and Dalgleish 1995: 1176-8; Fig. 1). The Royal Dumfries Archers and the Centre Bowmen of Dundee had shorter lives (*Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 17 June 1794; *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser*, 7 September 1810).

Fig. 1. Silver medal of the Border Bowmen, 1835 (NMS H.1995.308).

In the 1820s the new archery clubs adopted uniforms which were similar to that of the Royal Company. When William IV came to the throne in 1822, the Irvine Toxophilites attempted to gain a status similar to that of the Royal Company, and become 'the King's Bodyguard for the West of Scotland', but they were seen off by the older society (Balfour Paul 1875: 188-92). In 1839 the Irvine archers did manage to become the bodyguard of the Queen of Beauty at the Eglinton Tournament. Most clubs copied the Royal Company in the naming of office holders, particularly the Captain or Captain-General.

The pattern of one club, whose members are drawn from some form of social élite, guiding the fortunes of a sport, can be seen elsewhere. The Duddingston Curling Society, founded in 1795, was composed of lairds, lawyers and ministers. It introduced round stones in place of water-worn *channel stanes*, and wrote the first laws of curling in 1803 (Smith 1981: 35-40). In London, the aristocratic Marylebone Cricket Club evolved into the governing authority of cricket between its foundation in 1787 and about 1830 (Holt 1989: 28). The case of the Royal Caledonian Hunt Club was different: whilst organising the largest race meeting in Scotland, which also had the largest prizes, it did not attempt to control the sport and that was left to the Jockey Club, based at Newmarket (Holt

1989: 28). Where the Royal Company took no specific action to establish its domination over the sport, the Jockey Club actively sought power, seeing it as the only method by which the widespread dishonesty of the turf could be dealt with.

THE KILWINNING PAPINGO

Two of the longest-surviving archery societies are in Ayrshire, at Kilwinning and Irvine. The Kilwinning papingo is one of Scotland's oldest sporting events, having been held, though not continuously, since 1688, and the Ancient Society of Kilwinning Archers, to give the name in its present-day form, is Scotland's second oldest sporting society, being pre-dated only by the Royal Company of Archers (Ker 1894). Its trophy, the Kilwinning Arrow, dates from 1724.

The target for the papingo is a wooden parrot, though its shape has been modified so that the one which is used today has more the shape of a pigeon.

> It is ... cut out in wood, fixed in the end of a pole, and placed 120 feet high, on the steeple of the monastery. The archer who shoots down this mark, is honoured with the title of the Captain of the Papingoe. He is master of the Ceremonies of the succeeding year, sends cards of invitation to the ladies, gives them a ball and supper, and transmits his honours to posterity by a medal, with suitable devices, appended to a silver arrow (*OSA*, xi, 173).

Papingo-shooting came to Scotland from the Low Countries – it is hardly known in England – and was recorded at St Andrews (1574), Ayr (1595-1624), and Irvine (1605 and 1665) (Burnett and Urquhart 1998: 7).

Although it is clear from the medals attached to the Kilwinning Arrow that the papingo was the subject of competition throughout the eighteenth century, no printed references to it have been found in this period. Its approach was advertised for the first time in the *Ayr Advertiser* of 7 July 1808 and for twenty years these annual notices continued to be its only public appearances. The picture changed in 1828, when the Society suddenly began to see itself as a public body, and resolved:

> The uniform dress to be worn by members of the society when shooting for the silver arrow . . . to consist of a double-breasted green long coat with gilt buttons, the coat to be lined with white silk, the buttons to be made with cross arrows with points downwards, white cashmere vest with uniform buttons (Ker 1894: 333).

This was the year when the fifteen-year-old Archibald William Montgomerie, 13th Earl of Eglinton, made his first appearance at the papingo – which he won, employing a proxy to shoot on his behalf, in the same way that medieval monarchs might be represented in jousts by their champions.

Soon there is sufficient evidence to outline the day's activities. In 1830 the archers met on Thursday morning for practice, and then assembled under the leadership of the Hon. Roger Rollo. In the afternoon, they shot for the silver arrow 'and its valuable and accumulating *appendages*', and the papingo was won by David Snodgrass Cunningham

Fig. 2. The Kilwinning Papingo, from the *Illustrated London News*, 15 August 1846.

of Cunninghamhead. Rollo gave a ball in the evening. On the Friday they shot at butts for a silver dirk (*Ayr Advertiser*, 5 August 1830).

After the opening of the Glasgow and Ayr Railway in 1840, the Ayrshire archery competitions were, in terms of the numbers of competitors, dominated by archers from the commercial world of Glasgow. At Kilwinning in 1846 there were men from the Glasgow Archers, the St Mungo Archers, and the Partick Archers (Figs 2 and 3). They travelled by train, and as the *Illustrated London News* commented, 'A fine band of music was waiting at the Kilwinning Station, and they marched into the town headed by the Captain-General, and playing appropriate airs' (15 August 1846, 108). A ticket for the Captain-General's ball survives (Glasgow City Archives TD 200/88, illustrated

Fig. 3. Target shooting at Kilwinning, from the *Illustrated London News*, 15 August 1846. The prize that year, a silver jug, is on the pole in the middle of the picture.

in Burnett 1995: 27). It shows the archers in uniform, watched by spectators in medieval dress (including a man in full armour), Kilwinning Abbey tower, and the distant mock-medieval Eglinton Castle – but not the contemporary town of Kilwinning, and its industrial surroundings.

Behind the nineteenth-century growth in archery lies the medieval revival in art and literature, and particularly the figure of Walter Scott (Burnett and Dalgleish 1995: 1177). His ideas appealed particularly to the urban middle classes who, living in noisy and smoky cities, were able to believe that life had been simpler in the Middle Ages. Their archery was not particularly competitive: handicapping was often used to make it likely that the winner of a competition was someone who had not won it before. The emphasis on uniform, ritual and dining stressed the historical and social elements of the event, rather than the competitive ones. To break away from their annual meetings and compete more regularly would have removed one of the illusions on which their medievalism was based, that they lived according to the medieval calendar.

THE IRVINE TOXOPHILITES

In 1665 the town council of Irvine had arranged for 'the Pappingoe to be sett up and that whosoever burgessis pleasit to adres thamselffs thairto with thair bowis and arrows for schooting thairat' (Strawhorn 1985: 60). Ker suggested that the steeple of the old

parish church was used until it was taken down in 1721; Strawhorn alternatively proposed that it was set up on the Tolbooth (Strawhorn 1985: 98, Ker 1894: 327). Whichever is right, the Irvine papingo was shot in the middle of the town.

Archery at Irvine recommenced in 1814, with target archery rather than the papingo (Buchanan 1989: 24). The Irvine Archers remained an inconspicuous local group until 1839, when they were chosen to form the bodyguard of the Queen of Beauty at the Eglinton Tournament.

> Some suggested their turning out in ancient Burghal costume; others, their equipment and performance as a body of craftsmen, in the style of good King Crispin. But the suggestion of Baillie Dick, that it would be excellent in keeping with the whole arrangement, to assume the garb, and appear equipped, as a body of ancient Archers, met with unanimous approval. (Hargrove 1845: 149).

There is nothing to suggest why they, rather than the Kilwinning men, were chosen, but the decision changed the character of the Irvine meeting. In 1840 it was deemed to be 'commemorative of the Eglinton Tournament': the Earl took control, encouraged the wearing of uniforms, and presented prizes. He wore a dark green frock coat with matching facings, a broad belt with a silver clasp and long white gloves, plus the president's white silk sash and a feather in his bonnet (*Ayr Advertiser*, 3 September 1846). This was a sporting gathering, but also something of a pageant.

The meeting of the Irvine Toxophilites in 1846 illustrates the ritual and pageantry which Eglinton encouraged: he would have been satisfied with his obituary which referred to 'the archery meetings so suggestive of the merry greenwood of long-gone summers' (*Ayr Advertiser*, 10 October 1861). It was a two-day meeting, on 28 and 29 August. The Glasgow and Ayr Railway brought competitors from Kilwinning and Glasgow. Dressed in club uniforms, they assembled at the Eglinton Arms. The Glasgow club wore dark green, 'profusely braided on the breast'; the Partick, light green with gold facings; and the Irvine Toxophilites themselves were also dressed in light green.

They marched in procession to the butts, preceded by the Kilwinning Instrumental Band. The butts were in the playground of Irvine Academy, where there was a marquee in which refreshments were served. There was a new banner displaying Latin mottoes. Competition was for a medal, and the winner held the Eglinton Gold Belt, 'of elaborate workmanship, richly set with studs, and carved in the most beautiful manner', for a year. Second prize was a bow, and third, half of the stakes. The medal and belt were won by William Ferguson of the Partick Club: in the competition he scored the fifth largest number of points, but he was behind four previous winners who were handicapped. Finally, Captain White, the victor in the previous year, returned the Gold Belt to the Earl of Eglinton, who then presented it to Ferguson, in a ceremony which reflected the Earl's wish to project himself as feudal superior (*Ayr Advertiser*, 3 September 1846). The clearest indication of his position is shown in the fact that one of the prizes at Irvine was a framed portrait of Eglinton himself (Hargrove 1845: 149).

The Earl's domination of the Irvine Toxophilites fixed them in the neo-medieval

world which he fashioned for them. Feudal tributes might be expected either annually or on the installation of a new lord: by preferring the former, and by linking sport to feudalism, Eglinton created a picturesque structure which was sustainable provided all concerned were prepared to subscribe to certain cultural values, and to accept their artificiality. Yet the mining and iron working industries were growing in north Ayrshire: archery seemed increasingly incongruous.

THE DECLINE AND DEMISE OF THE AYRSHIRE ARCHERY COMPETITIONS

Around 1860 the Kilwinning and Irvine archery meetings were fashionable events, yet their demise was less than a decade distant. In 1859 there was a 'Numerous and brilliant assemblage' at Kilwinning. The following year there was 'One of the happiest meetings which has taken place in Kilwinning for many years', and the report gave a long list of landed gentry and numerous prizes including the Eglinton belt, the Captain-General's fish knife and fork, the Tournament medal, a silver quaich, two silver cups, a silver medal, a quiver, and a set of arrows. About 1855 ladies' competitions had been added, for which the prizes were brooches (*Ayr Advertiser*, 1 September 1859 and 30 August 1860). The following description of the rapid decline of the Ayrshire archery competitions is based on newspaper reports (*Ayr Advertiser*, 30 May 1861, 31 July 1862, 3 September 1863, 31 July 1864, 27 July 1865, 26 July 1866, 25 July 1867).

Although the papingo attracted interest, there were few competitors. In 1861 only four shot for it, although 50 sat down to dinner in the Masonic Hall. The difficulty was that the winner was captain the following year, and was obliged to pay for dinner for the whole company. It was thus essential for the captain to be a man of some wealth: competent archers thus shot on behalf of those who were willing to be captain. For example, when in 1859 the Papingo was won by Robert Wylie of Kilwinning, he was acting as proxy for Hugh Montgomerie of Bourtreehill. Wylie's profession is unknown, whilst Montgomerie was a minor laird with an estate east of Irvine.

Before the 1860s, the papingo had been organised by men from Ayrshire, and visitors from elsewhere had been welcomed. However, Glasgow archers including John Findlay, a manufacturer of gingham and pullicate [both kinds of coloured cloth], were now members of the Committee. At the 1864 dinner Captain M'Allister proposed the memory of Hugh Montgomerie of Bourtreehill, 'all that mortal man could do to perpetuate such meetings had been done by their deceased friend'. In 1865 Findlay, offering the toast of the Society, said it would have failed if Glasgow gentlemen had not supported it. In 1866 'On the suggestion of past Capt. J. Findlay, a committee, consisting of three gentlemen from Glasgow and three from Ayrshire, were appointed to meet with the Irvine Toxophilite Society to take steps for the purpose of resuscitating the annual meetings of that society which have been dropped for three years in consequence of the death of Captain-General Hugh Montgomerie of Bourtree Hill, who had been the society's main support.'

The last nineteenth-century shooting of the Kilwinning papingo was held on 28th July 1870. Before dinner, nine archers shot at butts for a quaich presented by the oldest member. They then marched from the Cross to the Abbey behind Kilwinning Band. Six shot for the papingo, but no one wanted to shoot for the office of Captain-General. In the chair at the dinner William Brown of Saltcoats gave the toast of 'The Ancient Society of Kilwinning Archers', and recognised that the society was in difficulty (*Ayr Advertiser*, 4 Aug 1870, Ker 1894: 338). The next shoot for the Kilwinning papingo took place in 1948, and the Irvine Toxophilites were revived in 1964 (Strawhorn 1985: 212).

A less than robust tradition is vulnerable to the weather. In 1862, for the papingo, it was bad. 'There were certainly as many villagers congregated, but the attendance of the neighbouring gentry was *nil*, and of the members of the society many were conspicuous for their absence.' At the dinner, Lieutenant Meikle, speaking on behalf of the Volunteers, said that he hoped that the archers would stand better to their colours than the archers did that day: although the elements had been against the archers, he trusted that a shower would not scatter them completely. The meeting of 1863 was cold and wet, and despite having been moved from Friday to Saturday, attendance was lower. In 1865 the falling bird knocked one of the spectators unconscious: it was an unhappy omen.

What had once seemed based in the historic past now appeared merely odd. The archers wore 'quaint attire' or 'Picturesque costumes'. The passion for Scott's novels and poetry had abated by 1860. Where he had given a vivid picture of life in the Middle Ages, Tennyson in 'Morte d'Arthur' and 'Idylls of the King' wrote about the medieval from the outside, sometimes with heavy nostalgia. At Kilwinning, the tradition of the archers marching through the town and standing outside each public house while a dram was drunk became a 'questionable practice'.

The Ayrshire archery competitions faced three threats: from target archery, from the Volunteer movement and its shooting competitions, and from other forms of sport.

An annual archery competition fitted the lives of the Ayrshire lairds who sustained the meetings at Kilwinning and Irvine. They were as interested in sociability and tradition as in competition, and there is no evidence that, apart from the 13th Earl of Eglinton, they attended archery meetings elsewhere. By the 1840s, however, there were frequent archery competitions in Glasgow and Edinburgh: archers from one club could shoot throughout the summer in meetings organised by the others. The archers all over Britain who took part in these, more overtly competitive, events, were the men and women who supported the national archery competitions to which we will now turn. They diverted attention from traditional archery, as did the expansion of the rifle Volunteer movement and the growth of other sports, which we will examine later. All of them involved more frequent events.

TARGET ARCHERY NATIONAL MEETINGS

The *Ayr Advertiser* said that one of the reasons for the poor attendance at the 1862

papingo was the conflict of its date in the last week of July with the Grand National meeting in England, and the expectation of the meeting of the National Archery Society of Scotland in Edinburgh in early September (*Ayr Advertiser*, 31 July 1864).

The sport of archery developed radically in the 1840s. The focus was the annual Grand National Archery Meeting: the first was held at York in 1844. Instead of archers competing in local clubs, they met for a contest which admitted archers from all over Britain. The competition was in the form of a 'Double York Round', a York Round consisting of 20 arrows at each of 100, 80 and 60 yards. Standards rose very dramatically, particularly because of refinements in technique made by Horace Alfred Ford, son of a Glamorgan solicitor, who was champion for ten consecutive years (Hardy 1976: 150-3). Scotland was included in this development: the seventh Grand National was held at Edinburgh in 1850, in Warrender Park. Before the Grand National meetings, each club had had its own method of scoring (Hargrove 1845; Soar 1995: 24): the new meetings helped to promote consistent methods.

In emulation of the Grand National, the National Archery Society of Scotland (NASS) was set up in the summer of 1855. Its membership tended to be drawn from commercial men in the cities, rather than from the country gentlemen who formed much of the membership of the Royal Company, and who sustained the two Ayrshire competitions. Yet it was to an extent a sport for an élite: each competitor paid target money of half a guinea (a guinea from 1866). Several of its annual meetings were held on cricket grounds: at Kinning Park, Glasgow, the home of Clydesdale C.C.; at Raeburn Place, Edinburgh, on the Edinburgh Academicals' ground; again in Edinburgh, at Grove Park, where the Grange club leased land; and at Livilands, where Stirling County played. Others were at country houses. (NASS Minutes, passim)

The NASS meetings continued until 1879, but their zenith had passed in 1863-5. At the peak of the NASS's existence, archers came from clubs in Edinburgh (the Royal Company, Salisbury Archers, Edinburgh Toxophilites, Meadow Grove Archers), Glasgow (St Mungo, Kinning Park), Paisley and Stirling. (NASS Minutes, passim) Yet, though target archery had less ritual and uniform than the Royal Company of Archers or the Ayrshire competitions, it still had a historical image. When the NASS met at Stirling in 1865, John Murie, Provost of the burgh, said:

> I think Stirling is peculiarly adapted to such meetings, from its central position, and having railways converging to it from all points, and also from its historical associations. We still have the butts at the foot of the old castle wall, where many a splendid feat in archery was performed in the days of yore. (Cheers.) We still have our old walls, from which many a well-aimed arrow has flown with more deadly effect than has been shot in these two days. (Cheers.) . . . too much praise cannot be awarded to the ladies for the skill which they have displayed on this occasion ... A lady who is a good archer is no ordinary character. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I recommend the ladies to continue their practice, for like Cupid of old, they will learn to fix their arrows in the right place, and lead captive at their will the lords of the creation. (*The Field*, 12 August 1865, in TASS Minutes, 95)

Before the third NASS meeting (1857) prizes were offered for three ladies' competitions, and the following year they did compete.

Peter Muir (1809-86) was the most significant figure in the National Archery Society of Scotland. He was bowmaker to the Royal Company from 1829 to 1877, and he won the Grand National in 1845, 1848 and 1863. He was trained in Kilwinning as a wright and became a craftsman of the highest skill (Soar 1995: 21). He was one of the six who founded the NASS, he often set up the butts and made other preparation for the shooting, and he was the judge at almost all of their meetings. In 1863, he won the Championship medal by scoring 380 for a York round. In 1865, when he was one of the two judges (presumably he judged the ladies' archery), he won again with a score of 820 for a double York round (*The Field*, 12 August 1865, in NASS minutes, 95). In his period he was second only to Horace Ford as an archer – and Ford used Muir's arrows (Ford 1856: 115).

Muir died at his home at 15 Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh, a few hundred yards from Archers' Hall, on 21 March 1886 (Fisher 1894: 284-5). An obituary said:

> his reputation as a bowyer and fletcher was not confined to Scotland, but was known throughout Great Britain, and whenever a bow had the magic stamp 'Muir' on its back there could be no doubt of its excellence; better workmanship was never turned out from the hands of any man (*The Field*, 27 March 1886, 397).

Throughout the eighteenth century the Royal Company's bowmakers had had difficulty in surviving financially. Muir, however, made an adequate living. This was partly because of his skill: his bows and arrows sold all over Britain. At the same time there were more archers competing more frequently: weekly competition created a larger demand for his craftsmanship.

THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT AND RIFLE SHOOTING FOR LEISURE

In 1859, at the dinner after the Kilwinning papingo, T. M'Farlane of Edinburgh said archery was becoming much more popular, with two or three new clubs being founded every month, and that it was popular because both men and women could enjoy it (*Ayr Advertiser*, 4 August 1859). On the first point, he was exaggerating and, as events were shortly to demonstrate, wrong.

The military volunteer movement was stimulated by fears of French invasion, fears which emerged in 1859 and were strengthened in following years by the xenophobic Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston. Rifle corps were established in every county, sometimes several of them. The rifle was seen as the weapon with which the individual Briton could repel the foreigner. Soon after, the National Rifle Association (NRA) was founded to organise shooting competitions, and it initiated a series of annual meetings at Wimbledon. They were moved to Bisley in 1890, and are still held there today. The meetings had the open support of royalty. Queen Victoria started the first meeting by pulling a cord attached to the trigger of a fixed rifle: the rifle scored a bull's eye. There

were dozens of competitions within the Wimbledon meetings, and the most prestigious was the Queen's Prize – the winner received the quite staggering sum of £250 (Cunningham 1975: 113-4).

Rifle shooting attracted the same kind of man to whom archery appealed: one with a little money and a little time to spare. The Volunteers were not equipped by the government, for they paid for their own arms and uniforms: thus a rifle was a common prize in NRA competitions. But to be a Volunteer was to be an active patriot, when the archer could only say that he was following a national tradition.

All archery clubs in Scotland faced competition from the Volunteers, as an observer reflected:

> A few years since, degeneracy marked the archery practice of Scotland, and this degeneracy was subsequently assisted by the rifle movement, which Scotland so heartily adopted and very speedily naturalised. This movement cast a wet blanket upon both cricket and archery, the local clubs especially feeling the influence of so powerful a rival. (*The Field*, 25 July 1863, in NASS Minutes, 76)

In some places a continuity can be detected between older diversions and the new rifle competitions. In the North-East of Scotland *wad shooting* – a sweepstake for shooting with an inaccurate gun – had been common on New Year's Day, and it was supplanted by Volunteer shooting competitions. At Innerleithen the silver arrow was shot for in rifle competitions by Volunteers (Burnett and Dalgleish 1995: 1182). The largest rifle range in the West of Scotland was at Irvine, and the West of Scotland Rifle Association, an offshoot of the NRA, held their meetings there from 1864 (Strawhorn 1985: 138). These meetings were in August, so they were almost at the same time as the annual gathering of the Irvine Toxophilites. It was only too obvious that one was supplanting the other.

The model for the NRA came from Switzerland, where the arming of able-bodied men, and the creation of shooting competitions – the *tir fédéral* – were seen as essential to the defence of the country's neutrality. Sixty Swiss riflemen attended the first NRA meeting, and they lined the ground between the marquee in which the Queen received visitors, and the tent from which she watched the shooting. When the prize winners were cheered, 'the ovation ... was especially enthusiastic' for the Swiss (*Illustrated London News*, 7 July 1860, 18, and 14 July 1860, 42).

The first winner of the Queen's Prize was a Scot, Edward Ross. In 1862 the first annual competition between Scotland and England at any sport, the Elcho Shield, was inaugurated by a Scots nobleman. There were eight riflemen in each team. In 1864 Lord Elcho said that:

> The first year we had only a chalk drawing of the shield, next year a plaster cast . . . but no sooner did it appear in a tangible form than Captain Ross and his seven have exerted themselves to obtain it, and are about to take it to Edinburgh to show what they have won. (*Illustrated London News*, 30 July 1864, 125)

The Elcho Shield was a large and elaborate piece of work: it stood at the top of a large and elaborate structure of organisation and competition. The Wimbledon rifle meeting was part of two enormous structures: first, that of the whole Volunteer movement, with its platoons, companies and regiments and the publicly-recognised system of military ranks; and second, that of the Volunteer shooting competitions, which went from the local level, usually the parish or company, through regional events, culminating in annual meetings at Wimbledon. Although the largest meetings were linked with summer Volunteer camps, and lasted several days, there were others throughout the year. In Scotland, many local competitions were held on New Year's Day.

OTHER FORMS OF SPORT

Archery suffered from competition from other sports. For example, the attendance at the 1863 papingo was said to be poor because it coincided with the Glasgow v Ayrshire bowling match which, ironically, had been initiated by the Earl of Eglinton in 1857 (*Ayr Advertiser*, 6 August 1863).

This was a period of rapid growth of sport (Holt 1989: 5-6). North Ayrshire was, along with Glasgow, the focus for the development of bowling. The first rules were written by W. W. Mitchell, a Kilmarnock man living in Glasgow, in 1849. In 1857 the Glasgow v Ayrshire competition for the Eglinton jug was instituted. Two years later another competition was started, for clubs of which Eglinton was patron – Kilwinning, Irvine, Dreghorn, Ardrossan, Dundonald and the one on the Eglinton estate (*Ayr Advertiser*, 8 July 1858). In 1860 the first large open competition was held at Kirkcudbright (*Wigtown Free Press*, 30 August 1860), drawing entries from the west of Scotland and the north-west of England.

Cricket was also expanding rapidly. The game probably reached Ayrshire in the 1830s, but in 1862 there were four clubs in Irvine, and Ayr had five senior and four junior ones (Strawhorn 1985: 136; Strawhorn 1989: 202). In England the game had greatly increased in popularity in the first third of the century: the presence of English soldiers in the garrison at Ayr was a means of stimulating its growth in the county. The 14th Earl of Eglinton started in 1866 a cricket competition for a silver tankard, on the model of his father's patronage of bowling and curling (*Ayr Advertiser*, 22 August 1866).

If cricket and bowling were, in the middle of the nineteenth century, sports for the shop keeper and the professional man, most quoiters were men whose work required strength – for so did the sport. It was probably the most popular summer sport in the Lowlands in the middle of the century. Not only were there quoiting meetings at which no other sports were played, but there were also quoiting competitions at every general games day. Thus before New Cumnock games in 1862, 'The brewer's cart from Catrine brought a promiscuous freight of keen quoiters and ale barrels' (*Ayr Advertiser*, 11 September 1862).

Horse racing attracted most of the large sporting crowds before the growth of football and rugby in the 1870s. Élite race meetings were held at ten locations in Scotland in the 1850s, and two of them were in Ayrshire: Ayr itself, and Eglinton Park (or Bogside), north of Irvine. As early as 1834 there were 20,000 present at the Western Meeting at Ayr (*Ayr Advertiser*, 11 September 1834). As soon as the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway was open, spectators travelled from the capital to Bogside Races (*Ayr Advertiser*, 5 May 1842). The races at Paisley, easily accessible by rail from 1840, also drew huge crowds. Archery was squeezed out of the calendar.

ARCHERY AND SHOOTING PRIZES

The reasons why individuals take part in a sport are various. As well as the enjoyment of exercising a skill, and the pleasures of sociability, there is also the desire to win the contest. We might therefore expect the physical nature of the prizes for a particular sport to reveal something about the greater or lesser importance of winning. Futhermore, the prize is such a flexible form – in that the type of prize has to be chosen, and in the case of decorative articles their shape and decoration can also communicate messages – that it can indicate aspects of the social and cultural contexts of the sport. Many prizes were given to a club by an individual, or given for a specific event in one year, and examination of the status of the donor also reveals something of the social relationships of sport.

Archery prizes from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries can be classified as follows. First, there was the apparatus of the sport: bows, arrows and other incidental items such as grease boxes. This kind of prize was comparatively uncommon. Next, there were silver replicas of arrows. In Scotland, these were owned by societies or by burghs, and the winner had the honour of holding the arrow for a year. The winner was bound to add a token of his victory in the form of an engraved disc, today normally, but misleadingly, referred to as a medal. The oldest, the Musselburgh Arrow, bears nearly 400 tokens, dating from 1603 to the present day. Nineteen silver arrows have been traced, of which twelve belonged to burghs, three to St Andrews University, one to Aberdeen Grammar School, and four to archery clubs. (Burnett and Dalgleish 1995: 1185-6). The Dalkeith Arrow (c.1727) was the last which came directly from the burgh tradition of archery: those at Paisley (1806), Innerleithen (1830), Kirkcudbright (1838) and Montrose (1850) can be regarded as self-conscious products of the medieval revival.

Rather than speculating about possible heraldic, literary, religious or mythological references in the choice of an arrow as a prize, we should recognise that in many pre-modern sports prizes, the apparatus stood for the activity. Thus in Cornwall, hurling matches were for a silver-coated ball, with which the game was played (Hole 1944: 41). In Scotland, two shooting prizes, the siller guns of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, both of 1587/8, predate the first siller arrow. The silver golf clubs of Edinburgh (1744) and St Andrews (1754) follow the same pattern of a replica of a piece of equipment being used

Fig. 4. Silver archery medal, Tyneside Games, 1836, with silver arrows added (NMS K.1998.1132). The medal has been converted into a wine label by engraving the word *Port* on the reverse, thus making it part of the ritual of celebratory drinking by the victor and others.

as a prize. These were all substantial trophies, the focus of their sport in their locality: in some instances, such as the Edinburgh siller club, the trophy preceded the society, which was created to administer the competition.

The third type of prize was originally intended to be worn. In some forms, such as the belt, the prize was an article of clothing. Others, including the medal and bugle, were equally objects which could be worn or displayed in the winner's home. The Eglinton Belt, which we have already mentioned, is an example; from it derived golf's Open Championship Belt which the Earl of Eglinton presented in 1860. Behind it lie the belts with which medieval knights were invested, and the collar of office which was worn by the winner or 'king' of archery guilds in the Low Countries (for example, Vanhoutryve 1989: 130-3).

The fourth group of prizes grew increasingly diverse as the nineteenth century advanced. These are objects which were for display and use in the home, particularly

on the dinner table (Fig. 4). The oldest surviving Scottish prize of this kind is the silver chocolate pot which was won at a horse race at Selkirk in 1721 (NMS H.MEQ 1065). An early archery example is a silver tray, engraved 'The King's Prize to the Royal Company of Scottish Archers, won by Thomas Charles Hope 21 July 1800'. (NMS H.MEQ 1625) Hope (1766-1844) was Professor of Chemistry at the University of Edinburgh from 1795 to 1843. A King's Prize may have been shot for in 1677, but the continuous history of the competition begins in 1787 when a prize of value £20 sterling was granted in the name of King George III. Before the winner could receive payment he was to produce a piece of plate of at least £20 value, bearing the royal arms and his own motto and device. The nature of the prize was thus the choice of the winner.

As the middle classes became more prominent in archery, this form of prize became much commoner. An early example from this phase is a silver salt cellar in a private collection, which is engraved on the base: 'KILWINNING ARCHERS BUTT / PRIZE / Presented to the Society / BY / Major George Vanburgh Brown / of Knockmarnock / Gained by Robert Knox Esqr. 19 July 1837'. After the middle of the century, there were even more. Among many others, there was a silver-plated coffee pot, 'The Captain-General's Prize, Elevated Target, Irvine Toxophilite Society, 1856' (Buchanan 1989: 24). At Kilwinning in 1860 the prize for butt shooting was a silver sugar basin (*Ayr Advertiser*, 30 August 1860). The following year, the first prize was a Britannia metal teapot, and the second and third each half a dozen spoons (*Ayr Advertiser*, 30 May 1861). In 1865 it was silver fish knife and fork (*Ayr Advertiser*, 27 July 1865). These are all the apparatus of polite socialising by the middle classes. If on the one hand they relate to the adoption of the range of table ware which had been the province of the wealthy, they are also the continuation of the long-standing practice in the sporting world, of dining after the contest. The difference is that whereas a cup or arrow would appear on the club's dining table once a year, the fish-knives were in a private house and could be used whenever the winner chose. As the nineteenth century progressed, sport was played much more often: events which had been annual, became weekly. Prizes, too, were much more frequently made to be admired. A silver flower vase was a prize at Kilwinning in 1863 (*Ayr Advertiser*, 3 September 1863).

The awarding of prizes was one of the methods by which patronage of sport was exercised. There was a long tradition of sportsmen putting up trophies for their own clubs. The earliest archery example in Scotland was the Kilwinning Arrow itself, given in 1724 to the Archers by David Mure, a Merchant in the town, who that year won it himself (Ker 1894: 335). The first prizes given to the Royal Company were medals presented by Colonel Spens in 1793 (Balfour Paul 1875: 333). These were all prizes given to the society for annual competition. Later came the prize which was for a specific year's competition, of which an example is the pair of silver sliders – stands for bottles or decanters – given by Captain M'Allister of Kennox, won by William Ferguson of the Partick Archers (*Glasgow Courier*, 31 August 1847). Another is the Partick archery medal (NMS H.1955.322). It was presented by the engineer David Tod (1796-1859),

Fig. 5. The Eglinton Belt Medal, 1853, won by John Crichton of Linn, near Dalry (NMS H.1995.309). The winner held the Belt for a year, but kept the medal.

who had worked with the famous David Napier at Camlachie and Lancefield, and went into a marine engineering partnership with John MacGregor in 1834. Tod was Provost of Partick from 1852 to 1857, and he saw patronage as part of his role, for he also presented a pair of bowls to be competed for between the burgh's Old and New Bowling Clubs (*Partick Illustrated Journal* no. 3, Nov. 1854).

The number of prizes increased after 1830: where archers had met for one or two competitions, each with a prize, the number of events proliferated and second and third prizes became common if not quite universal. The variety of different kinds of object which were given as prizes also increased, and became more diverse. Thus on the second day of the Irvine meeting of 1846, the archers shot at targets at 100 yards for a piece of silver, an archer's grease cup presented by Dr Thomas Manners of Edinburgh, which was both ornamental and useful, with, as a second prize, a bow presented by George Johnston of Redburn. The entrance money constituted a sweepstake which made up the third prize (*Illustrated London News*, 12 September 1846).

The cup, as a sporting prize, has its origins in the medieval communal drinking cup: the modern footballer who drinks from a silver cup is performing a ritual at least a thousand years old. In sport, the cup first appears in horse racing. The earliest example relating to archery is the Kilwinning Coconut Cup, which is silver-mounted with a wooden base, 'The prize butts at Kilwinning made and sett out by Robert Fullarton of Bartonholme. Esqr. For the year 1746.' (NMS H.SJ 59). This example, however, was

not followed: the cup did not become a common form of archery prize, though at Irvine its Gaelic equivalent, the quaich, did appear in 1848 (*Glasgow Courier*, 2 September 1848).

Another symbol of triumph, the medal, was much commoner. It can be seen in several ways: as the inversion of the practice of adding a token to a silver arrow (not giving to the club, but taking from it); as the adaptation of the usual form of curling trophy of the period, the club medal; and as a reward for military achievement (Fig. 5). The medal which William Ferguson won at Irvine in 1846 is in the National Museums of Scotland (H.1955.321): it is in the form of a 20-pointed star, 3.1 inches in diameter, and Tod's medal, mentioned above, was an eight-pointed star. These medals copy the stars worn by members of orders of chivalry, such as the Order of the Bath.

SPORT AND THE CALENDAR

Traditional annual archery competitions were thus supplanted by modern archery, and by shooting events which were held more frequently. This is part of a larger pattern. The annual ba' game was joined, and in many cases replaced, by the weekly soccer or rugby match. For the professional or semi-professional Highland Games competitor who was willing to travel, there were several games each week. Yet the change in the use of time was not merely a matter of increased frequency, for it also involved the creation of a 'season' for each sport. The new use of the word may come from its use in farming or in field sports: it emerged about 1850. A sport's season was more than the time when it was conventionally played, for it helped to shape periods of office-holding, and the employment of men such as the green keeper at the bowling club. It also suggested the time at which major fixtures should be held: at the end of the season. Football was the leading innovator in developing new kinds of competition which ran through the season but reached a climax at the end. The [English] Football Association Cup was first held in 1872 – Queen's Park of Glasgow were twice losing finalists in its early years – and the Scottish Cup followed in 1873. The Football League and Scottish Football League started in 1888 and 1890 respectively (McCarra 1984: 8-16). All over Europe, folk football has close links with traditional holidays, particularly Shrove Tuesday – Fastern's E'en in Scotland – and the various midwinter holidays. Association football in Scotland initially ignored this tradition. For example, in the 1870s there were no major fixtures over the period of Christmas and New Year. New Year's Day derbies were a deliberate invention: the first New Year game between Rangers and Celtic, such a distinctive feature of twentieth-century Scottish football, did not take place until 1894.

In some instances, social change reinforced the annual pattern of events. Carters' horse races, which were common in the first half of the nineteenth century in the Lothians and in a few other places, were held on the annual meeting days of the carters' friendly societies. The games day, whether Highland, Lowland or Border, was one of the most significant innovations in sport and leisure in Lowland Scotland in the early

nineteenth century. Partly derived from the idea of the traditional Highland Games – for which eighteenth-century evidence is notably scant – games were often attached to old annual holidays, such as the Rood Fair at Dumfries, held on the first Tuesday and Wednesday on or after the 24th and 25th September (Marwick 1890: 45).

Curling, dependent on cold weather, could be enjoyed on a much larger number of days following the invention of the artificial rink, a skin of ice laid down with a watering can on an impervious surface. Although there was a seasonal pattern to the times when it could be enjoyed, it was independent of the calendar in that curlers could be in action on any day of the week: farmers and those with control over their own time could participate, but those on a weekly wage were effectively debarred. Curling thus became largely a country, or perhaps we should say 'non-urban', sport though with the introduction of indoor ice rinks, it has made something of an urban revival. Soccer grew, and rapidly replaced curling as the Scots' leading sporting enthusiasm. Archery, well supported by middle-class Scotland in the middle of the nineteenth century, has been a minority sport since the 1860s.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

BALFOUR PAUL, JAMES
    1875   *The History of the Royal Company of Archers.* Edinburgh.

BRAILSFORD, DENNIS
    1991   *Sport, Time and Society: the British at play.* London.

BUCHANAN, MARGARET
    1979   *Archery in Scotland: an elegant and manly amusement.* Glasgow.

BURNETT, JOHN
    1995   *Sporting Scotland.* Edinburgh.

BURNETT, JOHN AND DALGLEISH, G. R.
    1995   The Marchmont or St Ronan's Arrow. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 125: 1175-86.

BURNETT, JOHN AND URQUHART, R.H.J.
    1998   Early papingo shooting in Scotland. *Review of Scottish Culture* 11: 4-12.

CUNNINGHAM, HUGH
    1975   *The Volunteer Force: a social and political history 1859-1908.* London.

FISHER, C. HAWKINS
    1894   Archery of the Past. In *Archery*, ed. C. J. Longman and H. Walrond, 258-85. London.

FORD, HORACE ALFRED
    1856   *Archery: its theory and practice.* New edn. Lond.

HARDY, ROBERT
    1976   *Longbow: a social and military history.* Oxford.

HARGROVE, ELY
    1845   *Anecdotes of Archery.* York.

HOBSBAWM, ERIC AND RANGER, TERENCE
    1983   Introduction: inventing traditions. In Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1-14. London.

HOLE, CHRISTINA
    1944   *English Custom and Usage.* 2nd edn. London.

HOLT, RICHARD
    1989   *Sport and the British: a modern history.* Oxford.

KER, WILLIAM LEE
    1894   The Papingo. *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society,* New Series 2 (1891-6): 324-339; partly reprinted in Ker 1900.

    1900   *Kilwinning.* Kilwinning.

McCARRA, KEVIN
    1984   *Scottish Football.* Glasgow.

MARWICK, JAMES DAVID
    1890   *List of Markets and Fairs Now and Formerly Held in Scotland.* N.p.

NAAS MINUTES   Minute book of the National Archery Society of Scotland, 1855-69, in the Scottish Life Archive, National Museums of Scotland (W.MS.1999.43).

NMS   National Museums of Scotland.

OSA
    1791-9   *The Statistical Account of Scotland,* ed. J. Sinclair. 21 vols. Edinburgh.

REID, ALAN

    1912   Churchyard memorials of Peebles, Stobo, Lyne, West Linton and
                Newlands. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 47 (1912-
                13): 130-71.

ROUSSIAUD, JACQUES

    1990   The city-dweller and life in cities and towns. In *The Medieval World*,
                ed. Jacques le Goff, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, 139-79. London.

SMITH, DAVID B.

    1981   *Curling: an illustrated history.* Edinburgh.

SOAR, HUGH D.

    1995   Archery in Scotland. *Journal of the Society of Archer-Antiquaries* 38:
                17-27.

STRAWHORN, JOHN

    1985   *The History of Irvine.* Edinburgh.

    1989   *The History of Ayr.* Edinburgh.

VANHOUTRYVE, ANDRE

    1988   *Ghilde van myn Heere Sint-Sebastiaen die d'Aerchiers Houden Binnen der
                Stede van Brugghe: Een Cultureel-Historische Analyse.* Bruges.

Conceptualising Neighbourhood: Charity Labour Gatherings in Rural Perthshire, 1850–1950

GARY J. WEST

Like 'community', 'neighbourhood' is a concept which has attracted many scholarly attempts at definition. There is general consensus amongst geographers, who tend to emphasise the spatial connotations of the word, that in physical terms neighbourhood is smaller than community (Pacione 1983; Gold 1980) while sociologists and anthropologists have come to focus on neighbourhood as a form of cognitive construction or *feeling* (Bulmer 1986; Cohen 1982 and 1987; Mewett 1982). This article adheres to the latter viewpoint, for ethnographic data derived from oral history fieldwork and archival research I have carried out in my native rural Perthshire suggest that neighbourhood was a central concept in the collective mindset of the farming folk there, and was built around the tradition of *neighbouring* – non-waged, communal work practices involving members of separate agricultural units. Drawing upon categorisation models of cooperative labour constructed by Erasmus (1956: 445), Moore (1975: 272) and O'Dowd (1981: 68-70) I suggest that within Perthshire two general forms of non-waged labour arrangements can be identified: exchange labour and charity labour. This study focuses upon a specific manifestation of the charity labour category, the *lovedarg*, and suggests that an examination of the form variants, dynamics and semiotics of this tradition can illustrate the importance of mutual aid both as a means of coping with economic insecurity and in the mental construction of neighbourhood as a form of cognitive space and category of belonging (Relph 1976: 24). My focus begins at the mid-point of the 19th century when the local Perthshire weekly press began to carry reports on communal work gatherings, and ends around a century later when the tradition began to disappear with the widespread replacement of horse power by the tractor engine.

NON-WAGED LABOUR IN PERTHSHIRE

Although largely ignored by rural historians, the concept of agricultural units sharing or pooling their labour resources for certain tasks without monetary payment by no means disappeared in Scotland with the abolition of multiple and joint tenancies during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This particular aspect of a localised, organic,

informal economy survived the sweeping tide of large-scale improvement which took place during that period, before falling into a rapid decline from around 1950, due largely to increasing adoption of labour-saving technology. In Perthshire, these communal arrangements were manifested in many different ways. In the mountainous areas in the north and west of the county, where farm units were often small and heavily reliant upon the labour of the tenant's immediate family, reciprocal agreements between several neighbours were commonplace for a wide array of tasks related to pastoral and mixed farming. The topography of the south and east of the county, however, is better suited to an arable production emphasis and in Strathmore, the Carse of Gowrie and the lower reaches of the Earn and Tay valleys, large scale commercialised farms worked by a rigidly organised hierarchical labour force began to emerge early in the 19th century. There, casual mutual assistance between farms was less common, although the tradition continued to operate for a select number of labour-intensive tasks and within specific social contexts.

In his discussion of social interaction amongst neighbours, Peter Mann identifies two forms of neighbourliness – manifest and latent (Mann 1954: 164). Manifest neighbourliness is characterised by overt forms of social relationships, such as mutual visiting in the home and going out for purposes of pleasure, while the latent form involves the existence of favourable attitudes towards neighbours which result in positive action only when the need arises, particularly in times of crisis or emergency. Within a work-based context, manifest neighbourliness is most commonly embodied within the phenemenon of exchange labour – mutual help arrangements between neighbours built upon principles of direct reciprocity (Erasmus 1956; Moore 1975). In those areas of Perthshire dominated by small-scale production units, manifest neighbourliness was strong: tasks such as potato planting, haymaking, turnip sowing and grain threshing were often carried out through cooperation between immediate neighbours, thus obviating the need to find ready cash with which to pay hired hands.

In the more fertile regions in the south and east where larger units predominated, neighbour cooperation tended to be more latent, although continued to be widely used throughout this period for the specific task of threshing grain when the travelling mills arrived in a neighbourhood. These machines, steam-driven for the most part and tractor-driven by the end of this period, were a common sight in the Perthshire lanes from the mid-19th century, having developed from static steam mills which had begun to appear in the county by the end of the Napoleonic wars (Collins 1972: 17). By the 1860s, the local Perthshire press was carrying regular advertisements offering the services of mobile mills to the county's farmers. Many took advantage of this innovation, for it enabled a large volume of cereal to be threshed in one go, allowing the workers to dispense with the laborious methods associated with traditional hand-threshing techniques (Fenton 1985: 132–75). However, successful operation of the travelling mill remained extremely labour intensive, requiring a much larger force than could typically be mustered from among the ranks of even the largest Perthshire farms. The hiring of

extra labour would have been prohibitively expensive, and so the use of exchange arrangements made the whole operation viable. Flexibility was essential:

Aye, that was an understanding. Everybody understood that. You needit anything – for a thrashin mill coming in, you needit anything from fourteen to sixteen men to keep everything going like clockwork. So it was understood, they'd just let you know two days before the mill, 'we're getting the mill in on Wednesday, I'll maybe need three men'. ... There was no money involved. (Taped interview, SA 1988.21, Dave West)

Dave West's use of the word 'understanding' is significant, a concept he mentions three times in this short passage. Both latent and manifest forms of neighbourliness were built upon an ongoing principle of mutual cooperation which was implicit in the social organisation of Perthshire rural life. Unlike those societies alluded to by both Erasmus (1956) and Moore (1975) in which mutual obligations of this kind tend to be built around principles of kinship, in Perthshire the sphere of understanding involved 'neighbours'. These individuals did not have to live and work in spatially contiguous units in order to consider themselves as neighbours. Implicit in most narratives is the idea that neighbours were quite simply 'those who neighboured'.

In hill farming areas the same principles applied to the use of exchange labour for tasks associated with sheep farming, particularly clippings and dippings. The size of the neighbouring *circle* could vary considerably, but in some cases comprised twenty or more partners, all of whom worked together on the units of each member in turn. Membership of these circles tended to be governed by tradition and was attached to units as opposed to individuals. Thus certain groups of farms neighboured for many generations, new tenants being invited into the same circles as their predecessors (Taped interviews, SA 1988.20, John Fisher; SA 1988.22, Jim Mollison). Although based on oral tradition and seldom formalised in writing (again, simply an 'understanding'), large circles required a rigid organisational framework if the system was to operate smoothly. In most, each member was allocated the same date each year, while other circles rotated the order in an attempt to ensure fairness.

With all forms of communal labour gatherings in Perthshire food and alcoholic drink were supplied by the host both during the working day and at a social meal in the evening. This aspect of the tradition was fondly recalled by John Fisher (Taped interview, SA 1988.20):

Then you see, that was that – breakfast, excellent breakfast. When I went to Tynayare first I used to take the breakfast up before I started clippin. And then there was a tea came up again about ten o'clock and ... well, up in the fank you got a dram wi the ten o'clock tea, he went round and the man gave everybody a dram. And then when you came down for your dinner there was a dram on the table for everybody. But you were eatin a the time. Bloody great! (laughs). I thought so anyway. I loved it. I loved the thing.

Collective memory focuses closely on this aspect of these gatherings. A good deal of rivalry became attached to meal provision – 'you knew where all the best meals were by

the time you were goin roond' (Taped interview, SA 1998.23, John Menzies) – and ceilidhs lasting well into the night were common, involving singing, playing of instrumental music, dancing, storytelling and drinking. Indeed, one farmer suggested that the main reason for the eventual decline of the neighbouring tradition was the introduction of the breathalyser! (Taped interview, SA 1988.22, Jim Mollison).

CHARITY LABOUR – THE LOVEDARG

While labour exchange based on principles of direct or 'balanced' reciprocity (Sahlins 1974) was commonly utilised in Perthshire, work undertaken without expectation of reciprocation also formed part of the localised informal economy. Termed 'charity labour' by O'Dowd in relation to Ireland (O'Dowd 1981) this might involve small-scale aid carried out by two or three neighbours on behalf of a friend in need, or else could take a much grander form. In Perthshire, the word *lovedarg* was commonly used to refer to a large work party which was formed on a given day to help out a specific member of the community who required aid. *Darg* (also appearing as *dairk*, *dark*, *dawerk*) is a Scots word originally meaning 'a day's work', but which also came to refer to the *results* of a day's work, or indeed, an area of land which could be worked in a day (*Scottish National Dictionary*). In modern Scots usage it often refers to work in general, having lost its temporal implication, giving rise to the use of such tautological phrases as 'a day's darg' or 'our daily darg'. Within the specific context of the lovedarg, however, the original meaning was maintained throughout its lifetime for I have failed to find an example of such a gathering having lasted for more than a single day. A lovedarg, quite literally, was a day's labour of love given by several members of a community to a neighbour in need.

While a lovedarg could be organised for a number of reasons and to perform a variety of tasks, it most frequently involved ploughing the land of a new tenant. A Perthshire correspondent to the *Scottish National Dictionary* writing in 1928 describes the lovedarg as a 'gift day of service of horses, men, etc., by neighbour farmers to a new-come farmer' while the prolific 19th century commentator on agricultural matters, Henry Stephens, applauds the concept of the 'ploughing day' which was regarded as 'the earnest of a hearty welcome to a stranger' and which saved the newcomer labour costs of 8 shillings per acre (Stephens 1855: 516). The synonyms 'ploughing day', 'day's ploughing', 'friendly darg', and 'ploughing darg' all appear in local newspaper reports within Perthshire during the second half of the 19th century, and with a few exceptions discussed below, clearly relate to the convening of work parties to help a newly installed farmer.

THE LOVEDARG AS INSURANCE POLICY

Witnesses interviewed during the present research suggest that the primary function of this custom was to offer practical help to enable the family to establish itself upon the

new holding. The first year of a tenancy was widely acknowledged as being the most critical, and yet most difficult, as new tenants were often lacking the necessary resources to begin full scale production, particularly if they had just made the ambitious transition from labourer to tenant. Neighbours were sensitive to the potential problems newcomers could encounter, and were well aware that given the precarious nature of agricultural production, one bad season could plunge farmers into a cycle of hardship from which they might never recover. It was this empathy which lay at the root of the lovedarg tradition:

Lovedarg. Well a lovedarg is – say you took a farm over and you had no equipment yourself – you'd just put in to this farm, all the neighbours and that would come and plough the ground for ye. And that's what ye called a lovedarg. ... When we went into Tynayare in 1914 we had no horses and the neighbours all came, two pair from some farms and one pair – I think there was seventeen pair o horses came. And they ploughed the whole bloody lot – the redland and the lea and the stubble, they did a the ploughin in one day. ... That was tae help ye start you see. Till ye got organised. It was great that altogether. It was kindness in itself. (Taped interview, SA 1988.20, John Fisher)

John Fisher's family benefited from the large turnout in that the work party completed the ploughing on their smallholding in a few hours, and so proceeded to undertake the next steps of the production process, sowing and harrowing. On larger holdings, the ploughing was not always completed by nightfall, but in such cases the volunteers would not return the following day. A lovedarg was strictly a one-day gift, providing a *full* day's labour, but *only* a day's labour. It was therefore imperative that as large a force as possible be mobilised in order to ensure that the event brought the maximum benefit to the recipient. As a result, lovedargs could attract impressively large numbers of workers: of the extant reports from Perthshire which quantify attendees, the number of plough teams involved ranges from 17 to 55, the mean being 30.25. While these figures are undoubtedly inflated due to the fact that most of the reports appeared in local newspapers and therefore represent the largest and most newsworthy gatherings, it is nonetheless clear that lovedargs were significant events within the localised context, attracting large crowds of spectators as well as a high proportion of the most skilled members of the local agricultural work force.

As well as being offered to new tenants, lovedargs were also called on behalf of established farmers who were falling behind in their work for some reason:

And we all helped one another: all helped. The lovedarg covered the whole thing. Somebuddie behind wi their work and ye all turned up wi yer plough and yer pair o horse and started plooin their field for them. Aye, that's been done in different times that I know of. ... Aye, oh the lovedarg was a common thing. (Taped interview, SLA 1985/44, William Adam)

Often it was illness which lay at the root of the problems which led to the mobilisation of a lovedarg, and in such genuine circumstances neighbouring farmers were quick to help out in this way. In extreme cases the need was even more acute:

I was at a lovedarg once at Newtyle – a place they called Davison. The farmer hanged himsel and this what they called a lovedarg was given tae the widow, and aw the farmers roon aboot brought a pair o horse or a couple o pair o horse. An yer great-grandfather and I wis at that. The whole farm was ploughed in one day. (Taped interview, SC 1986.16, Dave MacDonald)

The lovedarg was a one-off event, designed in this case to ease immediate hardship, and would not have been convened on a regular basis to help out the widow. Offers of aid from individuals may well have been made thereafter until she was able to make alternative arrangements or indeed resign the tenancy, but large scale charitable work gatherings of this kind were treated as special events requiring significant time investment by many people, and could not be brought into action on an ongoing basis.

While the forms of lovedarg discussed above may appear to represent community altruism, viewed diachronically, the tradition actually involved a form of hidden or 'generalised' reciprocity (Sahlins 1974). Participants knew that their efforts constituted an investment, for their willingness to attend such gatherings served to guarantee them similar help should the need ever arise. Such latent neighbourliness (Mann 1954: 164) was thus a kind of 'mutual' insurance policy, underwritten by fellow members of the farming community, for which labour service rather than cash formed both the premium and the payout.

This investment was a cultural ideal which was implicitly encouraged by Scottish society at the widest level. In his examination of the Scottish Poor Law, Cage recognises the emphasis placed upon 'non-reciprocal exchange among relatives and friends in time of need' (Cage 1981: 67) although he refuses to further examine the phenomenon as its 'whimsical nature' renders it impossible to measure (Cage 1981: 68). Attempts at quantitative measurement would certainly be fruitless in retrospect, for by their very nature such arrangements did not involve cash transactions and so were seldom recorded in any farm or household accounting systems. Qualitative data in the form of oral testimonies, however, strongly suggest that the participants themselves viewed the lovedarg as an important feature of neighbourhood organisation and self-preservation, which, while instigated and implemented at localised level, was clearly sanctioned from 'above'. The lovedarg should therefore be seen as a parallel to other facets of local informal economies such as friendly societies and credit networks (Mackelworth 1999; Tonks 1999; Weinbren 1999). Like its international parallels such as the Irish *meitheal* (O'Dowd 1981) and the Norwegian *dugnad* (Klepp 1982; Norddølum 1980; Holmsen 1999), the Perthshire lovedarg complemented the use of local credit networks and friendly societies in the struggle to maintain basic standards of living within a precarious climate of economic instability.

LOVEDARG AS GESTURE

Although embedded in pragmatic economics, the lovedarg served purposes which went beyond the purely functional. The gathering held on behalf of the suicide's widow

highlighted above is a case in point. This lovedarg was much more than a practical aid, for such community action served as a spectacular and convincing display of moral support, a vehicle for the expression of mourning for the death of one of their kind and a token of respect for the bereaved family. While certainly bringing welcome practical help, this lovedarg can also be seen to represent an extension of the more common cultural markers associated with death (Bennett 1992: 175-270), serving as a secular parallel to the funeral service itself.

An analysis of newspaper reports collected from the second half of the 19th century lends further support to the suggestion that the lovedarg could be used as a form of gesture as well as a practical aid. These reports promote a very different image from the oral accounts cited above, shifting the emphasis away from the concepts of charity and need towards a sense of recognition and celebration. Rather than being viewed as clandestine offers of help executed with minimum fuss in order to complete a necessary task quickly, the press portray these events almost as local carnivals held in honour of the recipient or host who is invariably described as an eminent member of the agricultural community. As well as detailing the number of participants, these accounts estimate the size of the crowd of spectators present, comment (always positively) on the standard of the work, report on any speeches delivered and on the amount and quality of food and drink provided, and often sign off with a short testimony to the worthiness and good character of the host. The following extracts are very typical:

> Madderty – Friendly Darg:– On Wednesday last the farmers in this parish turned out to give Mr John Ritchie of Abbey Farm, a friendly darg to lift a field of old lea at Woodend. There were 21 ploughs on the ground at an early hour, and an excellent day's work was done. The ploughmen were liberally treated to refreshments, and were entertained by Mr Ritchie in his own house. Mr Ritchie is well known, not only in Madderty, but in all the Strath, as an experienced agriculturist, a kind master, and an honest man. (*Perthshire Courier*, Feb. 9th 1864)

> Dalreoch – Ploughing Darg:– On Tuesday last Mr Robert Gardiner, Chapel Bank, who entered on a lease of this farm at Martinmas last, received a lovedarg from a few of his friends. About 8 o'clock, 52 ploughs started on one field. Both men and horses went over the ground in good order and their work was good. About half-past five o'clock, the field presented the appearance of seed time. The onlookers received a hearty welcome from Mr Gardiner, and were hospitably entertained. We must also add that he did ample justice to the ploughmen. Long may such a man as Mr Gardiner be spared amongst us. We wish him every success in his new undertaking. (*Perthshire Courier*, March 31st 1863)

These cases appear to be fulfilling a quite different function from the form of lovedarg received by John Fisher in 1914. There is no suggestion that either John Ritchie or Robert Gardiner were actually *in need* of help from their neighbours. Nor indeed were the recipients of another lovedarg variation which involved ploughing the land of local professionals whose contribution to the community went beyond the purely agricultural. In 1851, 35 plough teams from the contiguous Strathearn parishes of Crieff, Muthill

and Monzievaird and Struan ploughed a field of 18 acres belonging to a local farmer 'for his invaluable services as a veterinary surgeon for a series of years past' (*Perthshire Courier*, Feb. 20 1851). The following year the Church of Scotland minister of neighbouring Redgorton parish was also given a day's ploughing by the local farmers. The Rev. William Liston had been in post since 1812, and was obviously much admired and respected by his parishioners who saw fit to honour their 'esteemed pastor' in this way. The gathering was an 'expression of kindly feeling' and was interpreted by the reporter as 'evidence of the happy and harmonious manner in which the various religious denominations in this parish and neighbourhood are in the habit of deporting themselves towards each other' (*Perthshire Courier*, Feb. 26 1852). It is unclear why that particular year was chosen for this gesture. Liston was not retiring, for he remained in post until his death in 1864 (Scott 1869: 656). Having lost his wife some two years earlier, his parishioners may have decided that a show of support of this kind would serve as a boost to his morale, or perhaps the gathering was called to celebrate his election to the post of synod clerk, an important administrative position in the regional church hierarchy, which took effect two months after the lovedarg took place (ibid.). Whatever the reason, this example, along with all the other lovedarg forms reported in the press, was certainly not based on the principle of the charitable relief of economic hardship.

What, then, are we to make of these variations? Clearly, they all involve some form of gesture, and the tone of the reporting implies that they were seen as bringing a sense of prestige to the host, thus constituting a powerful symbol of community status and high social standing. Indeed, the writers almost seem to be measuring this status by the numbers of plough teams turning up, although reputations were politely repaired in cases where the attendance was obviously deemed to be rather low:

> Alyth:– Mrs Kidd having become tenant of the farm of Auchteralyth at Martinmas, her neighbours resolved to give her a friendly lift in the form of a day's ploughing. The number which turned out was twenty-nine; and but for the frost the previous night there would have been forty-six ploughs on the ground – no small proof of the estimation in which Mrs Kidd is deservedly held in the district. (*Perthshire Courier*, Dec. 29 1863)

A strong clue to the background and possible origin of these apparently 'non-essential' lovedarg gatherings is contained in another press report from 1863. Sir Thomas Munro, a Baronet and owner of the Lindertis Estate in Strathmore just over the county border in Angus, received his 'annual day's ploughing' from his tenants and neighbours on his home farm. Although termed a lovedarg by the *Perthshire Courier* (29th December 1863), this case differed somewhat from the other examples cited in that each worker attending was paid half a crown for his efforts, the equivalent of over two days' wages for a single day's work. His ability to pay the workers so generously reveals that Sir Thomas was not suffering from a lack of resources, a point underlined by the scale of the feast he also laid on for the participants. Rather, the use of the word 'annual' suggests that this particular gathering was a lingering survival of the labour exaction or corvée

tradition, whereby landlords would demand services from their tenants for a given number of days per year as a constituent element of their rental agreements, a feature which of course brought estate owners practical benefits but which also served to symbolically reinforce the power of the landed classes over their feudal inferiors. In Perthshire this was still common practice in the 1790s, although such clauses began to disappear from rental contracts early in the 19th century. Although long gone by the 1860s, Munro no doubt retained the memory of this labour 'homage' and was able to maintain its form through this re-shaped variation. The fact that the old labour exaction concept was referred to as the working of 'darg days' allowed the transition to this form of lovedarg to take place with semantic ease. While by the 1860s, the attendees were now earning good money for their efforts, Sir Thomas continued to get his home farm ploughed for him each year while the traditional power relationship remained intact, symbolically underlined through this re-contextualised lovedarg variant.

This meshing of labour exaction and grass roots mutual aid in the form of these 'elite' lovedargs is a feature of non-waged labour systems mirrored in many cultural and economic contexts throughout the world. Termed 'festive labour' by Erasmus (1956: 445) these events place great emphasis on the lavish provision and conspicuous consumption of food and drink, the host 'repaying' the workers immediately in the form of these provisions. The numbers attending tend to be significantly larger than is the case within exchange arrangements, and no reciprocation of labour is expected (Moore 1975: 272-3). Festive traditions also differ from the exchange form in terms of the status relationship between participants and host, for while exchange arrangements tend to involve social equals, festive hosts are often economically and socially more powerful than attendees. The ostentatious celebrations bear witness to their wealth, while also acting as the incentive for poorer workers to turn up (Erasmus 1956: 457). In this way, 'big' farmers are able to take advantage of their poorer neighbours by distorting existing mutual aid frameworks to meet their own needs.

The Perthshire lovedarg tradition fits neatly into this summarising model, although it is unclear to what extent those attending gatherings held for the farming elite were actually being exploited in any sense. The thoughts of the ploughmen attending remain elusive despite the power of oral testimony, for this particular form of lovedarg does not appear to have survived into the period of living memory. All of the reports relating to the elite form derive from parishes in the south and east of the county where large, commercialised units were the norm, and where the ploughmen would have had to attend such a gathering under the terms of their contractual agreements whether they wished to or not. These lovedargs were therefore essentially employers' 'clubs' – organised by employers for employers – and as such attendance says little about the attitudes of those carrying out the actual work. For them, a day's ploughing involved the same effort regardless of where it was or who it was for, and as such no exploitation was taking place, except perhaps in terms of their use as pawns in the status games of their employers.

A SENSE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

Those who worked within Perthshire farming during the first half of the 20th century and whose life stories I have recorded, generally show very positive attitudes towards the concept of mutual aid. For them, all variants of communal labour are succinctly encapsulated in the simple term, *neighbouring*. Exchange labour and charity labour are of course structural categories imposed by scholars in our attempts to make sense of empirical data, and no such clear dichotomy is suggested within the narratives of the participants themselves. *To neighbour*, was to take part in the communal working traditions of the neighbourhood, whether as part of a sheep clipping circle, at the threshing mill or as a lovedarg participant. When pressed in interviews, they certainly demonstrate their awareness of the different social rules and etiquette which were attached to these various forms of communal activity, but it is the general principle which is most often highlighted and admired. John Fisher's views are both typical and unequivocal:

> There was more neighbourliness in these days than what there is now. ... Folk weren't living just for money entirely. It was more community spirit, you know, which you don't get nowadays. Money's done all that out. (Taped interview, SA 1988.20)

These sentiments were shared by many of those interviewed. And yet it is important not to over-romanticise this past by constructing a picture of a bucolic utopia populated by tireless altruists working solely towards the common good. My collected testimonies are peppered with enough anecdotes of conflicts – local rifts, petty jealousies and farmyard fisticuffs – to immediately rule out any such mawkish vision of Perthshire's rural past. Neighbouring did not create a climate of *communitas*, Turner's term for a bonding of people which overides normal social ordering (Turner 1974), for it is clear that the lovedarg could be used to solidify existing class hierarchies rather than dissolve them.

And yet this caution against romanticism should not be allowed to block an appreciation of the importance of the neighbouring tradition to the shaping of a sense of local belonging – a sense of neighbourhood. Unlike many forms of community-based gathering traditions which, as Susan Smith shows in relation to the Peebles Beltane festival, can be used to identify and marginalise 'outsiders' (Smith 1993: 292), the lovedarg served as a positive welcome to new members of the local farming community. All variants of communal labour gatherings brought people together, providing an almost unique context for both professional and social interaction involving significant numbers of local participants. This 'togetherness' gave a different slant to that experienced in other forms of social gatherings such as dances, weddings and funerals, in that mutual aid by definition involved 'work'. To all my interviewees, work was the central building block of their narratives. Levels of professional skill were discussed and used as a measure of respect. Talk was of such and such a person being 'guid haundit' (good with his hands) or 'a guid worker'; farm hands would 'walk the district to see somebody else's

stacks' (Taped interview, SA 1998.23, John Menzies) in order to judge the competencies of their neighbours. Communal labour gatherings were important in that they provided a positive vehicle for such rivalries to become manifest. With the decline in neighbouring since the 1950s, the opportunities for such regular interaction have been lost:

Now you never – very seldom – see yer neighbours the same as ye did in those times. (Taped interview, SA 1998.23, John Menzies)

The rules which regulated the tradition have been forgotten, and so even where a latent willingness to offer help to a neighbour remains, the framework of understanding which once made this possible does not exist. The entire charity labour system was based upon an *offer* of help as opposed to a request from the host, but now neighbours tend to be more cautious for fear of causing offence:

If the boy was needin help, you went and gave him help, it didnae matter what it was. But now, you see, it's difficult. You wouldnie go and offer: if he asked, fair enough. That has gone in the thing as well. (Taped interview, SA 1998.23, John Menzies)

Whether coloured by sentimentality or not, this is a loss which certainly appears to be mourned by those for whom it was once an accepted part of life. There is nostalgia in their narratives, certainly, but as Lowenthal reminds us, nostalgia is ubiquitous in our relationships with our past (1985: 4-13). It is a central ingredient in both individual and collective memory, and should not be used as an excuse to negate the power of oral testimony.

CONCLUSION

In this brief historical ethnography of communal labour gatherings in rural Perthshire during the century from 1850 to 1950, I have argued that the principle of neighbouring fulfilled two central functions. Firstly, in both its manifest and latent forms, it constituted an integral part of localised informal economies, obviating the need for the hiring of extra waged workers for certain highly labour-intensive tasks, while also acting as a form of mutual insurance policy to help prevent economic hardship. In this respect, these labour gatherings complemented other elements of the informal economy such as friendly societies and credit networks, although more research is certainly required before a clearer view of the inter-relationship between these phenomena at the micro level can be gained. Secondly, I have tried to show the importance of the neighbouring principle to the creation of a sense of neighbourhood at localised levels. The lovedarg tradition in particular operated within different contexts to shape local identity in a number of ways. It served to extend the hand of friendship to newcomers (although only at the social level of tenant and above); it could be used as a powerful elegiac symbol of mourning, and it often functioned as a token of respect or gratitude to an individual whose contribution to local community life was deemed exceptional. Yet

the lovedarg also served to maintain and indeed crystalise social hierarchies through its recontextualisation as a status symbol, the status being derived from and measured by the numbers of participants attending. Most significantly of all, though, the collected testimonies of those for whom neighbour cooperation was once axiomatic stress that these gatherings provided an opportunity simply to *be* together in a working environment. This was the platform upon which relationships were instigated, fostered, broken down and re-kindled, where the dynamics of social interaction could be played out for good and bad, and upon which *neighbourhood* – the sense of belonging derived from *neighbouring* – was fashioned.

REFERENCES

Primary

School of Scottish Studies Archive, University of Edinburgh
   SA 1988.20 John Fisher, Glenlyon, Perthshire
   SA 1988.21 Dave West, Crieff, Perthshire
   SA 1988.22 Jim Mollison, Pitlochry, Perthshire
   SA 1988.23 John Menzies, Blairgowrie, Perthshire
   SC 1986.16 Dave MacDonald, Birnam, Perthshire

Scottish Life Archive, National Museums of Scotland
   SLA 1985/44, William Adam, Kirriemuir, Angus

Secondary

BENNETT, M.
      1992   *Scottish Customs from the Cradle to the Grave*. Edinburgh.

BULMER, M.
      1986   *Neighbours: the work of Philip Abrams*. Cambridge.

CAGE, R. A.
      1981   *The Scottish Poor Law 1745–1845*. Edinburgh.

COHEN, A. (ED.)
      1982   *Belonging: identity and social organisation in British rural cultures.*
                    Manchester.

COHEN, A.
      1987   *Whalsay: symbol, segment and boundary in a Shetland island community.*
                    Manchester.

COLLINS, E.
      1972   'The Diffusion of the Threshing Machine in Britain 1790-1880.' *Tools
                    and Tillage* 2/1: 16-33.

ERASMUS, C.
    1956   'Culture, Structure and Process: the occurrence and disappearance of
                  reciprocal farm labor.' *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12: 444-69.

FENTON, A.
    1985   *The Shape of the Past: essays in Scottish ethnology.* Vol. 1. Edinburgh.

GOLD, J.
    1980   *An Introduction to Behavioural Geography.* Oxford.

HOLMSEN, R. F.
    1999   'Traditional Rural Community in Norway: institutional network and
                  social groupings.' *Scottish Studies* 32: 107-18.

KLEPP, A.
    1982   'Reciprocity and Integration into a Market Economy: an attempt at
                  explaining varying formalizations of the "dugnad" in pre-industrial
                  society.' *Ethnologia Scandinavica*: 85-93.

LOWENTHAL, D.
    1985   *The Past Is a Foreign Country.* Cambridge.

MACKELWORTH, R.
    1999   'Trades, crafts and credit in a Victorian village: a trading family in
                  Milford, Surrey, 1851-1881.' *Family and Community History* 2/1: 33-43.

MANN, P.
    1954   'The concept of neighbourliness.' *American Journal of Sociology* 60:   163-8.

MEWETT, P.
    1982   'Associational categories and the social location of relationships in a
                  Lewis crofting community.' In Cohen, A. (ed) *Belonging: identity and
                  social organisation in British rural cultures.*

MOORE, M.
    1975   'Cooperative Labour in Peasant Agriculture.' *Journal of Peasant Studies*
                  2: 270-91.

NORDDØLUM, H.
    1980   'The Dugnad in the Pre-industrial Peasant Community: an attempt at
                  an explanation.' *Ethnologia Scandinavica*: 102-113.

O'DOWD, A.
    1981   *Meitheal: a study of cooperative labour in rural Ireland.* Dublin.

PACIONE, M.
    1983   'Neighbourhood Communities in the Modern City: some evidence
                  from Glasgow.' *Scottish Geographical Magazine* December: 169-80.

RELPH, E.
    1976   *Place and Placelessness.* London.

SAHLINS, M.
    1974   *Stone Age Economics.* London.

SCOTT, H.
    1869   *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticana: The succession of ministers in the parish churches*
                of Scotland from the reformation, AD 1560, to the present time. Vol. II, pt
                II Synods of Fife, Perth, and Stirling. Edinburgh.

SMITH, S.
    1993   'Bounding the Borders: claiming space and making place in rural
                Scotland.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 3: 291-308.

STEPHENS, H.
    1855   *The Book of the Farm.* Edinburgh.

TONKS, D.
    1999   'A Kind of Life Insurance: the coal-miners of north-east England 1860-
                1920.' *Family and Community History* 2/1: 45-58.

TURNER, V.
    1974   *Dramas, Fields and Social Metaphors.* Ithaca.

WEINBREN, D.
    1999   'Relative value: the financing of families.' *Family and Community*
                History 2/1: 59-71.

A Historical Review of Second Sight: The Collectors, their Accounts and Ideas

SHARI A. COHN

When similarly rapid judgements as to probable events are formed and thrown on the screen of the external world in combination with physical forms which fancy weaves in association with those judgements, both eye and mind see, as it were, beyond the bounds of space and time into that state where all is One Eternal Now, and thus the Seer is wrapt, as he believes, into the future to behold things that are to come, and which people, for want of a better word, term the 'Second Sight' – though literally and in truth, as an old writer observed, the vision if really afterwards realised, should rather be termed not the second, but the first sight of that event. (Morrison 1908: 18)

Second sight is the name of a special psychic ability believed to be a natural faculty of mind. It is usually associated with people living in the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, though it is also experienced in the Lowlands.[1] Some regard it as an inborn hereditary gift while others feel it is a spiritual gift from God, whereas still others regard it as an affliction, even a curse. According to MacInnes (1989: 12), the term 'second sight' was used in the English language as early as the seventeenth century. Long before then, there was – and remains – a rich variety of expressions pertaining to the faculty in the Gaelic language, spoken by the indigenous people of the Highlands and the Western Isles of Scotland (MacInnes 1989: 19-20). The Gaelic word for seer is *taidhbhsear* and what is seen in the vision is the *taidhbhse*. According to MacInnes (1989:12), there is no exact equivalent of the term 'second sight' in Gaelic. One rarely used Gaelic term, *An Dà Fhradharc*, means 'two visions' or the power of sight. However, the most common Gaelic term referring to second sight is *An Dà Shealladh*, which literally means 'two sights'. One is the normal sight and the other is the ability to have *awake* prophetic visions of future events which occur spontaneously and are rarely directed at will. There have been some recorded accounts of people who have had second sight experiences while in a hypnagogic state as well as in a dream state and some of these accounts will be discussed.

The form of the visions can be a direct representation of a person's fate. Sometimes the visions can be of happy events such as seeing a marriage procession before the couple have even met or know about one another. People have also had visions of seeing someone prior to meeting them for the first time. The visions can also be of

seeing buildings before they have been built. People foresaw a rocket-range on South Uist, long before one was built there by the military. However, people who have second sight mostly have visions concerned with sad events such as accidents and deaths. Such visions can involve seeing the actual event before it occurs (e.g. seeing a huge wave engulfing a fisherman before he and his crew are drowned, or seeing a baby dead in the mother's arms shortly after the baby is born). Another example is actually seeing a funeral procession at night, or sometimes during the day and, by recognising the people carrying the coffin, knowing who has died. Shortly after the vision, the funeral actually occurs. In some cases, the person having the vision reports being knocked to the ground or pushed aside while the procession goes past. In other cases, the funeral procession is not seen but heard passing by.

Clairvoyant experiences which involve mentally seeing an event at a distance (e.g. seeing a crew on a boat drown at a distance) and telepathic experiences which involve two people thinking about something at the same time (e.g. a mother and her son both 'knew' at the same time that the mother's eldest son had been hurt in an accident) can also be considered instances of second sight. According to MacInnes (1989: 18) there are regional differences in the types of experiences regarded as second sight. He notes that in both the North-West Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, clairvoyance or detecting things at a distance is not considered second sight, whereas in the Central Highlands, both precognition and telepathy are regarded as second sight.

The form of the visions can also be a symbolic representation of a person's fate. An example is actually seeing a death shroud on a person before that person dies; how much of the body is covered indicates how soon the person will die. Other examples of second sight include visions of people before they die, or shortly after they die (a woman seeing a neighbour in solid form might not realise that the person has died until she receives news that he died some miles away). Also considered to be examples of second sight are visions of people seen at the moment of death (a father unexpectedly sees his son when at the same time he has been killed in battle many miles away).

The 'visions' need not be exclusively visual; they can be expressed through other sense modalities as well. For example, a fisherman, on hearing a woman crying by the shore, tried to find her but to no avail. Several weeks later, a boy was drowned and the mother was crying over the loss of her son at the very spot where the fisherman had heard her. Morrison may be right to say that the 'Second Sight' is a kind of 'first sight': the person has a prophetic vision of a death and to him it is the first time he has knowledge that the person has died.[2] When he receives news of the loved one's death, it is a verification that the vision is true. Therefore what we call the normal sight may actually be to him the second sight. This article will survey investigations into second sight from their beginnings in the seventeenth century up to the present day.[3] The focus will be on the methods used by the previous investigators, the accounts they collected and the ideas regarding their interpretation. Particular attention will be given to their theories about the nature of mind and the possible hereditary aspect of second

sight. The article will conclude with an overview of the current state of knowledge in this field.

THE REVEREND ROBERT KIRK

Robert Kirk (1644–1692), minister of Aberfoyle in Perthshire, was well-known for his scholarly works such as translating the psalms into Gaelic and producing a Gaelic edition of the Bible. Among scholars of Folklore, Kirk is known for his classic work, *Secret Commonwealth and A Short Treatise of the Scottish-Irish Charms and Spels*,[4] in which he recorded accounts from his own parishioners of second sight and sightings of fairies. Kirk wanted to document not the belief in fairies but their actual existence, thereby showing that there was an other world, a spiritual dimension, and thus demonstrate to non-believers the existence of God. The fairy was conceptualised as being between man and angel, having an existence independent of a person, unlike an apparition which was believed to be part of the personality of a deceased person.

Kirk had no intention of proving the existence of second sight. Rather, by showing the existence of this other world, he believed that second sight would be seen as a natural part of this spiritual dimension and in keeping with the Christian faith (Kirk 1691: 1). As observed by Kirk, second-sighted people reported seeing fairies in their visions of funeral processions and also during their visions of winding sheets or death shrouds before the death of a person:

> They are clearly seen by these men of second sight to eat at funerals, Banqueatts: hence many of the Scotish-Irish will not tast meat at those meetings, least they have communion with, or be poysoned by them: So are they seen to carry the Bier or coffin with the Corps, among the midle-earth men to the grave. (Kirk 1691: 52)

Also the seer may see a *comh-imiche*, a '*doppelgänger*' who resembles a living person whom he recognises in every detail and yet the seer can distinguish the *real* person from his double. Another Gaelic name for the '*doppelgänger*' is *co-choisiche* which means co-walker (MacInnes 1989: 19). The seer after seeing this person's double will know that he will meet the real person soon. In other cases, the seer sees his own double which indicates to him that he will soon die:

> Some men of the exalted sight (whither by airt or nature) have told me they have seen at those meetings a double-man, or the shape of the same man in two places, this is, a *Superterranean* and a *Subterranean Inhabitant* perfectly resembling one another in all points, whom he notwithstanding could easily distinguish one from another by some secret tockens and operations ... They call this Reflex-man a coimimeadh [*sic*] or Co-Walker, every way like the man, as a Twin-brother and Companion, haunting him as his shadow and is oft seen and known among men (resembling the Originall) both befor and after the Originall is dead, and was els often seen of old to enter a house; by which the people knew that the person of that liknes was to visit them within a few dayes. (Kirk 1691: 52-53)

Kirk was a seventh son and believed to have both the gifts of healing and second sight. These gifts were generally believed to be inborn (Kirk 1691: 5; Stewart 1822: xiv). The method of healing by laying on of hands was described by Kirk and the chance of the child having the healing gift was thought to increase once seven sons were born. The second sight was generally regarded by Kirk to go through the male line, particularly transmitted from father to son. Though Kirk gives only a few accounts of women seers (1691: 105), it can be speculated that due to the religious climate at the time, women were frightened to admit having second sight lest they be persecuted as witches.

However there were several methods of acquiring the second sight. Of one such method Kirk writes (pp. 63-64):

> [H]e must run a tedder of hair (which bound a Corps to the Bier) in a Helix about his midle from end to end, then bow his head downward; [as did Elijah 1 King 18.42.] and look back thorow his legs until he see a funerall advance, till the people cross two/Marches; or look thus back thorow a hole where was a knot of fir. But if the wind change pojnts while the hair tedder is ty'd about him, he is in peril of his Lyfe . . .

This unusual method was believed to permanently give the person second sight. Another method thought to be more temporary involved physical contact with another person. Once the faculty of second sight was transferred, in the act of having a vision, the person would see the *Subterranean* or fairy (p. 64):

> The usuall method for a curious person to get a transient sight of this otherwise invisible crew of Subterraneans . . . is to put his foot on the Seers foot, and the Seers hand is put on the Inquirers head, who is to look over the Wizards right shoulder . . .

SIR JOHN AUBREY

A contemporary of Kirk was Sir John Aubrey (1626-1697), who published the first questionnaire-style investigation of second sight in 1696. Aubrey was a Fellow of the Royal Society and was well-known for his numerous works including a biography of Shakespeare. Aubrey published two letters which were sent to him from a correspondent concerning the second sight in the northern parts of Scotland. In the first letter, his correspondent tells Aubrey that he received help with collecting experiences of second sight from two people, one a friend and the other being someone whom he hired. His friend went to Ross-shire to collect experiences while his researcher received information from a minister living near Inverness. In the second letter, Aubrey's correspondent discusses additional information collected from the minister and from a student of Divinity. In both letters, the correspondent told Aubrey of information he had obtained from these people in response to a series of questions he put to them. As these questions are still relevant today, they are given in full below (Aubrey 1696: 151-177) and then the responses to these questions are discussed.

1. If some few credible well-attested Instances of such a Knowledge as is commonly called the Second-Sight, can be given?

2. If it consists in the discovery of present, or past Events only? Or, if it extends to such as are to come?

3. If the Objects of this Knowledge, be sad and dismal Events only; such as Deaths and Murders? Or, joyful and properous also?

4. If these Events, which Second-Sighted men discover, or foretell, be visibly represented to them, and acted, as it were, before their Eyes?

5. If the Second-Sight be a thing that is troublesome and uneasy to those that have it, and such as they would gladly be rid of?

6. If any Person, or Persons, truly Godly, who may justly be presumed to be such, have been known to have had this Gift or Faculty?

7. If it descends by succession from Parents to Children? Or, if not, Whether those that have it, can tell how they came by it?

In response to the first question, several instances of second sight were given. In some experiences, people reported foreseeing positive events (p. 172):

> Thus, they foretell of happy Marriages, good Children, what kind of Life Men shall Live, and in what Condition they shall Die. Also Riches, Honour, Preferment, Peace, Plenty and good Weather.

Although the second sight experiences described were usually spontaneous, sometimes the seer used the faculty intentionally to help people locate their loved ones, to find out if they were well, and also to help locate lost objects. However, in most experiences of second sight, people reported foreseeing sad events (p. 153):

> Near 40 years ago *Macklend* and his Lady, Sister to my Lord *Seaforth*, were Walking about their own House, and in their return, both came into the Nurses Chamber, where their young Child was on the Breast: At their coming into the Room, the Nurse falls a Weeping; they asked the cause, dreading the Child was Sick, or that she was scarse of Milk: The Nurse replied, 'the Child was well, and she had abundance of Milk'; yet she still Wept; and being pressed to tell what ailed her; she at last said, '*Macklend* would dye, and the Lady would shortly be Marryed to another Man.' Being enquired how she knew that Event, she told them plainly, 'that as they came both into the Room, she saw, a Man with a scarlet Cloak and a white Hat, betwixt them, giving the Lady a Kiss over the Shoulder; and this was the cause of her Weeping.' All which came to pass after *Macklend's* Death: the Tutor of *Lovat* Marry'd the Lady in the same habit the Woman saw him.

What is striking about this experience is that the figure of a man that the nurse saw between the Lady and the Lord was three-dimensional, a quality characteristic of second sight visions. In the next example, a woman had a vision in which she foresaw a man covered in blood a day before it occurred (pp. 162-163):

> [A] young Woman in a certain House about Supper time, refused to take Meat from the Steward who was offering in the very time Meat to her; being asked why she would not take

it? replied, she saw him full of Blood, and therefore was afraid to take anything of his Hands. The next Morning, the said Steward offering to compose a difference between two Men, at the Ale-house door got a stroke of a sword on the Forehead, and came home full of Blood. This was told to me by an Eye Witness.

Other examples involve foreseeing events, sometimes in three-dimensional form, years before they actually occurred. In the experience below, a man tells his master of his prophetic vision of a seemingly unlikely event (pp. 163-164):

> For Instance, one told his Master, that he saw an Arrow in such a Man through his Body, and yet no Blood came out: his Master told him, that It was impossible an Arrow should stick in a Man's Body and no Blood come out, and if that came not to pass he would be deemed an Imposter. But about 5 or 6 Years after the Man died, and being brought to his Burial-place, there arose a Debate anent his Grave, and it came to such a height, that they drew Arms and bended their Bows, and one letting off an Arrow, shot through the dead Body upon the Bier-trees, and so no Blood could issue out at a dead Man's wound.[5]

In another experience two men both saw a death shroud or winding sheet on a woman they knew. One man thought that she would soon die but the other one reassured him that her fever had broken and she would recover (p. 168):

> . . . the one a Gentleman, the other a common Fellow; and discoursing by the Fire-side, the Fellow suddenly begins to Weep, and cry out Alas! alas! such a Woman is either Dead or presently expiring. The Gentlewoman lived 5 or 6 Miles from the House, and had been some Days before in a Fever. The Gentleman being somewhat better expert in that Faculty, said, 'No', said he, 'she's not Dead; nor will she dye of this Disease.' 'Oh' saith the Fellow, 'do you not see her all covered with her Winding-sheet?' 'Ay,' saith the Gentleman, 'I see her as well as you do; but do you not see her Linnen all wet? which is her Sweat, she being presently cooling of the Fever.'

A common feature of these visions reported to Aubrey is that they were before the seer's eyes. The foreknowledge of another's fate depends upon exactly what is seen. The form of the vision leads in one of two ways to foreknowledge of another person's fate. Either the vision contains a direct representation of that fate, or it conveys information about it in a symbolic form (p. 154):

> . . . they see those things visibly; but none sees but themselves; for instance, if a Man's Fatal-end be Hanging; they'll see a Gibbet, or a Rope about his Neck: if Beheaded, they'll see the Man without a Head; if Drowned, they'll see Water up to his Throat, if unexpected Death, they'll see a Winding-sheet about his Head: All of which are represented to their View.

Because what is seen is so troublesome to the person, many wanted to be rid of the second sight. Those that were religious found refuge and help through personal prayer and sought comfort by going to the clergy to receive blessings to help 'cure' them of the second sight. Regarding whether second sight descended in families, Aubrey learned from the second letter that it ran in several families. In regard to the question, how they

came to have the second sight, people said, '. . . by Compact with the Devil; some say by Converse with those Daemons called Fairies.' (p. 156). People also reported that some offered to teach the faculty to others, suggesting that second sight was not universally looked upon as a burden.

MARTIN MARTIN

Martin Martin (c.1660-1719) was a native of Skye who received medical training at the Universities of Edinburgh and Leyden. His observations of second sight were informed by a sensitivity to his Gaelic culture and tradition. Martin's writings reflect his belief in the existence of second sight. Nevertheless his scientific training likely influenced his methodology of carefully collecting accounts of second sight and in some cases obtaining corroboration from those witnesses who could vouch for the authenticity of the experience. Thus he can be looked upon as a forerunner of today's proof-oriented researchers for whom documentation of the experience is all important. He defined the second sight as:

> . . . a singular Faculty of Seeing, an otherwise invisible Object, without any previous Means us'd by the Person that sees it for that end; the Vision makes such a lively impression upon the Seers, that they neither see nor think of any thing else, except the Vision, as long as it continues: and then they appear Pensive or Jovial, according to the object which was represented to them. (1703: 300)

Martin goes on to give several accounts similar in character to those mentioned by Kirk and Aubrey, as well as giving other types of accounts which will be highlighted. He carefully recorded his observations about when a seer has a vision and also some qualities about the nature of these experiences. His description of the appearance of the seer in the act of having an awake vision (p. 300) gives tentative support for the externality of the vision as opposed to its being in the mind's eye:

> At the sight of Vision, the Eye-lids of the Person are erected, and the eyes continue staring until the Object vanish. This is obvious to others who are by, when the Persons happen to see a Vision, and occur'd more than once to my own Observation, and to others that were with me.

The time of day the vision is seen is an important quality which helps the seer know how soon the vision will be fulfilled:

> If an Object is seen early in a Morning (which is not frequent) it will be accomplish'd in a few hours afterwards. If at Noon, it will commonly be accomplish'd that very day. If in the Evening, perhaps that Night, if after Candles be lighted, it will be accomplish'd that Night; the latter always in accomplishment, by Weeks, Months, and sometimes Years, according to the time of Night the Vision is seen. (pp. 301-302)

In addition to the time of day, the seer also relies on the content of the vision. For

instance, in the case of death shrouds, the height of it on the person indicates to the seer how soon the person will die:

> When a Shroud is perceiv'd about one, it is a sure prognostick of Death, the time is judged accordingly to the height of it about the person; for if it is not seen above the middle, death is not to be expected for the space of a year, and perhaps some months longer; and as it is frequently seen to ascend higher towards the head, Death is concluded to be at hand within a few days, if not hours, as daily experience confirms. (p. 302)

Martin observed that members in a family could have the second sight though it did not necessarily descend directly from parents to their children. It is unclear how many families Martin observed in order to arrive at this finding. Just because this is true for one case, does not mean it is true for every case (see below). In contrast to Kirk's claim that seers were mostly men, Martin observed that both men and women had second sight. This was also observed by several of his contemporaries (Pepys 1699: 383; Fraser 1707: 1) as well as later investigators (e.g., MacGregor 1901: 25; Polson 1926: 107). Martin gives an account in which both men and women seers had first seen him in their visions before actually meeting him. Children were also observed to have second sight and Martin gives an account which he witnessed himself:

> I was present in a House where a Child cried out of a suddain, and being ask'd the reason of it, he answer'd that he had seen a great white thing lying on the Board which was in the Corner: but he was not believ'd, until a Seer who was present told him that the Child was in the right; for, said he, I saw a Corpse and the shroud about it, and the Board will be us'd as part of a Coffin, or some way imployed about a Corpse; and accordingly, it was made into a Coffin, for one who was in perfect health at the time of the Vision. (p. 306)

Animals too were believed to have second sight, especially horses.

> A Horse fastned by the common Road on the side of *Loch-Skeriness* in *Skie*, did break his Rope at Noon day, and run up and down without the least visible cause. But two of the Neighbourhood that happen'd to be at a little distance, and in view of the Horse, did at the same time see a considerable number of Men about a Corpse, directing their course to the Church of *Snizort*; and this was accomplish'd within a few days after, by the Death of a Gentlewoman who lived thirteen Miles from that Church, and came from another Parish, from whence very few come to *Snizort* to be Buried. (p. 307)

Martin described other accounts; for instance, having a vision of a spark falling on the arm or breast of a person signifies the death of a child. Also if a seer has a vision of an empty chair next to a person it is a sign that someone will die in that chair. Though the 'visions' are usually visual they can be expressed through the other senses. Martin claims that death can be foretold through the smell of fish or flesh burnt by fire. Auditory visions can also forewarn of death. Several women heard the cry of a woman present who was later to die.

In support of Aubrey's findings Martin also observed that people gifted with second

sight could foretell more positive events such as future marriages; furthermore they could also see particular details about them:

> If a Woman is seen standing at a Man's left hand,[6] it is a presage that she will be his Wife, whether they be Married to others, or unmarried at the time of the Apparition. If two or three Women are seen at once standing near a Mans left hand, she that is next him will undoubtedly be his Wife first, and so on, whether all three, or the Man be single or married at the time of the Vision or not . . . (p. 303)

Martin set out to address three main objections to the second sight given by sceptics of his time. These are still relevant today:

> *Object. 1.* These Seers are Visionary and Melancholy People, and fancy they see things that do not appear to them, or any body else.
>
> *Object. 2.* There is none among the Learn'd able to oblige the World with a satisfying account of those Visions, therefore it is not to be believed.
>
> *Object. 3.* The Seers are Imposters, and the People who believe them, are credulous, and easily imposed upon. (pp. 308-309)

In answer to the first objection, Martin notes that people who have second sight are not mentally ill nor do they have illnesses affecting the mind. They also do not overindulge themselves in drink or food and generally they have simple diets. He also says (p. 308) that 'both Sexes are free from Hysterick Fits, Convulsions, and several other Distempers of that Sort: there's no Madman among them, nor any influence of self-murther [*sic*] . . .' To counter the second objection, Martin notes (pp. 308-309) several phenomena which, though they had no known scientific explanation, were nevertheless still accepted: 'For instance, Yawning, & its influence; & that the Load-stone attracts Iron, and yet these are true as well as harmless, tho' we can give no satisfying account of their Causes. And if we know so little of Natural Causes, how much less can we pretend to things that are supernatural.' Concerning the third objection, Martin describes the seers as generally 'illiterate and well-meaning people' who did not receive any financial gain from their predictions nor any elevated social or personal status. Only when the vision is fulfilled do people believe in the faculty. He then asks why would people who do not have the second sight and others of a high educational and social standing, continue to believe in the existence of it throughout history. He writes (p. 309): 'if the Seers were deceivers, can it be reasonable to imagine, that all the Islanders who have not the *Second Sight*, should combine together, and offer violence to their Understandings and Senses, to force themselves to believe a Lye from Age to Age . . .'

THE REVEREND JOHN FRASER

A contemporary of Martin, John Fraser (1647-1702), minister of Tiree and Coll, recorded accounts of second sight similar to those related by Martin Martin. Some of the accounts reflect again the literal nature of vision as well as its externality. One such experience,

recorded from John MacDonald, described a vision of his master, Lauchlan Maclean of Coll, who, by his appearance, he *knew* would be drowned. In vivid imagery John MacDonald described how at the time he:

> . . . seeth his Cloaths shineing like the Skins of Fishes and his Periwig all wett, tho' indeed the day was very Fair, whereupon he told privately, even then to one of *Cols* Gentlemen that he feared he should be Drowned, This Gentleman was *Charles M'lean* who gave me accompt of it. The Event followed about a year thereafter, for the Laird of *Coll* was drowned in the water of *Lochy* in *Lochaber*. I examined both *Charles M'lean* and *John M'donald* and found that the Prædiction was as he told me; and the said *M'donald* could produce no other warrand, than that he found such Signes frequently before, to foregoe the like Events . . . (Fraser 1707: 6)

Fraser was unique for his time in that he tried to give a scientific explanation for the process of a vision, hypothesising that the image passes through the brain, eye and ear and is somehow stored.

THEOPHILUS INSULANUS

A near contemporary of Fraser, Theophilus Insulanus, who was believed to be a Mr William Macleod,[7] a tacksman of Hamarra (Hamir) in Glendale, Skye, recorded quite a number of accounts from seers and eye-witnesses in the Highlands and Islands (Theophilus Insulanus 1763: 5-8). As with Kirk, his central aim was to convince both the sceptics and atheists of his day of the reality of God and a spiritual world in which souls are immortal. The accounts of second sight, especially those of apparitions, were presented as evidence for this spiritual reality.

He recorded a wide range of experiences, including many similar in character to those previously discussed: funeral processions, death shrouds, precognitive visions, clairvoyance, telepathy, hearing cries before the death of a person, visions of *doppelgängers*, and apparitions. Some experiences from this range bring out new qualities. These will be highlighted below, followed by some examples of completely new types of experiences. In the first example, a woman while on her deathbed, confided to Theophilus Insulanus the story of her first second sight experience, at the age of seventeen. What is very interesting about this experience is that she immediately acted on her vision:

> . . . sitting by the fire-side she saw one Kenneth Maccaskil, who lived at a distance, having a sheep belonging to herself . . . bound on the other side of the fire, and a knife in his hand cutting her throat, and the blood running in a plate for that purpose; and then the scene disappeared: upon which she made all the haste she could to his house, and, finding the door shut, forced it open, when lo! she found the thief in the fang, challenged her mark on the sheep, and then went off; but the thief following her, she became afraid it was with intention to murder her; which instead of attempting; he gave her three or four ells of new linen, which he said was price enough for her sheep, and then strongly recommended to her to keep the whole a secret . . . (Theophilus Insulanus 1763: 2-3)

In the next case, several people shared a collective precognitive vision.[8] Theophilus Insulanus recorded the accounts of both Angus Campbell, a tacksman in Harris, and his son. During a fine sunny day Angus saw:

> . . . nine vessels, with an easy leading gale, coming, under sail, to a place called Corminish, opposite to his house, where they dropt their anchors, having their long boats after them, and the crew of each walking the decks; and that his children and several of his domestics took particular notice of a large sloop among them: as the place where they moored in was not a safe harbour, nor that sound a frequented passage to the western ocean, he despatched an express to his servants, who were at a distance about their labouring, with a view to send a boat to those ships, either to bring them to a safe harbour, or pilot them out to sea, as they choosed [sic]; and, after his servants came up, all of them saw the vessels, as formerly described; but while they were deliberating what to do, the scene disappeared gradually. In two years thereafter, the same number of ships, the remarkable sloop being among them, came and dropt [sic] anchor at Corminish, which was attended with all the circumstances above related . . . (pp. 4-5)

In the following case a woman not only saw her *doppelgänger* but also saw it mimic her own behaviour:

> . . . a young woman in the family of Grishirnish, a dairy maid, who daily used to herd the calves in a park close to the house, observed, at different times, a woman resembling herself in shape and attire, walking solitarily at no great distance from her; and being surprised at the apparition, to make further trial, she put the back part of her upper garment foremost, and, anon! the phantom was dressed in the same manner, which made her uneasy, believeing it portended some fatal consequence to herself. In a short time thereafter she was seized with a fever, which brought her to her end . . . (pp. 20-21)

Theophilus Insulanus recorded a number of cases where people saw apparitions of a dead person, which, he argued, is proof of the survival of the human spirit. The Gaelic word *samhla* means likeness and refers to either seeing an apparition of a dead person or seeing an apparition of a person before they die (A. MacDonald 1889: 41; MacInnes 1989: 20). Another term which is commonly used to describe people about to die is *fey*.[9] In the following case, recorded by Theophilus Insulanus, a lady saw her husband walking up the stairs to his bedroom so she told her servant to make a fire for him. However, unbeknownst to her, her husband had been drowned some distance from the home:

> In the year 1756, Richard Sinclair, then a merchant in the town of Thurso, returning at even home with his servant, as they came to the river close by the town, found it was swelled by a fall of rain, and much increased by the tide, which was in: the latter seemed averse to ford, which his master observing, lighted and gave him his own horse, and mounted his servant's horse, with which having entered the river, was soon carried by the flood out of his saddle, and was drowned. His wife knowing nothing then of the matter, as she was going from one room to another in her own house, saw Mr Sinclair go up the stair to his own room, and called to a servant maid to bring him a candle and make up a fire; but after the servant had

brought the light in great haste, found no person within: in less than an hour the noise went through the town, that the gentleman has drowned . . . (pp. 28-29)

In contrast to visions which actually describe a future event, Theophilus Insulanus recorded accounts of visions which impart the knowledge of death symbolically, as in omens. For instance, foretelling death takes the form of seeing light or fire which signifies a person's spirit will soon depart from this Earth. A man saw a 'pillar of fire' coming out of his neighbour's chimney. That same evening the neighbour's daughter was drowned. Other omen-type experiences which symbolise a future death involve hearing specific types of sounds such as saws preparing a coffin. At other times, sounds are heard in a specific location, for instance in a closet or chest where an item belonging to a deceased person is kept and will soon be needed for their funeral. In one case a woman:

> . . . heard a great noise as if the wall was fallen, which so alarmed her, that she went in directly into the said closet, and examined every thing about it, which she was surprised to find in the same order she had left them: In a few days, a person died in her neighbourhood, and some articles for his sowe [shroud] and coffin were taken out of that closet; after which no more noise was heard therein. It is very frequently observed, that the articles employed for a sowe and coffin, are so haunted, as to make a noise for some time before they are put in use; according to many attestations. (p. 13)

Another symbolic experience which presages a death is a vision of an adult person reducing to a child and then returning back. In one such example, a man and his servant both saw in a similar vision the minister of Diurinish reduce to the size of a young boy of six or seven and then return to his normal size. Shortly afterwards, the minister became ill and died.

Although second sight experiences are generally associated with awake visions, Theophilus Insulanus interviewed several people who had prophetic dreams. This was observed by later investigators as well.[10] In one case, the Reverend Mr Macleod, a minister from Lewis, had a vivid dream that a man dressed in a particular way informed him that a neighbour had died. In the morning, the minister told his wife about the dream. Shortly afterwards, a man dressed in the manner seen brought the news that the minister's neighbour had died.

SEERS

Individuals become known in the community to have the second sight. Some had one meaningful experience while others had many experiences over the course of their lives (see, e.g., Stewart 1822: appendix xxxv). Their reputation is based upon how accurate the seer's information is perceived to be by individuals and the wider community. People went to well-known seers to seek their advice on many issues, for example, to find out whether a missing loved one was still alive or had died, or even to know about their own fate. Perhaps the best known seer is *Coinneach Odhar* (Kenneth Mackenzie),

the Brahan Seer. He was believed by some to have been born during the seventeenth century in the Isle of Lewis (MacKenzie 1899: 11) though others have argued that he lived even earlier, during the 1570s (MacInnes 1989: 22). Hugh Miller and Alexander MacKenzie discussed several legends about how *Coinneach Odhar* came to have the second sight as well as the various prophetic visions of the seer that were reported to be fulfilled, and those still waiting to come true (Miller 1852: 156-158; MacKenzie 1899: 11-15). Other well-known seers of the time were clergymen: the Reverend John Morrison (1701-1774), Seer of Petty, the Reverend Lachlan MacKenzie of Lochcarron (1754-1819) and the Reverend John Kennedy of Killearnan (1819-1884) (Macrae 1908: 107-146; MacInnes 1989: 21).

JOHNSON AND BOSWELL

There were several people who kept accounts of their travels in the Western Isles in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the best known are Dr Samuel Johnson and James Boswell. It has been argued by Margaret Bennett that their observations do not accurately reflect the culture and life of the people in the Western Isles at the time.¹¹ Nevertheless, Johnson and Boswell did include a discussion of second sight in their account which is consistent with that of their contemporaries (1776: 97). They described second sight as 'an impression made either by the mind on the eye, or by the eye on the mind, by which things distant and future are received and seen as if they were present.' From hearing the accounts of second sight, they came away willing to believe in its existence. For other travellers with a more sceptical disposition such as Carr (1809: 270-273), the fact that Johnson and Boswell came to believe in second sight made them take it more seriously.

THE SPR ENQUIRY: ADELA GOODRICH-FREER AND FATHER McDONALD

The first attempt to conduct a large scale survey of Scottish Second Sight was made in the 1890s by several leading members of The Society for Psychical Research. The SPR was founded in London in 1882 with the aim of scientifically investigating claims of psychic phenomena. One of the first main projects undertaken by the SPR was the *Census of Hallucinations* (ed. E. Sidgwick *et al*: 1894), which examined crisis apparition experiences involving hallucinations of a person at the moment of death or soon after death. Such experiences were also written about in the literature of Scottish Second Sight; thus it is not surprising that the SPR also embarked upon a separate enquiry into Second Sight. The following summary of this controversial enquiry draws on a detailed account of it provided by John Lorne Campbell (1968: 21-92). In 1893, F. H. Myers and Henry and Eleanor Sidgwick – three leading members of the SPR – prepared drafts of a circular and a schedule (list of questions), which were approved of by Lord Bute, a wealthy member of the SPR who funded the study. Myers also received help from the Reverend Mr Dewar, a minister from the Isle of Bute, who was a native Gaelic

speaker and well acquainted with the people and clergy from the Highlands. The list of questions is given below:

1. Is 'Second Sight' believed in by the people of your neighbourhood?
2. Have you yourself seen or heard of any cases which appear to imply such a gift? If so, will you send me the facts?
3. Can you refer me to anyone who has had personal experience, and who would be disposed to make a statement to me on the subject?
4. Do you know of any persons who feel an interest, and would be disposed to help, in this enquiry? (Campbell 1968: 29)

Dewar with the assistance of two others sent out around 2000 copies of the circular and schedule, along with the objectives of the SPR, to a wide range of professionals: '720 ministers, 260 doctors of medicine, 118 Factors, 66 Inspectors and Serjeants of Police, 22 Sheriffs, 51 Fiscals, 21 Secretaries of Highland Clan Associations, 23 Scottish members of [the] S.P.R., 22 Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Schools, 21 members of the Celtic Class in Edinburgh University, 304 to Teachers, 31 to Newspaper Editors in the North, 350 to Landowners etc.' (Campbell 1968: 32).

Despite a second mailing including copies of a personal letter from Lord Bute, the final response rate was disappointing. By April 1894, Dewar had received only 157 replies, of which 42 indicated a belief in second sight. It was realised that further progress was dependent on obtaining first-hand accounts through interviews in the Highlands and Islands. Dewar – the obvious candidate for the task – could not devote the time needed to complete the enquiry. Instead Adela Goodrich-Freer, another member of the SPR, was selected to assist him. Dewar furnished Goodrich-Freer with valuable introductions throughout the Highlands and Islands, in particular, to Father Allan McDonald, a priest of Daliburgh and later of Eriskay and a man who was to become a key person in the SPR enquiry.

Father McDonald diligently wrote down in Gaelic and English, old hymns, poems, songs, place-names, and stories from tradition-bearers who had entrusted him with their memories, experiences of their history and folklore. His work, which was a labour of love, resulted in eight notebooks, including two containing accounts of second sight. These notebooks were of great value to various scholars of the time to whom he would generously lend them out. His accounts of second sight, including his own, helped provide valuable information to Adela Goodrich-Freer, the woman who took over the enquiry from Dewar.

Goodrich-Freer made several visits to the Western Isles from 1894 to 1898. She wrote two reports for the SPR on her travels and observations though she never formally published her findings in the journal of the SPR. The enquiry was never completed and subsequently there is continued debate about Goodrich-Freer's integrity within both the folklore and psychical research communities. It has been argued by Campbell and Hall (1968: 223-246, 310-323) that she copied second sight experiences from Father McDonald's notebooks and published the accounts in the folklore literature in her

own name. They also claim that she lied about having knowledge of Gaelic and coming from a Scottish family where several members had second sight, including herself. She gave numerous lectures to various societies and rarely publicly credited McDonald or Dewar for their information. Whether in fact Goodrich-Freer copied the information, the fact remains that although the SPR enquiry showed that in the 1890s there was a belief in second sight, it failed to illuminate the nature of these experiences and how they fitted into the wider fabric of psychic experiences known at the time. Even more importantly no attempt was made to see how these experiences affected the lives of the people and the meaning they had to the person and to the community.

The range of second sight experiences that Father McDonald recorded is indeed impressive. When Dewar visited McDonald in August 1894, he wrote to Lord Bute describing the types of experiences he was told about. He was surprised not to come across any crisis apparition of the living cases, though, as we have seen, they do exist in the literature on second sight.

Father McDonald's cases of second sight have been reproduced by Campbell and Hall (1968: 249-323); two will be highlighted below. The first case concerns an experience of a *manadh*, which is regarded as a warning. The *manadh* can come in various forms, the most common being in the form of light (MacInnes 1989: 16). However, in some cases it takes the form of hearing something before the event occurs:

> John MacKinnon, Eriskay (Iain beag mac Iain 'ic Mhurchaidh), had gone to bed and after sleeping for some time wakened and continued awake. He heard the door of his house open and a man rushing in hurriedly, saying, 'Iain bhig! Iain bhig! greas ort!' ['Little John! little John! Hurry up!'] He knew the voice to be that of his nephew Malcolm MacKinnon who lived in the next house. He got up as quickly as he could, and went over to Malcolm's house, but found it closed, and no person awake. He walked round the house but there was no sign of a light or any person being up ... He went back then to his own house ... awaiting Malcolm's return ... He waited, but in vain. He asked the wife if she had heard the call. She said she didn't. Two days after, Malcolm rushed into the house, hurriedly exclaiming, 'Iain bhig! Iain bhig! greas ort!' He was not in at the time. A brother-in-law of his called Donald (Bàn) Currie, was being drowned out in front of the house. He was returning with a boat load of sea-weed. This occurrence explained the matter. The voice was considered a 'manadh' or warning. (Campbell and Hall 1968: 263)

What is interesting about this experience is that when John MacKinnon heard distinctively his nephew's voice crying for help, he believed it to be real and acted accordingly. What differentiates this experience from being purely an auditory hallucination is that the *actual* event occurs. Therefore it would seem that his precognitive vision caught a glimpse of the future. Is this an isolated case or are there other cases like this one?

The second case seems to support the latter possibility and concerns a first-hand experience of a girl who had seen the *taidhbhse* of a couple before actually meeting them:

Marion MacRury, Ru' (Bàn), Eriskay, about 12 years ago when only a child was in the enclosure in front of the School House door Eriskay with Margaret MacAskill a sister of the interim teacher Harriet MacAskill – the head teacher Miss MacKay having had to go home to Buckie in bad health. It was broad daylight on a Saturday. She noticed the head of a man and a woman outside the wall coming round on the south side. She asked Maggie MacAskill who they were. Miss MacAskill said she didn't see anyone. Marion MacRury then noticed them come in by the east gate and the man had a waterproof and the woman had a grey shawl on her arm. She had never seen either of them before. She saw them pass a yard or two from her into the School House front door and she drew Maggie MacAskill's attention to them again. Maggie didn't see them but rushed into the house to tell her sister Harriet. They found nobody in, and Marion MacRury was taken in and told she had seen a taibhse [*sic*] and Harriet MacAskill got a bible and closed it to Marion's face so that the wind might go in her eyes. If it wasn't for that says Marion I might be as bad as the Red Tailor (Bowie), Harbour, but I never saw anything since.[12] Miss MacKay the teacher died a month or two after leaving Eriskay for her home. Maggie MacAskill and Marion MacRury were in the school enclosure another day and saw two people coming round just as the other two she had seen had come. They turned out to be real characters this time, viz. an uncle of Miss MacKay's and Mrs Malcolm MacAskill from Pollacharra, South Uist. The man came across to see about the effects of his deceased niece and Mrs MacAskill came to see her daughters. At the most there could not have been more than three months between the vision and the realisation. I can't find out if the vision was prior to Miss MacKay's death or not. (p. 291)

A lesson one can learn from the SPR enquiry is the importance of respecting people one is learning from. Father McDonald was part of his community. He knew the language, customs and traditions and was entrusted with first-hand accounts of second sight experiences. His example suggests that the best psychical researcher studying second sight experiences is a person whose genuine sensitivity to the community engenders a special relationship with the people.

ALASTAIR MACGREGOR

Although previous investigators have observed that second sight ran in families, no mention was made specifically as to which members in the family had experiences and about the kinds of experiences they had. Alastair MacGregor's training was in medicine and in the late 1890s, he wrote about some of his family's second sight experiences, including those of his great-grandfather, his sister and himself (MacGregor 1901: 42-56, 141-156).

His father told him about his own grandfather, who was the minister at Dull, who had a collective vision of a funeral procession with a young couple who were getting married at the time. All three of them saw the funeral procession and the young woman had recognised some of the coffin-bearers. The minister, believing it to be a *real* procession, went down to get the key to the churchyard to let them in, only to find that there was no-one there. The following week the actual funeral took place.

His father was later to take over the same parish as his grandfather. Originally he was a sceptic about second sight but eventually became a believer. Being the local minister, people would confide to him about what they had seen. His father was trained both in science and theology and applied this training by carefully recording the date and account of an experience when it was told to him. He then made a note when the vision came true. Unfortunately MacGregor never mentioned whether he kept his father's diary. However, what is important is the method of recording the experiences before the event happened and also his observation that experiences were in his family.

JOHN GREGORSON CAMPBELL

John Gregorson Campbell (1836-1891), who was a minister of Tiree, a folklorist and a Gaelic scholar, wrote of the traditional beliefs about second sight in the Highlands and Islands. Like other writers, Campbell related several accounts of funeral processions. In his accounts, the place where the funeral procession is seen will be a location where the actual procession will later pass. Visions of processions and the many other experiences pertaining to funerals and the preparations for them are, according to Campbell, accounted for through the following belief:

> The doctrine is, that the whole ceremony connected with a funeral is gone through in rehearsal by spectres which are the shades, phantoms, appearances, taishs, doubles, swarths, or whatever else we choose to call them, of living men, not merely by the shade of the person who is to die, but by the shades of all who are to be concerned in the ceremony. The phantoms go for the wood that is to make the coffin, the nails, the dead clothes, and whatever else may be required on the occasion; the sounds of the coffin being made are heard, of presses [cupboards] being opened, of glasses rattling; and the melancholy procession has been met in the dead of night wending its way to the churchyard . . . (Campbell 1902: 150-151)

The *tamhasg* – i.e. spectre of the living or *doppelgänger* – is not a person's spirit but can be likened to an alter ego. This alter ego is linked to the person, though it has an existence independent of him or her. If one sees it, one is not supposed to talk to it otherwise it will demand that you meet it regularly. According to Campbell, the tradition had it that the penalty for not keeping these meetings was a physical thrashing by the *tamhasg*. Also he notes (p. 143) that the *tamhasg* is related to the wishes of a person: 'Strongly wishing . . . causes at times a person's likeness to be seen or heard at the place where he wishes to be and the original . . . may be affected through his double.'

The *taradh* is the experience of having a vision of a living person before you actually meet them. Campbell related the case of a Scottish man who had a recurring vision of his future wife while stationed in Africa years before he met her in the Isle of Mull:

> A native of Coll, Hugh, son of Donald the Red *Eoghan MacDhòmhnuill Ruaidh*, while serving with his regiment in Africa, said he saw, almost every evening, for a period of five years, glimpses of the woman whom he afterwards married, and whom he never saw in reality till his return from the wars. Wherever he sat, after the day's march, the figure of a

woman came beside him, and sometimes seemed to touch him lightly on the shoulders. On each occasion he merely caught a glimpse of her. When he left the army, and was on his way home, he came to the village at Dervaig, in Mull, from the neighbourhood of which the ferry across to Coll lay. He entered by chance a house in the village, and his attention was unexpectedly attracted by the sound of a weaver's loom at work in the house. On looking up he saw sitting at the loom the identical woman whose figure had for five years haunted him in Africa. He married her. (p. 147)

Campbell also relates an experience which would be regarded now as a 'crisis telepathy' experience which occurred over a great distance:

Sixty years ago, a seer in Ruaig, Tiree . . . was one day employed in the harvest-field, tying sheaves after the reapers, a work assigned to old people. One of his sons was away in the Ross of Mull for a cargo of peats. All of a sudden the old man cried out 'Alas!, alas! My loss!' *och! och! mo chreach*! His children gathered around him in great anxiety. He told them to wait a minute and in a short time said it was all right, his son was safe. It turned out that at the very time of his exclamation, the boat in which his son was on its way from the Ross of Mull, was run into by another boat at the Dutchman's Cap (*Am Bac Mòr;* a peculiarly shaped island) on the way, and his son was thrown overboard, but was rescued in time. (pp. 149-150)

In the Highlands, and especially in the Islands, fishing was and still is an integral part of the life of many communities. It is not surprising therefore that many second sight experiences were connected to the dangers of the sea. Campbell related accounts of visions forewarning of a tragedy concerning particular boats. Local people would heed the seer's warnings and in some cases not sail in them or even destroy the boat.

Omens foretelling death, as we have already discussed, come in various forms and were part of the lore in the community as observed by Campbell. The *dreag* or *fairy light* as it is referred to in Tiree or the *Uist Light* or *Solus Uithist* in Skye and the Islands is seen as a ball of light. Sometimes the *dreag* is seen falling over the boundary of the croft, which symbolises that someone will die in the croft. Another name for the light is the *corpse candle* which signifies the *flame of the soul* of a person. It can be seen along the road to a funeral, over a loch where a person will be drowned or even over a person soon to die. If the light is seen close to the ground the funeral will take place soon but if it is seen far from the ground, it will not be immediate (MacBain 1887: 331). Other omens announcing death can come in the form of hearing three knocks at the door; when the person goes to the door nobody is there. Also according to tradition, certain animals can symbolically bring news of death. Hearing the cock crow late at night is considered as a sure sign that a family member or relative will soon die.

The mourners' lament or cry for a loved one can be heard before the death of the person.[13] In Ireland, the Banshee was heard in particular families warning of death (Lysaght 1986: 53-63). Campbell related a case from Tiree:

Weeping and crying were heard at midnight near the mill-dam in Tiree, on a dark and rainy night, by a young man going for a midwife for his brother's wife. He heard the same sounds

on his return. The woman died in that childbed, and it was observed that at the very spot where the young man said that he heard the sounds of lamentation, her two sisters first met after her death, and burst into tears and outcries. (p. 167)

Although Campbell does provide a good description of the beliefs and accounts of second sight, as we shall see later, his personal views were those of a sceptic regarding the *psychic* nature of second sight.

WENDY WOOD

The Scottish writer, Wendy Wood (1892-1981), devoted time to collecting accounts of second sight and gathering research material to write a book on it. She was sensitive not only to the phenomenology of second sight in others but also to her own experiences. Though the book was never completed, Wendy Wood's papers (c. 1930) are valuable for their description of the historical literature and accounts recorded at the time, including her own. Around thirty accounts were collected, of which eighteen were first-hand accounts from people in the Highlands and Islands. The others were obtained from appeals in newspapers. Unfortunately only a small number of these experiences were actually described by Wood, including visions of death-shrouds, funeral processions, *doppelgängers* and visions of people before actually meeting them. A handful of these pertain to her own experiences from the late 1920s and 1930s.

Wendy Wood was concerned with establishing the genuineness of second sight:

> Whether Second Sight is an extra-sense, to be classified under the science of psychology, or whether its nature is entirely occult or spiritual, is only worth considering after definite proof of its existence . . . By proof I mean a case which I know to have been spoken of before the event, in identifiable detail, by one who could not have come by the knowledge in any other manner; while the vision is later repeated in totality with the correct details . . . (File 12)

What is interesting about Wood's approach was her intention to get proof of second sight through selecting first-hand accounts in which people had spoken to others about their experience before the actual event occurred. She also recorded experiences after she heard them, sometimes even without a person's knowledge, though Wood maintained the confidentiality of her informants and respected their wishes not to be named. Anonymity had its social advantages:

> The doubtful ability of being able to foretell a neighbour's decease, may, especially in remote country districts, result in complete isolation . . . The Mother of a lady with whom I am well acquainted, when she saw a shroud or other sign of death on anyone present, felt faint and always asked for a drink of water. It became generally known that her physical disability was due to some such message, and her presence became less welcome to nervous friends, to those who were at the moment not feeling in perfect health, or who thought that the lady in question looked upon them with even slight disfavour. Indeed, I know many who used to

go up across the hill to avoid passing her on the foot path, for fear she might have ominous tidings.

Such avoidance is a new phase in Highland life; the older attitude being that the warning came as a favour giving time to prepare for death . . . (File 12)

Wood observed that this connection between someone having a vision and later becoming ill was not unusual. Another case she mentioned was told to her by a man from North Uist. The man told of how a fifteen year old boy with whom he was travelling had a vision of a funeral procession and shortly afterwards became very ill.

Wood recorded a striking case in which a man saw a *doppelgänger* of his friend's son. Believing it to be a real person, he went to touch the man only to find it was not *real* in the material sense.

I met what I thought to be MacA—'s son just at the corner of the road there. Not in anyway was he unlike the real thing . . . He had on the same grey trousers and blue jacket and no hat and cap . . . But as he came closer it would just seem that he interested me, and I looked hard at him, and, well now, I just can't tell you how, for I kept my eyes some way between his old yellow muffler and his face, but he seemed to be moving very smoothly, and I was puzzled and put out my hand just to touch his arm as you would be if you were going to speak – just, like that – and though I was looking at the very cloth I was touching, that could nearly have counted the strands, yet my fingers went right through it and couldn't get a grip or a touch. I felt very bad at that, indeed yes, I did, and thankful that I had not spoken to him or he would have been at me again some other evening . . . (Files 10 and 14)

Although Wendy Wood recorded first-hand accounts, she also received accounts from other researchers such as Alexander Polson. She also wrote about several of her own second sight experiences both in her unfinished work as well as in her autobiography. In the following excerpt – from her papers – written in November 1930, she wrote about having a vision of a funeral procession in August 1930:

I landed for the first time on Harris with two companions age 12 and 15. The boat having landed us at six in the morning, we were at our destination, the little village of Strond, by seven o'clock and having had breakfast went for a stroll on the headland that protected the small bay. Looking across at the few cottages on the other side of the water (distance being some 200 yards and the day clear and sunny) I saw seven men dressed in black standing about outside a certain cottage. They were moving about restlessly and now and again I caught sight of a long black object before the cottage, though I did not recognise it as a coffin, never having seen one placed outside before, yet I was aware that I was looking at a funeral, and called my companion's attention to it. To my amazement they could neither of them see anything of the sort. There was no person in sight they assured me . . . while I continued to see the figures on the other side as clearly as I saw the palm of my own hand, the two girls firmly maintained that neither man nor woman was to be seen across the bay, though they gave a detailed description of every cottage . . . While I was speaking, one man left the others to go up the path towards a house that stands a little above the cottages. I pointed him out to the children, glanced back at the group before the strolling man had

reached the house, and the whole lot had disappeared. Their disappearance gave me a sort of shock, being so un-natural in comparison with their reality, but I knew no-one in Strond and laughed the matter aside though I mentioned it to the doctor whom I met a few days later and also to a friend . . . The doctor said that a death at the house seemed unlikely, and I asked him and my friend to keep the matter quiet, a request which was quite un-necessary as such information is never handed about, which is one of the reasons why such cases are harder to prove. I am planning to return to Harris this March, but feel afraid that on my reappearance, the funeral may make place. (File 11)

According to her published autobiography, Wood was able to fulfil her aim of documenting the vision before it occurred through telling other people about her own vision before it came true (Wood 1970). She spoke both to the local doctor and friends about her vision shortly after she had it. At the time, the doctor told her that the man in the croft which the vision referred to was in good health. He also said that since the vision occurred in the morning, the *actual* funeral would take place eight or nine months later. This is contrary to the tradition as observed by Martin (1703: 301). According to Wood, she received a letter from the doctor eight months later stating that the events foreseen had come to pass. She also received a letter from her friend. These letters indicate that Wood had told them of her vision beforehand and that the funeral later happened. According to Wood, the doctor wrote:

I remember you told me what you saw and the cottage at which you saw it. At that time there was no one ill at that cottage, as I remarked at the time. I.G. the owner of that cottage, has since died. I am afraid I cannot give any satisfactory explanation, but that it is a gift possessed by only a few I feel sure. (Wood 1970: 170)

In her letter, the friend wrote:

As regards the phantom funeral you saw at Strond last summer, it passed in reality the day before I arrived home. I.G. who lived in that long thatched cottage died. My uncle was the man you saw who went to fetch his jacket. (He was helping to build the house that later stood on the hill). (pp. 170-171)

THE SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES

From the 1950s to the present, numerous staff members and students of the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh have interviewed people about second sight experiences. Great care is taken over the confidentiality of the material imparted to the fieldworker during the interview. In recent years, release forms have been given to the informants to find out their wishes regarding their tapes and how the material can be used. Many of the informants have given permission to place their recordings in the School of Scottish Studies Archives and some have also given permission for their material to be published in the School's journal, *Tocher*.

The people who were interviewed came from diverse traditions and communities

throughout different parts of Scotland, from the Highlands, Western Isles, Shetland and Orkney, and the Lowlands. Some fieldworkers have also travelled to different countries such as Canada and the USA.

The second sight experiences recorded over the years by fieldworkers in the School of Scottish Studies are similar in character to the classical accounts of second sight already discussed. What follows is a brief summary to show the range of experiences recorded. Some of the accounts of second sight which have appeared in *Tocher* will be highlighted. The cases dealt with meaningful events, some of which were happy though the majority concerned foreseeing very sad events. There are a number of accounts from people who had visions of a funeral procession and walked to the side of the road to let it pass. Others were less fortunate and reported being physically pushed aside by one of the mourners. Some of these visions of funeral processions were transferred to another person. In most cases this was done through physical contact, e.g. having the person step on the seer's foot or placing his hand on the seer's shoulder. Most of the time this method seemed to be successful, though not always. The majority of the other visions (not of funeral processions) that were transferred to another person also involved physical contact. In some of these cases people reported that they retained their ability of second sight throughout their whole life.

Other types of precognitive visions which were recorded involved seeing a death shroud on a person before his death. In some cases, the person felt faint or ill after having the vision. One such account was recorded in South Uist by D. J. MacDonald in his fieldwork notebook and later published. During a wedding reel, a man saw a death shroud on his brother's new wife. Feeling pale, he went home and his mother asked why he returned so early.

'Chuir,' ars' esan, 'ged a tha mo bhràthair cho toilichte a nochd, mun tig ceann bliadhna bi e gu math mi-thoilichte; cha mheal e a bhean òg ro fhada. 'Nuair a bha iad ann a' ruidhle na bainnse, chunnaic mise a leine-bhàis air bean-na-bainnse suas chun na h-amhaich.'

'The reason was,' he said, 'that although my brother is so happy tonight, before a year's end he will be very unhappy; he will not enjoy his young wife for very long. When they were dancing the bride's reel I saw her shroud on the bride up to her neck.' (D. J. MacDonald 1972: 194-5)

Margaret Bennett has conducted fieldwork about many aspects of Scottish customs which has resulted in an excellent book, *Scottish Customs from the Cradle to the Grave.*[14] According to tradition, the time of day a child was born determined if that child had second sight. Bennett recorded Iain Nicolson in Uig, Skye, in 1988:

But I heard if it was at midnight [you were born], that you were apt to see things. But I know of one that was in Skudiborg, A— BH—, a brother of J— G— that was in Baile nan Cnoc there. They were in a hotel . . . [in Uig, Skye. A Man] gave him a glass of whisky and he saw the grave clothes on him. And he was shivering; takes the glass out of his hand. But the man lived maybe a month or two after that – but he saw it! (Bennett 1992: 179-180)

Though second sight is generally thought of as being an *awake* vision, it can, as we
have seen, come to some people in the form of dreams. An account illustrating this
type of second sight was recorded from Peter Morrison of North Uist, by Donald A.
MacDonald. There had been an accident in which a woman drowned when trying to
gather kelp. Although people had searched for her, her body had not been found.
Shortly after the drowning, Peter Morrison's grandmother had a dream in which the
dead woman was trying to tell her where her body was, warning her if they did not
come soon it would be lost at sea. She awoke three times during the night from the
same dream, the deceased woman's appeal becoming more urgent each time. On each
occasion, she woke her husband to tell him of her dream and ask that he go out on the
boat to look for the body.

> Well, *dhùisg i 'companach a rithist 's thuirt i ris: 'Tha'n aislig,' as is, 'air mise dhusgadh an treas
> uair. Dé tha thu 'dol a dheanamh?'*
>
> *'O chan eil mise 'dol a charachadh,' as esan.*
>
> *'Mar a bheil,' as ise, 'tha mise 'falbh dha'n choimhearsnachd.' 'S chaidh i sen a thaigh
> Dhòmhnaill Thàilleir. Dh' fhalbh iad le cnap do dh' eathar 's dh'iomair an dithis aca mach [a]
> Lòn Cait 's fhuair iad am boirionnach 'san tiùrr 's a' làn a' dol feithe 'nuair a ràinig iad. Thug
> iad dhachaidh i 's chaidh a tiodhlagadh 'san dùthaich.*

Well, she woke her husband again and said to him: 'The dream has woken me,' said she, 'for
the third time. What are you going to do?'

'Oh, I'm not going to budge,' said he.

'If you won't,' said she, 'I'm going for the neighbours.' And she went to Donald the
tailor's house. They went out in a fair-sized boat and the two of them rowed her out to Lon
Cait, and they found the woman in the wrack, and the tide was beginning to lift her when
they got there. They brought her home and she was buried among her people. (D. A.
MacDonald 1974: 319-320)

Though second sight experiences are generally of a visual nature, some can take the
form of having knowledge about people's safety at some distance from the informant.
One such experience was recorded from James Morrison, East Tarbert, Harris, by Morag
MacLeod from the School of Scottish Studies in 1968. A small boat from Strond went
out fishing for lobsters at Haskeir, off North Uist. There was a bad gale and the crew
had to let the boat drift. People from Harris thought the worst, that no-one would be
seen again. However there was a woman who knew that all on board the boat were safe
and so she went to Strond to tell the people there not to give up hope:

> *Och, cha do chreid iad idir i, na càil colach ris, 's dh' fhan i ann go robh a' feasgar ann 's thuirt
> i gu robh ise a' falbh a neis, gun d'thug i seachad an teachdaireachd a bh'aice, ach nach robh càil
> a dh' fhios aice c'àite a robh muinntir an eathair, ach bha fhios aice gu robh iad beò fhathast.'S
> chaidh i dhachaidh. Cha robh iad gha creidsinn an deidh sen.*
>
> *Cha 'reid mise nach robh iad ceithir la* adrift *ma' s d' thàinig fios gu robh iad air tighinn air
> tìr air tràigh ann an Uige ann a Leòdhas. Bha. Seall sibh a neise mar a bha fios aig a' bhoireannach
> sen air a sen. Bha. 'S bha i làn chinnteach as.*

O, they didn't believe her, or anything like it, and she stayed until the evening, and she said that she was going now, that she had given her message, but that she didn't know where the boat's crew were, but she knew they were still alive. And she went home. They didn't believe her for all that.

I think they were adrift for four days before word came that they had come ashore on a strand in Uig, Lewis. Yes. See now how that woman knew that. Yes. And she was completely sure of it . . . (MacLeod 1972: 196-7)

As we have seen before from the earlier literature, there are a variety of omens traditionally associated with death in Scotland. The School of Scottish Studies has recorded many similar accounts such as seeing a *dreag* or light, hearing sweet singing, bells, three knocks at a door or saws preparing a coffin before the death of a person.

The School has also recorded accounts of visions in which people who are *fey* i.e. about to die, are seen. There have been other accounts in which visions of people at the moment or shortly after death have been seen. Other cases have included people who have had visions of a living person, for instance seeing a *doppelgänger* or experiencing *manadh a' bheò* – having a vision of a person whom you have never met before but later you meet.

As we have seen from the classical cases, people tried to rid themselves from the second sight through prayers. However Alan Bruford recorded an account from Peter Fotheringhame, in Orkney, in which his grand-uncle used another method. His uncle had met a woman who somehow *knew* from his appearance that he had the second sight and was bothered by seeing the visions. She told him about a way to rid himself of the second sight:

'Well,' she says, 'if you want to get rid of that . . .give me a small bit of copper, any copper as long as it's copper. I don't want much,' she says. 'Give me a small bit of copper, and,' she says, 'prove it.' So it wasn't very much bother to him to find copper, you know, them days. He gave her a bit o copper, and she took it in her hand, she said a few words: 'Now,' she said, 'you'll be an old man before ever this bothers you again.' . . . And it was the case. He was well over eighty year old and he came in one day and he says: 'Well,' he says, 'I haven't got long to go now,' he says. 'The old lady's story's comin true.' He says: 'I've seen so-and-so,' mentioned him by name; he says: 'That man's passin out very soon,' he says, 'I saw him today, and it won't be long till my time comes now.' He says: 'She's been quite correct. I've never seen nothing till today, and,' he says, 'I know I haven't long to go myself.' And as he said it so it happened. He told my father that. (Bruford 1972: 199-200)

The School of Scottish Studies have done extensive fieldwork about the Scottish travellers who have an unique way of life, being itinerant. They have a rich history of songs and folktales, including stories of the supernatural and of second sight, which have been orally passed down from generation to generation. Stanley Robertson is a well-known storyteller from a travelling family from Aberdeen. He has published some of the folk-tales in Scots which have been handed down orally in his family (1989). Barbara McDermitt, a past postgraduate from the School of Scottish Studies and now

a storyteller, interviewed Stanley Robertson over a period of three years. She wrote a
moving profile of his life, his family and his beliefs about the supernatural (1986).
Psychic ability seemed to run in the Robertson family: his grandmother, his mother,
his sister and himself all having had psychic experiences. His mother would use her
second sight to tell people about their lives, though never for money: 'My mither was
aafae psychic. She was also a spiritual woman. An my Granny Beck was the same,
because she had lots of experiences that A heard passed doon through the years . . .
[My mother] if she never met you in her life before, she could tell ye your name and
age an everything aboot ye. She really had this gift.' (McDermitt 1986: 179-180)

Stanley Robertson felt that other travellers also had psychic ability. The late Betsy
(Bessie) Whyte, was a well-known storyteller and singer who came from Perthshire.
She wrote two books (1979, 1990) which beautifully describe her life as a traveller. Peter
Cooke and his postgraduate student, Linda Headlee, from the School of Scottish Studies
first met Bessie Whyte at her home in Montrose in 1973. During the years until her
death in 1988, she made many recordings with the School of Scottish Studies about her
folk-tales, songs, and life as a traveller. She was known to use her second sight by telling
people about their lives. Sometimes she used her second sight through the aid of reading
tea leaves or reading palms as a way to focus the mind for concentration. She also spoke
about how second sight ran in her family:

> . . . Mother was gifted with the second sight to a very high degree, but she rarely gave it full
> rein. I think she was a bit awed by it and a bit frightened. I myself am very much like my
> mother was but possessing the gift in a much lesser degree, as does my youngest sister. I too
> am a bit wary of it – a sort of 'Is it from Heaven, or is it from Hell?' feeling. My father
> helped me to learn to live with it. He also taught me tolerance and restraint.[15]

THEORIES OF SECOND SIGHT

For some of the investigators, the proof of the validity of the second sight experiences
was contained in the telling of the experience and the integrity of the teller. For others,
the proof lay in the documentation of the experience, the writing down of the experience
beforehand, and noting when the actual event took place. Most of the collectors were
clergymen and they wanted to show through the accounts the reality of a spiritual
dimension to the mind and proof of the reality of God.

For men like Kirk, Theophilus Insulanus and Fraser, belief in the spiritual agency of
the second sight, be it through fairies, angels or through God, led people to hold the
view that second sight is communicated by an immaterial mind which is immortal.
Theophilus Insulanus argues that second sight is not innate in the material sense but
comes from the spirit of God, citing the following passage in the Bible: 'And afterwards,
I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophesy, your old
men will dream dreams, your young men will see visions.' (Joel 2.28)[16] Theophilus
Insulanus contends that second sight is not communicated through the physical organs

but communicated through the spiritual agency of the imagination of one person to another. As evidence for this, he noted that although most visions occur at night, remarkably the seer was still able to discern the colours and details of an event. Furthermore he states that there have been seers who kept their ability to have visions even after becoming blind. These facts, he concluded, meant that second sight was not mediated through the physical eye but through the imagination.

Theophilus Insulanus was a proponent of what modern day theorists would call a radical dualistic model of mind where mind and matter, though having separate natures, interact.[17] He hypothesised that the spirit or soul of a person was different from that of the body but that they did form a union:

> ... that soul and body are different substances, and diverse in their operations, yet because of their confessed intimate union, they will not have the same faculty to assign to each their proper sphere of action. Some ... suppose that the soul is clothed with a fine material vehicle, seated in the brain, where it receives sensations by the economy of the nerves, &c. yet whatever intercourse betwixt soul and body, may be thus managed ... it will I presume, be impossible to finite minds, to account for prediction from natural causes, without we admit of revelation ... (1763: 32)

Another proponent of radical dualism was Fraser, who espoused physical and spiritual agencies to account for second sight. He proposed that the seer's imagination is the agency of second sight and that there is a mental process in the brain to form the images:

> ... Seeing, is nothing else but the Transition of the intentional Species thro' the chrystallin Humour to the retiform Coat of the Eye, and judged by the common Sense, and conveyed by the optick Nerve to the Fancy ... Now if these Species formerly received, and laid up in the Brain, will be reversed back from the same to the retiform Coat and Chrystallin Humour ... there is in Effect a living Seeing and Perception of the Object represented by these Species, as if *de novo* the Object had been placed before the Eye ... (Fraser 1707: 13-14)

But he maintained that the *source* of second sight was spiritual, from good and bad angels, and was external to the seer's personality. MacEchern also supports the view that the personality of the seer is in touch with an external source of information. Though in his view, this source was either another person's mind or the mind of God:

> ... If the vision should show a knowledge of the distant or of the future beyond what the seer's own consciousness or sub-consciousness could account for, it is evident that the vision, even if subjective, must have its source in something foreign to the seer's personality. If, for example, I see my far-distant brother in the article of death, or I have to-day a vision of what takes place to-morrow, of such a nature that no sub-conscious 'balancing of probabilities' could lead my mind to forecast, then the vision of sight, although subjective, without a present material object being present to be seen, must have an origin outside of the seer's mind, and be explained by some foreign cause, such as telepathy from a human being or telepathy from a higher spirit, or telepathy from the highest spirit ... (MacEchern 1922: 298)

Another debate evident in the literature concerned the question of whether second sight runs in families as a possible hereditary ability.

Robert Kirk observed that second sight ran in the family and that there was a father-son transmission. 'For some have this second sight transmitted from Father to Son, thorow the whole family, without their own consent or others teaching, proceiding only from a Bounty of providence . . .' (Kirk 1691: 67) However, Kirk's near contemporary John Fraser stated that there was no evidence to support such a transmission pattern.

John Gregorson Campbell's personal views were those of a sceptic even though he accurately described the tradition of second sight. He did not believe that the seer's visions were external and independent of the seer, and thus in touch with a spiritual realm. Campbell argued that the visions of seers were due to hallucinations and delusions ('spectral illusions') caused by a hereditary mental illness:

> In some instances it ran in the family; in others, but rarer cases, the seer was the only one of his kindred who 'saw sight' (chì sealladh). Some had it early in life, upon others it did not come till they were advanced in life. These characteristics alone show it to be in its origin the same as spectral illusions. It arose from hereditary disease, malformations, or weakness of the visual organs, and the derangements of mind or bodily health.[18]

Campbell's assertion that second sight can be attributed purely to a hereditary disease can be challenged on several grounds. Though people with certain forms of mental illness such as schizophrenia have auditory hallucinations, it does not necessarily mean that people with second sight are mentally ill. It can be argued that people with second sight do not have hallucinations since there is a real *veridical* event which corresponds to their auditory or visual vision. A further distinction between hallucination and second sight is the fact that a number of people can share the same *collective* vision; as MacGregor put it (1899: 55), '. . . would several people at the same time and place be out of health in such identically the same manner as to have identically the same optical illusions?' Aubrey and Martin observed that people who had second sight experiences were in good health and did not suffer unduly from any mental illnesses. They noted that second sight ran in families. Aubrey was informed about several families in Skye having second sight where it descended from parents to their children. He noted that when a woman has the second sight and is married to a man with second sight, the only way to free their child of it, is to have the child baptized at birth. Martin also observed that second sight ran in the family, but noted that it did not descend directly from parent to child.

> This faculty of the Second Sight does not Lineally descend in a Family, as some imagine, for I know several Parents who are endowed with it, but their Children not, & vice versa . . . I could never learn from any among them, that this faculty was communicable any way whatsoever (Martin 1703:30).

Other writers, such as MacEchern, mentioned that some families had second sight in several generations. He gave the example of his own mother (from the Cameron

family of Rannoch). Her second sight was conveyed to her through dreams. Alex MacDonald, in discussing his collection of experiences in which a person had seen a ghost, noted that some were from the same family and were related by blood. He argued that 'persons of a certain type of character are more subject to ghost-seeing than others; such as have the longing for immortality, whether from hereditary or surrounding circumstances – we suspect from both – very prominent in them, and are of a dreamy, idealistic disposition, are clearly more disposed to the belief in ghosts, and more apt to see them, than others who are more practical and realistic . . .' (A. MacDonald 1889: 49)

Although second sight is thought of as being hereditary, historically there have been incidences of transferring a vision to another person through physical contact.[19] A. J. MacDonald recorded a more recent case of a man who had a vision of a funeral procession and transferred it to a young boy by having the boy place his hand on the man's left shoulder.

> *'Trobhad, ma tha,' ars' esan, 'agus cuir do làmh air mo ghualainn,' ars' esan, 'chearr, agus coimhead a mach air mo ghualainn dheas,' ars' esan. Agus, 'Ach tha mi 'ràitinn seo,' ars' esan, 'ma chi thu 'n dràsd' e,' ars' esan, 'chì thu rithist iad.'*
>
> 'Come here then,' said he, 'and put your hand on my left shoulder' said he, 'and look out over my right shoulder.' Then – 'But I tell you this', said he, 'if you see it now,' said he, 'you will see them again.' (A. J. MacDonald 1972: 192-193)

Though Kirk observed that this form of transference was temporary, in this more current case, the boy is reported to have kept the faculty of second sight. Other variations of this experience involve not only touching the left shoulder but also placing one foot, usually the left foot, on the person's foot. George Macpherson relates the tradition that when the gift is transferred to a person, that person has it for their lifetime though they can not transmit it to the next generation.[20] However, when the person has been born with it, it stays with them during their lifetime and they will also pass it down to further generations. So it appears that people with second sight are believed in some cases to be born with the gift and have it transmitted to their offspring whereas people who have acquired it through transference from another person or being taught it, do not pass the second sight to the next generation. Is the ritual of transference a psychological method to encourage the seeing of visions, or does having physical contact help facilitate mental processes in the brain to see visions? Although the latter seems unlikely, it is difficult to answer this question since there are very few recent accounts.[21]

Study of second sight has not been confined only to Scotland, since the phenomenon has been reported in other cultural traditions as well. Martin Martin gave accounts not just from Scotland but also from Wales, the Isle of Man and Holland. Karl Schmeing interviewed people with second sight in northern Germany. Hans Bender (1964) discussed a survey done in 1958 on beliefs in second sight in the western part of Germany and Gerda Grober-Glück (1973) summarised information gathered in the early 1930s from questionnaires about second sight in Germany. From collections of legends and

reports, Grober-Glück also noted that second sight experiences are reported in the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland. Accounts of psychic experiences have been collected in Finland, some of which are examples of second sight (Virtanen 1990: 157-158). In addition to the places mentioned by Grober-Glück, Virtanen states that people from the Faroes, parts of Ireland, Brittany and New Zealand also report having second-sight experiences.

Some have argued that the aesthetic scenery and atmosphere of the Highlands and Islands, even their isolation from the hustle and bustle of cities, inspire visionary experiences.[12] There is indeed something very special about the atmosphere of the Highlands and Islands. For people with second sight experiences, being in touch with nature through the outside world is something which they say is conducive to having such experiences. The shaded tints of light across the hills, lochs, and machair, with the gales and rain, can fill one with a feeling of awe for the beauty and power of nature. The aesthetic atmosphere where one has the solitude to be in tune with one's thoughts and feelings may indeed inspire visionary experiences. But people have had second sight experiences in urban settings as well (Cohn 1994), so this explanation is evidently not the full story.

In a recent study I applied a multidisciplinary approach to the study of second sight, from the fields of ethnology, parapsychology and human genetics (Cohn 1996). Using interview, questionnaire, survey and family history methods, I examined the prevalence of second sight, the nature of contemporary experiences and whether there is any evidence that second sight could possibly be hereditary.

A 65-item questionnaire was designed to cover the different types of second sight experiences found in the historical literature and modern-day accounts from the School of Scottish Studies' Archive, as well as biographical and family history information. A total of 208 questionnaires were received, primarily from Scotland and also from other countries. The responses indicated that second sight is experienced by people of diverse ages, occupations, religious and cultural traditions. Women tended to report more experiences than men and an important factor related to having second sight was having had a religious experience (Cohn 1999a).

Drawing from interviews with seventy people from different parts of Scotland and material collected from letters and questionnaires from people throughout Britain and from other countries, an archive has been built up of over one thousand contemporary accounts of second sight and other types of psychic, transpersonal and religious experiences (Cohn 1996).[13] The interview material was analysed with both a profile approach and a pattern approach. Profiles of five informants gave an insight into the range and circumstances of the experiences, the context of family attitudes toward discussing second sight and their religious and personal views. The families regarded second sight as being both a spiritual and physical phenomenon. From the person's own experiences and religious beliefs, there was a deep belief in fate, that what was seen would happen and that one could generally not intervene unless one was called to do

so. Also there was a belief, sometimes based upon personal experience of seeing a loved one after death, that when a person dies, some part of them, a soul, continues. In some families with second sight, it was openly discussed and believed to be a hereditary 'gift'. In other families, the subject was taboo. Yet despite this, it still ran in these families (Cohn 1996).[24]

To complement the profile approach, a phenomenological approach was applied to looking at patterns in the complete set of accounts. Contemporary accounts bear similarities with classical accounts, but are expressed in a modern context. For instance in a recent case in the Highlands, a man had a vision of a funeral procession whilst driving his bus; by recognising the mourners, he named the person who would die, in front of the passengers. In many of the visions of funeral processions and death shrouds, people report seeing the scene not 'in their mind's eye' but in front of them. The theme of external imagery is often found in accounts of awake visions of a person before, at the moment of, or after death. In most cases, the apparition appears solid and the percipient is unaware that the person is ill or near death. Only when the image fades does the percipient realise that something is amiss. For instance, a person from Skye had a vision of her neighbour who she thought had returned from holiday in England. In her own words '...It was absolutely natural. There was nothing unnatural, nothing frightening about it. In fact, I wasn't aware that he was dead. I took it that he was still alive ...' She was informed later by the neighbour's employer that he had died quite unexpectedly. Her vision of the neighbour coincided with the time of his death. In cases of seeing an apparition of a person after death, the percipients reported in most cases that it appeared as a solid person. They did not feel that they mentally projected the image of the apparition but that it had an existence of its own. The percipients felt that the apparition came to them for a purpose, to bring comfort, impart information about a loved one or to give information about an unresolved matter (Cohn 1996).

These experiences often have a psychological impact on a person's life, as illustrated by one informant from Lewis, who said they made him 'more aware of people, more aware of the fragile nature of life, the fragile nature of the mind even...' Most people regard it as a natural part of themselves, as one informant from Harris illustrates: 'second sight in my culture is like fresh air and water, it is just there'. Even so, some people felt it was an unwanted 'gift' and were burdened by what they saw as it posed an ethical dilemma over whether to tell the person concerned. For many, there was also the fear of ridicule or ostracism (Cohn 1996).

To find the frequency of second sight in the general population, a large-scale mail survey was undertaken in different areas of Scotland (Cohn 1994). Second Sight is generally regarded as being more prominent in the Western Isles and Highlands of Scotland than elsewhere. However, the survey data shows this not to be the case – the phenomenon occurs throughout rural and urban parts of Scotland. The survey also gives empirical support to the traditional belief that second sight does run in families, especially among blood relations. Though several investigators also observed that second

sight ran in families, there was however, no consensus as to a consistent transmission pattern. As the number of family histories examined by each investigator was rarely stated, it is impossible to draw a sound conclusion from the earlier literature whether second sight is hereditary or not.

To examine whether second sight runs in families due to cultural and/or genetic factors, I constructed and analysed a total of 130 pedigrees from people with a family history of second sight for known inheritance patterns and the results of the genetic analyses demonstrate that second sight seems consistent with an autosomal dominant mode of inheritance, especially for small family sizes. Certain aspects of the data favoured social and cultural factors as also contributing to second sight running in families (Cohn 1999b).

A potentially fruitful way to examine whether second sight is transmitted as a cultural and/or a genetic phenomenon would be to look at the incidence of second sight among the Scottish emigrants and their descendants now living in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the USA. During the Highland clearances, in the 19th century, a large number of Scottish people were evicted off their land, forcing many of them to emigrate to these countries. Would second sight still be experienced in another country after several generations? The answer appears to be yes. For instance in Cape Breton, Canada, second sight is still being reported.[25] It should also be pointed out, however, that there were some people who felt that once they went to another country, they lost the second sight.[26] Further family history studies of second sight need to be done in different cultural traditions to clarify whether the mode of inheritance for second sight observed by Cohn (1999b) is universal. If so, this would raise the question whether the hereditary aspect of the ability lies in the sensitivity of the normal sensory systems which convey the experiences.

Could second sight be hereditary as a talent of mind and not be due to an abnormal state of the mind? Even if it is hypothesised that the mind could possibly catch a glimpse of the future, one is still left with the question of how this information is conveyed to the person. Is it through an immaterial mind, is it processed through the sensory faculties in the brain or through some combination of these two pathways? It is well established from both medical and neurological evidence that there is a direct relationship between brain states and mental processes. Therefore there may be particular brain states that affect mental abilities which are conducive to second sight and other psychic experiences. It has been observed that some people who have temporal lobe epilepsy have experienced psychic experiences such as out-of-body experiences and déjà vu (Cytowic 1994: 134-135) and that there may be a genetic predisposition for such a relationship in certain families (Neppe 1980). However, people who have had these experiences can be free from these illnesses and may have an unusual mental ability.[27] The phenomenology of second sight experiences suggests that information about an emotionally charged event is conveyed through a whole range of senses and the experiences are described by the percipient as being *real*. Many visions appeared as

projected three-dimensional images which became the central focus of perception. This *external* imagery is characteristic of eidetic imagery (Cohn 1996). A similar relationship was observed by Schmeïng in Northern Germany (Schmeïng 1937, 1950, 1954).

There is some evidence that creative people may be more likely to have psychic ability (Moss 1969 and Schlitz & Honorton 1992). Thus, second sight could also be related to other talents. Current research is underway to examine a possible relationship with other mental and artistic abilities. If such a relationship were found, this would imply that second sight might actually be related to a creative mental process and what may be hereditary is the way a person processes sensory information when having a second sight experience.

The early investigators have provided contemporary scholars with a wealth of accounts, customs and lore of second sight. Their ideas have stimulated a debate about the source, process and meaning of second sight which continues to this day. The answers to these questions will illuminate what the nature of mind is and its relationship to time. Furthermore, there has been a recurrent theme of a spiritual quality to many of the experiences. Thus, any theory of second sight must reconcile both the hereditary and spiritual aspects of mind.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

1 Ramsay 1888: 464; see also Wood c. 1930: File 12.

2 Morrison, p.18. This point was also made by earlier writers, for example see Fraser 1707 p. 4 in the Preface.

3 The review will not be exhaustive as it does not completely cover the Gaelic literature on second sight.

4 Kirk 1691. The passages quoted in this article are on pages 5-6, 26-27 and 30-31 of the transcription by C. Campbell (Kirk 1692).

5 Aubrey 1696: 163-164. In Pepys (1699) there is a letter from a Lord Tarbat to Mr. Robert Boyle which corroborates this experience. One Sir Norman M'Leod told Lord Tarbat that he had heard of this vision and had witnessed its fulfilment. Sir Norman was present at the man's burial in St. Clement's Church in the Isle of Harris. There was also another man to be buried and a dispute took place between the two sets of mourners as to which body should be taken into the church first. One person took out his bow and shot an arrow, hitting one of the dead men in the thigh, from which no blood came out. This was exactly what the seer had predicted. Other accounts of second sight were mentioned in Pepys' correspondences, see p. 387.

6 There have been other cases in which the future spouse was standing on the right side, or standing in front of them, or busy with a task, for instance, weaving, or spinning, see MacBain, 1887: 325-326, and J. G. Campbell, 1902: 147.

7 MacEchern 1922: 302-303. Polson (1926: 100) referred to him as one Reverend Macpherson.

8 Other accounts of collective visions can be found in MacGregor 1899: 45; K. N. MacDonald, 1901: 145-146 and Polson 1926: 101-102.

9 L. G. Johnson, 1971: 140; for accounts see Bruford 1985: 172-3, and Dempster 1888: 240.

10 Henderson 1866: 296-298; J. G. Campbell 1900: 268-276; Polson 1926: 107-108; C. MacDonald 1947: 80-83; O. F. Swire 1973: 143; D. A. MacDonald 1974: 319-321; Bruford 1977: 81; G. W. Macpherson, personal communication, 1994.

11 Bennett 1992: 282. She cites the work of the Reverend John Lane Buchanan (1793) as a more accurate depiction of life in the Hebrides, as he lived there and had knowledge of both the people and their language.

12 Father McDonald in his notebook notes that although Marion MacRury says that after she felt the wind of the Bible on her face she no longer experienced any more visions, in fact she had other visions since that experience. See also MacCulloch (1936: 253) who mentions this method, and MacInnes (1989: 21), who notes that this practice is still known today.

13 MacBain (1887: 331) notes that hearing the mourners' lament and seeing the corpse candle ran in some families.

14 Bennett 1992. For another good review of Highland beliefs of the supernatural, see MacBain 1889: 232-272 and for a recent review of women's beliefs of the supernatural, see also Bennett 1987.

15 See Whyte 1976: 249-276. In that article there are additional contributions from Linda Headlee and Alan Bruford. Alan Bruford, on p. 257, described Bessie Whyte, writing of her as 'a remarkable person, a grandmother who still looks and acts like a young woman, whose immediate sympathy and readiness to understand others can almost be felt as you enter the room. Whatever the nature of her gift, it is easy to believe that she has some telepathic ability: easier still to feel as soon as you meet her that here is a friend.'

16 In the Hebrew text this passage is found in Joel 3.1 in *The Book of Prophets*.

17 See Beloff 1988 and 1994 and Smythies and Beloff 1989.

18 Carr, p. 271, supported Campbell's view. Campbell, *Witchcraft and Second Sight*, p. 126.

19 Kirk, Aubrey and Martin wrote of this phenomenon as did Lord Reay in correspondence with Pepys 1699.

20 G. W. Macpherson, personal communication, 1994.

21 In my own fieldwork, though people have heard about transference, I have not come across any first-hand account of it, though I have recorded a second-hand one.

22 The editor who wrote the Preface to Theophilus Insulanus' *A Treatise on Second Sight*, pp. 5-8 and Carr, p.270, supported this view.

23 In the PhD thesis, I included interviews with seventy people and over 500 accounts were analysed. This is only a fraction of the collected accounts analysed. I have since broadened that analysis to include additional material from interviews, questionnaires and letters, bringing the total to 1018 accounts.

24 Parts of this and the following two paragraphs are excerpted with permission from my previous article, Cohn 1998.

25 Shaw 1987. Several school children from St. Joseph Elementary School, Sydney, published second sight accounts from their own family, see Students 1991: 9-16. Other accounts from Cape Breton have been discussed by Catherine Maclean (1980).

26 One such example comes from my own fieldwork. A crofter from Port-of-Ness, in the Isle of Lewis said that both his father and his wife's uncle had the second sight but when they went to New Zealand, they lost it.

27 It would be interesting to compare the phenomenology of psychic experiences between people who have unusual mental talents and people who have mental illnesses to see if the type and nature of the experiences are similar or different. It would also be important to see the impact these experiences have had on the lives of the people and whether some are more able to integrate the experiences in their lives than others.

REFERENCES

AUBREY, J.
    1696   *Miscellanies.* London.

BELOFF, J.
    1988   *The Relentless Question.* London.

    1994   'The mind-brain problem.' *The Journal of Scientific Exploration* 8(4):
                   509-522.

BENDER, H.
    1964   'Editorial: Formen der Einstellung zur Parapsychologie.' *Zeitschrift für
                   Parapsychologie und Grenzgebiete der Psychologie* 11: 85-92.

BENNETT, G.
    1987   *Traditions of Belief: Women, Folklore and the Supernatural Today.*
                   Harmondsworth.

BENNETT, M.
    1992   *Scottish Customs from the Cradle to the Grave.* Edinburgh.

BRUFORD, A.
    1972   'Second Sight.' *Tocher* 6: 199-200.

    1977   'Three Orkney Worthies.' *Tocher* 26: 65-103.

    1985   'Supernatural Accretions to Scottish Tales of Local Tragedies.' In *The
                   8th Congress of The International Society for Folk-Narrative Research,
                   Bergen, June 12th-17th 1984,* ed. R. Kvideland and T. Selberg, pp 167-
                   176. Bergen.

BUCHANAN, J. L.
    1793   *Travels in the Western Hebrides From 1782 to 1790.* London.

CAMPBELL, J. L., AND HALL, T.
    1968   *Strange Things.* London.

CAMPBELL, J. G.
    1900   *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.* Glasgow.

    1902   *Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.*
                   Glasgow.

CARR, J.
    1809   *Caledonian Sketches, or a tour through Scotland in 1807.* London.

COHN, S. A.
    1994   'A Survey on Scottish Second Sight.' *The Journal of the Society for
                   Psychical Research* 59(835): 385-400.

| 1996 | 'The Scottish Tradition of Second Sight and Other Psychic Experiences In Families.' Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh. |

1998   'Second Sight: Fact or Fiction?', *EDIT* (The University of Edinburgh Magazine), 14, pp. 28-31.

1999a   'A Questionnaire Study on Second Sight Experiences'. *The Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 63(855): 129-157.

1999b   'Second Sight and Family History: Pedigree and Segregation Analyses'. *Journal of Scientific Exploration* 13(3): 351-372.

CYTOWIC, R.
1994   *The Man Who Tasted Shapes.* London.

DEMPSTER, MISS
1888   'The Folklore of Sutherland.' *The Folklore Journal* 6: 238-246.

FRASER, J.
1707   *Deuteroscopia: A Brief Discourse Concerning the Second Sight.* Edinburgh.

GROBER-GLÜCK, G.
1973   'Second Sight in Northern Germany: Traditional Popular Belief and Precognition.' In *Parapsychology and Anthropology: Proceedings*, ed. A. Angoff and D. Barth, pp. 180-202. New York.

HENDERSON, W.
1866   *Notes on the Folklore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders.* Wakefield. (1973 facsimile reprint of 1st edn, London: 1866).

JOHNSON, L. G.
1971   *Laurence Williamson of Mid Yell.* Lerwick.

JOHNSON, S.
1776   'Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland.' In Chapman, R. W. ed, *Johnson and Boswell: A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, and The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1900 edn). London.

KIRK, R.
1691   *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies and A Short Treatise of Charms and Spels.* (1976 edn, edited and with a commentary by Stewart Sanderson.) Cambridge.

1692   Manuscript of 'The Secret Common-Wealth or A Treatise Displaying, The Chief Curiosities Among the People of Scotland as They are in Use to this Day', transcribed by C. Campbell. Edinburgh University Library, ms. La.III.551.

LYSAGHT, P.
    1986   *The Banshee: The Irish Supernatural Death Messenger.* Dublin.

MACBAIN, A.
    1887   'Phantoms of the Living.' *Celtic Magazine* 12: 324-332.

    1889   'Highland Superstition.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*
                    14: 232-272.

MACCULLOCH, J. A.
    1936   *The Misty Isle of Skye* (5th edn). Stirling.

MACDONALD, A.
    1889   'Highland Ghosts.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*
                    14: 40-49.

MACDONALD, A. J.
    1972   'Second Sight.' *Tocher* 6: 192-195.

MACDONALD, C.
    1947   *Croft and Ceilidh.* Edinburgh.

MACDONALD, D. A.
    1974   'A Dream of a Drowned Woman.' *Tocher* 16: 319-321.

MACDONALD, D. J.
    1972   'Second Sight.' *Tocher* 6: 195.

MACDONALD, K. N.
    1901   'Some Weird Second Sight Stories From the Isle of Skye.' *The Celtic
                    Monthly* 9: 145-147.

MACECHERN, D.
    1922   'Highland Second Sight.' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*
                    29: 290-314.

MACGREGOR, A.
    1899   'Second Sight.' *Caledonian Medical Journal* 3: 42-56, 141-156.

    1901   'Second Sight.' In *Highland Superstitions*, 25-32. Stirling.

MACINNES, J.
    1989   'The Seer in Gaelic Tradition.' In *The Seer in Celtic and Other
                    Traditions*, ed. H. E. Davidson, pp. 10-24. Edinburgh.

MACKENZIE, A.
    1899   *The Prophecies of the Brahan Seer* (Coinneach Odhar Fiosaiche) (1970
                    edn). Golspie.

MACLEAN, C.
    1980   'Examples of Second Sight in Cape Breton.' Unpublished first-year project, MP1980.08, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

MACLEOD, M.
    1972   'Second Sight.' *Tocher* 6: 196-197.

MACPHERSON, G. W.
    1996   *Highland Legends as Told by George Macpherson.* Broadford, Skye.

MACRAE, N., ED.
    1908   *Highland Second Sight with Prophecies of Coinneach Odhar and the Seer of Petty.* Dingwall.

MARTIN, M.
    1703   'An Account of the Second Sight.' In *A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland*, 300-335. London. (First published in 1698 as indicated in the Birlinn 1994 edition).

MCDERMITT, B.
    1986   'Stanley Robertson.' *Tocher* 40: 170-186.

MILLER, H.
    1852   *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland.* Cincinnati.

MORRISON, W. R.
    1908   'Highland Second Sight.' In *Highland Second Sight with Prophecies of Coinneach Odhar and the Seer of Petty*, ed. N. Macrae, pp. 1-24. Dingwall.

MOSS, T.
    1969   'ESP Effects in Artists Contrasted with Non-Artists'. *The Journal of Parapsychology* 33: 57-69.

NEPPE, V. M.
    1980   'Subjective Paranormal Experience and Temporal Lobe Symptomatology.' *Parapsychological Journal of South Africa* 1: 78-98.

PEPYS, S.
    1699   *The Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys.* (Braybrooke Ed). London.

POLSON, A.
    1926   'Second Sight.' In *Our Highland Folklore Heritage.* Dingwall, pp. 100-111. (See also 'Death: Omens and Wraiths' pp. 17-24 and 'Ghosts' pp. 36-47).

RAMSAY, J.
    1888   *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century.* Vol. 2. Edinburgh.

ROBERTSON, S.
    1989   *Nyakim's Windows.* Nairn.

SCHLITZ, M. AND HONORTON, C.
    1992   'Ganzfeld Psi Performance Within an Artistically Gifted Population'.
               The Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research 86: 83-98.

SCHMEING, K.
    1937   *Das Zweite Gesicht in Niederdeutsch Wesen und Wahrheitsgehalt.* Leipzig.

    1950   *Geschichte des Zweiten Gesichts.* Bremen-Horn.

    1954   *Seher und Seherglaube Soziologie und Psychologie des 'Zweiten Gesichts.'*
               Darmstadt-Eberstadt.

SHAW, J., ED.
    1987   *Tales until Dawn: The World of a Cape Breton Gaelic Story-Teller.*
               Kingston.

SIDGWICK, E., JOHNSON, M., SIDGWICK, H., AND THE COMMITTEE
    1894   'Census of Hallucinations.' *The Proceedings of the Society for Psychical
               Research* 10: 25-422.

SMYTHIES, J. AND BELOFF, J.
    1989   *The Case for Dualism.* Charlottesville.

STEWART, D.
    1822   *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders
               of Scotland.* Vol. 2. Edinburgh.

STUDENTS
    1991   'Ghost Stories.' *Cape Breton's Magazine* 56: 9-16.

SWIRE, O. F.
    1973   *Skye: the island and its legends.* (2nd edn). London.

THEOPHILUS INSULANUS
    1763   'A Treatise on the Second Sight.' In *Miscellanea Scotica: A Collection of
               Tracts Relating to the History, Antiquities, Topography, and Literature of
               Scotland* (1820 edn). Glasgow.

VIRTANEN, L.
    1990   *'That Must Have Been ESP!': An Examination of Psychic Experiences.*
               Bloomington.

WHYTE, B.

    1976   'Bessie Whyte.' *Tocher* 23: 249-276. (With contributions from Linda Headlee and Alan Bruford).

    1979   *The Yellow on the Broom.* London.

    1990   *Red Rowans and Wild Honey.* Edinburgh.

WOOD, W.

    c.1930   Unpublished notes and essays on second sight. National Library of Scotland (Acc. 8197, Files 10-14).

    1970   *Yours Sincerely For Scotland: the autobiography of a patriot.* London.

'A bheil am feur gorm fhathast?': Some Problems concerning Language and Cultural Shift

SHARON MACDONALD

The difficulty of translating the first part of my title into English is the starting point for this paper. A standard word by word translation would suggest 'Is the grass blue still? or 'Is the grass still blue?.' The majority of dictionaries and vocabularies, particularly more recent ones, give 'blue' as the only translation of *gorm* (see Appendix). More comprehensive dictionaries such as Dwelly also offer 'green' and may specify that verdant grass is referred to as *gorm*. But just to note the interchangeability of terms and a few specific usages still does not properly address the problem of language and cultural classification which is the focus of the present paper.

Languages do not, of course, map neatly onto one another. What is more, languages do not simply provide a package of labels for a world already carved up into predefined concepts and objects, but rather, they classify the world in specific, culturally embedded, ways. In the traditional scheme of things, Gaelic colour classification was not equivalent with English.[1] The spectrum was divided differently from the English, and colour-terminology rested not only on the criterion of hue. An example can be taken from Edwin Ardener's work on Welsh (Fig. 1) (Ardener: 1989, ch. 1). He shows that standard Welsh terms did not match the categories designated by English terminology. *Glas* covers the blue parts of the spectrum but also parts of green and grey. In Scottish Gaelic the same is true of the term *glas* and also, though not in quite the same way, of *gorm*. The terms do not simply overlap, however, for although they may represent roughly the same part of the spectrum in terms of hue, they differ, I think, in that *gorm* indicated a depth of colour – MacBain's *Etymological Dictionary* refers to 'warmth' – and *glas* a kind of paleness and shininess. Its root shows it to be associated with the Germanic *glast*, meaning sheen, and English *glass*.[2] Not only did Gaelic traditionally not divide the spectrum in the same way, but it also seems to have incorporated other criteria than hue into those words we call 'colour terms', though as Ardener suggests this double axis of hue and a classification based on some kind of distinction between brightness and darkness is probably in fact the rule rather than the exception (1989: 11). It is not only around the blue/green shades that the differences lie; there are also mismatches around the white/yellow boundaries; the reds and brown; and the brown/blue/black.[3]

ENGLISH	STANDARD WELSH	MODERN COLLO QUIAL WELSH
green	gwyrdd	gwyrdd
blue	glas	glas
grey	llwyd	llwyd
brown		brown
black	du	du

Fig. 1. Certain colour categories (after Ardener 1989: 10).

Ardener's diagram (Fig. 1) shows that although Standard Welsh had its own culturally distinct way of mapping reality, Modern Colloquial Welsh has shifted to become synonymous with English. The same can be said to be occurring with Scottish Gaelic, though it may be at an earlier stage in the process. Recent dictionaries and learning materials are unlikely to hint at an alternative colour classification, and Gaelic learning materials and children's books rarely demur in referring to *feur* as *uaine*.[4] During my research as social anthropologist in Skye I took an interest in people's actual use of colour terms by listening for words used in practice and by asking people for the Gaelic colour terms (*dath*) of particular objects. This was not a large, full or systematic study for it was something of a side-interest to my main research.[5] Nevertheless, it seemed that there were clear generational differences, children invariably using the terms synonymously with the English, and older people, particularly the elderly, often using them in keeping with an alternative set of cultural classifications. Interestingly, however, those older people often became confused as they tried to instruct me, as a Gaelic-learner, in colour terminology. The following example is from a conversation with an elderly man I will call Archy:

Me [pointing to some shrubbery]: Dè an dath a tha sin?
Archy: Uill, 'se … *that's green* – uaine.
Me: Agus am feur?
Archy: *Green*, seagh, uaine.
Me: Ach, tha feur gorm, nach eil?
Archy: Uill, tha, ach. *But that's blue rightly. You could say* uaine, *green*.

What is involved here is an awareness by Archy that the Gaelic terminology is not consistent with the English. However, rather than leave it at that, he 'adjusts' or 'corrects' his Gaelic to make it fit the standard English translations. His own model of translation is, it would seem, one in which referents are fixed and the labels vary only according to what language is being used. The culturally variable nature of categories is not recognised
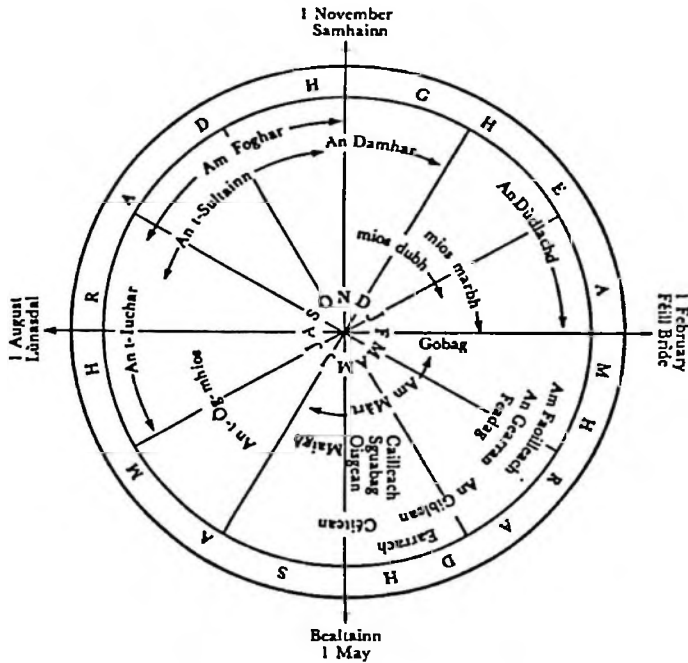
Fig. 2. The Scottish Gaelic year (Ardener 1989: 137).

in this particular model (which we might refer to as a 'folk model').[6] Archy is not at all unusual in this: the model he uses is probably the most common way in which people think about the nature of words and their referents, and about the relationship between languages. It is after all a model fostered by dictionaries and phrase-books; and by the ways in which languages are generally taught formally. At times, even pro-Gaelic policies have shown a tendency to use this model, rather than one which pays attention to the alternative cultural classifications which Gaelic may encode.

In a second example, we can, perhaps, see some of the wider aspects of the cultural schemes that may be involved. This is again drawn from Ardener's work, though in this case he writes directly of Scottish Gaelic (1989: ch. 9). The example concerns the Gaelic calendar.[7] As Ardener shows (1989: 136-8), there is now a well accepted set of Gaelic months and seasons, equivalent with the English (Table 1). However, as with the colour categories the traditional scheme was not a neat correlation with English (Fig. 2). Rather than designating fixed, standardised units of time, the Gaelic terminology referred to times of year which might be identified by their weather or associated agricultural activities. When they occurred and how long they lasted varied, and did so according to ecological and social factors (1989: 137-9). For example, *Am Màrt* might last until well into May and even June, seeming to signify as it did 'sowing time' and generally busy times of the agricultural year. *An Damhar*, meaning 'the rutting time of deer', could likewise stretch or shift from the October which it now designates until earlier in

	Scottish	Irish
January	Am Faoilteach (Am Faoilleach)	Eanáir or Chéad mhí den bhliain
February	An Gearran	Feabhra or Mí na Féile Bríde*
March	Am Màrt	An Márta
April	An Giblean	An tAibreán
May	An Céitean or Am Maigh	
	(1st May) Bealltuinn*	An Bhealtaine*
June	An t-Òg-mhios	An Meitheamh
July	An t-Iuchar	Iúil
August	An Lùnasdal*	Mí na Lúnasa*
September	An t-Sultainn	Meán Fhómhair
October	An Damhar	Deireadh Fómhair
November	An t-Samhainn*	Mí na Samhna
December	An Dùbhlachd	Mí na Nollag
	* Ancient ritual dates.	
Spring	An t-Earrach	An tEarrach
Summer	An Samhradh	An Samhradh
Autumn	Am Foghar	An Fómhar
Winter	An Geamhradh	An Geimhreadh

Table 1. Official equivalences of Gaelic time terms (after Ardener 1989: 138).

September or well into December depending upon the predilections of the deer. And *an t-Iuchar*, 'the warm month,' might not come at all. The terms which have now become identified as labels for the seasons were not, in the traditional scheme, different in kind from those which have become the months, and indeed the new system has taken terms of various orders – including some which signified particular ritual dates – and translated them into a new pattern of months and seasons. As Ardener summarises (1989: 142):

> the Scottish Gaelic year consisted of overlapping categories of weather and agricultural epochs, into which three or four ancient ritual seasons intruded. The standardizations have attempted to create out of these terms twelve months and four seasons as understood in Rome, London or Edinburgh.

Ardener's own account shows lexicographers during different periods grappling with the Gaelic system and its perceived oddities, and in the process often shifting Gaelic towards what had become a common European system.

What conclusions might we draw from this? And what is their relevance to the maintenance of Gaelic? First, as a social anthropologist I recognise that languages and cultures change, and that they borrow or appropriate from other cultures. (The aim of anthropologists is not to seek out dying cultural remnants or peculiarities, or to measure heads.) This is part of a cultural dynamic which is not necessarily negative or culturally depleting. However, it is also very clear that there is an asymmetry of power involved in

the cultural shifts. It is the Gaelic categories that are moving towards the English, or perhaps the more generally European, and not vice-versa. This, again, is not unusual as Ardener points out: there is involved 'an attempt to match up a terminological system developed in specific and highly local conditions against a standard one of supposedly higher status' (Ardener 1989: 136). Gaelic is being brought into the modern world – and rightly so, it might be argued. However, the dilemma here is that Gaelic could end up as simply an alternative set of labels – or a code – for an English or perhaps more generally European or 'Western' way of seeing, rather than offering an alternative 'window' onto the world, as it has sometimes been claimed to do. We could find ourselves in a paradoxical situation where, as ever more Gaelic terms are devised to cope with the contingencies of modern life, new technologies and so forth, a distinctive Gaelic way of perceiving and experiencing the world – a distinctive Gaelic system of cultural classifications – might slip away.

This underlying and often invisible cultural slippage rests in part upon certain assumptions about the nature of language: the idea that the world is preclassified ready for a relatively uncreative labelling process and that languages are, give or take a few minor variations, all 'talking about the same things.' Dictionaries, especially those which restrict themselves to word for word translations rather than engage in the rich use of examples and discussion, build this idea into their very structure. So too, do the majority of phrase books and learning materials, television subtitles and so forth. To some extent it is unavoidable if we are to engage in translation at all. However, the problems can be mitigated with greater discussion of the difficulties of translation and the cultural differences which these might belie; and also by resisting the tendency to dig up or invent a Gaelic word for any perceived 'gap' in Gaelic. At the very least we should stop and check that the 'gap' does indeed exist at the level of Gaelic categories (i.e. that it is not an artefact of translation itself). The fact that until the recent publication of *Brìgh nam Facal* (Cox 1991) there were no dictionaries in which Gaelic words are defined by a Gaelic gloss, rather than by an English 'equivalent', is the most dramatic example of the tendency of English to present itself as an invisible but extremely influential standard in the world of Gaelic literacy.

For fluent Gaelic-speakers, their use of Gaelic is probably not for the most part significantly hampered by reference back to English categories, except of course where these have become encoded into the language (as in the use of calendrical terminology). This is why I found that in practice among older people they would refer to *feur* as *gorm* and it was only when obliged to translate or explain for a learner that *uaine* came into play. There are, of course, people who are well aware of the alternative cultural realities which may be encoded in the language, and I had some helpful and interesting discussions with Gaelic-speakers about their own uses of colour and calendrical terms. More often, however, I would find myself being referred to dictionaries or learning materials where I was told that I would find the 'correct' or 'proper' Gaelic, even if the terminology there was neither used, nor possibly even heard of by any local fluent

speakers themselves. On one occasion when I referred to *feur* as *gorm* I found myself corrected by a Gaelic-speaker who had only shortly before unselfconsciously used that colour terminology himself. In my presence there was sometimes an attempt made to 'find the Gàidhlig' for a particular English term, an enterprise often accompanied by a muttered 'there'll be a Gàidhlig on it – I don't know it myself right enough – but there'll be one'. Often this meant a resort to the dictionary from where a term which nobody else had ever heard of might be unearthed. At other times, among older speakers, it involved recalling a passage of the Bible containing the English word and then thinking back to its Gaelic equivalent. On other occasions somebody would invent a Gaelic term for me, because as a learner I was not supposed to slip English words into my Gaelic as did everybody else. For example, my use of *fòn* was seen as improper by one Gaelic-speaker, who instructed me to use the Gaelic term *guthan* (literally, 'little voice'?) instead.

In these everyday acts of translation, the written was granted authority over the oral, and knowledge produced by scholars was seen as superior to the local knowledges of ordinary people. Again, this is not, perhaps, unusual or surprising. But what it tended to mean was that people's own everyday use of Gaelic was easily seen by them as somehow second-rate or incomplete. I was constantly referred to people with *Gàidhlig mhath* ('good Gaelic'), *Gàidhlig cheart* ('proper Gaelic') and to those whose Gaelic was perceived as better than that of whoever I was talking to. Most often these superior Gaelic speakers were school teachers who could be expected to know the Gaelic terminology for things such as parrots, computers or the months. The search for Gaelic terms was undertaken in a spirit of plugging a gap or reprieving a deficiency in Gaelic. In reverse contexts, where English terms seemed not to fit or to be lacking, the tendency was to regard this as a matter of a peculiarity inherent to the Gaelic and not as a deficit of English.

I am not suggesting that we must somehow try to get back to a traditional Gaelic and seal it off against any cultural contact or borrowings. This would be both impractical and probably the best way to make it unattractive to younger speakers. To be a living language entails changing. However, we need to be aware of the directions in which change could go and of the effects that Gaelic policies (or lack of policies) might unwittingly have.

These arguments can also be extended to raise questions about the social contexts of language use, for language, of course, not only divides up the world but also is embedded in a particular social life. Its use, non-use and various registers and codes demarcate social boundaries and embody social notions about behaviour and cultural identities. Elsewhere (1997: ch.8), I have endeavoured to show how a combination of factors external and internal to the home, including local notions about the nature of children, have played a part in language maintenance and change. Among the local language codes which helped maintain the use of Gaelic within the home and local community at a time when we might have expected to see more decline (i.e. 1921-1961) was an association of Gaelic with the values of home, community and egalitarianism, and of

English with snobbishness, pushiness and the values of *air falbh* ('away'). During my fieldwork in Skye in the mid-1980s a number of people expressed a fear to me that Gaelic was becoming associated with a set of values which they felt were alien to it, or more properly associated with English. For example, a man I will call Seumas, about 40, born in the area and living with his parents, has spent time working away but now looks after his parents, works the croft and has various forms of seasonal employment. Most of the time he speaks Gaelic. But his words – which on this occasion are in English – illustrate how change in the perceived cultural associations of Gaelic-use may be viewed as somehow 'wrong' or contrary to established codes by some Gaelic speakers.

> Now it's becoming the in-thing to have the Gaelic – it's becoming posh... And now, you see, there's people like yourself learning it and coming here. And there's others from the universities and, well, people like Iain Noble in Sleat – they go all in for the Gaelic. But you see, they're extremists don't you think? It's alright for them. But for me, well, Gaelic hasn't held me back but it hasn't helped me any, and I wouldn't have got far with nothing but Gaelic.

Seumas went on to tell how in 'university circles' it was becoming 'the done thing' to try to get your child to speak some Gaelic: 'It's becoming middle-class and posh.' He also told me of a Gaelic-learner couple that he had heard about on the radio. Although they had only been learning Gaelic for about five years, he recounted, they had apparently brought up their four year old child with nothing but Gaelic. On this, he commented:

> I speak the Gaelic here with my parents and when I go up to the [Hotel bar]. I speak it not because I have to but because it is what we speak. I like the Gaelic. But if it's going to become something artificial, then, well, I won't feel like speaking it at all. I don't want Gaelic to be kept alive by making it artificial . . . For myself, I'd prefer it if it died.

We might, of course, dismiss the comments of people like Seumas as wrongheaded or misguided. Their fears concern, however, cultural shifts of the same order as those I have outlined in the case of the Gaelic colour terminology and calendar. The 'middle-class', 'posh' and 'artificial' motives for speaking Gaelic are regarded by Seumas, and others like him, as values pertaining more to 'away' than to their own community. It might seem very extreme for Seumas to say that he would even consider not speaking Gaelic if he decided that it was becoming too tainted with artificiality, but we must acknowledge that within the framework of values that he himself has articulated, such an act would not be a rejection of his local identity but – on the contrary – a clear affirmation of it.[9]

The examples given here are not intended to argue that maintaining or revitalising Gaelic is somehow a doomed process. There is much that would point in other directions. What I want to make a case for, however, is sensitivity to the social and cultural contexts in which Gaelic is actually used, and the cultural alternatives which it may encode. This means listening to local people, including those whose voices do not normally get recorded, but whose actions and decisions may be crucial to Gaelic language

maintenance. Such a sensitivity need not make language revival and Gaelic policy-making more difficult, for it will provide clearer indications of the consequences of certain actions and warnings about when it might be best to leave alone or keep a low profile. It is a line of action whose logical outcome is encouraging greater involvement by local people themselves in planning Gaelic and other cultural policymaking. It means even more detailed attention to the means and contexts in which Gaelic is taught, to the sometimes subtle or apparently surprising ways in which Gaelic-speakers may come to feel alienated from Gaelic policies; and to the kinds of decisions which may lead to the shifting of underlying cultural categories. It may, of course, be the case that Gaelic as a living language and culture will want to shrug off some of its former cultural categories and values but my argument is for an awareness of what may be going on. If the grass is no longer to be *gorm*, we should at least know why.

APPENDIX

Translations of colour terms in a selection of dictionaries and vocabularies

N.B. This is by no means a full or final list. It is taken simply from a selection of dictionaries and vocabularies in my possession and its point is mainly to show the general tendency towards ignoring variations and apparent anomalies in more recent dictionaries and learning materials. The consensus which emerges may also be due in part to the way in which dictionaries are created: they are often compiled by incorporating previous dictionaries.

GORM

Dwelly:	a. Blue, azure, blue of whatever shade. 2. Green, as grass, verdant. 3. Hot . . . feur g., *green grass*: each g., *a dark grey horse*, aodach g., *blue cloth*; na speuran gorma, *the blue heavens*; cho g. ris a' chal, *as green as kale*; fear g. *a negro* (p. 517)
MacBain:	blue, green, Ir., E.Ir. *gorm*, blue, W. *gwrm*, dusky . . . root *gor*, warm ('warm colour') . . . (p. 202)
MacEachen:	blue colour (p. 166)
Mackechnie:	blue (p. 130)
MacKinnon:	blue (p. 292)
MacLennan:	*adj.* blue, azure; also green as grass; *feur gorm*, green grass; *each gorm*, dark grey horse . . . .(p. 188)
Owen:	blue (p. 24)

UAINE

Dwelly:	a. Green. 2. Pale, wan, pallid. 3. Livid . . . (p. 986)
MacBain:	green . . . (p. 384)
MacEachen:	green, pale, wan (p. 311)
MacKinnon:	green (p. 302)

MacLennan:	*adj.* green, pallid wan; *n.m.* green, green colour . . . (p. 357)
Owen:	green (p. 24)

GLAS

Dwelly:	a. Grey, pale, wan, ashy, sallow. 2 Poor. 3 (DC) green, as grass, unripe corn &c. . . . cho g. ris a' chal, *as green as kail* – said of anyone looking pale (p. 500)
MacBain:	grey, Ir. *glas*, green, pale . . . .. Gerr. *glast*, sheen (Bez.), root *glas*, to which Ger. *Glass,* Eng. *glass,* are probably allied (p. 196)
MacEachen:	grey, pale, wan: . . . *glasfheur,* green grass *Glasach* . . . a green field.
Mackechnie:	grey (p. 130)
MacKinnon:	grey (p. 291)
MacLennan:	pale, wan, grey, green (of grass); *leana ghlas,* a green plain; *aodach glas,* grey tweed: . . . *glasfheur, glaisfheur,* green grass . . . E.Ir. *glass,* livid, green, blue, yellow . . . (p. 183)

LIATH

Dwelly:	Grey, grey-coloured. 2. Grey-headed, grey-haired. 3. Mouldy. 4. Lilac [E. Perthshire] . . . (p. 588)
MacBain:	gray . . . (p. 228)
MacEachen:	grey (p. 187)

BLUE

Mackechnie:	gorm (p. 136)
MacKinnon:	gorm (p. 205)
MacLennan:	gorm, liath (p. 391)
MacNeill:	gorm (p. 65)
Thomson:	gorm, liath (p. 15)

GREEN

MacKinnon:	uaine (p. 310)
Maclennan:	uaine, gorm; glas; urail, ur . . . dath uaine no gorm (p. 463)
MacNeill:	uaine (p. 65)
Thomson:	uaine, gorm, glas (p. 76)

GREY

Mackechnie:	glas (p. 139)
MacKinnon:	glas (p. 310)
MacLennan:	glas, liath (p. 463)
MacNeill:	glas (p. 65)
Thomson:	glas, liath (p. 77)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

shared so much with me and gave so generously of their time. The research was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and the Sir John Rhŷs Bequest for Celtic Studies. I also thank participants at FASGNAG II, the second conference on research and studies on the maintenance of Gaelic, and Morag MacLeod, for their comments on the paper.

NOTES

1   I use the imprecise term 'traditional' here mainly because trying to give any specific dates is impossible due to the nature of the evidence. I should note, however, that within this 'traditional' system there were likely to have been variations over both time and space.

2   The term *liath* is also interesting in this regard: see Appendix. In my own research it was the term which local Gaelic-speakers seemed to find most problematic as *glas* seems to have become the generally standard term for 'grey'. *Liath* seemed to be restricted to referring to 'grey hair' by many speakers. In some places *liath* – as well as being 'grey' with reference to hair – is blue, where *gorm* is navy, or at least very dark blue.

3   These too have shown what I call 'cultural slippage.' For example it is increasingly common to hear *sùil dhubh* rather than *sùil ghorm* for 'black eye.'

4   It is evident from the dictionaries that *gorm* and *glas* can be used in reference to grass, though this may have traditionally denoted slightly different appearances. Dwelly notes in the entry under *feur* that the colour adjective used in association with it is generally *gorm*. *Uaine*, however, which is now taken as the standard for green, is not mentioned in the context of grass in any of the dictionaries and seems to be a recent usage, one which some Gaelic-speakers find odd (though this may, of course, be a dialectal matter). Children – including those fluent in Gaelic – were unequivocal in referring to grass and other plants as *uaine*, and the usage can also be found in children's books (e.g. Caimbeul c. 1971: 12). I should note, however, that there are some notable exceptions. For example, Derick Thomson's *New English-Gaelic Dictionary* (1981) gives a list of alternative terms (see Appendix), though as it gives no examples of usages this does not manage to address the issue of quite what the degree of match or difference might be. The children's Gaelic learning book *Dealbh is Facal* (Amery and MacDhòmhnaill 1987) specifies *'uaine no gorm'* alongside a picture of leaves (p. 52), and this use of illustrations without the intrusion of any English at all might provide a useful strategy of addressing some of the issues raised in this paper, though it would necessarily need to be considerably extended to have any significant impact.

5   This research is reported more fully in Macdonald 1997.

6   The notion of 'folk models' is taken from the work of Holy and Stuchlik (1981; see also Parkin 1982). As they make clear, the 'folk' under consideration could equally well be, say, academics (Holy and Stuchlik 1981: 25).

7   These are by no means exceptional examples. Others might include classifications of e.g. the following: the body, relatives, animals, plants, foodstuffs, emotions and temperaments, distances, directions. MacKinnon (1977: 24-7) gives examples, including some notes on

colour terminology and the months, of various 'folk taxonomies' which might be involved in a Gaelic 'perceptual grid'.

8 It is not only Scottish Gaelic which experiences this. I understand from Richard Cox's presentation at FASGNAG II that *Brìgh nam Facal* is the only dictionary in any of the Celtic languages which does not explain its terms via the associated dominant language.

9 There is a large literature on social and cultural identities: for some discussion in relation to European ethnography see Macdonald 1993; and more specifically in relation to language see Edwards 1985. I take an anthropological perspective of emphasising 'internal' or 'subjective' constructions of identity and belonging, rather than an essentialist position which prejudges the criteria which count as 'identity' (e.g. positions which specify that language is inherently vital to a distinct identity).

REFERENCES

AMERY, HEATHER AND MACDHÒMHNAILL, IAIN
      1987   *Dealbh is Facal.* Steonabhagh.

ARDENER, EDWIN, ED. MALCOLM CHAPMAN
      1989   *The Voice of Prophecy and other essays.* Oxford. Essays cited in the
                      present paper were originally published or presented in 1971 and 1975.

CAIMBEUL, TORMOD
      c. 1977   *Uilleam Bàn agus an Iolair.* Glasgow.

COX, RICHARD
      1991   *Brìgh nam Facal.* Glasgow.

DWELLY, EDWARD
      1977   *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary.* 9th edn. Glasgow.

EDWARDS, JOHN
      1985   *Language, Society and Identity.* Oxford.

HOLY, L. AND STUCHLIK, M. (EDS)
      1981   *The Structure of Folk Models.* London.

MACBAIN, ALEXANDER
      1982   *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (reprint of 2nd edn
                      1911). Glasgow.

MACDONALD, SHARON
      1993   'Identity Complexes in Western Europe'. In *Inside European Identities,*
                      ed. S. Macdonald.

      1997   *Reimaging Culture: Histories, Identities and the Gaelic Renaissance.*
                      Oxford and New York.

MacEachen, Evan
    1971   *Gaelic-English Dictionary.* 1st edn, 1842. Inverness.

Mackechnie, John
    1974   *Gaelic Without Groans.* Edinburgh.

MacKinnon, Kenneth
    1977   *Language, Education and Social Processes in a Gaelic Community.*
            London.

MacKinnon, Roderick
    1971   *A complete course for beginners in Scottish Gaelic.* Sevenoaks

MacLennan, Malcolm
    1979   *Gaelic Dictionary.* Reprint of 1st edn, 1925 Stornoway and Aberdeen.

MacNeill, Morag
    1984   *Everyday Gaelic.* Glasgow.

Owen, Robert
    1982   *Gàidhlig le Gaire.* Aberfeldy.

Parkin, David (ed.)
    1982   *Semantic Anthropology.* London.

Thomson, Derick
    1981   *The New English-Gaelic Dictionary.* Glasgow.

Book Reviews

All the World's Reward: Folktales Told by Five Scandinavian Storytellers, edited by Reimund Kvideland and Henning K. Sehmsdorf. University of Washington Press, Seattle and London: 1999. ISBN 0-295-97810-4 (cloth), 0-295-97754-x (pbk.). xv, 323 pp.

As the last of a series providing critical editions of oral folklore from the Scandinavian countries, this collection of 98 folktales incorporating 90 international tale types goes considerably beyond a consecutive march through the Aarne-Thompson folktale classification system. The editors have opted to concentrate on repertoires of international folktales taken from a single noteworthy reciter in each tradition (Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Swedish-speaking Finland and Iceland) and by this means 'have endeavored in separate introductions to each of the repertoires and in commentaries to the individual texts, to place the tales of these storytellers in relation to their own lives and to the cultural experience of the communities in which they performed them'. The result is intended for a wide audience which includes the general reader as well as the oral narrative specialist. There are period illustrations for tales and story-telling occasions together with photographs of story-tellers and collectors.

Introductions and tale commentaries are provided by scholars from each tradition (Reimund Kvideland, the late Bengt Holbek, Bengt af Klintberg, Gun Herranen and Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson) with collaboration in writing and editing throughout from Henning K. Sehmsdorf.

The introduction to the collection sets the tone, exploring topics such as storytelling in contemporary Scandinavia; the supposed oral/written and rural/urban divides; the myth of single genre repertoires; and issues of 'authenticity'. The general picture that emerges of records of storytelling in Scandinavia from the 19th century is much like that in Scotland or Ireland from the same period, suggesting a rich and varied social context for tales of which little has been recorded. The introductions to each section serve to restore to us as far as possible these and other aspects of storytelling recognised as important by modern scholars. With regard to gender distribution (2 women, 3 men) and social circumstances (generally low economic position from rural areas), the choice of reciters is intended to reflect their world from late 19th to mid 20th century (the most recent material is from tape recordings made in Iceland in the late 60s), and the size of repertoires as given in the work ranges from 10 tales to over 40. The length of individual stories likewise varies greatly, bringing to the fore the editors' recurring (and healthy) preoccupation with the breadth of storytelling over this geographical

area. A further theme that reappears is the extent to which personal history can be seen to affect the storyteller's 'orientation' as manifested in repertoire and performance.

These and further theoretical issues are discussed at length in the section introductions. They also provide a useful history of folktale research for each country; remarks on the collectors and the process(es) of textualisation (with some valuable accounts of the inevitable dialogue and negotiation between reciter and fieldworker); social context, life history, repertoire and narrative style. In some instances sources permit going as far as the storytellers' own perceptions of their art. Olav Eivindsson Austad, 'Norway's Last Great Storyteller' '... understood very clearly that he was passing on not only traditional story contents but a traditional form'. An undoubted high point is Bengt Holbek's account of Evald Tang Kristiansen, the collector of Ane Margarete Hansen's stories from Jutland, which is bound to elicit a heartfelt response from anyone who has collected folktales in the field. Kristiansen laboured under adverse physical and social conditions, carrying out pioneering work documenting his informants' lives and the contexts of the folklore materials, and even going as far as hiring an artist 'to accompany him on a field trip in 1889 to make drawings of the informants, but the man could not stand the pace and gave up.' As an innovative collector the multitalented August Bondeson of Sweden as described by Bengt af Klintberg is no less impressive, and the portrait of the outspoken labourer-storyteller Jakob Gleder in the same section ('Meeting the Storyteller') is thoroughly absorbing. Gleder's storytelling, in translation at least, seemed to this reviewer to be particularly effective (and it is one of his tales that provides the collection's title), but others may find their own favourites in this entertaining collection.

The repertoires combined range over the entire spectrum of the international tale classification, providing easily accessible and reliable Scandinavian variants of familiar tales e.g. Hansel and Gretel and Jack and the Beanstalk(Nos. 88, 89 from Iceland), and two items related to the Cinderella cycle (Nos. 12, 90 from Norway, Iceland). For the comparatist, No. 97 from Iceland is a rare example of AT 934E The Magic Ball of Thread, and Ane Margarete Hansen's version of AT 613 The Two Travellers is one of the longest and most complete known (presumably in Denmark). Within each section tales are arranged sequentially according to their AT classification (eight items in all are listed as unclassified). For some of the tales we may compare variants from more than one Scandinavian tradition, and the editors have taken care to list the Finnish language variants of tales from Swedish Finland. A number of items from Denmark, Sweden and Iceland have not been previously published. The editors make it clear that they are aware of the limitations of 'sanitised' versions of tales, and the language is consequently direct and down to earth. Some of the colloquialisms may take getting used to in print, but they work well when read aloud. Except for the very occasional lapse in verbal tense or use of expressions, the style is entertaining and well suited to the material.

All the World's Reward, being the result of collaboration between workers in five distinct storytelling traditions, is an inclusive work in the best sense of the term. The

editors and their co-workers have succeeded in presenting traditional folktale repertoires stored in archives in a form that is attractive to the general reader and at the same time relevant and challenging to folklorists at the opening of the 21st century.

JOHN SHAW

The Language of the Ogam Inscriptions of Scotland: Contributions to the Study of Ogam, Runic and Roman Alphabet Inscriptions in Scotland by Richard A.V. Cox. Department of Celtic, University of Aberdeen: Scottish Gaelic Studies Monograph Series 1, Aberdeen: 1999. ISBN 0-9523911-3-9. xvi, 187 pp.

In his introduction the author calls his book 'iconoclastic'. It is, in the sense that it knocks on the head all the other theories about the ogam inscriptions of Pictland: not Celtic, not Basque, not Caucasian or Finnish (the latest theories), indeed not non-Indoeuropean at all, but Norse, the language of a people whose presence in Scotland is very well attested over many centuries of the mediaeval period.

The author describes how the insight came to him, how he presented it to his colleagues in Aberdeen and then had the chance to discuss and refine his decipherment in Norway before publishing this book where he sets out the transliteration and interpretation in detail.

One is bound to ask: how did Richard Cox make this discovery and not any of his predecessors, whose work he cites and acknowledges generously? Perhaps we were blinded by the obvious, believing that the Norse had their own runic alphabet and had no apparent need for ogam, despite their use in tandem in inscriptions in the Isle of Man and (once) in Ireland.

Most recently, in 1996, Katherine Forsyth presented her Harvard doctoral thesis on the ogam inscriptions of Scotland and furnished reliable readings with variants of all the known inscriptions. In her Van Hamel lecture she attacks the late Kenneth Jackson's non-Indoeuropean theory about Pictish. Cox's debt to her careful readings are generously acknowledged throughout the book.

Perhaps the problem lies in the difficulties of the later runic alphabet known as the Younger Futhark, from which the ogam inscriptions in this volume appear to have been transliterated. When the runic alphabet was first invented, it fitted the sound system of the early Germanic dialects quite well. Over the centuries, as the Scandinavian dialects changed, a larger vowel system developed, while only two consonants, /z/ and /r/, merged. By 800, the older futhark, as the alphabet was called (named after the first six letters: f,u,th,a,r k), was no longer adequate to deal with the new sounds. Instead of the number of symbols being increased (as happened in England), they were reduced to sixteen. Thus /g/ or /k/ could be written with the k-rune, /d/ or /t/ with the t-rune, and the b-rune was used for /b/ as well as /p/. The Ing-rune, used for writing the velar nasal, disappeared in Scandinavia, leaving the clumsy solution that we find in the inscriptions in this volume, where the name Ingjaldr is written ICOT (Auquhollie),

IKOT (Newton I, where a symbol like Greek chi is used for K) and inutr (Newton II – Latin alphabet) .

Although the ogam alphabet has symbols for both /g/ and /k/, the same principle of ignoring the distinction in writing was followed when Norse words or names are written in ogam. In addition, ogam has two ways of writing /k/, as C and Q have long since fallen together. So we find Norse *mik* 'me' written variously MIQ, MEQQ and MAQ. It may also occur in Auquhollie (KCD), where the author reads *ek* ' I '.

This was the red herring that misled so many would-be readers of the transcriptions. Like me, they may have thought: 'These Picts have borrowed the Norse word *dattr* (found on the Bressay Stone on display in the National Museum in Edinburgh) for 'daughter' and the Gaelic word MAQ for 'son'.' The names in what turn out, not surprisingly, to be memorial inscriptions, were disguised, again as shown by Cox, according to the orthographic conventions of the younger futhark. Thus Olaf, Asa, Arni, Hallgeirr, Ingjald, Eystein, Gunnvor and Hrolf emerge – all names well attested in Norway, as well as the Gaelic name QALLM 'Calum'. According to Cox, Hrolf is attested in the abbreviated form RV in the Pool inscription from Sanday in the Northern Isles and dated to the 6th century. Here, and only here, was the reviewer inclined to doubt the interpretation: why not some name beginning with R- or Hr- followed by a patronymic beginning with V- or U-?

On the other hand, St Ethernan, whose name is attested independently, is a casualty of the decipherment: Cox thinks that the word, which occurs with surprising frequency, is Norse **ettermun*, meaning 'memory'. The word, a compound nowhere attested in Old Norse or modern Scandinavian languages, but read in the inscription on the knife discovered in Gurness (Orkney) in 1931 INEITTEMUN, translated 'in memory'. Here the reviewer is more reluctant to follow Cox. The independent attestations of St Ethernan are exactly in the right period (around 1200) to which Cox dates the Norse inscriptions on linguistic grounds. There is an inscription from Fordoun (KCD) in Roman letters, the legible part of which reads PIdarnoin or PIdarmoin. Cox thinks the P is an abbreviation for Pater Noster (there is an attestation of this abbreviation in Norway and other abbreviations for Pater Noster occur). If he is right in reading **ettermun* 'memory' here again, perhaps P stands for Latin *pius*, as in the very frequent expression *in piam memoriam*, which is still used at Cambridge colleges to this day at feasts to commemorate their founders.

Why should the Norse in Scotland use such a clumsy system for writing their language? Evidently the mediaeval church in Scotland prescribed the use of ogam rather than runes for memorial inscriptions, whereas runes were used until long after the Reformation in Scandinavia. Runes are found on the Ruthwell cross on the Solway coast of Dumfriesshire in a religious context (*Dream of the Rood*, early 8th century), but under the aegis of the Northumbrian Church. The Northern Isles and northern Scotland came under the see of Nidaros (later called Trondheim) in Norway.

As Cox points out, his discovery has an impact on the dating of the Pictish Symbol

Stones (although some may have been re-used by the inscriber of the ogam). We may also use his insights to interpret 'Pictish' inscriptions in Roman letters, which incorporate some of the conventions of the ogam inscriptions in this volume. For example the inscription from St Vigeans in Perthshire, which can be read clearly as DROSTEN IPE VORED ETT FORCUS, should be interpreted as 'Drosten the bishop carved (this) in memory of Forcus'. (The non-ogam inscription on the Newton Stone has *ip* as an abbreviation for the Latin *episcopus*, and the preposition EHT/AHHT is attested in the Ackergill and Bressay inscriptions with the same meaning as *etter* 'in memory of'.

The book is well printed and despite the variety of languages and scripts seems to contain only one minor misprint. The book is very well organised and easy to use. It is divided into four parts: an Introduction giving a brief history of scholarship, and tables of futharks and the standard 5 x 5 table of ogam symbols. This includes the letters H, Z and NG, which do not correspond to any phonemes in Gaelic, though all three are in the Older Futhark and relate to phonemes in Germanic. This is followed by Part II, the Ogam Inscriptions (Literature, Description, Transcription). Roman Alphabet Inscriptions, two in number, make up Part III – perhaps the Drosten Stone could be added. Part IV, Analysis of the Language of the Transcriptions, contains a very useful two-page summary of the texts, followed by Formulae, an important feature of runic inscriptions, Contractions, Abbreviations and Errors (three out of four being in one single inscription), Orthography, Morphology and Syntax, Chronology and finally Conclusions and Implications. The book also contains a bibliography and three indexes – General, Runic Inscriptions and Words and Names.

As the author suggests, it is possible that minor adjustments may be made to the interpretations contained in this volume, not least because of the uncertainties of some of the ogam readings. However, it is the opinion of the reviewer that the main thesis stands: the language of the ogam inscriptions of Scotland is Norse.

R. D. CLEMENT

Màiri Mhòr nan Oran: Taghadh de a h-Òrain edited by Donald E. Meek. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society: 1998. ISBN 0-7073-0767-8. 240 pp. £11.50.

Mary MacPherson's songs were first written down by John Whyte of Easdale and published, with financial help from Lachlan MacDonald, the proprietor of Skeabost, by Alexander MacBain in 1891, as *Dàin agus Orain Ghàidhlig*. Professor Donald Meek, in his own second edition, quotes from an Alasdair Bàn writing in *The Highlander* in 1785: 'I have letters from some of my friends and they say that Màiri nighean Iain Bhàin's songs are above the common and that they should be published.' (My translation). Màiri nighean Iain Bhàin was well known throughout the Highlands then, and some of her songs were probably going the rounds through oral transmission before they were published. MacBain states that she was able to give John Whyte about 9,000

lines from memory. Not all her critics were as admiring as Alasdair Bàn's friends and Professor Meek himself does not regard her as one of the best poets of the nineteenth century, but he, and many others, including the late Sorley Maclean, had a high regard for her sincerity and enthusiasm. In general that high regard is probably due to her support for the Highland tenantry of her day. Professor Derick Thomson, in his book *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*, says of her, 'It has been said that her songs contributed significantly to the victory of the popular land-law reform candidates in the Highlands in 1885 and 1886, and she was indeed the bard of that movement.'

Professor Meek's first edition of Màiri nighean Iain Bhàin's poems was published by *Gairm* in 1977. This coincided with a number of publications about the struggle for land in the Highlands, beginning with James Hunter's *The Making of the Crofting Community* in 1976. Some of Mary's songs had been popular for some time; they often appeared in the list of prescribed songs for competitions in the National Mod of *An Comunn Gàidhealach*. But the renewed interest in Highland land matters resulted in television and stage drama depicting those times, and more of the less well-known songs were learned for those dramatic productions. One example was a TV production, *Màiri Mhòr*, from which a CD, *Catherine-Ann MacPhee sings Màiri Mhòr*, appeared in 1994 (Greentrax Recordings CDTRAX 070).

The 1977 edition quickly sold out, and the present edition appeared in 1998, in time to mark the centenary of Mary MacPherson's death. It is an expanded and revised version of the 1977 one and is the second in a new series from the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society in paperback, and with no English translations. It contains 40 songs, about a third of the number in MacBain's edition. Professor Meek's is a careful selection, grouped in the book in such a way as to highlight the different phases of the poet's life. For example, the first five songs are connected with Mary's sufferings when, while a servant in a house in Inverness, she was accused of theft and sent to prison. There are eight sections altogether, and the other seven are: Highland politics; Skye and her own homesickness; the territorial associations in the cities; praise songs for friends and well-known people; passenger boats and travel; the land agitations of 1878–1887; the changes in Skye as a result of the Clearances. Each section has an introduction. The text sources, with the circumstances of its composition, are given for every song. The book is full of interesting details, of the poet's life, of the contemporary land agitation, of assessment of her poetry and of the tunes of the songs – the latter supplied with the able help of Professor Colm O Boyle. There is also a glossary of unusual words. There is a list of sources of some of the rest of the songs attributed to her, the main one being *Dàin agus Orain Ghàidhlig*, and some appeared in newspapers and periodicals.

In *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*, Professor Thomson described Mary MacPherson as 'something of a figure of legend . . . who had become a legend in her own life-time'. Her imprisonment in an Inverness jail is a story that everyone knows. That that was the spur for her first attempts at poetry is also well known, whether that knowledge came from her own hints of it in *Soraidh le Eilean a' Cheò* (Farewell to the Isle of the

Mist, much better known than the first song in Meek's book, *Luchd na Beurla,* in which she gives details of her arrest), or from oral testimonies before publication of her texts. The following story recorded from Kirsty Munro of Bor na Sgiotaig in Skye by James Ross for the School of Scottish Studies, has a bearing on some aspects of her art. First Kirsty Munro sang the song, *Iain Shomaltaich.* (It may be heard on the Greentrax recording in the Scottish Tradition series CDTRAX 9019, sung by Joan MacKenzie as she learned it from Kirsty Munro's recording.) Then, replying to a question from James Ross as to whether there was a story attached to the song, she says:

> No, except that – Mary MacPherson, a poetess who was in Skye – my mother used to tell me that she arose early one morning, in Uig, and climbed up to Teilegreac Well, before anyone was up, so as to see the sun rise. She returned at about 7 o'clock in the morning to the house, to Conon Lodge, and she stood in the corridor holding a walking-stick and she sang this song, and everyone in the house got up – they had still been in their beds when she returned. She had just thrown on a shawl and gone as far as Teilegreac Well, wherever that is. But many's the time I heard my mother say that she had a big, strong voice. (SA1958/43 B.12; my translation.)

Iain Shomaltaich would seem to be translatable according to this story as Lazy John. Mary's appreciation of nature is evident as is her knowledge of songs. She refers to sunrise in *Nuair bha mi òg* and one can imagine her listing the places she loved as she visualised them in the early morning in *Soraidh le Eilean a' Cheò.* Professor Meek quotes Alexander Nicolson's disparaging comments on that song, that 'the whole production too often resolves itself into a glorified tourist's guide'. But we may again quote Professor Derick Thomson, 'She belonged to the people [in Skye] and had a voice that could reach them, and that is the voice that survives' – and not only in Skye, but all over the Gaelic-speaking world. Professor Meek notes that opinion changed over Mary MacPherson's songs and his explanation of that phenomenon is but one of the sections of this book that makes it a worthwhile production.

MORAG MacLEOD

Books Noticed

COMPILED BY ALEXANDER FENTON

Patrick J. Ashmore, *Neolithic and Bronze Age Scotland* (Historic Scotland), London, 1996. 128 pp. £15.99. [This volume covers the period from the emergence of the first farmers up to the Iron Age, from 4000 to 750 BC. They transformed much of the countryside, and left imposing monuments. Patrick Ashmore seeks to interpret their growth and decline, and throws much fresh light on their identity, daily life, contacts and regional differences.]

Benedek Baráthosi Balogh, *Távoli Utakon* [on distant ways], selected and introduced by Mihály Hoppál, Budapest, 1996. 126 pp. [Balogh was a linguist and ethnographer who travelled extensively in Central and East Asia, especially amongst the Ural-Altaic peoples, in his quest for data on the origins of the Hungarian people. His voluminous notes and drawings are preserved in the Ethnological Archives of the Budapest Ethnographic Museum, and his photographs mark the beginnings of 'ethnophotography' in Hungary.]

Gábor Barna, ed., *A tállyai Fáklyás Társulat dokumentumai. Documents of the Candle-bearers' Confraternity* [in Tállya] (Devotio Hungarorum 3, Fontes Religionis Popularis Hungaricae), Szeged, 1996. 234 pp. [This is a presentation of the surviving written documents of the Candle-bearers' Confraternity, as well as of its iconography. The religious group originated in the eighteenth century, and the aim of this collection is to show how such a group operates in modern times. The results of interviews with members are added to the documentary sources. The candle- or torch-bearers took part in religious or funeral processions, liturgical festivities, and the like. In Hungarian, with a chapter in English.]

Gillian Bickley, *The Golden Needle. The Biography of Frederick Stewart (1836-1889)*. (Aberdeen & North East Scotland Family History Society), David C. Lam Institute for East-West Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University, n.d. (1997). xi + 308 pp. £13.50. [The story of a Buchan lad o' pairts who went to Hong Kong and became the 'founder of Hong Kong Government education'. He was first headmaster of Central School (now Queen's College), and became Registrar General, then Colonial Secretary. He acted as Governor of Hong Kong on several occasions. An interesting study of relations between East and West.]

Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III 1371-1406* (The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland series), East Linton, 1996. xvii + 348 pp. £14.99. [This is the first biography of the two kings who established the Stewart royal dynasty. It does not make little of them, as many other historians have done, but prefers to look clearly at the nature of their kingship in the light of current circumstances. Inter alia, this involved crown-magnate relations in which power was to a great extent decentralised and delegated to a network of great regional families. More masterful forms of kingship followed with these kings' heirs.]

David J. Breeze, *Roman Scotland. Frontier Country* (Historic Scotland), London, 1996. 128 pp. £15.99. [The three Roman attempts to conquer Scotland, none of which succeeded, left a substantial mark on the landscape and in terms of archaeology. David Breeze examines the three periods of occupation to assess the strength of the invading force and of the opposition, to see what it was like to live at these times and to consider the relationships between the Romans and the northern tribes.]

Charles C. Burnett & Mark D. Dennis, *Scotland's Heraldic Heritage. The Lion Rejoicing.* (Discovering Historic Scotland), Historic Scotland, Edinburgh 1977. 104 pp. £12.99. [The Introduction looks at the origins of armory and of heraldry in Scotland, and the following chapters deal with the technicalities and history of the 'gentle science', at both royal and personal levels. Heraldic devices symbolically mark the individual from the cradle to the grave.]

Susan Butterworth with Graham Butterworth, *Chips off the Auld Rock. Shetlanders in New Zealand* (Shetland Society of Wellington), Wellington 1997. 251 pp. $NZ39.95. [Written by two free-lance professional historians, this book tells the story of Shetland settlement in New Zealand, and looks at some of the arts and crafts brought from Shetland – knitting, music, stonemasonry and boatbuilding. It adds to the history of emigration from Scotland, here mainly in the nineteenth century, and tells much about the efforts made in New Zealand to preserve a sense of Shetland identity.]

Malcolm Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh, An Illustrated Guide, Vol. I,* Edinburgh, 1997. xiv + 185 pp. £9.95. [An informative and attractively presented guide to the past history and present state of the villages of North Edinburgh – Corstorphine, Cramond, Davidson's Mains, Dean, Duddingston, Newhaven, Restalrig and Stockbridge.]

Sean J. Connolly, ed., *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500. Integration and Diversity,* Dublin, 1999. 252 pp. Hardback £39.50, paperback £17.50. [A collection of 17 contributions grouped under the headings 'political relationships', 'culture and identity', 'economic development' and 'law and administration'. This discussion of the contrasts and parallels between Ireland, Scotland, England and Wales lays emphasis on

economy, language, culture and the law rather than on matters political and constitutional.]

Nicolae Constantinescu, *Romanian Traditional Culture. An Introduction* (Scripta Ethnologica Aboensia 42), Turku, 1996. 122 pp. [The author, who is Professor of Ethnology and Folklore at the University of Bucharest, is a folklorist. Beliefs and customs are discussed throughout the book in relation to the historical stages through which the Romanian people have passed over a two thousand year period, and the geographical siting of the country. Its cultural contacts are discussed as well as the processes of assimilation or rejection of aspects of neighbouring cultures.]

Michael Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass. Making the Colours Sing.* (Discovering Historic Scotland), Historic Scotland, Edinburgh 1997. 112 pp. £12.99. [With illustrations in colour, this volume tells the story of stained glass from earliest times in Scotland up to the present, taking present-day artists into account also. The technicalities of stained-glass production are dealt with in the Introduction, and Glasgow figures prominently in the subsequent discussion.]

John Dwyer, *The Age of the Passions. An Interpretation of Adam Smith and Scottish Enlightenment Culture,* East Linton, 1998. xi + 205 pp. £20.00. [This book argues that the eighteenth century should not only be considered as the age of reason, but also as the age of the passions. Exploration of self-interest, sociability and love brought the individual into focus in a way that had a revolutionary effect on western culture. The figures in Scotland who played a considerable role in this changing viewpoint were Allan Ramsay, James Fordyce and James Macpherson (of Ossian fame), as well as thinkers like Adam Smith and John Millar.]

Richard Fawcett, *Stirling Castle* (Historic Scotland), London, 1995. 128 pp. £15.99. [The last siege of a castle in the British Mainland – in this case by Bonnie Prince Charlie 250 years ago – took place at Stirling Castle. It was one of the main power centres of Scotland, a royal castle from the 12th century, to which was added a 16th century royal residence. It became a major fortress in the 17th and 18th centuries. It encapsulates much of the history of the country.]

James Fenton, *The Hamely Tongue. A personal record of Ulster-Scots in County Antrim* (The Ulster-Scots Language Society), Newtonards, 1995. xiii + 198 pp. [The author, a native of Co. Antrim and a dialect speaker, has compiled an important list of words in actual use within this limited zone, in which 'Braid Scots' has been remarkably well preserved. It is 'an authentic, comprehensive record of a living language: its vocabulary, idiom, characteristic turns of phrase and modes of expression, its aphorisms and its humour'. It is in two parts: a dictionary that takes up the bulk of the book, and lists of

words, proper names and some place names that differ from their Standard English equivalents.]

Sally M. Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots. Early Historic Scotland* (Historic Scotland), London, 1996. 128 pp. £15.99. [The period covered is from the 5th to the 10th century AD, when diverse peoples were competing for land and supremacy. Sally Foster explains the background and helps the reader to understand how the mixture became a stable society under one monarchy by the 11th century. The economic basis to the development of kingship, allied with the role of religion, are keys in demonstrating how the Picts and Gaels became Scots.]

Sally M. Foster, ed., *The St Andrews Sarcophagus. A Pictish Masterpiece and its International Connections* (Historic Scotland), Dublin, 1998. 287 pp. Hardback £45.00, paperback £14.95. [Ten authors combine to examine and contextualise the sarcophagus, which is one of the most important medieval sculptures in Europe. Interpreted as a Pictish royal shrine, it is a fascinating example of pre-Romanesque art. The volume gathers together the papers presented at a conference held jointly by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and Historic Scotland, and though the sarcophagus was the primary focus, the whole question of Scottish culture and cultural connections in the 7th to 9th centuries is examined.]

John D. Grainger, *Cromwell Against the Scots. The Last Anglo-Scottish War, 1650-1652*, East Linton, 1997. v + 202 pp. £14.99. [The author tells the military and political story of what he considers to have been the last Anglo-Scottish war, which happened in spite of the fact that England and Scotland had been sharing a monarchy since 1603. This is the first full account of the war.]

Historic Scotland [Pat Gibbons], *Preparation and Use of Lime Mortars. An Introduction to the Principles of using Lime Mortars* (Technical Advice Note 1, drafted by the Scottish Lime Centre for Historic Scotland). Edinburgh, 1995. 60 pp. £5.00. [For anyone concerned with the history of buildings in Scotland and with their conservation, this is an invaluable aid. It draws together existing knowledge of traditional lime mortars, and discusses the technical issues.]

Historic Scotland [Christopher Brereton, edited by John Knight], *The Repair of Historic Buildings in Scotland. Advice on Principles and Methods.* Edinburgh, 1995. 76 pp. £9.00. [Designed to complement Historic Scotland's *Memorandum of Guidance on Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas,* this booklet has a strong technical content, with much relevance for students of traditional forms of building and their conservation.]

Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher, eds., *The Glasgow Enlightenment,* East Linton, 1995. xi + 252 pp. [The twelve chapters of this book constitute the proceedings of a

conference in Glasgow by the Eighteenth Century Scottish Studies Society. The bulk of the chapters examine the work of a range of academic and intellectual figures – not only Adam Smith – at a time when the economy was booming, and Glasgow men of science and letters were making a mark on the world. This volume puts the Glasgow of the period into balance with Edinburgh.]

Ian Hustwick, *The Peggy & Isabella. The story of an eighteenth century Orkney sloop*, Aberdeen, 1996. 87 pp. £9.50. [This book records the 31 year life and activity of an Orkney sloop, trading from there to mainland Britain and the Baltic with cargoes of mainly kelp, coal and timber. The detailed disbursement records of her Master, William Hewison, tell much about the day-to-day running of a small ship at the period.]

Edward D. Ives, *The Bonny Earl of Murray. The Man, the Murder, the Ballad*, East Linton, 1997. xvii + 182 pp. £14.99. [Sandy Ives gives a detailed history of the murder of the Second Earl of Moray by the Sixth Earl of Huntly in 1592, as a prelude to tracing the origins and survival over four centuries of the two extant ballads on the murder. The book throws light on the way in which the people's anger can be kept alive by balladry. The ballads were further stimulated by the folksong revival of the 1960s.]

Robin Jackson and Sidney Wood, *Images of Scotland* (The Journal of Scottish Education, Occasional Paper, Number One), Dundee, 1997. 62 pp. £6.50. [This booklet brings together the five principal papers delivered at a conference on 'The Scottish Dimension to the School History Curriculum', held at the Northern College of Education, Dundee. They look at major aspects and periods of Scottish history – the wars of Independence, Scots as Europeans, the Union of 1707, questions of heritage, identity and ethnicity, and the role of the media.]

Richard Lomas, *County of Conflict. Northumberland from Conquest to Civil War*, East Linton, 1996. xi + 211 pp. £14.99. [Northumberland is an area that the kings of Scotland long refused to accept as being English. It was even occupied by a Scottish army after the Union of the Crowns in 1603. Besides throwing much light on medieval life, the book provides data about border conflicts, which seem to be so much part of everyday life now, and their eventual resolution.]

J. Derrick McClure, *Scots and its Literature*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1995. 218 pp. [A volume in the important series, Varieties of English Around the World, consisting in this case of a collection of articles and studies written by the author between 1979 and 1988, and updated and revised where necessary. All are concerned with the sociolinguistic status of Lowland Scots and its use in literature. They include discussion of the concept of Standard Scots, of the debate on Scots orthography, what Scots owes to Gaelic, and on the 'synthesisers' of Scots.]

Colin MacDonald, *Highland Life and Lore. Part One, Croft and Ceilidh, Part Two, Highland Memories*, Edinburgh 1997. vii + 322 pp. £10.99. [This is a re-issue in the Mercat Classics series of two books that first appeared in 1947 and 1949 respectively. They give a vivid and often humorous but always insightful picture of crofting life, told by one who was himself a crofter, who became a senior Land Officer with the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, and later a Gaelic-speaking member of the Land Court.]

R. Andrew McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles. Scotland's Western Seaboard, c. 1100–c. 1336* (Scottish Historical Review Monographs Series No. 4), East Linton, 1997. xv + 280 pp. [This study covers the period from the time of Somerled to that of his descendant, John MacDonald, the first Lord of the Isles. It looks at the kingdom and its rulers, and at the complex interrelationships with Scotland, Norway and England. Though dealing primarily with political matters, it is conscious of social change throughout, and takes into account the surviving cultural heritage also.]

Sharon Macdonald, *Reimaging Culture: Histories, Identities and the Gaelic Renaissance*, Oxford, New York, 1997. xix + 297 pp. Hardback £34.99, paperback £14.99. [This book questions the meaning of 'cultural identity', in relation to policies that have developed since the 1960s about the revival of minority cultures and languages. It analyses the responses to such policies in a Hebridean community, taking into account local views, and providing new insights that can amend conventional thinking about ethnic and national identity.]

Allan I. McInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788*, East Linton, 1996. xv + 288 pp. £16.99. [Clanship is looked at from its heyday till its eventual demise at the time of the Clearances. The author's view is that the throwing over of personal obligations by the clan élite is what led to the fall of the system, rather than legislation or central government repression. The change was from feudalism to capitalism. Estate papers, letters, financial compacts, social bonds and oral tradition have been used in support of the thesis, which provides a different slant from the more biased government papers and reports.]

Angus Edward MacInnes, *Eriskay Where I Was Born*, Edinburgh, 1997. 208 pp. £12.99. [The writer, born in 1925, gives an account of life in Eriskay, and of his own upbringing there. He served as a radio officer in the Merchant Navy during the Second World War, and thereafter was a fisherman, before the final stage of his career as a captain on the Caledonian MacBrayne ferries on the Clyde.]

Iain MacIvor, *Edinburgh Castle* (Historic Scotland), London, 1993. 143 pp. Hardback £25.00, paperback £14.99. [Though evidence for prehistoric use has been found, the

Castle Rock is first referred to about AD 600. The author tells its complex history from its volcanic origins to its role as a royal fortress and palace, its rebuilding as a military garrison, and its present importance as a major tourist attraction.]

Howard Wight Marshall, *Paradise Valley, Nevada. The People and Buildings of an American Place,* Tucson and London, 1995. xiv + 152 pp. $55.00. [The story of the people and their buildings in Paradise Valley from the time of the first settlers in the 1860s-70s. This frontier community made the most of what natural resources there were and has left a rich legacy of vernacular buildings. A group of Italian settlers, skilled stonemasons, have left an enduring mark on the architecture, but the author does not forget the adobe bricks and wooden framed buildings either.]

Ingval Maxwell, *Building Materials of the Scottish Farmstead* (Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group, Regional and Thematic Studies no. 3), Edinburgh 1996. 74 pp. [A survey by the Director of Technical Education, Research and Education of Historic Scotland, of walling and roofing materials, past and present, in Scottish farms.]

Roger Mercer et al, *Kirkpatrick Fleming Dumfriesshire. An Anatomy of a Parish in South West Scotland* (Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society), Dumfries, 1997. viii + 248 pp. £25.00. [A magnificently produced volume that sets new standards in the writing of parish histories. The various authors examine the landscape, the archaeology, settlement patterns and place-names, communications, extractive industries and buildings of all kinds and classes. Much of the data is based on original survey activity.]

Michael Michie, *An Enlightenment Tory in Victorian Scotland. The Career of Sir Archibald Alison,* East Linton, 1997. x + 228 pp. £20.00. [The political and intellectual biography of Sir Archibald Alison (1792-1867), sheriff of Lanarkshire. He was a historian, social critic and criminal lawyer, whose activities and prolific writings show links between the Scottish Enlightenment and Victorian conservatism.]

Patrick Mileham, ed., *Clearly My Duty. The Letters of Sir John Gilmour from the Boer War, 1900-1901,* East Linton, 1996. xx + 200 pp. £15.99. [The author of the letters commanded the Fife Light Horse Company of the Imperial Yeomanry in the Boer War. He later became first Secretary of State for Scotland, then Home Secretary. The letters not only give a first hand account of British military performance against the Boers, but also tell much of the social history of the period.]

Richard Oram, *Scotland's Kings and Queens. Royalty and the Realm.* (Discovering Historic Scotland), Historic Scotland, Edinburgh 1997. 108 pp. 312.99. [The story runs from

the times of the kings of the Picts to James VI and the union with England. Nation building and independence, administration and religion are looked at, as well as royal travel and royal pastimes such as the chase and tennis.]

D. D. R. Owen, *William the Lion 1143-1214. Kingship and Culture,* East Linton 1997, xii + 218 pp. £25.00. [This first biography of William the Lion looks at his reign in the context of the country's cultural and international history, at the 'high point of feudal chivalry and crusading endeavour'. French influence was strong, though Scotland was marking out her place in Europe at the period. Interpretation of a body of literary texts set in Scotland, a skit on the Grail legend, demonstrates a cultural flowering.]

James Porter, ed., *Folklore and Traditional Music in the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe,* Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA, 1997. 100 pp. [This volume contains the papers presented at a conference held in 1994. In addition to ethnomusicological studies, there are papers on communism and folklore, and the whole amounts to a re-assessment of the subject under changing political situations.]

James Porter and Herschel Gower, *Jeannie Robertson. Emergent Singer, Transformative Voice,* East Linton, 1999 (first published Knoxville, 1995). xlvi + 357 pp. Paperback £20.00. [Jeannie Robertson was one of Scotland's most famous singers of traditional songs. Her repertoire is examined and analysed, as well as the story of her life as a 'traveller' and the importance of song in her family and community. The volume includes 80 of her songs, with musical notations.]

Anna Ritchie, *Viking Scotland* (Historic Scotland), London, 1993. 143 pp. Hardback £25.00, paperback £14.99. [The north and west of Scotland in particular retain the imprint of settlement from Scandinavia, through place-names, language and physical remains. The author looks at the sources from which the Vikings came, what they found when they arrived, how they integrated with the natives, and the long-term effects of their settlement.]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Scottish Farm Buildings Survey, I East Central Scotland,* RCAHMS, NMS 1998. 24 pp. £3.00; *II Orkney,* RCAHMS, NMS 1998, 30 pp. £3.00. [The first two volumes in a planned series of 15, prepared by the RCAHMS (co-ordinator, Geoffrey Stell) in collaboration with the National Museums of Scotland (Dr John Shaw). A representative sample of farm buildings is surveyed in each case. Well illustrated with photographs and drawings. The survey material is deposited with the RCAHMS's National Monuments Record of Scotland.].

Kenneth Simpson, ed., *Love & Liberty. Robert Burns. A Bicentenary Celebration,* Tuckwell Press: East Linton 1997, x + 368 pp. £16.99. [The Proceedings of the International Bicentenary Burns Conference, held in January 1996 at the University of Strathclyde. Thirty-two contributions amply explore the multi-faceted nature of Burns as a man and as a writer, and consider the Burns cult as an aspect of Scottish identity.]

Dennis Smith et al., *Scotland.* (World Bibliographical Series, Volume 24, revised edition), Clio Press: Oxford 1998, xl + 434 pp. £80.00. [The volume concentrates on bibliographical entries of relatively recent date, and covers books on the physical and historical environment and setting, economy and culture, political and administrative organisation, literature and the arts, food and drink, sports and games, etc. Each entry is accompanied by a short elucidatory paragraph. This is a useful book, from which the reader can learn much through browsing.]

David Stevenson, *King or Covenant? Voices from Civil War,* East Linton, 1996. xvi + 212 pp. £14.99. [This book is a kind of oral history, for it looks at the biographies of thirteen individuals, all of a reasonable degree of social status, who lived through the mid-17th century wars in Scotland. Memoirs, diaries and letters are the sources on which their lives are reconstructed.]

Chris Tabraham and Doreen Grove, *Fortress Scotland and the Jacobites* (Historic Scotland), London, 1995. 128 pp. Paperback £14.99. [This covers the century between 1650 and 1750, from Cromwell's invasion to the defeat of Bonny Prince Charlie at Culloden, after which the Stuart dynasty was replaced by the Hanoverian one. The long extended military activity left many remains in the form of adapted royal castles, new forts, barrack blocks and military roads, all of which have made an indelible imprint on the landscape as well as on the history of the country.]

Ríonach Uí Ogáin, *Immortal Dan. Daniel O'Connell in Irish Folk Tradition,* Dublin, n.d. (1995). 260 pp. [The story of how oral tradition has gathered around a historical figure who became a folk hero. His activities and his rhetoric are both remembered, and immortalised in song, lore and legend. The material on which the book is based is preserved in the archives of the Department of Irish Folklore, University College Dublin.]

Janet Hadley Williams, ed., *Stewart Style 1513-1542. Essays on the Court of James V,* East Linton, 1996. xvii + 323 pp. Paperback £25.00. [14 contributors look at a variety of facets of the court of King James V, and illuminate a complex and fascinating period, the 'style' of which they attempt to identify. Music, poetry and prose, architecture, manuscript compilation, administration, iconography and heraldry are amongst the topics examined.]

Peter Yeoman, *Medieval Scotland. An Archaeological Perspective* (Historic Scotland), London, 1995. 128 pp. £15.99. [A survey and interpretation of the evidence that can be gathered from excavation to illuminate a 500 year period of life in Scotland. Within the last 20 years there has been much archaeological activity, not only in the traditional sites such as ecclesiastical military establishments but also in the burghs, as a result of which an immense amount of new knowledge has been gained.]