

The **KIST** :: 12

# T H E K I S T

The Magazine of  
The Natural History & Antiquarian Society  
of Mid-Argyll

President: Miss Campbell of Kilberry, FSA, FSAScot.

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NUMBER TWELVE: Autumn 1976

Editor: F.S.Mackenna, MA, FSA, FSAScot.

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## ROCK-CARVINGS AT DUNADD

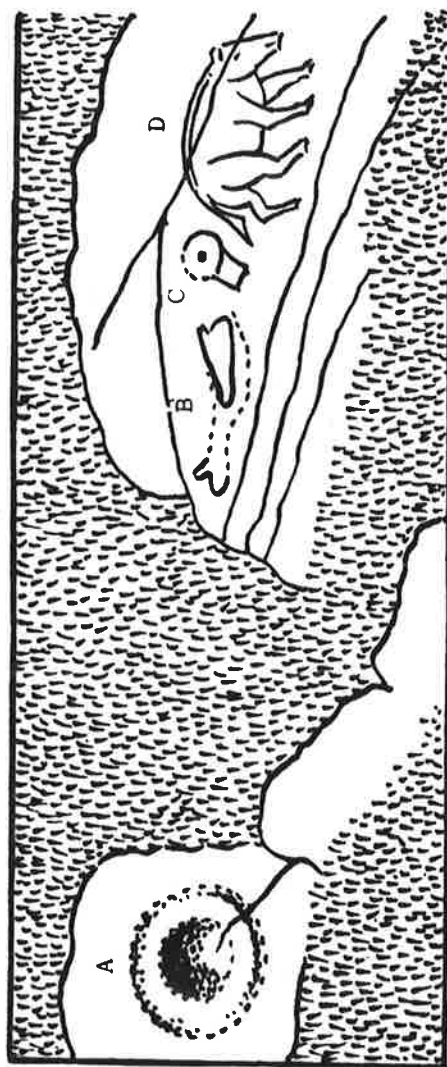
Marion Campbell

The existence of carvings on Dunadd has long been known. The rock-basin and the hollowed-out footprint were visible before 1878 when they were first described by Captain Thomas, R.N., in PSAS XI11. The Boar, between these, was uncovered during excavations at the fort in 1904-5 under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and was first published in PSAS XXXIX with the excavation report. Some years ago Mr E.R.Cregeen noticed another footprint to the rear of the Boar; while for many years a carving has been faintly visible above and behind the Boar and obscured by its protective box. Finally, beyond the hollowed footprint, there are at least two lines of ogam writing, which have long infuriated scholars; though in the main legible, they yield no coherent sense and have sometimes been called "Pictish" (on the unfortunate grounds that most Pictish ogams are unintelligible, either because they are in the Pictish language, itself largely unknown and possibly non-Celtic, or because the Picts, in adopting the Irish ogam alphabet, may have 'coded' it by giving new meanings to its symbols).

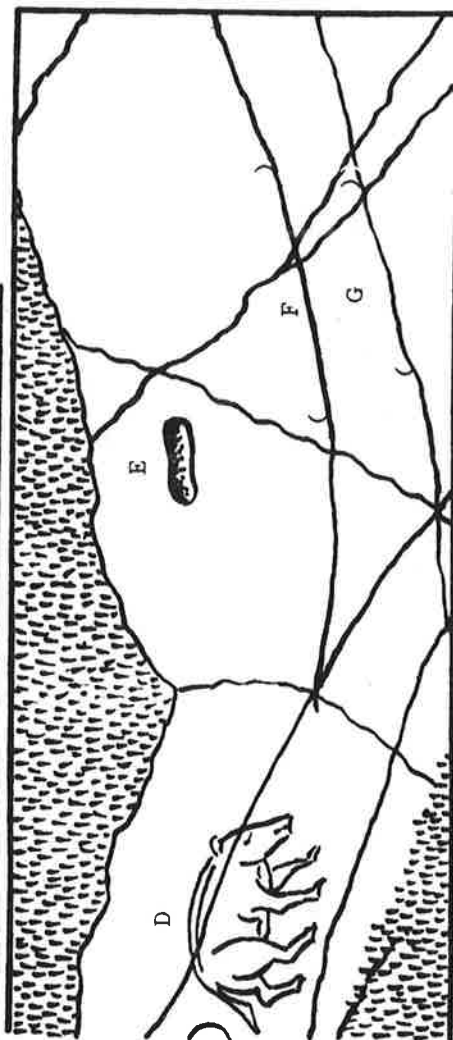
The glass-topped box over the Boar, which used to baffle photographers, has now been removed and replaced by a sheet of armoured glass on bronze supports; and the hidden carving can therefore be studied. The writer made several visits to Dunadd in 1975, and with the help of Miss Sandeman and the Editor of KIST, made measured drawings and some rubbings from which the illustrations to this article derive.

Before continuing I must emphasise most strongly that the taking of any rubbing should only be attempted with the greatest care to avoid damaging the surface, and in no circumstances should a stone be scrubbed or over-zealously cleaned beforehand; the small figure of a (?) dog, on a rockface near the well of Dunadd, has been virtually destroyed by cleaning and is now almost totally lost. Also it would be quite wrong - and illegal - to attempt to strip any more turf from the area round the Boar. This turf has already been lifted and replaced by the Department of the Environment, without further discoveries.

SKETCH PLAN of  
the MAIN AREA  
of  
ROCK CARVINGS



Overall length  
(outer edge of  
A to end of F)  
5.33m (17' 6")



- A: Basin with  
pecked ring.
- B: 'Barefoot' Print  
with fish.
- C: Symbol.
- D: Boar (see cover)
- E: 'Shod' foot-  
print.
- F & G: Ogam  
inscriptions.

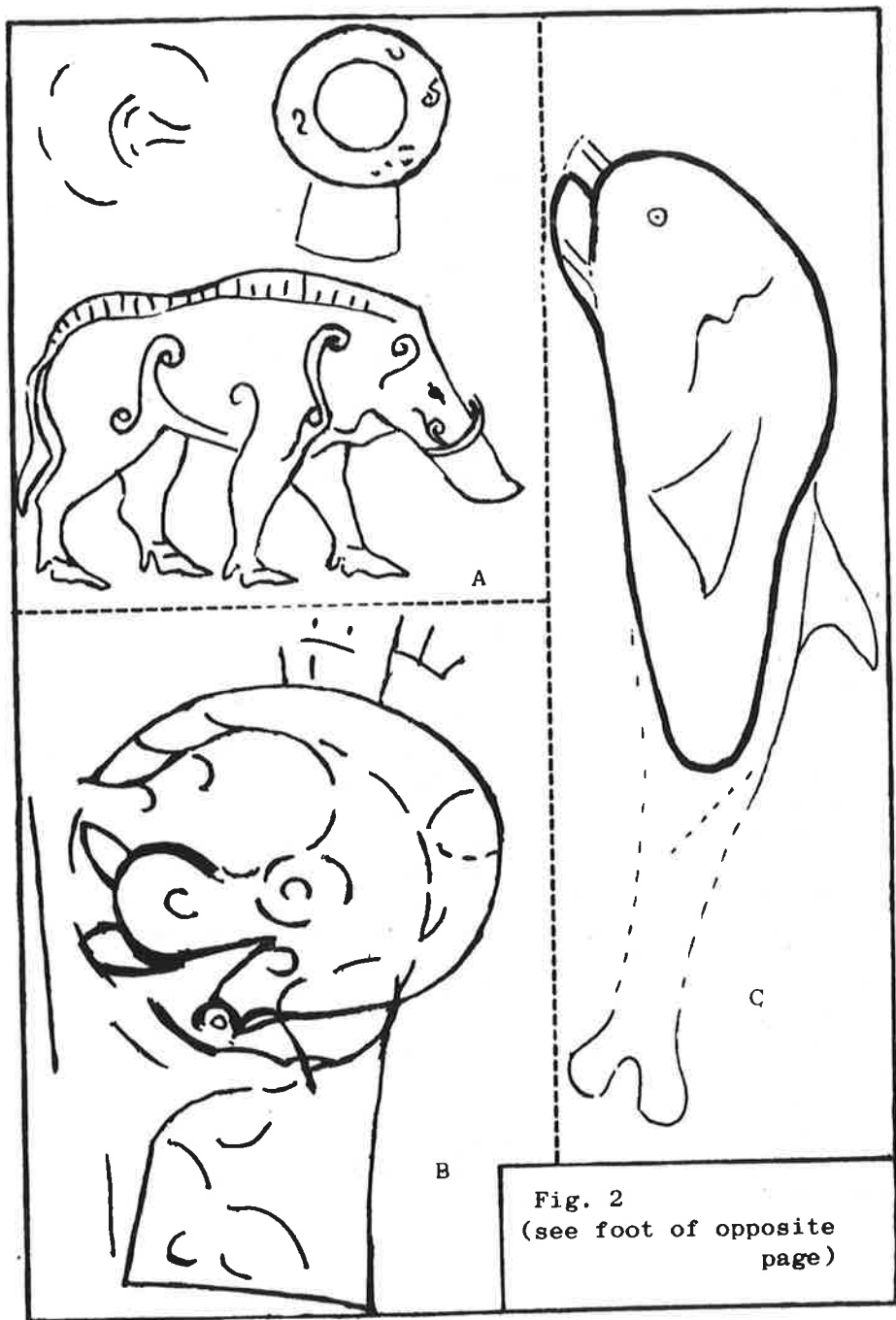
Now to describe the various carvings, whose relative positions are shown on the sketch-drawing (Fig.1):-

A. This is the well-known rock basin, which has a diameter of 0.25m x 0.28m (10" x 11") and a depth of approximately 0.20m (8"). The actual basin is surrounded by a broad pecked ring, 5mm to 8mm (2"-3") wide, and a natural crack in the rock wavers through this and provides some drainage for the basin.

B. This proved to be more complex than expected. The footprint, outlined by a shallow, probably pecked, line 6mm to 8mm wide, is best seen in low sunlight. Rubbings brought out another underlying design, even more shallowly carved in lines 5mm wide. It represents a fish of some kind (but not a salmon, though one might be expected so close to the River Add). The head rather suggests a dolphin; the tail (which is clearer than the rear part of the body) does not help identification.

C. This design has tantalised observers in the past. It appears to be a disc bearing some internal decoration and supported on a straight-sided 'neck', perhaps also decorated. At its upper edge some short straight lines look alien, and may perhaps be evidence of modern damage to the disc itself. A faint graffito above the short lines may read KING FERG..., suggesting that somebody has tried to turn the carving into a representation of the first King of Dalriada, Fergus Mór mac Erca, who died c.501 AD. The changes probably comprised the adding of a 'crown' (the short lines) and trying to alter the disc into a sort of 'Mr Punch' face, looking to the left. This must presumably have been done between 1904, when the area was first deturfed, and 1928 when the glass-topped box was placed over the Boar. (Vandalism is not a new problem!). The design is executed in a sharp line, 2mm-3mm wide, and the damage is fractionally sharper; it seems likely that both were cut with metal tools.

D. This is the Boar, outlined in firm strokes from 4mm-7mm wide. It has often been described as a 'Pictish Boar', while other commentators point out that it lacks tusks and has a low, uncrested, back line, suggesting a domestic pig rather than a symbol of ferocity and courage. The late Cosmo Gordon (PSAS XCV111) thought it represented the favourite food of feasting heroes, and commented on its "downcast appearance". I believe the original figure



had a spinal crest and a large tusk; both can still be traced and both are shown in my drawing for the cover of this KIST. The projecting ear is overlarge for the species, but may be shown thus to indicate alertness, even a preparation to charge.

If the carving is Pictish, a possible date for it would be 736 AD, when the Picts captured Dunadd. Its reduction from fierce boar to downcast hog would then date from the Scots' recapture of the fort. Its first appearance in print (PSAS XXXIX) referred to the existence of other "Boar" carvings in Scotland and especially to that at Knocknagael near Inverness - it is from this comparison that the mainstream of "Pictish" references flows. The Knocknagael carving may not be well known to our readers and I have therefore made a drawing (Fig.2(A)) from a photograph which unfortunately lacks a scale. The stone, which I have seen, is a large upright boulder with an intensely rippled surface, and the Boar and two other symbols appear on its southern aspect. Photography is difficult because the boulder is protected by a heavy cage; in some lights one can barely distinguish the carvings. I did not record precise measurements, but to the best of my recollection the Knocknagael animal is about the same size as the Dunadd one. Above its back appears a symbol not unlike our Fig.2(B), and level with this and nearer the boar's rump, is another, almost totally destroyed, carving. The irregular surface makes drawing difficult, but imparts a curious sense of movement to the boar. There is a good photograph in PSAS XCV111, pl.XXIX:2.

Knocknagael is in the full Pictish style, with spirals emphasising salient points; one spiral ingeniously suggests the small flat ear, another imparts a sinister twist to the mouth. The feet are curious; when drawing them I was struck by their wavy baselines (contrast Dunadd) which almost suggest human feet emerging from the

.....  
Fig.2 (A). Knocknagael, Inverness. (Drawn from a

photograph: no scale)

(B). Dunadd. The 'symbol'. (ht. about 0.3m (11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " )

(C). Dunadd. The footprint-fish symbol. (footprint in heavy line) (length 0.42m.(c.16 $\frac{1}{2}$ " )

boar's legs. I should perhaps mention that many transcriptions of this carving show a hornlike projection over the brow and in front of the mane; this derives from a flaw in the stone, for the steeply rising line of the brow passes into the crest without a break.

Returning to Dunadd, we now have the problem that while the boar is not so very Pictish, he is accompanied by a symbol which may well be Pictish and which can be found in many Pictish carvings. Perhaps we cannot profitably pursue this matter in the meantime.

E. This is the wellknown footprint, which (like the basin) had been visible long before excavation began at Dunadd. Captain Thomas (PSAS X111) gave many examples of Celtic enthronement ceremonials involving the use of a footprint-stone; he also quoted Dean Mapleton for the local tradition that it was no footprint but "a mould for making axeheads". As the last flat-cast copper axe was perhaps made more than two thousand years earlier, this strikes me as a very strange explanation indeed.

In passing, it should be noted that anyone standing with the right foot in either of the prints will face towards the peaks of Cruachan, visible on a clear day through the Rhudil gap. Cruachan is of course associated in many legends with A'Chailleach, the "Old Woman", goddess of winter and war, mistress of beasts (and especially, as in the Diarmaid legend, of the wild boar). In Ireland the "Old One" was often the giver of kingship, essentially the embodiment of the land itself which thus chose its rightful ruler.

F & G. Finally we come to at least two lines of ogam writing. This is an alphabet evolved in Ireland in (probably) the early centuries AD and exported to Wales, Dalriada and Pictland. It consists of upright or slanting strokes below, above or through a baseline, and in its earlier form used dots or diamond-shaped marks for vowels. Line F may possibly incorporate two sets of these dots, which would indicate an early date for that inscription.

Most ogam inscriptions are curt, often funerary, of the type "A son of B lies here; raised this stone" etc. The Dunadd ogams have defeated the greatest experts, not because they are difficult to transliterate but because they yield no recognisable words. A further problem is



to know from which end one should read them; if they are to be associated with the boar, should one start from his snout and read northwards; or downwards from north to south as on many upright stones?

I will not presume to succeed where Professor Kenneth Jackson has admitted defeat, but perhaps it will serve to explain the nature of the problem if I give the letters as I think I have deciphered them:-

F. Reading away from the boar:-

Q S I(or E).....L T (or Ng) (?I) T

Reading towards the boar:-

F (?I) Ng D.....E (or I) C N

G. Reading away from the boar:-

Ng (or U) T D (or Q, or Ng G, or R) (?I) A (or H) H D (or T)

Reading towards the boar:-

B N Q I B (or F) A (or H) N R (or I) O U (or G Ng) Ng (or U)

The whole arrangement brings forcibly to mind a remark by Miss Sandeman regarding the kindred problem of abbreviations in Roman inscriptions:- "SPQR means 'Lord have mercy on you if you try to read this!'"

It is doubtless known to many readers of KIST that a cup-and-ring mark exists on the NE side of Dunadd, below the outermost defences, and an isolated deep cup on the southerly low terrace; but these, like the Mesolithic flintwork and the sherds of Bronze Age pottery from excavations on the hill, only go to show that some of the carvings now discussed may date from many centuries before the Sons of Erc left Antrim, and that association with a site of such complexity should never suggest more than a tentative date except where firm comparisons can be made with closely dateable parallels.

...oOo...

Editorial Query: WHY TO THE RIGHT? On seeing Miss Campbell's drawings of the two boars we suddenly realised that most representational animal carvings face towards the right; a quick review of 22 specimens known to us confirmed this, for only 2 face left. This seems odd, especially as it is common knowledge that right-handed modern persons (who are in a vast majority), find it easier and more natural to draw anything, from animals to the human profile, facing left. It is a point which seems to merit further study.

## STUDIES IN THE HISTORICAL ECOLOGY OF NORTH KNAPDALE

Leslie Rymer

### 3. The Ice Age

Anyone visiting the parish of North Knapdale eighteen thousand years ago would have seen a most impressive sight, a sight that is most easily evoked by a verse from Coleridge: "The ice was here, the ice was there,

The ice was all around:

It cracked and growled, and roared and howled,  
Like noises in a swound."

Almost the whole of Scotland would have been covered by ice, for this period represented the maximum extent of the last of the Pleistocene glaciations.

To write of an area being covered by ice might suggest tranquility, might even picture up a peaceful, static, perhaps inert landscape. Nothing could be further from the truth, and the stanza from "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner", with the drum-beat of its internal rhymes and harsh onomatopoetic effects, is not only vivid but realistic. Many of the present-day landscape features of the parish are directly attributable to the abrasive action of the mountain of ice which crushed the area, and which slowly but inexorably moved under the force of gravity, and by virtue of its own mass, over the whole of the region.

From a geomorphological study of the parish we can learn much about the history and behaviour of these huge ice sheets. First, however, it is worth considering one of the more indirect results of this glaciation.

The ice sheet was very thick. Work done in Scandinavia has suggested a thickness of over 2600 metres. Such a depth of ice represents a very large volume of water, particularly when considered in terms of the total extent of glaciation on a world-wide scale. Ultimately all this water must have been derived from the sea, so it is apparent that at the climax of the last glacial period sea-level was lower than at present: some estimates suggesting by as much as 200-300 metres.

The continents stand up like platforms from the ocean floor. This is because much of the continental crust is composed of rocks that are lighter (less dense) than the heavier rocks which underlie them. The addition of a

huge weight (in the form of ice) to the continental land surface would have caused the earth's crust to sink into these denser rocks which make up the earth's mantle. So that at the peak of the last glaciation not only sea level, but also the land surface, were lower than at present.

Consider what happened when the ice melted. As this weight was removed the earth's crust would begin to recover and the land begin to rise. This recovery seems to be associated with a long lag-effect, so much so that parts of Scotland have still not finished rising. At the same time water from the melting ice would be finding its way to the sea, so that sea level was also rising. Where the land was rising more rapidly than the sea, formerly submerged coastal areas will have emerged above sea level. At times, however, the rise in sea level may have been more rapid than the uplift of the land. This would have resulted in a temporary transgression of the sea over the land. The situation was undoubtedly very complex, particularly as the rate of uplift of land was not the same in all areas. Fortunately the details do not concern us. Here we are dealing only with the effects of these processes on the scenery of North Knapdale. These are easy to see, for the varying transgressions and regressions of the sea were responsible for the formation and exposure of the raised beach deposits and the wave-cut platforms that form such a dominant and impressive feature of the parish.

A map in the previous paper illustrated the extent of these raised beach deposits. That map, however, was greatly simplified. In particular it gave no indication that these deposits were not laid down contemporaneously; neither did it indicate that they do not all occur at the same height above present-day sea level.

It has been traditional to classify raised beaches in terms of their altitude at one particular place. In Scotland three such groups of beaches were recognised: the '100-foot', '50-foot' and '25-foot' beaches. The melting ice invaded the depressed margins of Northern Europe while ice was still present in Scandinavia and the Highlands of Scotland. Beaches of this age are well developed on Jura. In North Knapdale they form the two flat areas running north-east on either side of Rudha na

Cille, both to the west of Keills chapel. They are also obvious on Danna, where they form the L-shaped area of flat land west of Mid Danna and north-west of Danna na Cloiche. The flat area running along the hillside east of Castle Sween represents another large extent of these deposits. Some of the sea shells found in the '100-foot' beach deposits are now known only from Arctic or sub-Arctic areas, and this helps to confirm the colder conditions prevailing at the time of their formation.

The '50-foot' beach is also late-glacial in age, and resulted from the continued recovery of land as the ice disappeared. So far as I know there are no '50-foot' beach deposits in North Knapdale.

As the land began to rise more rapidly than sea level a regression took place such that sea level may have been lower than at the present day. This is demonstrated by the submerged forests found in various places around the coast of Britain, which were known even to the writers of the Old Statistical Account of Scotland.

At a time well after that at which all the ice had departed from Scotland, a marine transgression took place. This formed the very important '25-foot' beach. This beach is the best developed of all, being represented by the flat platform along which the Tayvallich-Keills road runs, and by the pass between Carsaig and Tayvallich. Since its formation, of course, the land has risen so that the beach is now exposed and sea level is found at its present position. The next time you come across any hole dug in this beach, examine it closely: you will be sure to find sea shells that evidence its marine origin. The age of this '25-foot' beach will be discussed in a later paper.

The account of land/sea level changes presented here is very simplified. Recent workers, for example, emphasise the fact that the '100-foot' beach does not occur at the height indicated by its name, and that it probably consists of features of different age in different parts of Scotland. Similarly, although all the '25-foot' beaches formed at the same time they need not lie at the same height, because not all land areas have experienced the same degree of uplift.

The different land/sea level changes that may be discovered by studying features of the present landscape are of considerable importance to the historical ecologist.

An examination of the map presented in the previous paper will show, for example, that at the time when the lowest raised beach was being formed, North Knapdale consisted of a number of separate islands. This would certainly have had implications for any men who happened to be living in the area, but it might also have had an effect on climate, and on plant and animal life.

Because the raised beaches form the largest area of flat land in the parish, they are not only obvious, but are also of considerable economic importance. Communications and agriculture both benefit from their presence, and the deposits are of archaeological interest. In many cases, however, the effects of the ice were prejudicial to both man and agriculture.

With the exception of the peat accumulations, to be mentioned later, the soils found in North Knapdale are relatively poor. In particular, the depth of soil over the underlying rock is often thin, and even the slightest acquaintance with the area will show that in many places soil is completely absent and the bare rock is visible. This feature results from the abrasive action of the ice sheets: any loose surface material was stripped off and carried away to be deposited elsewhere. As a result of this, the only soils present over large parts of the parish are those that have had time to develop from the solid rocks that are responsible for the topography of the area.

In a few places the melting ice left behind material it had scoured from elsewhere. These patches of glacial till may be recognised by their unsorted texture. Moving ice gathers up boulders, sand, gravel and clay, mixes them and grinds them and then, as it retreats, abandons them. When materials of this kind are transported by water the lighter particles are carried further than the heavier ones, so that a sorting of the material into different sized particles takes place. When the sediment is just dumped by ice no sorting occurs, and a deposit made up from an admixture of the finest rock flour up to stones and boulders of all sizes is left. This is the material which is given the descriptive name of 'boulder clay'. Sections showing boulder clay can be seen in road cuttings near Castle Sween, in Knapdale forest and in several other areas to the east of Loch Sween.

Anyone walking over the hills of the parish will soon



DRIMNAGALL FEN: view over the coring site, showing as a dark circle left of centre.

find small or large hummocks of rock sticking out of the grass sward. Seen from a distance these bear a fanciful resemblance to a sheep lying down, and this accounts for the name they are given, "roches moutonnées". Close examination will show that they have a stream-lined form. Such structures developed in relation to the direction of ice movement, so that the resistance offered to the moving ice was reduced. The side up which the ice advanced rises as a smoothly abraded slope, while the lee slope is more irregular. Because of this they help to indicate the direction in which the last ice-sheet moved over the parish. Striae, scratched on to the bare rock surface by stones embedded in the ice also give an indication of this, and show that the ice moved in a south-westerly direction over the Tayvallich peninsula, but that movements were more complicated over the rest of the parish.

So far I have been dealing with obvious landscape features and indicating, in general terms, how they provide information about the glacial history of the parish. I have not been able to give any definite dates for the formation of the features I have discussed, neither have I been able to say anything about the flora and fauna of these periods on the basis of the evidence presented. Of course when the area was completely covered by the ice plants and animals must have been absent, for there would have been nowhere for them to live, so at least we know that all the wildlife now in the parish must have immigrated there since the retreat of the ice. That in itself poses many interesting problems, but we need more information if we are to try and answer them. For this reason I am now going to adopt a different approach.

The farm of Drimnagall is situated in the midst of the Ross peninsula, about 4 kilometres south of Tayvallich. To the west of Drimnagall lies the 350ft high ridge of Dùn Mór, so called from the large fort on its summit. South and west of Dùn Mór are remains of the once-large farm-town of North Ardbeg, but to the north and west of the ridge there is a long narrow fen. Because it is not named on any of the maps I have consulted, I call this area Drimnagall Fen. It nestles between Dùn Mór and a lower ridge to the south and west, has almost a northerly trend, and looks over the Sound of Jura.

The hill slopes rising from the fen are dominated by

bracken and show remains of abandoned cultivation ridges, vivid reminders of recent ecological change. There are a few scattered birch trees, but most of the area is covered in grassland dominated by Festuca and Agrostis species.

Water running from the surrounding hills drains into the hollow that now forms the fen. Material transported by the run-off from the hill accumulates in the hollow, which, through the course of time, will gradually become filled in. Being situated in an area of high rainfall, and because of its topographic position, the fen surface is usually wet and waterlogged. When plants growing on the fen die they do not rot completely away, for there is not sufficient oxygen in the water to oxidise all the organic material present. Instead, the plant remains accumulate, becoming compressed and broken by the activities of the plants growing on top of them.

The retreat of the ice would have exposed only a bare rock surface in this valley. Since that time a great deal of material has accumulated there. By studying this in detail it is possible to reconstruct some of the ecological and climatic changes that have taken place over the period of its deposition.

By means of a special coring device it was possible to collect nearly 9 metres depth of sediment from the south-east end of the fen. (Grid reference of coring site: NR 714 848.) The corer is quite simple; really all that I did was to push hollow aluminium tubes into the peat and then pull them and the contained peat out of the fen. The tubes were then taken back to Cambridge, where I examined them at my leisure.

This enabled me to describe the sediment in some detail. Just as a chemical compound can be analysed in terms of its component elements, a sediment can be described in terms of the relative proportions of its separate components. In fact this analogy is not exact, for a sediment consists of a mixture rather than a compound. The constituents of a sediment are physically separate, and can be easily distinguished and separated, either visually under a microscope or mechanically by sieving. In this paper I will describe the sediment from 750 cm depth to 850 cm depth, as this is most relevant to our topic. A summary description is given in the accompanying table, which also lists the separate components that



I distinguished. The relative proportions of each of the component elements was scored on a five point scale (0-4 with + indicating presence, and 0 absence). In addition a number of physical properties relating to the sediment itself were also described, for example sediment colour and degree of calcareousness (estimated from sediment reaction to 10% hydrochloric acid).

What can we learn from this sediment? At the base of the core it is coarse and composed entirely of mineral particles. The fact that there is no organic component is significant, for it suggests that plant and animal life were absent, or nearly so, when the sediment formed. It is also important that this sediment is calcareous, for this suggests that the parent rock has not been subject to any organic activity which might break down calcium carbonate. From 840-822 cm the sediment is similar, but finer. If a bare rock surface is subject to freezing, particles will break off as the surface undergoes alternate contraction and expansion. Perhaps the greater proportion of finer material above 840 cm suggests a gradual amelioration of climate.

Above 822 cm there is a marked change in sediment composition, for the core then becomes very organic. This must certainly indicate the development of vegetation around the site, and this would seem to imply the onset of a milder, less-extreme climate. The sediment is no longer calcareous, perhaps because organic acids released by the plants were breaking down the calcium carbonate of the parent rock. The plant cover over the rock surface must have protected the rock from such extreme changes in temperature, and the minerogenic component of the sediment is reduced. So far we seem to be dealing with the climatic improvement that led to the retreat of the ice. The story was not, however, one of continuous improvement. Between 805 and 783 cm the sediment becomes much less organic and contains an increased proportion of mineral matter. This indicates greater surface instability and the loss of a more or less continuous vegetation cover. An obvious explanation for this would be that a further deterioration in climate took place. Because the sediment still remains organic it would seem that the climate never became as extreme as in the period before the development of vegetation and that some plants must have

remained, even if only in the more sheltered areas.

Above 783 cm the sediment gradually became more organic and the amount of mineral matter present became negligible. The climate had then improved to such an extent that a complete ground cover of vegetation had developed. The sediment indicates that what is now a fen deposit then consisted of a freshwater lake, and that the infilling of the trough was already beginning.

The study of land forms in the parish showed only that the area had been subject to glaciation. Examination of the sediments accumulated in a valley situation has shown that climatic improvement was not steady as the ice retreated but suffered at least one setback. In the next paper I will describe how a study of the fossil pollen trapped in the sediment just described throws even more light on the glacial history of North Knapdale, and also how some of the significant events of the period can be dated.

TABLE 1  
SEDIMENT DESCRIPTION OF THE DRIMNAGALL CORE  
FROM 750 cm - 850 cm

Depth in cm.

750-780	A dark-brown, homogeneous mud. Calc. 0. Dg. +. Ld. 4.
780-783	A brown, homogeneous mud. Calc. 0. Dg. +. Ld. 3. Ag. 1
783-805	A grey-brown, homogeneous, silty mud. Calc. 0. Dg. +. Ld. 2. Ag. 2. Ga. +.
805-822	A brown, homogeneous mud. Calc. 0. Dg. +. Ld. 3. Ag. 1.
822-840	A grey silt. Calc. 2. Ag. 3. Ga. 1.
840-850	A grey, coarse silt. Calc. 2. Ag. 2. Ga. 2.

Calc.:	Degree of calcareousness.
Dg.:	Parts of woody and herbaceous plants less than 2 mm but greater than 0.1 mm.
Ld.:	A homogeneous soil consisting of more or less decayed and decomposed micro-organisms, or parts of higher plants less than 0.1 mm.
Ag.:	Mineral particles 0.06 - 0.002 mm.
Ga.:	Mineral particles 0.06 - 0.6 mm.

## WHEN THE YEARS WERE YOUNG

Mary Sandeman

### The Harvest

In the golden days of autumn, usually the first week of October, when the sun seems all the hotter for the night's hint of frost on the high ground, the hay harvest was carried.

I had helped to get the stackyard ready, cutting the docks and checking that the stones to weight the stack ropes were to hand. Cartloads of brushwood had been brought in. All we needed now was a few dry days.

Wakened by voices I rushed to the window and sure enough the hurdle had been lifted off the big gate and men were setting out the brushwood bases for two big stacks - oblongs as long or nearly as the byre and parallel with its wall. Away up the bay a procession of carts was winding along the white ribbon of road by the shore - everyone was coming to help.

Soon the carts were bringing their loads of sweet-smelling hay. When the first layer had been laid on the brushwood and the two elders in charge had got it settled and squared off to their satisfaction, the women and children climbed on to it and started the tramping, firming the hay down smooth and even, slow and steady up and down the length of the stack, turning clockwise at the end, never withershins. One of the elders was on top to control the trampers and the other was below endlessly combing down the sides and ends of the stack to keep them vertical. Salt was sprinkled on the warm hay - not too much and not too little - as up and up the stack went until a ladder was needed to get up and it was a long reach for the forkers even from the carts.

There was laughter and wisecracks and an enormous feeling of wellbeing and rejoicing. Great pails of buttermilk with maybe some braised oatmeal in it and baskets of girdle scones with butter and jam were brought out. The first time I got helping and was bidden to take some I refused, explaining that I was'n't allowed to eat anything between meals except an apple. Well you run away in and ask they said. Nothing loath but without much hope I sped across the road, determined not to waste one moment. Much to my surprise not only was per-

mission granted but I was told I must both eat and drink, and mother apologised for not having told me so. I scurried back, my iron shod clogs clip-clopping much like, but far faster than, the horses' hooves. How silky the butter-milk was on my dry throat and how good the scones, and back on the stack how the sun glinted on the golden threads of hay as the wind lifted them up over the byre roof and away into the blue sky.

Tramp tramping up and down, never too near the edge but near enough, keeping well clear of the forks as they brought the hay up to the builder and came away clean and shining. Gradually the top of the stack grew smaller and smaller as they brought her in to a slope steeper than the byre roof; odd to look down on slates from so close. Now we slithered down, leaving the old ones to do the finishing while we started on the next stack, tramp tramping while the heat rose from the hay in a shimmer and our noses twitched with scents and dust.

At last, as I slipped into bed, an exultant weary-deary, I would see shadowy figures in the gloaming giving the two big stacks, roofed and trim now, a last comb down and a pat or two with the back of a rake before the ropes were thrown over them to keep all secure while they settled before being thatched. I would go to sleep, and it didn't take long, to the gentle murmur of voices and the scent of hay.

The corn was not quite so much fun as the hay, for although it was interesting, there wasn't so much a child could do in the stackyard. There never were very many stacks of corn because the farm didn't grow a great deal and most of the near fields were carried straight into the barn while the far-out fields were stacked in some suitable corner ready to be fed in the sheaf to the out-wintered cattle.

The corn stacks were round, on rough stone or brushwood bases, with a wigwam of poles in the middle and built, of course, with the ears inwards and the butts of the sheaves outwards.

Most of my activity took place in the field; there were always a few sheaves small enough to be clasped in my arms and staggered with to the stooks, and people were very good at finding them for me. There was no binder then, just the reaper, known as "the machine". The ties

The ties were made by the women as they gathered up the armfulls to make the sheaves. I dont remember doing it then - I would have been far too slow - but I could do it now, so I must have taken note. The oldest woman always tied the first sheaf and when it came to the carrying the youngest person in the field carried it, or a token sheaf made from it, into the farm kitchen where it stayed until the spring sowing. I dont think I ever was the youngest but not so long ago my nephew proudly bore it in. One didn't make a 'thing' about these things, they just happened.

The thatching was a peaceful leisurely time after the hectic carrying. Just two or three men, with me under foot. The big hay stacks were thatched just like houses but not quite so thickly, and then carefully roped. A rope went the whole length along the ridge and was fastened to a big stone almost at ground level. Then ropes were thrown over from side to side, about five or six of them, again secured to big stones; other ropes going over between these were fixed to the stacks by twisting them into the hay on the vertical sides. Now, starting from near the ridge, ropes were threaded through these the whole length of the stack and made fast to the main ridge rope at the gable ends.

The corn stacks had radial ropes fixed to the butt ends of the thatch at the top, which was then cut off neatly and the ropes brought down to stones or twisted into the butts of the sheaves. Everyone took a pride in their stackyards and I would pass judgement with the best. The stackyard was raked up, the big hurdle was put back in the gateway, and we looked on our work and, giving thanks, saw that it was good.

The hunter's moon rose red and huge over the sea, the stacks cast dark shadows, the owls called in their new hunting ground, the horses stamped in the stable munching new corn while the cows rattled their chains as they tossed the sweet hay. All this I saw or heard as I cuddled down to sleep. The harvest was home.

...oOo...

INVERARAY - the Beginnings. (2)

Donald Mackechnie

To improve the style of funerals a Mort Cloth was ordered by the Session from Jon Luill, a deacon, in 1659. The bill is of interest:-

2½ ells of good black London cloth	
at 15 libs the ell	£37 10 0 *
6½ ells black calico @ 16s the ell	£ 5 4 0
2½ pundis of black silk	£35 0 0
Making the fringes	£ 5 10 0
Making the Mort Cloth	£ 2 8 0
Summa	£85 12 0

Duncan McKennochow the Beadle was to keep it, "sure and clean" in a good clean kist and to hire it out thus:-

Each person belonging to the town 2s.stg.

Each person of the Highland Parish 3s.stg.

Any person outside the town and parish 4 libs. Scots.

\*(Throughout this paper the sums of money are Scots unless otherwise stated. Scots currency was devalued to 1/12th Stg. Ed.)

A great event must have been the arrival of the 'Knocke' in 1681. It was set up in the Kirk Steeple and a deacon, David Carruders, was made clock keeper at a salary of £6 Scots and £2 for teaching John McNuier and the schoolmaster "to keep it and take it asunder according to the skill he has of it". In 1683 David resigned. "Being asked gif he had wronged wilfully that knocke or gif he knew any of her wheels to be wrong he willingly took it on his part of Heaven he knew nothing that was wrong in it neither did he any wrong to it himself". His successor, John McNuier, was ordered to get ane sufficient lock from Robert Brown to be put on the steeple door. (The school met in the end of the Kirk). He was still clock-keeper in 1707.

1661 and 1662 were busy years for the Town Council. I wondered if new men had appeared, but no; Jon Yuill was still Provost and Duncan Fisher and Jon Ritchie, Bailies. The only new face was Donald McLerin as Treasurer.

A great effort was put into the Fair, which was to begin on Monday 16th. September. Intimation was sent to many parts of the country to bring in their goods. "Several Lowland and country merchants have gotten notice

thereof". And the Rules:- "All merchants and shopkeepers and tradesmen in and about this burgh and all other chapmen who shall come to the said Fair shall set out their standis in the Mercat place fornenst the Cross and all their wares and made work to all His Majesty's Lieges fra 8 hours in the morning till 4 efternoon....under the pain of 20 pounds to be paid by contraveners thereof. And that the Fair may be better made public....the Magistrates ordain a horse race to be run for a saddle which the town bestows for that use. And also a Foot Race for a pair of Tartan Trewis....whilk ye Thesaurer is to provide as contributing to the good of the Fair. The date of the next Fair is to be proclaimed at the four streets of the town, and at the Cross, the Magistrates and Council being present." One wishes there was a report on the Fair.

In June 1661 the Council debated the "usefulness of a fank beside the town for keeping of Fairs". Jon McNuier was ordered "to big a good large fank in ye Fisherland beyond the gallows with a gate, for which he is to get twa bolls meal and the benefit of the fank the first night. Lykwise ilk cow or horse to be keepit in the fank to pay 8 pennies nightly and ilk sheep or other small bestiall 3 pennies."

The same day "considering that the haill cornes of the town have been usually destroyed by horses and kye going in through slaps in the dyke pairtly done by men and women taking out and in of horses and kye....to the prejudice of the owners of the said cornes, a timber gate is to be put up at Jon McInturnour's at the heid of the town and another gate at the back of the new Kirk and both to be lockit in the summer and harvest and the haill dykes are to be repaired and keepit up till the harvest is ended." But in 1659 the Town's dykes were to "be bigged about the crops ....that the crops may be preserved from skaith."

Our burgh, like others, was dirty, but Hygiene was raising her head. In 1657 there was "ane Act anent ye dung....the inhabitants have all been in use to lay out their dung upon the Hiegait....unseemly and unbecoming. All middings to be removit by March 31st. None to presume to lay out their dung on the Hiegait in time to come on pain of 40 shgs. toties quoties". In April 1660 the streets "being all myrie and foul" it was decided to lay

down "ane calsay betwixt Mr Alexander Gordon's house (the minister) and the Kirk door, consisting of 6 elnes breadth upon the town's charges." Another "calsay of 4 elnes breadth" was to be put in "betwixt Archibald McClerich's house in the nather end of the burgh straight through to Archibald Gillies house." Another of the same breadth "fra Jon Yuill's house to Archibald Stewart's." The stones were to be provided by the inhabitants "according to their interest and proportion." Wm. Browne was to bring in calsears. But in May 1661 the calsay to the head of the town "was not done last year and is now to be led from the High Street upwards to the heid of the town...the inhabitants to lead the stones to serve forenenst their own house and where ther is waste ground, the stones and all to be upon the town's charges."

All the improvements cost money. In September 1661, Jon Yuill stated his accounts. He had taken in £585.3.4 Scots, and had paid out £628.9s.2d for making up "twa tofts and ane schoolhouse in the Kirk, for dailis to the Bridge, and for laying of the new calsay in 1660 and for his own charges at the Parliament this last winter and several other necessary particulars, so that he is super-expendit by £43.5s.10d." Decided that Jon should be repaid out of the surplus of the Excise.

The income of the Burgh is uncertain. The earliest table of Petty Customs is of interest:-

The boll of Malt, Beare or victuall to pay	1s.8d.
The boll great oats	6d.
The boll small oats	4d.
The boll groatts	1s.
The boll wheat	1s.
The boll freize	1s.8d.
The boll salt	8d.
Ton of coals	1s.
Gallon of aquavita	1s.
Ane roll of tobacco	4d.
Ane stone of iron	4d.
Ane stone of butter	6d.
Ane stone of cheese	4d.
Ane stone of wool	4d.
Ane web of grein or bleached linen to be sold of 3 ellnes to pay	8d.



Ane web of 30 ellnes to pay	4d.
Ane web of plydine to be sold of 20 ellnes and above	6d.
Ane web of 20 ellnes	4d.
Ane web of woollen cloth of 10 ellnes	4d.
A pair of coloured plydes for the mercat	8d.
A web of tartan cloath of 12 ellnes	1s.
A pair of bed plydes coming to be sold	2d.
Ane sheip coming to be sold	2d.
Ane horse's hyde	2d.
Ane last of herring	6d.
Ten daills (of timber)	6d.

(Item: all friemen of the Burgh, residenters are exempted from paying of foresaid customs.)

The Anchorage dues are in point here:-

A ship of greve burden to pay	11lib.10s.
A bark with 2 topsails	11lib.
A bark with ane topsail	12s.
A bark half decked	10s.
A coppar or galbart	6s.
Ane herring or fishing boat	4s.
A sailing boat with ane rudder	3s.
Ane sailing boat without ane rudder	2s.

The collection of dues was farmed out yearly by auction.

It is interesting that in 1658 the Town Council fixed a table of tradesmen's wages in merks. (A merk equalled 13s.4d.Scots -13 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.Stg.)

Statute for the wright each day	-8.
Item for his prentice efter the 1st year to the 4th	-4.
Item eftir the fourth year and his being with his master	-6.
For a cooper's wages a day	-6.
Item for his man the 1st year to the 3rd	-3.
Item eftir the third and during his being with his master	-4.
For a tailor's wages a day	-5.
Item for his prentice eftir the 1st year and to the 4th year	-2.

Item for the fourth year and after	-3.
For a cordiner his wages a day	-5.
A town mason a day	6s.8d.

In the 17th century the harbour was in the mouth of the river Aray, which was at that time not canalised. In 1680 frequent spates had cast up stones which were a danger to ships. On 2nd April half the townspeople were "to enter to work this afternoon for redding the harbour of stones, and the other half tomorrow and to continue day about at the ebbing of the tide. Ilk person absent to be fyned 6sh.Scots daily."

Weights and Measures. In September 1656 the Magistrates "considering the great abuses committed in this burgh by the diversity of the measures and weights occasioned through the want of standards" and because most trade was with Dumbarton and Glasgow, they sent Jon Yuill to Glasgow to get two sealed pecks - one for salt and one for meal - conform to the Glasgow measure. He was also to get a 4lb brass standard or Troyes weight. On 17th December 1656 Jon returned with his sealed pecks and 4lb. brass weight. An interesting experiment followed. The magistrates filled the pecks with Aray water to find how many pints they contained. Then "judicially they delivered one of the pecks and the 4lbs weight together with the sealing iron bearing the letters D.G. for the town's mark to William Brown, Deanogild." The other peck measure was delivered to George Duncanson to make 3 other peck measures identical to be sealed by the Deanogild.

"All the present weights and measures are to be brought to the Tolbooth to be checked and the insufficient and false measures to be broken and efter to be given to the owner to be made sufficient. No weights and measures to be lawful unless sealed by the Deanogild. Penalty 5 pundis toties quoties."

A doubt arose over the town's malt firLOT measure "gotten out of Renfrew", which the Magistrates measured with Aray water and found to contain (and here there is a blank....perhaps they lost count). Anyway they judged it was a true firLOT and it was handed to the Deanogild. As other burghs had a ladill customs duty, the Magistrates ordered a ladill to contain one pint of Aray water to be made "to take up the customs of all victual imported by

sea or land for the Mercat."

A commentary on the weights:-

On December 13th. 1680 the Town Council ordered Duncan Fisher merchant in Greenock to hand over the balk (what was that?) and 4lbs weight he had borrowed. If he failed to do so by February the Town Officer was to seize one half last of herring belonging to Duncan. And then in 1681 the customs pecks must have gone amissing, for the Town Council ordered any person who has them to deliver them to Robert Ross.

In 1679 rules were issued for the Mill of Carlundone. Tenants were to pay "either conform to use and wont or for each boll of dry corn five lippies and ane lippie meal from the Miln eye in satisfaction to the miller....12s Scots, to be exacted for each mash of malt allenarly without any other dues."

Peat was the usual fuel but coals were imported. There were several acts against strangers (in the fishing season) who steal peats from the mosses. Coals were measured by the barrel and the Coal Barrel was farmed out annually by auction through a Troan which had been set up in 1657 in the High Street opposite the Sheriff's house. The sale of peats was regulated in 1680. Duncan McJuroich in Stuchgoy (Glen Shira) and Duncan MacVicar of Sallachrie (Glen Aray) were appointed by the Sheriff to meet the tenants of the two glens and fix on a standard size of peat creel. Here is the decision:-

"The height of the two stoups nearest the horse's side to be 27 inches.

The bottom and top rungs to be within one inch and a half of ilk end of the stoup.

Also from that part of the creel nearest the horse's side to the utmost end of the creel to be 21 inches.

The breadth of the creel from side to side to be 17 inches.

The haill tenants in each glen to make their creels according to these measures."

If people brought peats to market in other sizes of creels, then the officer was to confiscate peats, creels and horses and detain them till the owners paid a fine of 40s. Scots.

Old Burgess Tickets can still be seen in museums. Before a man could practise a trade or keep a shop he must be accepted as a burgess freeman by the Magistrates. He paid a fine, received a burgess ticket and his name was entered on the Roll. As a burgess he was exempted from payment of Customs dues. The freedom of a Burgh could also be conferred on distinguished visitors. On 7th June 1660 there is a whole page of "diverse gentlemen of quality" who were honoured in this way. Sometimes a fine was paid, sometimes not. The son of a burgess paid a reduced fee on becoming a freeman. Ordinarily a candidate must have lived in the burgh for a year and a day. Again the burgess ticket could be withdrawn. Six were forfeited on 27th October 1660 because they had not resided in the burgh and their names were to be published at the Mercat Cross "that none might plead ignorance." In the 1820's David Napier endeavoured to have himself enrolled as a freeman so that his steamer, THALIA, would be exempted from payment of harbour dues.

There was a similar case in February 1660 when the Magistrates discovered that several persons from the Western Isles meant to have themselves entered as freemen "on purpose to make the benefit of the herring fishing ....and as they have no intention to come and live here ....but only to pay the burgess fine which at present is inconsiderable ....therefore the Magistrates increase the fine to £25 Scots."

Private admission of freemen was forbidden; seemingly "several persons made freemen in time bygone in a clandestine way ....whereby the town was prejudiced and the Council wronged of the libertie."

#### CONCLUDED

EXTRACTS from 'OLD KILBERRY'S' DIARIES

VI. Motoring and Yachts

1875. 6th July.

In handing the luncheon on board the Ina /Minard's/ yacht this morning out of a small boat the butler (Hart) fell into the sea. Some of the food was thereby strongly impregnated with salt water as the hamper went with him.

1882. 13th July.

.... to Achnamara to see Pollok's yacht Mouse which was driven ashore there in the big gale of 22nd Novr. & which they have not yet got out of the potato field.

1899. 8th August.

/at Stirling / Angus McRae the Piper came to see me & I wrote a letter on his behalf to Mr Lawson Johnston who is advertising for a piper accustomed to yachting.

(Unfortunately no further reference! Ed)

1904. 23rd April.

Robert Caird the Greenock shipbuilder came to see us with Professor Agnaletti (Italian professor in Glasgow University). They came from Minard in Caird's Motor Car wh. broke down at Coulaghailtro (a wheel collapsed) & they had to walk from there - the Italian seems to be a well informed & well mannered little man but his hair is awful. I never saw such a crop on any man. Enough to stuff a bolster.

1904. 20th May.

Mr Caird's motor man arrived with the wheel of motor Car which broke here on 23rd April. It had to be sent to Paris to be mended.

1904. 21st May.

Mr Caird arrived via Dunmore. His motor was to have gone for him but the petrol feed pipe leaked in the night & all the petrol was lost. They had left some at Ard-rishaig & the motor man teld. for it. In the afternoon Georgie Stonefield arrived in his Motor Car with the Duchess of Newcastle who wanted to see my Highland Cattle.

1905. 14th July.

Mr Bell's motor man wanted to learn the peculiarities of the road so I told him that he might take Molly & me in the car. We stuck for a good long time on the long hill above the first cave but we got out & eventually the man got it up & we went on with one short stick at Ardpatrik smithy. To begin with he could not make the beastly thing leave the motor shed at Kilberry till 11.40 & it was to have been at the door at 11.15. We passed the waggonette on Torinturk but we stuck at Gachalan nan Cabar & stuck badly. When the waggonette came up I put Molly into it & waited with the car. After a long time the man got it up the hill & we then got on well & passed the waggonette at Carnbaan & got to Tarbert all right.

(Apparently the words 'chauffeur' and 'garage' had not then come into common use. But in the next entry we quote, the "motor man" has become a "chauffeur". Ed.)

1907. 7th May.

/at Largie/ Went to Campbeltown in Arthur Auchendarroch's motor car. Col. McIver Campbell & I in the bows, Arthur & his chauffeur amidships & Lunga & Largie in the stern. Made a good passage.

(Note that the vehicle is now a "motor car" and not "Motor Car" as heretofore. It has apparently become an accepted part of 'modern' life! Ed.)

1907. 13th July.

Both boats got lost in the fog. A lot of people went out with guns about midnight but it was past 4am before the missing boats made the land.

### Miscellaneous

1880. 6th April.

Went along the shore with a gang of men and collected a lot of wood which was part of the cargo of the barque Hirundo (Norwegian) which was wrecked near Rathlin last week. We collected a lot of poles about 20 to 30 ft. long and a lot of short boards. Got the name board of the vessel on Tiretigan shore. I hear that there is a great deal of the wreckage ashore on the west side of

Gigha. Got some parts of the barque herself, enough to shew that she must have been a total wreck.

1894. 3rd April.

Billy the sheep arrived. I gave him to the 93rd years ago & he was Regimental pet until they went to India. Then he went to Edin<sup>r</sup> to the 91st but they got tired of him & sent him to Stirling. Now Col. Sutherland who commanded there has got tired of him & so he comes back to his birthplace. He is not as handsome as he was as he has broken three of his horns and his wool is brown instead of black as it used to be. He had four very fine horns at one time. His father, old Billy, came from Morocco & his mother was a Highland black-faced ewe.

1895. 2nd April.

This is the day of Election of the first Parish Councils all over Scotland. No election in the Kilberry Ward as only Ardpatrik, John Galbraith (Craig) & I were nominated for the three seats.

1902. 23rd May.

Displenishing Sale at Coulaghailtro. Very disastrous day for me as my very good Highland cows were sold for an old song. The 29 cows & calves averaged about £11. There were very few bidders but there was a great crowd of loafers of both sexes & the consumption of food and drink was enormous. A Highland bull and a Polled Angus bull were both bought to go to Islay. The fools who had charge of them let them get together at the F.C.Manse where they fought and the Highlander hove the Polled twice against the dyke & knocked down a good many yards of it.

1902. 6th June.

Tried to collect rents but the result was not big. However the very much reduced rents were fairly well paid. Larnahension & Keppoch to the last penny; C/oulaghailtro/ people did not turn up. They are real useless devils.

THIS CONCLUDES THE PRESENT SERIES OF THESE  
EXTRACTS, BUT A FURTHER SELECTION MAY BE  
PRESENTED LATER