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Summary of

TWENTIETH CENTURY GAELIC LITERATURE:
A DESCRIPTION, COMPRISING CRITICAL STUDY AND A
COMPREHENSIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

Donald John MacLeod.

[A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of
Arts of the University of Glasgow in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of Ph.D.]

Part 1 of the thesis comprises critical study of Scottish Gaelic literature in the twentieth century.

The first chapter outlines the sociological, educational, institutional and biographical background, and the history of Gaelic publishing and of periodical literature (including important Gaelic columns in newspapers and Gaelic broadcasting by the B.B.C.).

In the second chapter, prose--informative and creative--is divided into 3 sections: 1825-45[resumé], 1880-1925, 1950--. The influence on the early stories and novels of the native sgeulachd and historical and exiles' tales is documented, as is exotic influence. The short stories of the most recent period are discussed in more detail than the rest. Writing styles and the teaching of Gaelic prose in schools are discussed.

The third chapter concerns drama. The late appearance of the genre in Gaelic is discussed: early embryonic dramatic forms are examined and there is a section devoted to the còmhradh, an essay-device which came to be dramatically performed. The discussion of play scripts is

divided into 2 sections: 1900-45, 1945-- . In the first section, the development of popular comedy from Lowland community drama, revivalist dramatisations of customs and the còmhradh is traced; plot types are delineated; also, serious drama is evaluated. In the latter period, experimental drama is discussed in detail. There follows a section on performances which gives details of the types of drama performed and discussion of drama teams, festivals, societies and audiences. The final section describes the development of critical taste.

The fourth chapter, devoted to poetry, is considerably the longest. It is divided into sections on a stylistic basis. Traditional bardic poetry--i.e., that with an Expressionistic tendency-- is dealt with first: the role and repertoire of the bard (and the conflation of the former with the comedian's role) and the achievement of individual bards is discussed. This is followed by a section on "the bard in exile", which is specifically concerned with the rise of Romanticism. The next section describes the survival of the bardic tradition and evaluates it. Traditional lyric poetry--that with an Impressionistic tendency--is then discussed. The next section deals with religious poetry, which is mainly bardic. The largest section describes, in close detail, experiments in poetry: both the larger and more important body of poetry rooted in the native lyric tradition and also experimental bardic poetry.

The final chapter is a summary of the conclusions of the previous four. General trends and the development of surrealism, symbolism and of a general sophistication and cosmopolitanism are coded.

Briefly, the pattern of development outlined in this thesis is as follows. New requirements and contacts were created by the synthetic recreation of ceildh-culture in Lowland cities. Popular drama and short stories were a consequence, these fashions spreading to the Gaidhealtachd through the branches of An Comunn Gaidhealach. A nationalistically-motivated 'high-brow' extension of this new literature produced more ambitious short stories and plays as well as three novels. Conscious experiments

in poetry were also conducted at the beginning of the century, but are of much significance only from the 1930's on, this development being a facet of the Scottish Literary Renaissance. In the 1950's and thereafter, a considerable sophistication has been achieved in all genres.

Part 2 of the thesis is a descriptive bibliography of Gaelic publications in this century, including monographs and serials with ca.3% or over of Gaelic material but excepting sheet music. The bibliography, being conceived as an extension of Donald MacLean's 'Typographia Scoto-Gadelica' (1915), gives Full Standard Description, deviations from this style being in accordance with Library of Congress procedure. Arrangement of entries is alphabetical, according to author's surname. Locations, crossreferences and informative footnotes are given. An introduction gives details of the style adopted.

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Summer, 1969.

FOREWORD

The first part of this thesis is a historical critical survey of Gaelic literature in this century. The second part comprises a full descriptive bibliography of printed books in Scottish Gaelic since 1900. Bibliographical annotations in the first part are, as a consequence, less comprehensive than would normally be appropriate.

Sincere thanks are due to Professor Derick Thomson, my supervisor, for suggesting this project and for his encouragement and fruitful advice throughout.

I also thank Mr Fred MacAulay, head of the Gaelic Department of the B.B.C., for allowing me access to the Department's files; Mr Finlay MacLeod for scripts of his plays; Mr Hugh MacPhee for invaluable reminiscences of Gaelic cultural organisations in the Lowlands; and Mr John Alick MacPherson, who let me see the typescript of his edition of Donald 'Ruadh' MacDonald's poetry. I am indebted to a number of people in connection with the bibliography. In particular, I received valuable information

on their private collections from John L. Campbell of Canna, the Rev. T.M. Murchison of Glasgow, the Rev. Donald M. Sinclair of Antigonish, and Prof. Derick S. Thomson of Glasgow; access to the private library of the Marquis of Bute (incorporating the late Donald MacLean's books) was granted by Miss Catherine Armett, his librarian; Prof. Calum Iain N. MacLeod gave information on the Gaelic holdings of St Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, and Sister Margaret MacDonell and Liam Kelly did likewise in the case of the Harvard University collection; Mr Jack MacLaren gave me access to his private collection and to the publishing records of Alexander MacLaren and Son. The following persons gave information on the publishing of the organisations with which they are connected--James M. Alexander (the National Bible Society of Scotland), Prof. G.N.M. Collins (the Knox Press, Free Church of Scotland), Lachlan Dick (Inverness Royal Academy), D. MacKenzie (Lionel J.S. School), Iain MacLeod (Lochaber High School), Malcolm MacLeod (An Comunn Gaidhealach), L.W. Ridgewell (Boosey & Hawkes of London), William Ross (Dingwall Academy), John Steele (Portree High School), and Donald Thomson (Oban High School). The staff of the following public libraries were very helpful: Aberdeen University, the Church of Scotland New College, Edinburgh University, Edinburgh Public, the Free Church College (Edinburgh), Glasgow University, Mitchell (Glasgow), the National Library (Edinburgh), and the School of Scottish Studies. Finally, I have to thank Miss Kathryn S. Campbell for typing the text from a sometimes not too legible manuscript.

CONTENTS
PART 1
CRITICAL STUDY

Chapter I: Introduction

Preface	7
Background.	10
The Printing Press.	26
Periodicals	34

Chapter II: Prose

Preface	48
Oral Tales: Their Influence.	49
1825-1845: The First Phase	53
1880-1925: The Second Phase	
The Short Story	58
The Novel	69
Essays.	79
Summary	82
1925-1950	84
1950-1968: The Third Phase	93
School Texts.	115
Summary	120

Chapter III: Drama

Preface.	124
Before 1900.	125
Dialogue--An Comhradh.	130
Plays: 1900-1945.	146
Plays: 1945-1968.	163
Performances	187
Critical Opinion	211
Summary.	218

Chapter IV: Poetry

Preface.	223
The 'Bard': Poetry's Extrinsic Function. . .	224
In Exile: The Romantic Movement. . . .	242
The Survival of the Tradition.	290
Another Tradition: The Lyric.	
Poetry's Intrinsic Function.	299
Religious Poetry	311
Experiments: "Poetry as Knowledge"	319
Summary.	496

Chapter V: Conclusions. 498

Notes. 503

Select Bibliography. 532

PART 2

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF TWENTIETH CENTURY PUBLICATIONS IN SCOTTISH GAELIC

Abbreviations.	539
Introduction	542
Gaelic Publications of the Twentieth Century . .	548

PART 1

A CRITICAL STUDY

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Preface	7
Background	10
The Printing Press	26
Periodicals	34

PREFACE

This first chapter will itemise the various political, sociological, organisational, and personal stimuli that have contributed to the main developements in Gaelic literature during this century and will also briefly describe the history of Gaelic publishing and the most important periodicals (including B.B.C. radio) in the century.

The second chapter of the thesis will concentrate on prosewriting and, because forms such as the short story originated in the 19th century, it will not be strictly bound by the chronological remit of the thesis. This latter point also applies to the discussion of drama in the third chapter. In the case of both (creative) prosewriting and drama, the pattern delineated is one of a great efflorescence, distinguished by enthusiasm rather than sheer quality, in the first three decades, a subsequent lapse, and, in the last two decades, a revival in which both have achieved a very high standard.

The pattern in the case of Gaelic poetry has been quite different. Traditional well-established types of poetry have survived into this century and these will be analysed. Romantic poetry has its origins in the late

19th century, so that, in connection with it also, it is not possible to retain the year 1900 as a stringent line of demarcation. Significant experiments in poetry, unlike drama and the short story and novel, began only in the nineteen-twenties and, particularly, in the 'thirties, but there has not been a lapse in the development of poetry, as with these other forms. The total output of Gaelic poetry far surpasses, in bulk-- and to some extent in quality--that in the other genres: for that reason the chapter on Gaelic poetry will be by far the longest.

The fifth and last chapter will attempt, very briefly, to set the findings of the preceding chapters in perspective.

The critical standpoint in this study is, of necessity, a historicist one. That is, the social, intellectual, and literary environment of each work will be taken into account and the main evaluative criterion will be how well each work reviewed serves its intended function--that is, how well bardic poems and sketches entertain, lyric poems express the poet's psyche, and modern poems elucidate intellectual truths. But the principal yard-stick will be a non-historicist one: that is, the degree to which a work sheds light on the basic realities of human existence, in particular, the workings of the mind. This criterion overrules the other and will be used to evaluate art-forms against each other. For example, modern poetry and drama will, obviously, rate much higher than village-bardic verse and slight

sketches, though the latter may serve their basic functions very effectually. Other departures from the historicist technique are the degree, with poetry in particular, to which the evidence of the work itself is used to corroborate observations, the emphasis put on the "total meaning" of the work rather than on a logical argument abstracted from it, and the consequently interlocked evaluations of technique and ideas. Its form is regarded--in modern writing at any rate: much bardic poetry is "poetry of the will"-- as a part of the "meaning" of a work, not as a method of decorating the expression of an idea: ideally it is an extension of the writer's language--"the medium is the message". Deliberate and subconsciously-originated ambiguities are also taken into account, where relevant.

BACKGROUND

The cultural estrangement of the native aristocracy and their people, a consequence largely of the stipulation in the 1609 Statutes of Iona that chiefs' heirs be educated in the South, resulted in the demise in the 17th and 18th centuries of the old bardic¹ education and the bardic orders, which had been patronised by the chiefs. The proletarian culture--the "village bardic" one--was, of course, not greatly affected, but when the cultural estrangement was translated into economic terms, particularly in the 19th century, that is, when the former patriarchs became profit-seeking landlords, the peasantry were obliged to emigrate either to rural areas in Canada (where the native culture was able to develop organically) or to the Lowland Scottish cities (in which the popular culture was synthetically recreated² and in which also it came into contact with English literature of varying degrees of sophistication and was amended accordingly).

The native popular culture centred around the ceilidh, or informal house gathering, and its main art forms were sgeulachdan, true anecdotes, personal songs, and, in particular, village bardic poetry--humorous songs and occasional verse. The medium of transmission was oral and a high premium was placed on:

empathy between the poet (or story-composer) and his audience: in an oral tradition a poem must be popular (and singable) to live, while a poet in a culture that is based on the printing press can afford a greater degree of alienation between himself and his people. When Dr Norman MacLeod began publishing his series of Gaelic magazines in the third decade of the 19th century, he said that he had been given the encouragement to do so by the existence of the Ossianic Society of Glasgow University (founded 1841)--mainly divinity students at the University who debated all kinds of topics in Gaelic--but, when his son wrote a biographical introduction to the collection 'Caraid nan Gaidheal' in 1867, he referred to the popularity of his father's dialogues at Highland "fireside gatherings",³ which suggests that, as a consequence of the literacy produced by the 19th century Gaelic Schools' Societies, the native ceilidh-culture had been able to assimilate this new element. But it was not radically changed by it: it remained a basically oral medium.

The great efflorescence in Gaelic poetry in the 18th century was stimulated by poets' making contact--through the S.P.C.K. schools--with contemporary English literature. The movement of Gaels into the Southern cities in the 19th and 20th centuries re-established contact. The main emigration from the Highlands was to the Clyde basin and Edinburgh: at the 1881 census there were 17,844 "habitual" Gaelic speakers in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, and Edinburgh,⁴ compared to 198,640 in the five Highland counties of

Argyll, Inverness, Perth, Ross, and Sutherland; by 1921, the respective figures⁵ were 25,447⁶ and 120,556; after another forty years (1961), they were 16,363 and 55,309. A large majority of the Gaelic-speakers in the Lowlands are settled in Glasgow or its immediate environs.

The first Highland societies set up in the cities aimed at finding employment and accommodation for the immigrants and providing education for their children. The earliest of these was the Highland Society (founded 1724), which supported, from around 1770, a school and a Gaelic chapel, that was, in 1836, rehoused and renamed as the St Columba Gaelic Church. The Highland Society of Glasgow, founded by St Columba Church in 1874 because the Highland Society had lost sight of its original aims, drafted a register of jobs and lodgings, ran a small open library for Gaels and, on Saturdays, organised Gaelic lectures and song-recitals. Penny Readings (mainly song-recitals) were organised in this period by elders of the Gaelic Church (Duncan Sharpe, James Grant, etc.) in order to keep Highland youths off the streets and out of the pubs. From the mid-19th century, various Area Societies were established to serve as both welfare and recreational organisations.

Out of the Penny Readings and Highland Society of Glasgow Saturday night ceilidhs, there developed the St Columba Gaelic Choir (around 1866) and, consequently, Gaelic choral music,⁷ formal Gaelic concerts,⁸ and

ultimately, the Mod of An Comunn Gaidhealach. They also inspired the institution in 1893 of the Glasgow Gaelic Musical Association, which made an important contribution to the development of Gaelic drama in the early 20th century.

Dr Norman MacLeod of St Columba Church founded the Ossianic Society in 1831 as a debating club run mostly for the benefit of Gaelic divinity students. Debates and talks were the main items on its programmes, but readings of his own dialogues and stories were given also. In the early 1890's, as outlined recently in a talk⁹ and in an article in 'Gairm' (Spring 1968) by Mr Kenneth MacDonald, the Society began to hold some of its meetings in English, to concentrate on purely Highland affairs, and, gradually, to move away from being a serious debating society to a position closer to that of the entertainment-oriented Area Societies. Largely as a consequence of this development, two new Gaelic debating societies were set up. The first was the High School Ceilidh, which developed out of the Gaelic evening classes run by Duncan Reid from around 1886. This organisation began in 1895, but, at its first Annual General Meeting in 1896, a group, whose motion to make the Ceilidh an all-Gaelic society had been defeated, broke away and instituted a rival society, Ceilidh nan Gaidheal. Ceilidh nan Gaidheal, like the early Ossianic Society, was all-Gaelic and concentrated on talks and debates (usually of an antiquarian nature), each talk being followed by an

adjudication; but occasionally stories, dialogues, articles, and even plays were presented--some of these were from printed collections,¹⁰ others were from manuscripts and were printed (or performed) later. Ceilidh nan Gaidheal eventually ceased to meet in the 'fifties, but the High School Ceilidh (which was similar to it except for its English content) has lasted to the present day. By the 1940's, and especially after the Second World War, however, their intellectual content had been considerably diluted with lighter forms of entertainment. The contribution of these two societies in their heyday to the development of Gaelic literature was very significant: both, indirectly, in their contribution to the general Gaelic intellectual climate and, directly, in their sponsorship of the short story and drama.

The Penny Readings did not survive into this century, but the concerts and ceilidhs of the Area and Clan Societies carried on this tradition, amplifying it manyfold. At these ceilidhs, readings of dialogues and stories, occasional talks, and light sketches varied the programme until as late as the Second World War. Since then, they have become virtually entirely song-recitals. Also performed at the Penny Readings was another distinctly "city" form: the humorous songs of exiled village bards, such as Donald (Ruadh) McKinnon, John MacFadyen, and Iain Cameron (Bàrd Phaisley).

An Comunn Gaidhealach was founded in Oban in 1891 and, though it confined itself in the first few

years to organising an annual Mod (a competitive musical and literary festival, based on the Welsh Eisteddfod), it became, with its executive decision, in 1900, to found branches throughout Scotland, an important medium for the introduction to the Highlands of the forms of art and entertainment which had been developed by the Galltachd emigré community. The first branches were at Oban (1902), Dingwall (1904), Stornoway (1905), Inverness (1906), Ardrishaig (1906), and Kilmodan (1906). By 1910, there were branches in the following places:¹¹ Tarbert, Tobermory, Lochaber, Appin, Balquhider, Fort William, Kinlochluichart, Stirling, Benderloch, Buts, Dunoon, Clackmannan, and Stenhousemuir. Intensive propaganda tours by T.D. MacDonald (Comunn Secretary, 1908-1911), Rev. Neil Ross (in Skye), and Neil Shaw (Secretary from 1913 onward) from 1910 to 1913 resulted in the foundation of a large number of new branches, particularly in the Argyllshire islands (four in Mull, one each in Tiree, Islay and Gigha), in Skye (six branches), the Great Glen, and in the West Coast villages from Strontian to Aultbea. Tours were made to the Outer Isles also and small branches set up there. By 1913, An Comunn Gaidhealach had about a hundred branches throughout Scotland. Many branches fell into abeyance after the First World War, but intensive propaganda tours in the 'twenties brought the numbers back up again: in 1927, the branches in Oban, Lochgilphead, Islay, Mull, Lewis, Lochaber, Cowal, Skye, Sutherland, Ardnamurchan,

Perth, and Tiree and Coll were organising local mods. Although the Secretary (Shaw) made a tour of the Outer Isles in 1926 and succeeded in forming some branches, he complained in 'An Gaidheal' that the numbers who attended his meetings were very few.

The ceilidhs held by these branches were normally held in halls and were, therefore, considerably more formal, more like concerts than the traditional Highland ceilidhs. Branch reports (and those of affiliated societies) up to the Second World War show that--while they heavily relied on song-recitals--còmhraidhean, plays, sketches and comic "turns", and even talks and debates were often a part of these ceilidhs. "Readings" were often given from collections such as the 'Celtic Garland', 'Leabhar na Céilidh' and 'An t-Eileanach', a development of significance in the history of the short story. Of particular importance was the performance of plays at these hall-ceilidhs, a fashion that was most prevalent in the second and third decades of the century. An Comunn's Northern Organiser, Donald MacPhail, encouraged the development of the important North Uist Drama Festival in the 1930's, a venture which was adopted by An Comunn. Generally, An Comunn was responsible for the fact that, in the 'twenties, 'thirties, and 'forties, sketches came to be regarded as an integral part of Gaelic concerts. This encouraged the writers of drama, but also encouraged the belief that only comedies were suitable for performance and that more serious plays were better suited for silent reading in periodicals. A concomitant

development was the introduction into the Highland Gaelic concerts of a performer whose style was obviously an imitation of the Lowland music hall comedians, performing satiric and often topical skits. This role and that of the village bard were close from the beginning and gradually coalesced, so that we read reports of bards, such as Bàrd Bharabhais (Donald MacDonald) and Bàrd Chille-Chomain (Charles MacNiven) performing on stage from the 1920's onwards. Despite the assimilation of the native and exotic entertainment media, however, the general tendency has been towards the ousting of the traditional ceilidh and of the village bards by the formal ceilidhs which, in the post-war years, have been eschewing the dramatic and story content which was their distinctive positive contribution to the Gaelic culture of the Gaeltachd in the early years. These song-recitals, as they now are, whether run by the branches of An Comunn or by local "impressarios", along with, lately, television have all but extinguished the village bardic tradition. Plays (comedies) have been only rarely performed in the Gaeltachd in the past twenty-five years, but the satirical comedians are still active in areas (for example, Lewis, where "Cailleach an Deucoin" still performs at concerts). In summary, the introduction of light drama and, indirectly, of the short story have been the main positive, if temporary, literary contributions of An Comunn's branches to the Highlands and their main negative influence has been the

swamping of the village-bardic tradition.

The parent association, An Comunn Gaidhealach, has, until very recently when it began to take an interest in commerce and politics, tended to confine its attention to its Annual Mod and to the teaching of Gaelic in schools. Kenneth MacLeod, Marjorie Kennedy-Fraser's collaborator on 'Songs of the Hebrides', commented in 1912: "Tha an Comunn an dèidh bliadhna air fhichead de cheol a thoirt dhuinn--nach toir e dhuinn a nis bliadhna air fhichead de Ghaidhlig". Although there have been literary competitions at the National Mod from earliest times, it is quite indisputable that they have been very far from being the focus of attention. In the adults' section of the 1921 Mod, for example, the number of entries for the literary, oral, and singing competitions were, respectively, 49, 42, and 396 (31 choral) and for the 1966 Mod in Inverness 35, 120, and 556 (103 choral). In 1921, Duncan MacLeod of Skeabost gave An Comunn £500 for a competition to encourage the writing of Gaelic drama: substantial money prizes were awarded and the remainder of the donation was used to publish the plays which were placed first and second and to present the winner (Archibald MacCulloch's 'Mairead') at the Athenaeum Theatre in Glasgow. Apart from this and the general encouragement of the còmhradh and of Gaelic comedy in the early years, the contribution of the Mod competitions to the development of Gaelic literature has not been very significant, mainly because the evaluative criteria

have usually been uncompromisingly traditional and the prizes too small. An Comunn announced, in connection with the 1968 National Mod, the award of a £75 prize for a Gaelic novel, £20 for a play, and prizes of £30 and £25 for a Gaelic poem on any subject. Malcolm MacLeod, Secretary of An Comunn, comments that these prizes have elicited few significant entries in those sections for this year's Mod, but it is reasonable to assume that they will produce important results in the next few years.

Comunn na h-Oigridh, formed in 1932 as an off-shoot of the all-Gaelic section of An Comunn, Clann an Fhraoich (founded 1927), tried to interest Gaelic children in drama during the 'thirties with, unfortunately, not much success. Its only other significant literary contribution has been the production of several numbers of an influential all-Gaelic magazine by the Portree High School Feachd.

The formation of mutual-improvement societies such as the Glasgow Skye Association, the Glasgow Mull and Iona Association, etc. was a natural consequence of the migration into a large Lowland city of scattered Gaelic-speaking Highlanders, but the foundation in the late 19th century of An Comunn Gaidhealach was a manifestation, particularly, of the growing Gaelic nationalism of that period. This was a late flowering of the nationalism which dominated European politics throughout the 19th century, having been triggered off, in this instance, probably by the publication,

from 1871, of decennial totals of Gaelic-speakers. This nationalism was given a boost, and also a Pan-Celtic orientation, by the publication of Zeuss's 'Grammatica Celtica' in 1853, which was the first scholarly demonstration of the linguistic kinship of the Irish and Scottish Gaels, and the Welsh and Bretons. The study of the Gaelic language¹² by Continental scholars such as Zeuss, Zimmer, and (later) Kuno Meyer, and the institution of a Chair of Celtic in Oxford in 1870, in Edinburgh¹³ in 1882, and of a lectureship in Glasgow in 1881¹⁴ added considerably to the prestige of the language. The substantial embodiment of this prestige and interest were learned societies such as the Gaelic Societies of Inverness (founded 1871) and Glasgow (1887)¹⁵ and journals such as Alexander Cameron's 'Scottish Celtic Review' (1881-1885) and 'The Celtic Review'.¹⁶ The founders of An Comunn Gaidhealach aimed deliberately to provide a less academic outlet for the patriotism of the time.¹⁷ But they--and the popular culture of the emigré societies with which they associated themselves--were in their turn reacted against, the moving spirit being a nationalistic¹⁸ Scottish aristocrat, the Hon. Roderick Erskine of Mar.¹⁹

Mar, who ran competitions for stories and plays, was one of the founders in 1913 of Comunn Litreachais na h-Albann (a society for the publication and encouragement of "Gaelic letters") and, publicly and privately,²⁰ encouraged young Gaelic writers to aim at the standards of the most sophisticated European literature, but his

most important contribution was his running, in the first three decades of the 20th century, of a group of magazines,²¹ in which he promulgated his ambitious views of Gaelic literature and published the most experimental Gaelic writing of that period of patriotic and cultural ferment. Mar made, through these periodicals and by guidance and encouragement, an extremely crucial contribution to the development in Gaelic of the sophisticated short story, the novel,²² and serious drama.²³

His main collaborators were the journalist Angus Henderson,²⁴ Donald Sinclair,²⁵ John MacCormick,²⁶ Malcolm MacFarlane,²⁷ and T.D. MacDonald.²⁸ Mar and Henderson, in particular, were virulently opposed to An Comunn Gaidhealach, mainly because of its refusal to become involved in politics, and of the protagonists of the popular ceilidh-culture in general. They held that Gaelic writers, instead of continuing to produce a basically peasant literature or mimicking third-rate Scottish and English exemplars, ought to aim at the same standards as the best European writers of their time.

The literary revival based on Mar's ebullient advocacy dissipated in the mid-'twenties and he himself eventually settled in France. In the 1930's, however, a nationalist-motivated literary renaissance again re-invigorated Gaelic writing. This was the Scottish Literary Renaissance, which, inspired by the personality, poetry, and critical writings of Hugh MacDiarmid, had

begun in the 1920's and featured the work of MacDiarmid, Lewis Spence, Neil Gunn, and Lewis Grassie Gibbon in that decade and the early 'thirties and the poetry of Sydney Smith, Douglas Young, and others in the late 1930's and the 'forties. The movement mainly involved writings in Lallans, but Gaelic writers such as Sorley MacLean and George Hay (both centred in Edinburgh, where several members of the movement, such as MacDiarmid and Smith, often met) and Derick Thomson (in contact in Aberdeen University with Douglas Young) became involved in the late 'thirties and early 'forties. The fruits of their involvement in the movement were several volumes of experimental and extremely sophisticated poetry, which show a cosmopolitan literacy and a contemporary intelligence. Thomson is the only one of the three who has continued to write beyond the late 1940's.

In the 'fifties and 'sixties, several young poets, prosewriters, and dramatists have begun to write independently of nationalist stimulus: this is a very healthy development. Although most of the latter lack staying power²⁹ --we have short stories, but no novels, only 30-45 minute long plays, and short lyric poems--their work is, at its best, at least comparable with the best in any language.

The broadly and solidly based revival in Gaelic writing in the 'fifties is partly a natural development out of the patriotically inspired poetic experiments of the 'thirties and 'forties, but there are other causes. First, the more enlightened attitude to Gaelic teaching on the part of the Education Authorities has been bearing

fruit since the early 'fifties in a gradually improving Gaelic literacy rate and in this period the amount of State aid to students in High School and University has, for the first time, allowed a large number of the children of Highland crofters to reap the benefits of a higher education. In particular, it is of significance that virtually all the new Gaelic writers, from MacLean and Thomson to Donald MacAulay and Ian Murray, have done a University Honours degree, either in English literature or, as in the case of Thomson and MacAulay, in a Celtic-English combination (available only at Aberdeen University). In addition, Derick Thomson's teaching of Gaelic literature (from 1948) to University students at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Glasgow has been very stimulating and influential. The periodical 'Gairm', originally edited by Derick Thomson and Finlay J. MacDonald, and the Gaelic Department of the B.B.C. have also greatly encouraged and accelerated the revival.

The official recognition by the Scots Literary Establishment of the Gaelic literary renaissance and of the integral contribution of Gaelic writers to the total Scottish literary scene gave a boost to the Gaelic revival. This recognition has included discussion of Gaelic literature in books such as Maurice Lindsay's 'The Scottish Renaissance' (1948, 28pp.), James Kinsley's 'Scottish Poetry. A Critical Survey' (1955),³⁰ and Kurt Wittig's 'The Scottish Tradition in Literature' (1958); and the publication of Gaelic poems in journals and periodical anthologies like MacDiarmid's 'Voice of

Scotland', Lindsay's 'Poetry Scotland' to the present-day 'Lines Review' (edited by Robin Fulton); and in anthologies such as Maurice Lindsay's 'Modern Scottish Poetry: An Anthology of the Scottish Renaissance' (1946 and 1966),³¹ Norman MacCaig's 'Honour'd Shade' (1954)³², 'Scottish Poetry' (Numbers 1 and 3; n.d. and 1968)³³ and George Bruce's 'The Scottish Literary Revival' (1968).³⁴

Many recent commentators and even the writers themselves³⁵ have, unlike Mar and Henderson, shown themselves to be very much concerned that modern Gaelic poets and playwrights are losing meaningful contact with the great mass of the Gaelic-speaking public, that is, the crofting population of the Highlands and Islands. Serious writers in all languages have become increasingly aware during the century of a process of alienation from their community: this is largely a consequence of the writers' intellectual vigilance and training, but is partly adduceable to the development of literary techniques, to what Allen Tate describes as a "radical discontinuity in the tradition".³⁶ In the Gaelic context, the relative degrees of bilingualism in the community are a complicating factor.³⁷ In the absence of relevant sociological research, it is difficult to assess whether the modern Gaelic writers' communication problem is very much greater than that of, for example, his English counterpart, or whether it is the case that the commentators and the writers are over-sensitive on this point because the endemic cultural system, being oral in transmissive orientation,

set such a high value on ease of communication.³⁸
It follows, of course, that, even if the Gaelic writer can meaningfully communicate with the same proportion of his potential audience/readership as an English writer can, the total number involved in the case of the former can still be low enough to give rise to concern.

It is indisputable, in any case, that virtually every development of significance in Gaelic literature during this century has emanated from the Lowland-based Gaelic intelligentsia.

THE PRINTING PRESS

The schools set up in the Highlands by the S.P.C.K. (from 1709 onwards) brought Gaelic writers into contact with the rich field of contemporary English letters, with, in the poetry of Rob Donn MacKay and Alexander MacDonald, very fruitful results. In the early 19th century, the S.P.C.K. itself, having revoked its original anti-Gaelic policy, the Societies³⁹ for Gaelic Schools, and the Church of Scotland's General Assembly⁴⁰ were establishing schools in which young and adult Gaels were taught to read and write Gaelic. On the basis of this new literacy and inspired by the example of English literature, to which Gaels now had ready access, periodicals came into existence, printing Gaelic stories and conducting serious discussions in the language, and books began to be published frequently. Of the books printed, a majority were versions of the Bible and Catechism, translations of Puritan sermons and theology, and books of hymns and secular poems. But there were also published histories, both sacred and secular,⁴¹ polemical and informative pamphlets (including an

important group advising Gaels on how to emigrate), school books,⁴² and collections of traditional tales. The average number of publications per year increased from five in the first few years of the century to seventeen around 1870. The Education Act of 1872 removed education from the hands of the Church and other charitable bodies and made the State responsible: in the State schools, not only was instruction in the reading and writing of Gaelic prohibited, but in many schools, as late as the first few decades of the twentieth century, the speaking of Gaelic was forbidden even in the school playgrounds. As a consequence of this policy, Gaelic illiteracy again became prevalent and the number of publications went into decline from the late 1870's: in the last few years of the century, the annual average had dropped to eleven. This decline has continued during the 20th century, the yearly average of thirteen at the beginning of the century dropping gradually to about five in the 1950's. The majority of publications in this century have been books of poems, a tendency that was obvious in the 19th century. The publication of a large number of song-books by An Comunn Gaidhealach, in particular, has added a new dimension to this output, while another new factor has been the publication of Gaelic plays and original short stories⁴³ during this century. But, in the early years of the century, the publishing pattern was basically similar to that of the last century: it was clearly the tail-end of the great

upsurge of Gaelic printing founded on the widespread literacy of the early period. There were: an emigration booklet, 'Machraichean Móra Chanada' (1907); informative pamphlets, such as An Comunn Gaidhealach's two first-aid booklets in 1939; and a very few polemics, e.g. 'An Eaglais Shaor agus an Eaglais Ur' (1929). There were still a few reissues of 19th century theological translations, for example, Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' (of which a new translation was issued in 1929) and Richard Baxter's 'Saints' Everlasting Rest' (1908); some new translations were Scupoli's 'Spiritual Battle' (1908) and J.H. Oldham's 'On the Possibilities of Prayer' (1913). There were also some theological books that were originally written in Gaelic, such as Alexander MacDiarmuid's 'Urnuigh an Tighearna' (1921). During the First World War, several books of this type were issued under the general heading 'Cogadh Mór na h-Eòrpa'. The only recent examples of this kind of publication are the 1941 edition of John Matheson's 'Fiosrachadh mu 'n Bhiobull' (first ed. 1880), the 1942 edition of John Smith's 'Urnaighean airson Theaghlaichean' (1808), the reprints (under the heading 'Cogadh na Saorsa') during the Second World War of several of the series 'Cogadh Mór na h-Eòrpa', and the booklet 'Creideamh na Ba'ahai' (1961). Devotional works, Protestant and Roman Catholic, continue to be printed in Gaelic.

Few collections of translated sermons have appeared in this century: some few books of

original sermons, however, have appeared, including 'Dioghlum o Theagasg nan Aithrichean' (1900), Archibald Cook's sermons (1907, 1916), 'Dòrlach Sìl' (1931), and the Rev. Malcolm MacLeod's 'An Iuchair Oir' (1951). Histories of divines are rare: examples are John MacCallum's biography of John Wesley (1911), the compendium, 'Cliù agus Cuimhneachan air na Crìosduidhean a Chaidh Dhachaidh' (1931), and Nicol Nicolson's 'An t-Urramach Iain MacRath', which was first issued in 1895 and reprinted in 1910 and 1939. Publication of secular history has comprised the 1906 reprint of Mackenzie's history of the '45, Lachlan MacLean's 'Eachdraidh-beatha nan Albannach Iomraiteach ud-- Uilleam Uallas, Iain Nocs agus Rob Ruadh' (1912), Hector MacDougall's 'Cath-chuairt Eideard Eruis an Eirinn' (n.d.), and 'Sir Seoras Uilleam Ros agus mar a Thuinich na Gaidheil an Canada' (1915) by Alexander Fraser.

In recent years, very few books have been published except school books and collections of poems and hymns, along with various reprints of the Bible and Catechism and very occasional publications of sermons or "Là Cheist" aphorisms. Nonimaginative secular books in prose have not appeared for several decades.

In the past few decades, the relatively enlightened attitudes of educational authorities, beginning with the promotion of Gaelic to Leaving Certificate status in 1915 and its further recognition in 1918,

has resulted in an increase in Gaelic literacy, especially among Highlanders who are around fifty years old and younger at the present day. And yet the number of publications, in particular of noncreative literature, has continued to decline, largely because there are too few Gaelic speakers to support the publication of Gaelic books. For that reason, most publications in the past two decades have required a grant, usually from the Catherine MacCaig Trust. In June 1968, the Secretary of State announced that an annual grant of £5,000 would be made to Glasgow University to help with the publication of new books in Gaelic.

In the early years of the 20th century, some of the great publishing houses of the 19th century, Eneas Mackay of Stirling, Archibald Sinclair of Glasgow, and Norman MacLeod of Edinburgh, were still active, but by far the most prolific publishers of Gaelic books in this period have been Alexander MacLaren and Son of Glasgow. Although they have published a large variety of Gaelic books, their chief contribution to Gaelic literary development was in their publishing, in the first few decades of the century, of the new forms, the short story and play, in which function they succeeded the pioneer, Alexander Gardner of Paisley, who had published, for example, the first of MacCormick's books.⁴⁴ MacLaren's have been doing progressively less publishing in the 'fifties and 'sixties, but, even in the 1940's, they

were no longer very adventurous. William MacLellan, whose enlightened if risky publishing policy contributed so much to the Scottish Literary Renaissance, published the experimental poetry of Sorley MacLean and George Hay in that period.

The Gaelic publishing of M.C. MacLeod of Dundee was largely confined to some songbooks in the second decade of the century. An Comunn Gaidhealach has tended to concentrate on the publication of songbooks and song sheets (mostly designed for their own Mod competitions) and school textbooks, but, in 1966, it published two new Gaelic plays by Iain Crichton Smith.⁴⁵

In the 'fifties and 'sixties, the revival in Gaelic poetry and the short story has been represented in print almost entirely by the publications of Aberdeen University Gaelic Publications; its successor, Glasgow University Gaelic Publications; and Gairm Publications: all run by Derick Thomson. These bodies, besides publishing schoolbooks of avant-garde material, have produced collections of the short stories of Iain Smith and Colin MacKenzie;⁴⁶ the poems of Iain Smith, Donald MacAulay, and Derick Thomson; and a translation of an English novel.⁴⁷

The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, founded in 1934, has produced a series of scholarly editions of the work of Gaelic writers past and present, aimed mainly at school requirements. The authors represented have included Iain Lom MacDonald (17th century),

Duncan Ban MacIntyre and John MacCodrom (18th century), Donald Ruadh MacIntyre (20th century bard), and prosewriters, Donald MacKinnon and Donald Lamont.

In recent years, the 'Stornoway Gazette' has serialised, in strip-cartoon form, Gaelic versions of such stories as 'Treasure Island' and 'The Incredible Adventures of Baron Munchausen' and have later issued them as separate books.

In 1967, the inauguration of the Highland Book Club at Inverness was announced: it is proposed to reissue novels such as those of Neil Munro and Neil Gunn and to publish the most up-to-date Gaelic writing. The Club is reported to have the manuscript of a collection of long stories and of a novel (both by Iain Smith) ready for printing. No clear progress report has, however, been issued by the Club itself.

In the past two or three decades there has been no Gaelic popular press--with the exception of the Comunn songbooks, some books of hymns and of traditional poetry and the very occasional book of sermons. In particular, literary ephemera--romances, comics,⁴⁸ erotica, murder stories⁴⁹--have been missing. In most languages, serious literature--of the standard of Smith's stories and MacAulay's poems--is composed mainly because of personal intellectual pressures and is published often for altruistic rather than commercial reasons: often, as with the Art Council's grants in Britain, it is subsidised. With ephemeral literature,

however, the individual writer's motivations and those of his publisher are almost purely mercenary: there is a large public demand which can be translated into money. In the Gaelic context, it is clear that the literate public is not large enough ever to make publishing popular literature a viable project for any writer or businessman. If, therefore, a Gaelic popular press is to become a reality, it must be initiated and carried out as a conscious patriotically-inspired policy which will require subsidising.

PERIODICALS

Several Scottish English-language newspapers have regularly featured a Gaelic column over long periods. Of these, the most important have been the 'Northern Chronicle', in which the Gaelic translations of the Arabian Nights and Munro's 'Lost Pibroch' and several essays by Mackinnon and others first appeared; the 'People's Journal', which ran a Gaelic column up to the Second World War, serialising 'Dun Aluinn', for example; and the 'Stornoway Gazette', which has had a regular diary column in Gaelic since the early 'twenties and has recently serialised Gaelic versions of novels. Also of interest have been the 'Glasgow Highlander' newspaper (1933), the 'Scottish Australian' (1936-51), and the Canadian newspapers--'The Casket' (featuring a regular Gaelic column from 1920) and 'Mosgladh' (1922-24).⁵⁰

Of the magazines that are mainly in English but have a regular content of Gaelic, the most significant are the 'Celtic Monthly' (1843-1917,

edited by John MacKay and, latterly, by A.M. MacKay),⁵¹ the 'Celtic Review' (1904-1906; a quarterly, edited by E.C. Carmichael), and the monthly magazines of the Church of Scotland, United Free, Free, and Free Presbyterian Churches. The 'Celtic Monthly' (mainly a "society" magazine), published Gaelic essays on Highland history and literature by Donald MacKinnon, Kenneth MacLeod, and Neil Ross; humorous tales by Henry Whyte; poems, often translations, by Whyte, Dugald MacDougall, and others; and serialised MacCormick's 'Dun Aluinn' (1913-14) and Malcolm MacFarlane's children's play, 'Am Mosgladh Mór' (1914-15). The 'Celtic Review' was chiefly a scholarly journal, an imitation of the Continental 'Revue Celtique' and 'Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie', but occasionally published texts of traditional Gaelic stories and poems.

The Gaelic pages in the Free Church's monthly 'Record', about two per issue during this century, have generally combined translations of Puritan theology (e.g. Bunyan's 'Holy War', John Owen, and Archibald Hodge) and of sermons (e.g. by R.M. MacCheyne) with Church news and obituaries of divines, but original sermons and elegies have been published from time to time. The pattern in the Free Presbyterian Church 'Record' has been very similar, with long serialised translations of works by Owen, Rev. John Brown, Rev. John MacConochie, and John Flavel being popular: again the average Gaelic content per

issue has been approximately two pages. 'An Fhianuis Ghaidhealach', the magazine of the United Free Church of Scotland was considerably lighter in tone. It was edited between 1908 and 1921 by the Rev. Malcolm MacLennan (Edinburgh), who, as a result of the union with the Church of Scotland, became joint-editor of the Gaelic Supplement of the Church of Scotland's 'Life and Work' in 1929. His co-editor was Donald Lamont, who had taken on the post in 1907 and held it until 1950; MacLennan died in 1931 and Lamont again became sole editor. From 1950 to the present day, the editor has been T.M. Murchison. The Supplement is now eight pages in length, having begun at four pages.

Under Lamont, the Gaelic Supplement ('Na Duilleagan Gàidhlig') became one of the most imaginatively edited, best written, and most influential periodicals that has ever appeared in Gaelic. It contained sermons, elegies, and Church news, but also essays--often light and humorous though trenchant in their observations--on current world and Highland politics,⁵² on philosophical and theological matters⁵³ and on Gaelic literature (including regular book reviews),⁵⁴ history, and folklore. Lamont's own essays were often free-ranging as to subject and usually very entertaining, the "Cille-Sgumain" stories being particularly good examples of his combination of moralising and humour. Though Lamont obviously did the bulk of the writing,

ha had very able collaborators in the Rev. Coll MacDonalld, Hector MacDougall, Angus Henderson, J.N. MacLeod (into the 1950's), and, latterly, T.M. Murchison. The Gaelic Supplement is of extremely great importance in the developement of Gaelic prose in general and of essay-writing in particular.

A number of the periodicals sponsored by leading lights of the Scottish Literary Renaissance published, in the 1940's, poems by contemporary Gaelic writers. Although the number of poems involved was small, this recognition by the Scots literati of the Revival and, consequently, of the high standard of Gaelic poetry gave a new respectability to Gaelic literature and strong encouragement to the young experimental poets (George Hay, Derick Thomson) and it obliged Gaelic writers to set themselves a higher standard than they would have required in order to win purely Gaelic acclaim. These periodicals were: 'Scottish Art and Letters' (ed. R. Crombie Saunders and, latterly, Hugh MacDiarmid), 'Poetry Scotland' (ed. Maurice Lindsay), 'The Voice of Scotland' (ed. MacDiarmid), 'Chapbook',⁵⁵ and 'The Lion Rampant' (ed. Amhlaibh MacAindreis). 'Lines Review' and 'Saltire Review' (now defunct) have published new Gaelic poetry in more recent years.

Also of interest have been the various attempts to establish Pan-Celtic magazines. The most successful of these have been Canadian:

'Celtic Forum' (1934-35) and 'Irisleabhar Ceilteach' (1952-54).

The earliest all-Gaelic periodical in the twentieth century was the newspaper 'Mac-Talla' (Nova Scotia). Edited by Jonathan G. MacKinnon, it started in May 1892 and continued as a weekly until 1902, when it became a biweekly; in June 1904, MacKinnon had eventually to cease publication because of lack of support. This paper occasionally contained comment on current affairs, at a local and international level, but devoted most space to traditional stories, the occasional original adventure tale, còmhraidhean,⁵⁶ essays on Gaelic affairs, and poetry (usually contemporary bardic poetry). It was similar in style to the magazines of Caraid nan Gaidheal in the early 19th century and to 'An Gaidheal' (an imitation of these in the 1870's, which originated in Canada).

The most important group of Gaelic periodicals in the early years of this century is the four associated with--i.e. either financed, edited, or managed by--Roderick Erskine of Mar. The first of these was 'Am Bàrd', a sixteen-page monthly which ran between May 1901 and September 1902⁵⁷ and which featured, mostly, Gaelic stories, poems and articles of a scholarly or historical bent; its most significant contribution was the publication in it of the operetta, 'Iseabail'.

'Guth na Bliadhna', founded in 1904 and continuing until 1925, aimed in particular at a

Gaelic intellectual readership.⁵⁸ Its pledged editorial policy was: the promotion of the Roman Catholic religion, the "developement of the old Gaelic tradition by becoming a link between past and present", and a campaign for Scottish independence and the "establishment of a Gaelic State". At the outset, it contained more English than Gaelic but the proportion of Gaelic increased until, by 1907 (Vol. IV), the balance was reversed; in 1917, the magazine became all-Gaelic. The first two volumes (1904, 1905) had no political articles in Gaelic, but this was amended in Vol. III and, from this point on, the English and Gaelic sections were practically indistinguishable as to content.

One of the main contributions of 'Guth na Bliadhna' to the developement of Gaelic literature was its demonstration of the fact that all kinds of modern subjects could be discussed in Gaelic, or, if in English, from a recognisably Gaelic (or Celtic) viewpoint. It contained a large number of radical and well-informed discussions of subjects such as communism (1907), Belgian neutrality (1914), Bohemian nationalism (1915), the League of Nations (1919), and, on the home front, land reform and various aspects of the nationalist struggle. Its radical approach to all such subjects won for it a good deal of hostile notice in the English-language press during the First World War. Most of its articles--in Gaelic or English--were written by

Mar himself, Angus Henderson, or J. R. Duncan. It also published articles, again in English and Gaelic, on Scottish, Irish, and French history and on a wide variety of other subjects ranging from anthropology and science to critiques of Thomas Aquinas, submarine warfare, the Celtic and Greek feeling for beauty and Rousseau's 'Social Contract'.

Between 1913 and 1925, there were several very interesting poems by Donald Sinclair published in 'Guth na Bliadhna', while some of the poems of Donald MacCallum, T.D. MacDonald, and James Thomson were also published in it. Stories by Hector MacDougall and John MacCormick were published, as were, more importantly, a total of five plays by Sinclair (from 1912 onwards) and two by Erskine of Mar. Translations published included some from early Irish, Spanish, Latin, and--in English, from Byron, Wordsworth, and Neil Munro.

Probably the most important contribution of 'Guth na Bliadhna' to Gaelic writing was its publication of a large volume of constructive criticism, in English and Gaelic, of past and contemporary Gaelic literature. This was the first significant body of Gaelic literary criticism: in the absence of such criticism, it is very difficult for a language's writers to achieve the degree of artistic self-consciousness that is required for the creation of a sophisticated, experimental literature. 'Guth na Bliadhna' contained critiques of individual authors--from Iain Lom

MacDonald in the 17th century to Donald MacKachnie, Angus Robertson, and Henry Whyte in the 20th; general articles such as Donald Sinclair's 'Inbhe ar Bàrdachd', Mar's on Natural and Symbolic Drama, Donald MacCallum on French poetry, and the important series of articles by Calum MacFarlane-- 'Bàrdachd nam Ban', 'Bàrdachd an Là an duigh', 'Ceòl-sàinn na Tuatha'; and regular book reviews.

For twenty years the editor of 'Guth na Bliadhna' offered the Gaelic reading public a political and literary review of an uncompromisingly avant-garde and cosmopolitan nature, edited from a Gaelic-nationalist or otherwise radical point of view and written, eventually, entirely in Gaelic. That so much of the material in it was written by himself and a small circle of friends⁵⁹ was a bad omen. In 1924, Mar angrily denied an assertion in the 'Northern Chronicle' that "there is little interest in 'Guth na Bliadhna' for a majority of Gaelic readers", but only a few months later, he had to admit the regrettable truth of this assessment by suspending publication.

In February 1908, Mar established a weekly Gaelic newspaper, 'Alba', of which Angus Henderson was editor. It contained comment on local, national, and international affairs, but also a substantial number of stories (by, in particular, John MacCormick) and articles on Highland history (Henderson), and poetry (J.N. MacLeod). 'Alba' went out of circulation

early in 1909 as a result of lack of support.

Angus Henderson, in an article in the 'Celtic Annual'⁶⁰ of 1918, wrote that Mar's goal in establishing⁶¹ 'An Sgeulaiche' was to provide a lighter, more popular companion to 'Guth na Bliadhna'.⁶² 'An Sgeulaiche' started in September 1909 and lasted until summer 1911, being issued monthly until January 1910 and every quarter from then on. As its name indicates, 'An Sgeulaiche' was devoted to the publication of stories,⁶³ both traditional tales and the new genre, while the three plays published in it-- K.W. Grant's 'An Sgoil Bheag', John MacCormick's 'An t-Agh Odhar', and J.N. MacLeod's 'Reiteach Móraig'--are almost the first examples of Gaelic plays in print. In the encouragement it gave to these new forms and also to the development of a Gaelic novel,⁶⁴ the importance of 'An Sgeulaiche' can scarcely be overstated.

Mar also issued 'An Ròsarnach', an anthology of Gaelic essays and some stories, in 1917, 1918, 1921, and 1930. Besides his Gaelic publications, he ran, in English, the 'Scottish Review' and (briefly) a newspaper, 'The Pictish Review'.

'An Deò-Gréine/An Gaidheal'⁶⁵--running as a half-Gaelic, half-English monthly from 1905 to 1967--was the official magazine of An Comunn Gaidhealach and consequently about one half of the space in each issue was devoted to reports of meetings, branch activities, and the policies of that association. Of the remaining Gaelic content, the most common

features were essays on Gaelic language, literature, and history, and prize-winning stories, poems, and, occasionally, plays from the Comunn's Mod competitions: these are mainly in traditional styles. The main importance of this magazine has been, first, the literary criticism, usually in English, it published;⁶⁶ and, second, the fact that in the 1940's it was the only magazine that published much of the work of the important young poets of that period (Hay, Thomson, even MacLean). 'An Gaidheal' was losing an average of £400 per annum by the time it was withdrawn from circulation in 1967. It was replaced by 'Sruth', a fortnightly bilingual newspaper.

Other all-Gaelic magazines--of little relevance to a study of Gaelic literary developments--have been the Gaelic League's 'Crois Tara' (1938-39) and 'An Ceum' (1946-49) as well as 'Am Bhrat'ach' (1941-42). These were half newspaper, half story magazine: little of literary value appeared in them.

'An Cabairneach', the all-Gaelic magazine of the Portree Feachd of Comunn na h-Oigridh, appeared first in 1944 and intermittently thereafter: the first number was edited by Finlay J. MacDonald. It was the first publication in which fully colloquial, even dialect Gaelic was consistently and consciously used.

In 1952, MacDonald and Derick Thomson started a quarterly magazine, 'Gairm', whose form was obviously inspired by 'Guth na Bliadhna', 'An Sgeulaiche',

and 'An Cabairneach'. Although the main aim of the joint-editors was to provide a medium for experimental Gaelic writing, much more of a compromise was made to the traditionalists than, for example, Mar had been prepared to make. So while 'Gairm' has played a crucial part in the process which has brought Gaelic writing to its present level of sophistication, it has also frequently published: the work of traditional bards such as that of Calum Ruadh Nicolson and Donald MacIntyre, 'Bàrdachd Leódhuis', 'Bàird a' Bhail' Againne'; popular songs, with music; sgeulachdan such as those of Bean Nill (prepared by John L. Campbell); and true anecdotes (e.g. D.J. MacDonald's 'Mar a theich sinn as a' champ'). Again, though studies such as that of 'A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle' by Sorley MacLean, of Pasternak's poetry by Finlay J. MacDonald, and of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Yeats and Ted Hughes by Iain Smith have been an exciting and influential development, there have been just as many articles on traditional Gaelic literature (for example, on Kenneth MacLeod, 'Aos Dàna' and a series on 'The Makers of Gaelic Literature'). The feature-writers have been equally free-ranging⁶⁷ --from crofting laws to Vietnam, from St Kilda to Bermuda, from 'An Airigh' to the theme of nationalism in European music, and from the description of the making of a black house to the topical group of interviews on the rocket-base dispute in Uist. 'Gairm' has readily published the most

avant-garde literature that it has been offered and this open-minded approach, along with the editorship's deliberate policy of recognising and fostering embryonic talent, has been of immense value.

Equally seminal has been the policy of the B.B.C. Gaelic Department.⁶⁸ The B.B.C. have issued Gaelic broadcasts since the 1920's, but it is only in the 1930's that the contribution made by this medium was of much significance. From then on, current affairs talks, literary criticism, stories, plays, and poems--both traditional and experimental--have been broadcast, the average time (over the whole period) given per week to nonmusical material being around half an hour, excluding news bulletins. In the early years, plays, in particular, were often translated and others repeated, due to the lack of suitable material; in the past two or three years, original short stories and plays have been broadcast only very infrequently, for the same reason. The B.B.C. have sensitively broadcast some very adventurous plays and stories, including plays by Finlay MacLeod,⁶⁹ Paul MacInnes, and Iain Smith, and stories by Smith, Derick Thomson, and Kenneth Finlayson. Their willingness to experiment has been very fortunate for the progress of Gaelic literature in that the B.B.C., being able to pay writers for material used, are in a much stronger position as a "ginger group" than the usually impecunious magazines, such as 'An

'Sgeulaiche' and 'Gairm', have been.

Hugh MacPhee was B.B.C.-Scotland's sole Gaelic producer between 1935 and 1945, when Finlay J. MacDonald became his assistant; MacDonald was replaced in 1954 by Fred MacAulay, who succeeded MacPhee as Head of the Department in 1964. John A. MacPherson joined the Department as assistant producer in 1964. At the present time, MacAulay has three young and lively assistants.

CHAPTER II: PROSE

Preface.	48
Oral Tales: Their Influence	49
1825-1845: The First Phase.	53
1880-1925: The Second Phase	
The Short Story	58
The Novel	69
Essays.	79
Summary	82
1925-1950.	84
1950-1968: The Third Phase.	93
School Texts	115
Summary.	120

PREFACE

In drama, language is organised on the lines of colloquial speech and, in poetry, it is organised by extrinsic devices such as versification, rhythm, and rhyme: I use the term "prosewriting" to cover all other uses of language in creative literature, though in Gaelic this classification requires that the còmhradh, initially an essay form, be grouped with plays, and the orally performed sgeulachd with the novel, rather than with drama.

ORAL TALES: THEIR INFLUENCE

Heroic tales (sgeulachdan) in the Celtic languages--dating from the 6th century--are still extant in manuscripts and forms of these, along with relatively more modern stories of a broadly similar kind, have been handed down in the oral tradition and performed widely until quite recently. These early stories are accounts of the feats of gods and heroes: when originally composed they no doubt represented attempts to interpret contemporary life, but in the Middle Ages and later they became Romances, enjoyed by a credulous peasantry for their pagan frankness, their richness of fantasy, and "old-world" flavour. The early transcription of the sgeulachdan into manuscripts was a purely archival process to which they were subjected long after composition: in essence, they are oral tales, composed by illiterate authors for an illiterate audience. In the second half of the 19th century and in the 20th, modern versions and equivalents of these tales were collected, transcribed, and enjoyed a wide vogue in print. No attempt was made to impose

on the tales the characteristics which the written prose art forms in other languages (novel and short story) had developed by the mid-nineteenth century--for example, a sense of artistic unity.

In the context of the late 19th century and the 20th century, the sgeulachd can only be regarded as creative literature to the limited extent that the sgeulaiche varies his narration in detail from one performance to the next. Their importance in this period lies in the fact that their collection and publication, especially from 1860¹ onwards, developed the nascent taste for printed fiction, whether legendary, historical, or original, and therefore contributed to the appearance of the short story and novel-form in Gaelic in the second and third decades of the 20th century.

The sgeulachd as told in the 19th and 20th century is usually in a quite direct prose style, except for the heavily stylised passages or "runs", usually conventional descriptions of weapons or heroes, which are in an archaic and euphuistic diction.

These runs undoubtedly influenced the style of the novelist, Angus Robertson ('An t-Ogha Mór', 1913) and of Donald Sinclair.

In the typical sgeulachd, the plot is usually weakly-organised, with a strong tendency to a picaresque or otherwise episodic structure.²

Superficial unifying devices are employed--for example, repeated descriptions and runs, repetition of

a number or a colour.³ A comparison with the heroic poetry (the "ceangal" metrical devices, for example) is valid and of interest. Chiefly, the sgeulachd's weakness of plot is due to its being a purely oral form, which weakness was inherited by some of the writers of Gaelic "written" short stories in the early 20th century and by the novelists of the time, especially by Angus Robertson, whose 'An t-Ogha Mór' is based on oral sgeulachd material.

Another type of popular traditional tale in the 19th and 20th century was the account of historical or legendary clan adventures. Legendary history of this kind was the only early written prose form in Gaelic,⁴ but the historical tales popular in the 19th century and later were, like the Romances, composed for oral performance and transmission. In the late 19th century, many of them were transcribed and printed in prose anthologies and in periodicals; also popular in print at this time were transcriptions of oral tales about the adventures abroad of Highland sailors or exiles--this was a natural development because of the Clearances and the subsequent voluntary emigration from the Highlands. The two types of tale were often combined; to supplement the supply of stories that were true or loosely based on the truth, there began to appear stories that were similar in style but were original and even, as in the case of John MacCormick, highly imaginative as to plot. On the inspiration of the popular

Highland historical novels of Neil Munro, their development culminated in the publication of three Gaelic novels in the first few decades of the 20th century.

1825-1845: THE FIRST PHASE

The history of creative prosewriting in Gaelic falls into three sections. Since it is of little practical value to discuss these sections independently of each other, this chapter will deal in some detail with the early period, even though it falls outwith the chronological remit of this thesis. This first phase began in the middle-1820's, that is, in the period when the literacy drive of the Gaelic Schools' Society and the Church of Scotland was bearing fruit, and came to an end about 1845.

The three great periods of Gaelic prosewriting are remarkably similar in several respects: at the centre of each was one man or a very small nucleus of enthusiasts, usually motivated by nationalistic fervour. These men ran periodicals in which Gaelic was used for discussing the latest intellectual problems and in which the work of experimental writers of fiction was welcomed.

In countries in which the novel had developed

by the mid-19th century (Germany, England, the United States, etc.), the growth of a periodical literature, based on the newly spreading popular literacy, was a crucial stage in the development of the new genre, the short story, in that it created a demand for short fiction. Periodicals were crucial to the development of the short story, and even the novel, in Gaelic--two of the three novels were serialised before their publication as novels--as they were to the development of Gaelic prosewriting in general.⁵

The Rev. Dr Norman MacLeod (Caraid nan Caidheal) in June 1829 issued the first number of an all-Gaelic magazine, 'An Teachdaire Gaelach', which ran until 1831. It was replaced in 1835 by 'An Teachdaire Ur Gaidhealach', edited by MacLeod's son-in-law, M.C. Clark: this ceased publication after nine numbers, but 'Cuairtear nan Gleann', edited by MacLeod, ran for three years between March 1840 and June 1843. The stated motive for the publication of these papers was, "not so much to satisfy as to stimulate the Highland mind, through the Gaelic language, to seek in literature what could be afforded through the English language".

These magazines made an extremely important contribution to the development of instructive prosewriting in Gaelic: features were published on national affairs and world news, markets, scientific topics--including the telescope, steam engine, and meteorology--and on recent murders and executions;

book reviews and sermons appeared regularly.

Macleod also published--being at that time a lone pioneer in the field--traditional sgeulachdan and adventure tales, a series of fables and parables and deathbed stories,⁶ some personal anecdotes, and at least one original story of merit, 'Crotachan na Beinne'.

'Crotachan na Beinne' is the story of a mysterious, deformed youth who is tormented by his fellows and eventually moves to the seclusion of the woods, where he meets a girl from a neighbouring mansion with whom he falls in love. She reciprocates only with friendship, but her fiancé accosts Crotachan and insults him; Crotachan stabs the youth. The story is tedious in parts but shows an unusual interest in the psychology of the central character and, by demonstrating how his alienation from society during his youth resulted in the central action of the story (the stabbing), is very effective artistically.

Edgar Allan Poe in 1842⁷ defined the short story as a tale in which the narrative and character development are subordinated to the total effect: this is the type of story that Poe himself, one of the first writers of "short stories", published in his 'Tales of Imagination and Mystery'; the "twist-ending" stories written by O. Henry in the early 20th century are another example of the same tendency. Another distinct type of the short story is that in which the narrative is organised so as to throw

as much light as possible on the personality of one or more of the protagonists. This latter style, in which plot is relatively unimportant, characterises the output of Anton Chekhov in the late 19th century and James Joyce in the early 20th. Norman MacLeod's 'Crotachan' is a primitive version of the latter type and MacLeod, therefore, in this one instance at least, on the literary wavelength of his time.

A rather important contribution by Norman MacLeod to subsequent Gaelic prosewriting was his creation--in his informative dialogues, in spoof 'Letters to the Editor', in his 'Litrichean Fhionnlaigh Piobaire', and stories--of a group of recurrent humorous characters. This has always been a favourite device with journalists and essayists (Cf. Addison and Steele's 'Sir Roger de Coverly' and, more recently, Dom Marquis' 'Archy and Mehitabel') and is the ancestor of the modern newspaper cartoon strip.⁸ In Gaelic, the characters invented by Norman MacLeod were adopted or, more usually, radically developed and added to by several 20th century columnists and essayists.

MacLeod's style is ponderous and aureate, in much the same neo-Gothic style as his English contemporaries (e.g. Dickens⁹): generally it shows the influence of pulpit oratory and of the Gaelic translation of the Bible. His stated motives were to emulate English literature, to educate Gaels, and to "record the customs and manners of a time

almost gone",¹⁰ but, as in the introduction to his prose anthology, 'Leabhar nan Cnoc' (1834), he was prepared to defend publication of stories that were purely entertaining and of little educative value. His main writings were collected and published posthumously in 1867.

This first crucial period in the history of creative Gaelic prose was the result of the convergence of two strands in the educational provision for the Gaeltachd. The S.P.C.K. and Church schools provided access to English literature--a fruitful example to learned and nationalistic Gaels. The Gaelic schools provided a literate public of sufficient strength to support the publication of periodicals. And the times found, in Caraid nan Gaidheal, a man willing and able to use the opportunities it provided. But this development depended too much on the personality of this one man and, with his death, a break ensued which lasted until the 1880's, apart from the Canadian periodical, 'An Gaidheal' (1872-1877), which was inspired by MacLeod's publications and whose most important publication was a series of important philosophical and literary-critical essays in Gaelic by Donald MacKinnon.

1880-1925: THE SECOND PHASE

The Short Story

During the period of forty years between the demise of 'Cuairtear nan Gleann' (1843) and the beginning of the second important period in prosewriting, several factors came into play which were to determine the fact and nature of this revival.

The first of these was the publication of a collection of sgeulachdan, the very popular 'West Highland Tales', edited by John F. Campbell in 1860-62 (4 vols.). This did for Gaelic what the publications in 1812 and 1815 of the Grimm Brothers' 'Märchen' did for the short story in European literature more generally. Based on the spread of literacy, it both satisfied and developed the taste for short fiction--whether historical, legendary, or original--and served as an example to writers and publishers.

Another important new factor in the Gaelic cultural climate was an economic motivation.

Throughout the 19th century, emigration from the Gaeltachd--much of it to Glàsgow and Edinburgh--was very heavy. From the mid-19th century on these exiles began to organise themselves into societies, particularly in Glasgow, initially for their mutual welfare and also for the provision of entertainment and social intercourse. The dialogues of 'Caraid nan Gaidheal', on his son's testimony, enjoyed a considerable vogue at "fireside ceilidhs": with the growth of the Lowland societies, the demand for such reading material increased many-fold. A study of the reports from Comunn Gaidhealach branches and affiliated societies which appear in 'An Gaidheal' from 1905 until the 1930's shows that dialogues and humorous readings were a popular feature of all Gaelic concert programmes: meetings of Ceilidh nan Gaidheal and the High School Ceilidh were of particular import in this connection.

The first publication aimed directly at this demand was Henry Whyte's 'Celtic Garland' in 1881 (reprinted until 1920). This was a book of "popular readings" which included some speeches on Gaelic and comic stories--for example, an account of a ludicrous court case¹¹ and a description of a ceilidh, including full texts of the songs sung. Duncan MacCallum, giving a reminiscence on B.B.C. radio in 1950, said of Whyte, "Anns gach céilidh b'e an Garland an cuspair. Cha robh leithid ann bho linn an Teachdaire Ghaidhealaich". Whyte's 'Leabhar na Céilidh' (mainly

prose readings and translations of poems) appeared in 1898. In 1905, he published a collection of true adventure stories translated from English, including, for example, that of Grace Darling; a second volume was published in 1906.

The style of the stories in John MacFadyen's 'An t-Eileanach' (1890, reprinted 1921) illustrates very effectively the motivation and function of this kind of composition. In 'Mac Fhir a'Chòir', he recounts the pranks played by a young University student on his neighbours with a galvanic battery and balloons: the story is lightly and wittily told in colloquial Gaelic, interspersed with comic songs about the various incidents. One can imagine MacFadyen performing these readings at a concert in much the same style as the contemporary Scots comedians of the Variety theatre.

MacFadyen published another collection, 'Sgeulaiche nan Caol' in 1902, which contains nostalgic reminiscences, disputative essays and dialogues, and one or two ostensibly true adventure stories--mostly set in the Clan Period and involving the supernatural and/or elopement¹²--as well as the more characteristic loosely organised humorous tales, interlarded with songs.

Later publications of this type of story include K.W. Grant's 'Aig Tigh na Beinne' (1911), John Whyte's 'Para Piobaire/Humorous Readings' (1937),

and John MacLennan's 'Duanagan is Sgeulachdan Beaga' (1937).¹³ In addition, the collected work of some bards contains stories of this kind--some on clan adventures but mostly humorous--examples being Neil MacLeod's 'Clàrsach an Doire' (1883, reprinted until 1924) and 'Bàrd Bharabhais.¹⁴ Dàin, Orain is Sgeulachdan' (1920). The production of traditional sgeulachdan and adventure stories, as well as of imitations of them, has been encouraged by the competitions of An Comunn Gaidhealach up until the present day.

In the early years of the 20th century, a very important new factor was the appearance of the "ginger-group" of widely literate and nationalistic literary theorists, which included Roderick Erskine of Mar and such associates of his as Angus Henderson, Malcolm MacFarlane, and Donald Sinclair.

The main contribution of Erskine of Mar to the development of Gaelic prosewriting was through his publication of a series of periodicals, including principally 'Guth na Bliadhna' (1904-1925), 'An Sgeulaiche' (1909-1911), and 'An Ròsarnach' (1917, 1918, 1921, 1930). Articles, stories, and plays from these magazines were published as separate booklets under the general heading, 'Leabhraichan na Céilidh': at least forty-six numbers of this series appeared.

The articles in 'Guth na Bliadhna' on current

events and ideas are more original and penetrating than those in the periodicals edited by Caraid nan Gaidheal. This was an inevitable development, since the majority of MacLeod's readership would have read very little in Gaelic or in English, whereas Erskine of Mar could assume that his readers knew the bare facts about the political situation, for example, and so could publish analytical features rather than informative essays. The articles on current economic and political affairs which appeared in 'Guth na Bliadhna' are particularly distinguished. The publication of articles in Gaelic on subjects such as this contributed indirectly to the development of creative prosewriting. A more direct contribution is represented by the publication of literary critical articles, the first serious criticisms of Gaelic literature to be published.

'Guth na Bliadhna' contained stories--usually Clan Romances--by Neil Munro and R.B. Cunninghame-Graham, both in the original and in Gaelic translation. These, along with the 'Arabian Nights'¹⁵ (1899-1901) and Munro's 'Lost Pibroch and Other Stories' (1913), were the main prose translations in Gaelic during this period.¹⁶

The best creative contributions to 'Guth na Bliadhna' were the short stories 'Pèiteag Ruadh' (1914) and 'Am Bruadar' (1921). The former traces the mental deterioration of a man who, rejected by a girl, eventually marries another but goes mad and

commits suicide. The girl who rejected him was lost in a storm, presumably killed in a fall, but her body was later discovered and the gruesome truth is revealed, but only by a very tactful implication. 'Am Bruadar', by 'Q.E.D.', is a very avant-garde, almost absurdist account of a wealthy man who, having left a deliberately ambiguous will in order to foment trouble among his relatives, returns to see the fun. He has great difficulty in getting re-accepted--to the extent of having to invoke a court order against the people who persist in referring to him as a ghost. This story appeared in 1921, at the end of this very fruitful period of short story-writing: not many had achieved sophistication, but dramatic progress had, nevertheless, been made, mainly in 'An Sgeulaiche'.

'An Sgeulaiche' started publication in 1909 as a monthly magazine devoted to the publication of Gaelic short stories. Towards the end of its existence, it published a long analytical and prescriptive article on the Gaelic short story by Calum MacFarlane. The short story is one of the most selfconscious--because one of the newest--of art forms, so that its formal recognition as a distinctive genre is usually regarded as a crucial stage in the developement in any language: for example, 1842 is regarded as the critical date in the case of the English short story because it is the year

of Poe's famous definition. MacFarlane's review is informative but not singularly penetrating: its importance is its awareness of the birth of a new genre in Gaelic literature.

The main contributors of stories to 'An Sgeulaiche' (and 'An Ròsarnach') were MacFadyen, Donald Sinclair, Hector MacDougall, J.N. MacLeod, Roderick Erskine of Mar, Angus Henderson, and John MacCormick.

Donald Sinclair's long story, 'Lughain Lir', which appeared in 'An Ròsarnach' (III, 1921), describes the determination of the old skipper of a fishing boat to be home before the confirmation of a young protégé. There is an excellent dénouement when the old man wakes up to discover--angrily--that the crew, instead of heading for home, have cast the nets to take the only successful catch of their season. The story is told at a deftly controlled pace, with fine character portrayal and little of the turgidity of style that mars Sinclair's essays.

Hector MacDougall contributed several lightly told adventure stories set in the frozen North of Norway and in China; J.N. MacLeod has several traditional stories of various types. From the beginning there was a series of the cases of a private detective, 'Gníomharran Iain Mhic Raonail' by Erskine of Mar, obviously inspired by the Sherlock Holmes stories of Arthur Conan Doyle, and two excellent stories about a Highland Don Quixote, also by Mar.

Angus Henderson's stories are, in the main, too obviously propagandist (on behalf of the Land Movement) to be of much artistic worth. 'Làmh Làidir' (1910), however, though it is underlain by a strong Scottish nationalism, is a story which has obviously interested Henderson for its own sake and the message is happily forgotten for most of the time. This is a science-fiction story--set in the dim and distant future of 1925!--involving the use of a mysterious atomic-type weapon. The influence of Jules Verne is obvious. An anonymous story, 'An Càr', printed in 1910, has the same surreal humour as 'Am Bruadar'; this story is a kind of dream-sequence in which the narrator is chased down roads by cars and surrounded by a careering ring of them in a field.

There were several stories and articles in these three periodicals from the pen of John MacCormick. Some of these later reappeared in MacCormick's published collections of stories, 'Oiteagan o'n Iar' (1908), 'Seanchaidh na h-Airigh' (1911), and 'Seanchaidh na Tràghad'. MacCormick also published a long (117 pp.) historical story, 'Gu'n Tug i Spéis do 'n Armunn' (1908) and a novel. Several of these stories are slight and humorous anecdotes--e.g. 'Driodfhortain Eachann Seòldair' and a group of stories of illicit distilling that includes 'Am Bàillidh 's am Muilleir' and 'Am Bruitheas Beag'. Several others are adventure tales: some of these are

set in the Highland past--for example, 'Am nan Creach', 'Eilean Dideil' (a hidden treasure story), and 'Bàthadh nan Iasgairean'; others are set abroad--for example, 'Spùinneadairean Shìna' (the true story of a man captured by Chinese pirates) and 'Fìonnag an Fhàsaidh' (a Highland exile's wanderings in the Australian bush). MacCormick's most common and distinctive plot-type combines these two types of adventure tale: the story is set chiefly in the Highlands, but one of the characters (normally a man) is forced (by a landlord or the aristocratic father of his betrothed) to emigrate: he leads an adventurous life abroad, then returns home. Examples among his shorter stories are: 'Gille Gibeach a' Ghlinne Mhóir' (the widow and her son are saved by the knight's son from eviction; later the saviour is in his turn saved from the pirates' plank by the widow's son, now an officer in the U.S. Navy); 'S leam fhìn an Gleann' (Iain is exiled by his sweetheart's chieftain father, but finds a diamond and is able to buy his home glen and to marry the girl); 'Gun d' Tug i Spéis do 'n Armunn' (the young man fights at Waterloo, is presumed dead, but returns long afterwards to marry his girl, who has since been married and widowed); and 'Oighre 'n Dùn Bhàin' (the young hero, jealous of a rival in love, stabs a piper and flees the country; after adventures in Africa and Australia, he accidentally meets the piper, whom he had supposed dead and he is,

therefore, able to return home).

Some of these stories are true: all of them attempt to create the impression that they are. True adventure-in-exile stories would certainly have been common at this time and fitted in well with the conventional estranged-lovers motif of the Clan Romances.¹⁷ The influence of R.L. Stevenson¹⁸ is at least arguable. This plot-pattern is the one that underlies MacCormick's novel, 'Dun Aluinn' and also James MacLeod's 'Cailinn Sgiathanach' and the third section of Angus Robertson's 'An t-Ogha Mór'.

Many of the stories of MacCormick, like those of Whyte and MacFadyen, bear unmistakable signs of their origins in the Gaelic ceilidh tradition-- whether the indigenous tradition of the Highlands or the more artificial one of the organised Gaelic communities in the Lowlands. Several of them are represented as being told by an old man at a ceilidh and the others present interjected comments, often jocular in nature. Some few of MacCormick's stories are told in a more sophisticated way, most of the extraneous material being excised, and the story told objectively. There is even, as in the description of the insular island community to which the strange Frenchman comes in 'Eilean Dideil', some selfconscious artistic 'shaping' of the story; but even in these stories the writer's control of the medium is often erratic and he frequently allows his

own personality and views to intrude too much. The stories scarcely ever, for example, approach to the great artistry in plot organisation of O. Henry or Edgar Allan Poe¹⁹ or even that of Neil Munro and Cunninghame-Graham.

MacCormick stands in an intermediate position between the two inimical groups of Gaelic literateurs, all Lowland-based, who were prominent between 1880 and 1925, that is, the insular, entertainment-oriented group which included Whyte and MacFadyen and the more serious cosmopolitan and politically-motivated group who centred around the dynamism of Roderick Erskine of Mar. MacCormick, in his early stories, was obviously writing for ceilidh and public readings. Presumably on the instigation of, in particular, Malcolm MacFarlane, who edited most of MacCormick's publications and who defended MacCormick against the traditionalists²⁰ in 1909, his style, however, became more sophisticated, a development which culminated in the publication of the novel 'Dun Aluinn' in 1912.

The Novel

'Dun Aluinn' (1912) was the first novel in Gaelic. It was previously serialised in 'The People's Journal' and, in 1913-14, in 'The Celtic Monthly'. It first describes, with a rather bathetic attempt at poignancy, the death of the wife of the laird, Dun Aluinn, who is the father of the hero, Colin. The next chapter describes entertainment in the ceilidh-house provided by the enmity between Eachann a'Phaca and his rival, Am Marsanta Gallda, the latter being scarred by an ember from Eachann's pipe. Two chapters of intrigue follow--'Mort 's a'Bheinn Sheilg' and 'CÓ Mharbh Seumas Weldon?': the Marsanta Gallda is missing, presumed drowned, and suspicion falls on Eachann. Dun Aluinn marries Weldon's widow, who stirs up trouble between him and his tenant-supporting son. Colin is exiled, leaving behind his rustic sweetheart, Mary. In the meantime, the Ministear Mór opposes the Clearances in two rabble-rousing speeches of almost chapter length. Colin, in Australia, is mistakenly reported to be

dead; he rescues a man, Perkins, from lynching and befriends another, Warnock. Colin, returning home with Warnock, finds Mary departed to London, the Ministear Mór living in the same cave as Eachann a'Phaca, and brutal evictions taking place under a new factor who is revealed to be the Marsanta Gallda, Perkins and the murderer of James Weldon. Dun Aluinn thereupon dies, his widow claims the estate, but Warnock removes his false beard, revealing himself to be her legal husband: by yet another astounding coincidence Colin finds Mary in London and all live happily. . .

The prose style is more direct and untrammled than that of Caraid nan Gaidheal and of, for example, Angus Robertson, but it is not distinguished by much precision. For example, short, crisp sentences-- a technique more appropriate for the build-up of tension-- are used incongruously to describe Dun Aluinn's grief on his wife's death: "Ràinig e ceann an tìghe. Sheas e. Dh'éisid e. Smaoinnich e." Often the effect which he attributes to remarks and incidents bears little relevance to the conversation or incident he has been able to create. For example, the statement, "Cha robh duine fo chromadh an tìghe nach gabhadh ceangal le snàthlain", describes the purported reaction to Eachann's saying "trupes" for "threepence". Deep emotion is beyond the author's scope, for the most part, as in his description of the reunion of Colin and his mother on his return from

Australia: "Lion sùilean Chailean; mar leisgeul sheid e a shròn." The imagery is often quite incongruous visually: "Bha na facail mar gum biodh i a' bualadh tarraing an sud 's an so air a cheann"; though it can sometimes be very effective: "mar a dhìricheas an t-iubhar nuair a thig an t-sreang dhoth, dhìrich Dùn Aluinn nuair shruth an trioblaid bharr a' ghuaillle".

This novel is obviously an extension of the type of short story that MacCormick himself wrote--in particular, of the story 'Oighre 'n Dùin Bhàin'--but shows considerable and imaginative plot elaboration. The influence of the often melodramatic and sentimental Highland novels of Neil Munro,²¹ his humorous stories about Para Handy, and, especially, the short stories in 'The Lost Pibroch'²² is obvious.

The humorous interludes--usually set at a ceilidh--are obviously an extension of the type of humorous tale which was popular in public in Glasgow at this time, and are introduced into the novel probably on the example of the "comic relief" scenes (involving also the "low", non-noble characters) of Shakespeare's plays;²³ the influence of Shakespeare (especially in 'Julius Caesar') is also evident in the rabble-rousing speeches ('Am Ministear Mór ag Cur Dheth').

The second Gaelic novel was Angus Robertson's 'An t-Ogha Mór' (1913): three chapters of this

novel appeared in 'An Sgeulaiche' as short stories in 1909 and 1910. The novel begins briskly enough with a description of the Broadford Fair: the situation is a recurrent one in historical romances. The girl, Una, prefers the young Earl of Seaforth, but her guardian, An Ridire Tolmach, favours Goraidh Macfhraing. A skirmish between the two rivals is broken up by the Ogha Mór, who then completely disappears from the action--being occasionally mentioned as a source for the story--except for two fleeting and unimportant reappearances.

The next chapter, 'Macfhraing mu Dheireadh', describes the birth of a son to Goraidh and Una (now married) and the nurse's exchange of it with the daughter of MacKenzie. The girl is reared by the nurse herself, is adopted by the nurse's brother, an Edinburgh doctor, and eventually "arrives" in London high society. This chapter was published in 'An Sgeulaiche' and, as it has only a tenuous connection²⁴ with the rest of the novel, it is almost certainly the case that it was originally conceived as a short story and later worked into the plan of the novel.

The next few chapters deal with intrigues at Court, involving several noblemen and even the Prince of Wales; also in London are the Ogha Mór and Iain Ruairich, a nephew of the Ridire Tolmach, who become involved in Jacobite intrigue (the novel is set between 1915 and 1945). The scene

then arbitrarily changes to Skye, where Margaret Cunningham is acting as a Government spy and MacFhraing (using the alias of Ailpein in the 'Sgeulaiche' version, but Mungan Tuathal in the novel) as a double agent and gun-runner. The chapter 'Ceòl nan Claidheamh Dearga'--describing Mungan's incitement of MacLeod of Dunvegan against Iain Ruairidh--and the subsequent one--depicting Iain Ruairidh's farewell to his mother as he goes to battle--appeared earlier in 'An Sgeulaiche', but are meaningful only in the context of the novel, a fact which implies that the plan of this section of the novel was nearly complete by the time of their first appearance. Iain Ruairidh is killed in a skirmish with the MacLeods.

The plot of 'An t-Ogha Mór' is extremely weak: the story falls into three distinct parts--the Iarlon MacKenzie/Goraidh Mac Fhraing episode; second, the political intrigue in London and the Highlands involving Margaret Cunningham, an aristocratic lady from London; and third, the raid conducted by Iain Ruairidh on Dunvegan, in which he is killed. The only real unifying device is the personality of the Ogha Mór, who is involved in the action at the beginning and is referred to in the other two sections: he is also quoted as a source for parts of the story and the script is given of a play by him which describes part of the action

of the novel.

Robertson's style is very undisciplined in several other important respects. On occasion, he makes the "suspension of disbelief" quite impossible by discussing the relative worth of several forms of the story and describes the personality and repertoire of the sgeulaiche from whom he got some of his material. 'An t-Ogha Mór' is an interesting example of the attempt to make a sophisticated novel out of ceilidh-culture material: the technique is strongly coloured by the oral character of that culture.

The two sections of the plot set in the Highlands are skeletal forms of common Gaelic story motifs-- the lovers' triangle and the lovers' parting in war. The episodes involving intrigue at Court are largely irrelevant to the first and last sections of the novel and were probably introduced--on the model of novels such as Scott's 'The Heart of Midlothian'-- on the instigation of Erskine of Mar²⁵ or Neil Munro,²⁶ in order to give added "seriousness" and a cosmopolitan tone to the novel. Robertson is known to have been especially interested in the 18th century political machinations that characterised Lord Bute's premiership.

The prose style is heavily aureate and overloaded with proverbs and archaic words and expressions: this is accompanied by a mystical and romantic

tendency. An example of Robertson's style at its most turgid is: "Dorcha mar chiar nan càrn bha blàr-am-muigh; fuar fuar, faobhar-shitheadh na gaillinn, agus duabharra fròg-bhathais nan aonaichean balla-bhreac. Gu h-àrd 's mu'n cuairt chluinnteadh uirghioll a'bhith-ànruidh a stodhadh nan dùilean is sgread nimheil a chorruich ag osnaich mu luib nan gleann fàs." His stylistic models were probably James ('Ossian') MacPherson, William Sharp ('Fiona MacLeod'), and the 'runs' of the traditional sgeulachd.

In 1933, Robertson published a collection of English literary-critical essays, the subjects including Celtic mysticism, Douglas Hyde, Neil Munro, Kenneth MacLeod and Marjory Kennedy-Fraser, and bilingualism.

The only other Gaelic novel published during this period was James MacLeod's 'An Cailinn Sgiathanach, no Faodalachd na h-Abaid' (1923). This is a better novel than the other two only because it avoids their main faults. It is not a very considerable positive achievement. The plot is far better organised than Robertson's and not so coincidental as MacCormick's, but its ending is too "tidy". The prose style is less strained than that of 'An t-Ogha Mór', and more effectively used for creation of desired effects than MacCormick's, but, though it avoids these faults, it only succeeds in being stolidly pedestrian.

In 'An Cailinn Sgiathanach', the central figure (though again not developed as a character) is Móróg, a foundling from Fort Augustus Abbey, who is a foster-daughter of Donald Ross, a Skye chief. Her lover, a peasant, is banished to Canada and her father and MacLeod of Raasay encourage her to marry MacLean, a friend of Raasay, because both MacLeod and Ross are heavily in debt. MacLean is eventually convicted on charges of fraud, Ross dies, and Raasay is discredited. Móróg's real father--in an episode which is irrelevant to the plot, but necessary to "tidy" the story--is revealed to her. Her love, Alasdair, returns and they all live happily. . . .

It is possible to see this novel as a development, in more than style, on the other two, for, like Munro's 'The New Road' (1914),²⁷ it deflates the aura of splendid romance that surrounded the Highland chiefs in fiction before this time. In 'An Cailinn Sgiathanach', the two chiefs are bankrupt men, willing to traduce a young girl in order to win over a financial entrepreneur.

The more demanding of the two possible definitions of a novel is that it is a long story, oriented in such a way as to illustrate the psychology or attitudes of one or more of the characters or to analyse a particular society, especially the author's own. Only 'An Cailinn Sgiathanach', of the three Gaelic novels meets this

definition, and that only marginally. A less stringent definition covers stories consciously and consistently shaped in order to produce a definite, predetermined effect, such as surprise, joy, eroticism, or terror. 'An t-Ogha Mór' and 'Dùn Aluinn', as adventure stories or 'Thrillers', fit this definition but do not fulfil its requirements to any remarkable degree, including, as they do, so much material that is irrelevant to the effect desired.

The author of 'An Cailinn Sgiathanach' is, along with Iain Smith, the only Gaelic writer to have published an English novel. His 'A Highland Waif' (1928) is set both in the Highlands and in Glasgow. It concerns a young girl, the daughter of a "fallen woman", whose aunt, a Lady MacKenzie, has adopted her and pretends that she is her real mother. The aunt is blackmailed by the supposed father of the child, but he is found to be, in collaboration with the surgeon the girl is to marry, an owner of brothels and he is jailed. The young girl is saved from marriage by the mysterious and precocious youth, Duncan MacDonald, who disappears when her trouble is solved (we learn that he was a fairy child). The novel is described on the title page as 'A Study in Ethics' and certainly it contains much discussion of the morals and political questions of that time (1928). It shows a considerable contemporary awareness

and, in that, is a great advance on 'An Cailinn Sgiathanach', but this virtue is vitiated both by the erratic style of writing and by the intrusion of the fairy figure.

Essays

In this period, too, a group of very entertaining and often very intelligent essayists came to the fore, again published first in periodicals. In 'An Gaidheal' (1871-1877) and 'MacTalla' (1894-1904), Donald MacKinnon published a series of erudite essays on aspects of Gaelic literature and on the light that Gaelic proverbs throw on folk philosophy. These were collected and edited for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society in 1956 by Lachlan MacKinnon. Donald MacKechnie's delightfully whimsical essays on animals and people appeared mainly in the 'Oban Times', 'Deo-Ghréine', and 'Celtic Review' (1897-1904). The essays were collected in 'An Fear Ciùil', a collection of prose and verse which appeared in 1904. From 1907 to 1950 Donald Lamont edited and contributed to the Gaelic Supplement of 'Life and Work'.²⁸

Lamont's essays are in light, colloquial Gaelic which deals gracefully and humorously with a wide range of subjects, from description of animals and

countryside and our attitudes to them to reflections on the "failings and foibles, nobilities and heroisms, the joys and sorrows, fears and achievements, gallantry and perversity, of ordinary folk everywhere."²⁹

His faculty for entertaining his reader often masks a very intelligent interest in both his subject and writing style as well as a deep seriousness in his motives (in this, he is to be contrasted with Caraid nan Gaidheal, in whose essays the seriousness of aim is reflected in a dignified prose style).

There are three main prose styles represented in Gaelic essay writing: first, the sedate, dignified style of MacKinnon and Caraid nan Gaidheal, based on the style of the Gaelic Bible; second, the lighter, more colloquial style of MacKechnie and Lamont; and third, the prosy, rhythmic, and artificial style that is used by Donald Sinclair in his philosophical and mystical essays in 'Guth na Bliadhna': 'Gaol-mulad', 'Gaol-aobhneis', and 'Litir Dhachaidh' (1917-1925).

A refreshing aspect of Sinclair's style is the consideration that he gives to his selection of words, but many of his words and phrases are archaic and artificial (Ann Johnston records that he spent much time in Barra collecting archaic expressions), so that it is difficult to understand. His style is very much like Angus Robertson's,³⁰ and, like it, is reminiscent of the runs of the traditional sgeulachd

and the English verse style of James ('Ossian') MacPherson. Sinclair's thought--though, as in 'Litir Dhachaidh', he shows awareness of the most modern scientific thought--has a strong colouring of Roman Catholic and even pre-Christian mysticism, to the expression of which this style is quite appropriate. Occasionally, his statements are penetrating, relevant, and effectively expressed: "tha t-fuighar. . . na fuar-chaitheas, a Ghaoil, a'feitheamh ri aiteamh mo bhailbhe" ('Litir Dhachaidh', 1924).

In 1918, An Comunn Gaidhealach published 'An Solaraiche', a book of four prize-winning essays: 'Jeanne d'Arc' (Angus Henderson), 'Cuairt anns a'Fhrith' (Neil Shaw), 'Dàn-Cluiche Cinneamhail Gàelig' (Neil Ross), and 'Bàrdachd Dhonnchaidh Bhàin' (Donald James MacLeod). All had appeared previously, either in 'An Ròsarnach' or 'An Deò-Gréine'.³⁰ The most prominent essayists in 'An Deò-Gréine/An Gaidheal' were Neil Ross, the Rev. Malcolm MacLeod, Hector MacDougall, J.N. MacLeod, D. MacPhee, and Kenneth MacLeod (whose ornateness and mysticism, as in the well-known 'Duatharrachd na Mara', is very similar to that of Sinclair and Robertson).

THE SECOND PHASE

Summary

The main developement in this period was the transplanting of Gaelic village culture--oral sgeulachdan, historical tales, and anecdotes--into the artificial setting of the organised-Gaelic emigré communities in Lowland cities, which required that these oral stories be printed, if only as a temporary expedient. During this process of transplantation, the native tradition came into contact with, and cross-bred with a more refined literary tradition which laid more selfconscious emphasis on style, structure, effect, psychology, and philosophical insight. This influence came into play on the motivation of an upsurge in Gaelic nationalism during the early years of the century and through the persons of Roderick Erskine of Mar, Angus Henderson, and Calum MacFarlane.

The most influential writer in the English language was Neil Munro, but the work of R.L. Stevenson and Scott is not to be discounted, while the influence of Arthur Conan Doyle and Jules Verne is indisputable in the case of Erskine of Mar and

Angus Henderson.

The main achievements in prosewriting during the period were the three historical novels,³¹ one or two surrealist humorous pieces, and the rather pretentious detective and science fiction stories of Erskine of Mar and Henderson respectively. This achievement was obviously a fairly limited one. The story 'Crotachan' by Caraid nan Gaidheal (1836)--admittedly ahead of its time, even in European terms--is much closer than any Gaelic story written in the early 20th century to the open-ended, psychology-oriented short stories that were pioneered by Anton Chekhov and Turgenev in the late 19th century and brought to fiction in English by James Joyce ('Dubliners', 1914) and Katherine Mansfield.

The second phase is very similar in many respects to the first, largely because of the critical importance of the contribution to the short story and to prosewriting in general of one man and his Gaelic periodicals (Dr Norman MacLeod in the first, Erskine of Mar in the second phase). In addition, the most productive period in each phase spanned only about fifteen years and was followed by several decades of little progress.

1925-1950

The first part of this period marked the beginning of the Scottish National Literary Renaissance, featuring Hugh MacDiarmid, Lewis Spence, Lewis Grassie Gibbon, and others. This movement, however, was confined to Lowland Scotland and to Lallans, in the early stages, but there was a dramatic revival in Gaelic poetry in the 1930's and 1940's as a result of the promptings of the nationalistic circle. There was, however, no corresponding revival in the prose. The patriotism engendered by the formation of the Scottish National Party in 1928 did not, as it had done earlier, prove to be an effective stimulus for creative prosewriting in Gaelic.

Generally, the intellectual level of the entertainment provided at ceilidhs fell fast--especially during and after the Second World War. Fewer and fewer ceilidh programmes included tales, debates, dialogues, or readings--whether humorous or otherwise: after the war, most organisations

concentrated on song recitals.³² There was, therefore, coming to be less and less demand during this period for books of prose readings.

The bulk of Gaelic prosewriting in this period took the form of journalistic essays. Donald Lamont was writing regularly until 1950 in 'Life and Work': his series of essays on the imaginary parish of Cille Sgumain were especially seminal. These pieces use a recurrent group of Highland character-types,³³ like those of Caraid nan Gaidheal, and, again like MacLeod, his narrator is often the quaint, old-fashioned peasant, bewildered by new concepts and inventions, who appears so often in the còmhradh. The characters he creates are well-rounded and show close observation of Highland life, but the character of the narrator is not developed very far.

The main contribution made by the 'Cabairneach'³⁵ writers to this style was the use of an individualistic character, again called Seònaid, as narrator: a series of stories dealt with her escapades at film shows, Mods, bazaars, etc. Always she is trying hard, with much success, to hide her manifold ignorance. Seònaid is always just on the right side of the reader's sympathy, but the line is a thin one. She can be malicious and interfering, obtuse, salacious and domineering on different occasions, but the story is told very much as she sees it, so that it is only with a conscious and

strong effort of the will that we can detect these unfortunate tendencies in her nature.

The "Seònaid" stories in 'An Cabairneach' are important in two respects. In the first place, psychological verity in the creation of Seònaid was maintained and this achievement on the part of sixth-formers shows considerable insight on their part and a tremendous amount of skill in character-creation: the fact that Seònaid is the narrator makes the need for awareness of the complexities of the mind all the more essential. This ability to create credible characters and the investigation of their often self-contradictory psychology is an essential ingredient of the modern, sophisticated short story and novel and was significantly missing from most Gaelic stories before 'An Cabairneach'.

The second way in which the Seònaid stories are important is connected with the type of Gaelic used in them. In small Highland villages, there are many strong-willed, self-opinionated middle-aged women of whom Seònaid is a close and deliberate replica. Because of the desire to make her an authentic, "real" character, it was inevitable that a very colloquial Gaelic style be employed. The 'Cabairneach' writers were the first to use colloquial Gaelic for serious writing: Donald Lamont's style is close to it,³⁶ but is still "literary Gaelic", while the use of it in MacFadyen's books is of little relevance, as his stories were oral in origin.

and intended for oral performance. The use in 'An Cabairneach' of colloquial Gaelic gave a new respectability to it as an artistic medium.³⁷

Although the character of Seònaid was the initial justification for it, several writers who served their literary apprenticeship in 'An Cabairneach' (Paul MacInnes, Finlay J. MacDonald), along with several whom they inspired (Norman MacLeod--'Am Bàrd Bochd'; Derick Thomson), continue to use highly colloquial Gaelic, both for humour (MacDonald, MacLeod) and for more serious stories (MacInnes, Thomson). At its best theirs is a pithy, virile style, but has remarkable flexibility.

The use of this type of Gaelic in the 'Cabairneach' stories is probably partly a result of the influence of the contemporary sketch, in which such characters as Seonaid were common and in which naturalism was the goal in dialogue as in staging. The use of expletives ("a ghoraig", etc.) for humour in both forms is an interesting parallel. Some of the other articles in 'An Cabairneach'--e.g. 'Litir Thorcuill' (from an old-fashioned crofter) and 'Litir Eilidh' (from his female equivalent)--are more closely akin to the style of Caraid nan Gaidheal and Donald Lamont, but the writing style is again closer to dialect usage.

An essay-motif similar to that of Lamont and 'An Cabairneach' was employed by J.N. MacLeod in his weekly diary column in Gaelic in the 'Stornoway Gazette'; this column started in 1917 and was written mainly³⁸ to inform Lewismen abroad of events--

local news and ceilidh preoccupations--at home. The articles were supposedly narrated by Alasdair Mór, an old crofter, and involved a small group of characters who continued to reappear and were consistently maintained over the years (many of these were undoubtedly based on real-life characters in Bernera, Lewis, where MacLeod was a schoolmaster). T.M. Murchison took over MacLeod's 'Gazette' column in 1950, but has retained only its skeleton.

The history in Gaelic of this humorous device, a recognisable and recurrent group of character stereotypes and the use of an old crofter or his wife as narrator, is very interesting. It has been used previously, as in Dr Norman MacLeod's work, to make palatable essays that were not in themselves intended as entertainment--some were archival in purpose, some preceptory or evangelical, some journalistic. In 'An Cabairneach' and in later imitations of the 'Cabairneach' style in 'Gairm', however, the technique has come to be used as a humorous story in its own right.

There was little else of value among the Gaelic prosewriting of this period. There were several newspapers and periodicals which had regular features in Gaelic, including 'The Pictish Review' (Erskine of Mar, 1927), 'The Glasgow Highlander' (1933), and three short-lived Gaelic periodicals: 'Crois Tara' (1938-39), 'Am Bhratach' (1941-42), and 'An Ceum' (1948-49), of which 'Crois Tara' and 'An Ceum'

were issued by the Gaelic League of Scotland.

In 1924, Iain M. Moffat-Pender published 'Mo Nighean Donn Bhòidheach', which contains some stories, but is primarily a journal of a tramping tour in the West Highlands by the author and the Rev. Calum MacLean. The Collected Works of Bàrd Thùrnaig (1926) contain a lengthy prose autobiography and letters sent by Bàrd Thùrnaig to the editor (Moffat-Pender). 'Am Measg nam Bodach' (1938) is a collection of reminiscences by old Highlanders that had been broadcast on the B.B.C.

An Comunn Gaidhealach published two booklets of essays and stories for soldiers in the Second World War. Most of the essays and stories had previously appeared in 'An Gaidheal'. These two booklets were reissued with additions as a book, 'Am Feachd Gaidhealach', in 1944.

Dr Alasdair MacIntyre's 'Balaich an t-Sratha' (1946), written for Comunn na h-Oigridh, is a simple but skilfully told story of young village boys' first odyssean foray outside the immediate neighbourhood of their village. It brilliantly evokes their world-view: everything, even the most mundane sight (such as a tinker) is novel, exciting and even dangerous to them. Yet the picture is sympathetically drawn: at the end of the book, the reader still feels that he has been told about dramatic events even though the boys' own bravado has been deflated somewhat by the fact that people in the "foreign"

village know their parents very well.

This book is written in a very entertaining, free-wheeling style. It is an accurate portrayal of children--their feelings, their conversation--but its most interesting feature in a study of Gaelic literature is the skill MacIntyre shows in constructing conversation. Few Gaelic writers before him--playwrights, novelists, or short-story writers--had this skill and not many, even after him, have been able effectively to recreate the conversation of children (witness the lack of success of Iain Smith, for example, when he attempts it). This example of MacIntyre's style reports an argument over the terminus of the road and reliability on that score of their respective fathers:

Murchadh: Agus t-athair fhéin, dé a tha ann ach iasgair? Is ann air truisg is bodaich-ruadha is eòlaiche esan.

Seumas: Chunnaic e clachan-mìle co dhiubh.

M.: Clachan-mìle! Is an dha a thigeadh. Có tha a dh'innis e seín?

S.: Dh'innis do dh'Alasdair Mór--gu fac e cus dhiubh.

M. Tha mi creidsinn-- 'S iad ris an trod.

Dh'fhaodadh uaireannan gum biodh e a'faicinn a dhà dhiùbh còmhla.

S.: Is e bhithas d'athair faicinn sreath dhiubh.

M.: Ach bithidh d'athar-sa uaireannan nach

urrainn dha aonan idir fhaicinn.

S.: Cum do theanga. A bhriagadair!

Ailidh Iuath: An cuala tu siud?

Coinneach Carach: Thoir té dhà.

M.: Cha toirinn-sa sion dha.

S.: Cha ghabhadh e air.

M.: Nach gabhadh?

'Alba', edited by T.M. Murchison and Malcolm MacLean (1948) contained essays on Highland political, economic, and cultural matters, in both Gaelic and English.

There were two important translations into Gaelic during this period: 'Sgeul an Draoidh Eile, le Eanruig Van Dyke'³⁶ and 'An Triùir Choigreach' by Thomas Hardy.³⁷ The latter is set in the English West Country, in a remote shepherd's house: three strangers in turn intrude on a christening celebration. One is revealed to be the new hangman, the other is a stately elder man. News of the escape from prison of the man who is to be hanged the next day arrives as a third stranger enters. This third man runs away and is pursued by the men at the celebration, who think he is the doomed man. They capture him, but he tells them that he is a brother of the doomed man, the dignified old stranger, who was sitting beside the hangman in the house. The doomed man has escaped in the confusion and is not recaptured. The translation is sometimes stilted, but it makes fairly easy

reading: it is purely an adventure story, fraught with coincidence, but is nevertheless very dramatic and well-organised.

'Sgeul an Draoidh Eile' is a mystical story of the adventures of the fourth Wise Man from the East, who did not arrive at Christ's birthplace in time because he stopped to help a sick man. He had three jewels that he wished to give to God, but spent them all, first on the sick man, second to save a child from the soldiers, and third to rescue a slave girl. He thinks he has thus lost his opportunity to serve God, but finally he sees Christ on the Cross.

1950-1968

THE THIRD PHASE

The 1950's and especially the 1960's have seen a revival in Gaelic prosewriting, as in drama: it is only in this period that either form has achieved a contemporary sophistication in Gaelic.

As in the other important periods delineated in this chapter, this one is characterised by the activity of a small group of enthusiasts and by the emergence of important periodical media. In this instance, the periodical media have been 'Gairm' (from 1952, ed. by D. Thomson and F.J. MacDonald) and the B.B.C. Gaelic Department³⁸ (under Hugh McPhee and Fred MacAulay and strengthened in the early 1950's by the fervour and talent of Finlay J. MacDonald).

The revival in Gaelic prosewriting, and especially in the short story, has been based on the increased literacy brought about by a more enlightened attitude towards Gaelic in schools since the Second

World War as well as the fact that, with increased state help, a far higher proportion of Highland children (especially of the crofter class) have been able to reap the advantages of higher education since the War,³⁹ and have, therefore, a wider and more critical experience of literature in other languages than previously.

During this period, important translations have been: one of 'Treasure Island'; 'The Adventures of Baron Munchausen';⁴⁰ 'Teine Ceann Fòid',⁴¹ a children's novel by Allan Campbell MacLean; and of stories from Russian, Italian (Guareschi's 'Don Camillo' stories), Welsh (Kate Roberts), and Irish (Concobhair O'Ruairc and others).⁴²

'Gairm', like 'Guth an Bliadhna', provides informed comment on a wide range of current affairs at home and abroad--politics, economics, culture, and literature.⁴³ The B.B.C. broadcast regular news bulletins in Gaelic and also discussion of current affairs, in particular of crofting, and of literature.⁴⁴

The fact that literary criticism has been fostered by both these agencies has encouraged a greater consciousness of literary techniques, more awareness of standards other than the traditional Gaelic ones, and a consequently more professional attitude on the part of Gaelic writers. Too little constructive criticism of Gaelic literature appears even yet, however.

The B.B.C., as a semi-governmental agency, is obliged to cater for all distinguishable tastes; the Gaelic Department has conscientiously kept this fact in mind, so that the stories broadcast range from sgeulachdan, historical stories, personal anecdotes to both humorous and serious short stories of a more sophisticated type. The Gaelic Department has, from the beginning, showed a willingness to broadcast the most avant-garde material, a most fortunate attitude since they can afford--as Caraid nan Gaidheal, Erskine of Mar and 'Gairm' could not--to pay for material.

A large number of humorous stories have been broadcast. These have included witty accounts of humorous incidents by Kate MacDonald, Roderick MacKinnon, and Finlay J. MacDonald, a number of light but very clever character sketches by Edward Pursell, several very interesting stories by Donald Grant in a distinctive drily humorous style, and one exceptional story--'An Léine Gheal', by Alister MacMillan.⁴⁵ 'An Léine Gheal' is an absurdist romp distinguished by the author's deliberately and effectively maintained low-key narrative tone.

Among the best writers of stories for radio are Colin MacKenzie, Paul MacInnes,⁴⁶ Helen Watt, and Mary MacLean. Helen Watt's early stories were based mainly on traditional motifs and plot-types, but the plots in her later stories have been more

imaginative though they are usually marred by a tendency towards coincidence and neat predictability. Her prose style is vigorous and pithy, but often verges on over-writing. Mary MacLean's stories are sentimental romances on the model of 'The People's Friend' stories (which are usually set in Scotland).

Almost certainly the best stories that have been broadcast by the B.B.C. are those of Kenneth Finlayson. The simple, lyrical style of 'An Sgian' (broadcast 1958)--an account of a boy's wide-eyed walk through a wood and a subsequent fishing incident--is reminiscent of the best of Liam O'Flaherty and, in particular, of H.E. Bates, whose long story 'Alexander' is very similar in subject and style to 'An Sgian'. 'An Sgian' differs from the Gaelic stories of the 1920's in its interest, not in external events, in the incident itself, but in the way the main character sees these events. This psychological interest is further developed in Finlayson's earlier story, 'An Roghainn' (broadcast 14/8/56).

One of the two men involved in the latter story is Niall, now a drunken layabout: he is married to the other man's former fiancée (this is the first 'roghainn') The beginning of the story describes how the wife meets Angus, her former fiancé, and asks him to take her husband out fishing with him, to which Angus reluctantly agrees. A beautiful description of the sea through his eyes is given as he waits for the husband: "Nach b'iongantach

mar a bha cùisean ag obrachadh. Lion beag is beag thàinig a' muir seachad air na creagan. An sud 's a' so thàinig partan a mach fo chloich, agus thòisich iad ri spàgail a measg na feamann. Bha na faochagan 's na gilleachan fionn toilichte gun do thill a' muir. Dheanadh iad seòrsa de ghluasad an uair a bha uisge sailhte na mara a dol thairis orra. Thigeadh cudaige beag cho dàna air a' chreig o a dh' fhaodadh, 's nuair shaoileadh neach gu robh e dol a bhualadh chuireadh e tionndadh beag 'na earball 's rachadh e as an t-sealladh."

The lyricism of this and the description of the boat leaving shore on a calm sea contrast effectively with the morose bitter silence of the two men aboard. The same brilliant mood-depiction is evident when the fog descends and the boat is helpless as a larger ship's foghorn sounds out near at hand. Angus has been tempted to rock the boat and drown the drunken man, hoping to convince even his conscience that it was an accident. The small boat is capsized, however, by the ship and Angus rescues the other man. Aboard the ship, Angus recovers consciousness, only to hear Niall still cursing and taunting him. The rescue by the younger man is a melodramatic touch, but the ending compensates.

Scarcely any Gaelic story-writer before this had created as explosive a situation or shown such keen interest in the mental state of the characters

in his story: his demonstration that a man can contemplate murder and still be a sympathetic hero is very daring.⁴⁷

The short story has to create characters, moods, and situations in very short compass and is, for that reason, often regarded as a poet's medium: Finlayson certainly had a flair for this. At his most characteristic, he describes largely by implication, as at the very end of the story, when we are told that Angus returned to his thoughts but are not told what these are. This precision, in particular, distinguishes Finlayson from, for example, MacCormick, whose touch in mood-creation is singularly erratic. Finlayson's stories are of the open-ended, psychologically-oriented type which was uncommon in Gaelic before the broadcast of this story. His third story, 'A' Chraobh' (broadcast 1958), is also of interest, but is more melodramatic than the other two. He does not seem to have published any more Gaelic stories since then.

The editors of 'Gairm' have made a conscious effort to encourage the development of the modern short story in Gaelic. In 1956, a prize of ten guineas was offered for the best short story "anns an nòs ùr", which was won by Colin MacKenzie's highly imaginative mystery story, 'An Sgàthan'. In 1961, a prize of £20 was offered for a similar type of story and was won by Iain Smith with 'An Solus Ur', a futuristic story.

Among the humorous stories in 'Gairm', there was a distinctive and very popular series in the 1950's stemming from the Seònaid-stories in 'An Cabairneach'. These again were intended solely for entertainment--the group of humorous characters and the old woman-narrator are used as ends in themselves, not as an essayist's device. The Seònaid-character finds herself at the Edinburgh Festival Tatoo, at a bazaar, Burns' Supper, etc.; the writers, though using outrageous pseudonyms, are recognisable as the same few who wrote the original 'Cabairneach' stories.

In a similar vein, and equally popular, were a series of humorous anecdotes, such as 'Rinn Sinn Latha Mór Dheth' ('Gairm', 1954), an account of a prewar bus excursion from Ness to Callanish (with illustrations). The writings of Am Bàrd Bochd (Norman MacLeod) are an excellent example of this type of story: his 'Bha edona leis' (1963) is a hilarious, though sensitive account of a beautiful young nurse through the eyes of a smitten old bachelor (this use of the main humorous character is reminiscent of the Seònaid group). In the Bàrd Bochd's story, the use of his drawings is fully integrated with the writing. The illustrations are a part of the language: this marks a considerable break with the oral origins of the short story tradition in Gaelic. In the early 1950's, 'Gairm' published a series of sophisticated humorous essays

by Finlay J. MacDonald, such as 'Gliocas nan Gall', 'An Càr', and 'Na Stocainnean'.

Although Am Bàrd Bòhd has continued to write-- often brilliantly and topically--the output of Gaelic humorous writing has declined in quality and quantity in the past few years. Exceptions to this statement are: 'An Dùdach' ('Gairm', 1962), by Ann Fraser, a very imaginative account of the return of the Fingaliens as a band of gawkish but amiable giants; 'Foghar 1976' ('Gairm', 1956) by Derick Thomson, a satiric reversal of the Gaelic-English culture conflict--one of the few examples of the use of the short story form for satire in Gaelic; and 'Victoria agus Albert' ('Gairm', 1965) by Finlay MacLeod, a delightful fable in pseudo-Biblical style about an acquisitive rat.

Colin MacKenzie, from the mid-1950's, has contributed a wide range of stories to 'Gairm' and the B.B.C. His early stories were occasionally clumsy, but his technique has improved and he is now a prolific and skilful writer, showing considerable imagination and narrative skill. His work mainly consists of science fiction, detective, and mystery stories. These are often extremely well-organised as to plot and very efficiently if ~~uneconomically~~ told. A collection of his short stories is due to appear very shortly.

The other main type of the non-comic short story, that in which psychological insight is more

important than plot development, began to appear in 'Gairm' from around 1953. Hector MacIver's 'Leth-cheud Punnd Sasunnach' ('Gairm', 1953) is an interesting early example: this is a study of a young boy's reaction to the traumatic discovery of an unpleasant incident in his father's past.

Paul MacInnes contributed an interesting story to 'An Cabairneach' in 1951. His first stories in 'Gairm' were humorous--in a witty, highly colloquial style--but he has more recently published several interesting serious stories. His 'Toiseach a' Cheamhraidh' ('Gairm', 1967), for example, has very little action but is full of excellent character development. It records an evening in the friendship of a visiting works' supervisor, who is soon to leave, and an aging woman who has, rather unwillingly, to stay looking after her old father. The few things that happen reveal by implication the hidden feelings of each of the characters and the fore-doomed nature of their relationship.

Derick Thomson has written several interesting short stories. Two of the most effective are 'Bean a' Mhinisteir' (B.B.C. radio, 1953; 'Gairm', 1957)--the story of a happy but mentally retarded young woman, the attitude towards her of the community, through whose eyes the story is told, and the husband's own eventual mental breakdown--and 'An Staran',

a long, sensitively told psychological study. Thomson's prose style is colloquial but richly sensuous; his approach is relaxed but, as in his poetry, subtly trenchant.

Finlay J. MacDonald's 'Putan Dearg' ('Gairm', 1961)--like, for example, Orwell's '1984' and Huxley's 'Brave New World'--attacks present sociological tendencies by describing them in a fully developed form set in the future. The three anti-heroes are American, Chinese, and British rocket-surveillance officers who have not been successfully turned into automatons and who, between them, precipitate nuclear holocaust. The message is clear, but has been well synthesised. MacDonald's 'Air Bèulaibh an t-Sluaigh' ('Gairm', 1958) is another excellent short story. A minister's daughter, aware that she is pregnant, is shattered by her fiancé's announcement that they cannot marry immediately because he is to take a three-year divinity course as a consequence of her father's new Billy Graham-style of evangelism. Tempted to commit suicide in despair, she eventually decides to brave the vicious small-community gossip, to take her place "air bèulaibh an t-sluaigh". This is as powerful a story as any that has appeared in Gaelic.

Two highly imaginative short stories by Rob Shirley appeared in 'Gairm'. The first is 'An Duine Ur' (1961), an account of a transplant

surgeon's attempt to construct a perfect man. The other, 'Mr Universe' (1963), like 'Am Putan Dearg', is set in the future; in this world, Hollywood culture abounds: the hero is, as in Huxley's 'Brave New World', a Savage (here a Highlander), who is entered for the Mr Universe contest--a trial of strength, beauty, and sexual prowess--but is disgusted by the whole affair and returns home.

Less stridently modernistic but subtly introspective are Rarlon Seixias' 'A' Phròsbaig' ('Gairm', 1964) and Martin MacDonald's 'Falach Fead' ('Gairm', 1961). In 'A' Phròsbaig', the narrative viewpoint is not that of an objective eye-witness nor of a character in the story, but a combination of both. The subject is a very lonely man who, with the aid of a telescope, has come to share in the joys, sorrows and love-making of a family who live within sight of his window. The author clearly, if unobtrusively, sympathises with him rather than with the police who take him away and the family he has been watching, who express uncomprehending disgust. MacDonald's story 'Falach Fead' is an interesting study of a sensitive boy whose friends misunderstand and frustrate him and who, it is implied, will end up like the drunken old man with whom (though he is not involved in the action) the story begins and ends.

An interesting group of simple but realistic

and well-told stories about a young Highland girl (Raonaid) by Chrissie Dick are an interesting development in recent years. These stories show an acute awareness of the interests, anxieties, and pastimes of young Highland girls and are entertainingly told. Obviously based on girls' magazine stories, they nevertheless have more realistic depth and less romanticising of the girls' lives than the former.

Iain Murray's 'Fòdl a' Gheamhraidh' ('Gairm', 1966) is a sensitive and complex analysis of a boy's changing feelings as he watches his father catch and kill a sheep. His 'An Dealachadh' ('Gairm', 1966) is in a less naturalistic style, analysing how the creative and practical sides of a boy's personality inter-relate. Murray's 'Fracas' ('Gairm', 1956) is a "stream of consciousness" story, in which items are described in a dream-like sequence and are unified on an emotional rather than a logical plane in a style very similar to that of William Saroyan's anti-stories in the 1930's.

Surrealism emerged as a philosophy of pictorial art after the First World War: gradually this attitude, with its disillusionment with ratiocinative processes of theme-exposition, spread to the other arts, giving the "anti-novel" (Robbe-Grillet, Beckett, Grass), the "theatre of the absurd" (Ionesco, Simpson), and the anti-short story that is most

frequently printed in the more serious literary magazines in the main European literatures at the present day. Murray's story is the first, and to date, only example of the style in Gaelic.

But if Murray is the most avant-garde of Gaelic story writers, Iain Smith is the only writer of non-"thriller" stories who has produced a large corpus of interesting work.⁴⁸ His stories have been broadcast by the B.B.C. from 1955 ('An Tigh Gloinne'), and by 'Gairm' since 1953 ('Am Balach'). To date, he has had two collections of short stories published-- 'Burn is Aran' (1960) and 'An Dubh is an Gorm' (1963).

In all his stories, the pre-eminent characteristic of Smith's style is a desire to throw as much light as possible on the feelings and thoughts of an individual in a particular situation, and he always manipulates his plot to that end.⁴⁹ But, whereas James Joyce, for example, composed his short stories by taking "real" characters, either known Dubliners or Dublin middle-class types, setting them in particular situations and then allowing them to work out the story almost for themselves,⁵⁰ Smith, on the other hand, often seems to begin with a theme or idea which he illustrates with a narrative. This is not to say that his stories are unartistic, that they are parables: parables are "art of the will",⁵¹ while Smith's stories show much artistic synthesis. It is difficult to distinguish in objective, logical

terms between the parable and the art-story, but it is clear that the latter has an inspirational probity, that theory and expression coalesced in the subconscious mind before the artistic consciousness began shaping it. Sartre is the best known exemplar of this style of Smith: his trilogy (1945-49), 'The Age of Reason' artistically illustrates his own Existentialist philosophy (significantly, many of Smith's stories do have Existentialist themes underlying them).

The main proof of the supposition that Smith begins with "themes" rather than situations is the ease with which his stories can be typed. In 'Bùrn is Aran' (1960), for example, excluding the Return of the Exile stories, all the stories concern two individuals who have been thrown together by events: the degree of communication possible between them is his preoccupation. In several instances, the two characters do not have a common lexical language: this is both a symbol of a deeper lack of communication and a device to show how much communication is possible, if language is removed. The most important of these stories are the following: 'Am Bàrd' (an interview between a young and an old and now unproductive poet, the latter not now able to see the value of poetry: very little communication is achieved); 'An Duine Dubh' (describing the strange impulse of nostalgia and pity that makes the lonely old Highland woman

buy silk underwear from an equally lonely Pakistani peddler); and 'Bùrn' (in which a British soldier misunderstands a gesture of friendship by a captured German and shoots him).

In terms of subject-matter, 'An Dubh is an Gorm' (1968) represents a detectable change in orientation. The stories tend to involve one individual; they concentrate again on his mental attitude rather than his actions, but here the focus of interest is his response to some new stimulus to emotion or action that his environment puts in his way. Examples are: 'Anns a' Bhùrn' (the thoughts of a drowning man); 'Na Facail air a' Bhalla' (in which "Mary Campbell loves John Campbell" on a wall evokes reminiscences); 'A' Bhan-shoisgeulaiche' (the reactions of an old maternalistic missionary to the Kenyan nationalist agitation of the 1950's); 'A' Ghlóinne' (in which a television play reminds a man of his own unhappy marriage); and 'An Taghadh' (in which an old Highland woman is forced to decide which of her sons the Hanoverian officer is to kill). 'An Taghadh' was probably inspired by Smith's reading of Existentialist philosophy,⁵² while in several other stories of 'An Dubh is an Gorm', his environment forces the central character to make a decision whose consequences are largely unforeseen but which is of crucial importance to his future. Many of the stories of this type are, in fact,

well-known old stories rewritten with an emphasis not on action but on how the participants felt throughout it: these include 'Abraham is Isaac' and 'Is agus Esan' (Adam and Eve)--two classic examples of the Existentialist's "blind choice". Such interpretative rewriting of old, well-known stories was a development of the historical novel (and play); well-known modern examples are the plays 'Becket' and 'Antigone' by Jean Anouilh and 'The Last Temptation of Christ' by Nikos Kazantzakis. The development is a converse of the practise of psychologists and philosophers of using well-known stories as examples of their new theories--for example, Kierkegaard with the story of Abraham and Isaac, Freud with the Oedipus legends.

Although it is quite easy to demonstrate the domination of each of these books of short stories, with the exception of the "exile" stories, by one particular theme, it is often difficult to give a precise, fully-satisfying interpretation of individual stories. This is because, like Sartre, Smith has produced, not a conscious illustration of an idea, but has created a situation and character whose dénouements and actions (respectively) are organised according to a particular theory of human behaviour. This organisation has not been a fully conscious one: the stories written at a particular time inevitably reflect his theoretical intellectual preoccupations during that period.

Both books contain several stories--excepted from the above discussion--which deal with the exile's return to his island home, a theme which also appears in Smith's poetry. This type of story was an inevitable development in the Gaelic context.⁵³

Superficially, they are a development of John MacCormick's stories, which dealt with the exile's exploits abroad, rather than his feelings towards his home. Smith's stories are skilfully constructed open-ended short stories.

It is debatable whether a writer should confine himself to describing situations that he knows (in Smith's case, the exile stories). Certainly, there is great interest (if not veracity) in the attempts of a shy Highland intellectual to enter the mind of the megalomaniac French Emperor in Elba or of the psychotic murderer, Mac an t-Srònaich, but is probably of some significance that Smith has less technical control where he has not shared the experience he depicts: for example, in 'A' Charbaid', where the imagery has got somewhat out of control: "Shaoil e gu robh a guth air chrith mar chumbaisd. . . bhriseadh e an saoghal mar gum briseadh duine cupan cofaidh. . . chan fhaigheadh e air carachadh, bha dà chloich air a chasan; bha mhac-meanmna ag gul fala".

Where he knows the subject well, Smith is a powerful writer, as in the brilliant 'Granny anns a' Chòrnair' ('Gairm', 1966),⁵⁵ a study through the

eyes of four members of the one family of certain incidents in the past; and in 'An Còmhradh', a description of the pressure put on a dying boy's mind by his mother and the minister, though the "còmhradh" is significantly one-sided (from the mother). His psychological insights into such characters are brilliant: he achieves a high degree of realism, though not much naturalism, especially in conversation.

Stylistically, Smith's work is underlaid by an overt intellectuality--not only with regard to the degree to which his ideas "approach the surface" of his creative work, but also in the extreme precision of his descriptions and in the clarity, verbal and mental, of his style. His writing style has been ruthlessly pared down: it is neither the colloquial style of 'An Cabairneach' nor the heavy style of Caraid nan Gaidheal or even Lamont: it is a lean, athletic prose style, a tool he has created to suit the bent of his mind.

Generally, his narrative stance, like, for example, Seixias' 'A' Phròsbaig', is halfway between that of the objective, omniscient author and first-person narration by the leading character. The action is described with a semblance of objectivity but with frequent intrusions of the leading character's viewpoint.

This technique dates from the early 20th century, finding its first coherent expression in

the novel-prefaces of Henry James (1907-1909). James held that the novelist must not intrude upon his narrative (as did Dickens and Dostoevsky, for example, and all the early Gaelic novelists),⁵⁶ and yet that the novelist must not attempt objective narration: he must create "an adequately sensitive recording intelligence, a sentient center", through whose eyes the story is to be told (not necessarily in first-person narration). The technique became associated with a style in pictorial art and, consequently, the novelists often are referred to as "impressionist novelists".

An example of this style in Smith's short stories is this paragraph in which the restless son quarrels with his relatively unambitious brother: "Cha dubhairt a' bhràthair smid, 'na sheasamh le dhà bhròig mhóir a' fàs as an talamh." There are many other examples of this style in Smith's work, but the above example was chosen because it also illustrates Smith's frequent flashes of poetic vision, which are so essential in the short story for accurate and brief delineation of character, scene, and mood. Occasionally, however, as in 'An Duine Dubh', they can get out of hand.

Smith's stories are usually unified by theme rather than by plot, in the conventional sense, but, on the "poetic" level, there are often unifying devices. For example, in 'An Solus Ur', the opening scene describes a World-ruler in front of four

telephones--one white (neutral), one green (his personal telephone), one yellow (or amber), and the fourth red (this is the one that will ring to tell him he is to fire his country's atomic rockets). The ruler is obsessed with the colour green--he notices that the sky outside is green and the sun golden and that his servant's pen is green; as he tries to make contact, on the green telephone, with his daughter, whom he has up until now neglected, the red phone rings: the sky outside is now red. In the story 'Tilleadh Dhachaidh', the unifying symbol⁵⁷ is the colour gold and a gold ring: the exile sees all objects and events in terms of that symbolism. Sometimes, as in 'An Solus Ur', one feels that the unifying imagery, the poetic (as distinct from narrative) framework of the story is too much on the surface, but it usually gives an effective unity to the story, though not a superficially logical or narrative unity. This indicates that Smith is closer to surreal presentation of his theme than to the conventional, logical, chronological, and narrative exposition.

The short stories of two other Gaelic poets are worth comparing. Sorley MacLean's 'Bial na h-Oidhche' (B.B.C., 1959) describes the meeting of two men (one of whom narrates the tale) in the hills, the one politically minded, the other apolitical. The narrator concludes that the two men are only two parts of the one personality, his own: this

this is merely a crude translation of MacLean's poetry: it is not a successful short story. Derick Thomson's 'Tea Feasgair' is linked by imagery (foinne=old age; am bior and its scar=decrepitude) like Smith's stories, but he, unlike Smith, makes the imagery explicit instead of implicit; he allows it to intrude without apology into the narrative, e.g.-- "Bha sin ann cuideachd! Gillean is dibhearsain is brìodal is dòcha. Air chùl an aodain bhàin. Mus do dh'fhàs an fhoinne. Mun deach am bior an sàs."

The only significant exception to the remarks made about Smith's story-organisation is represented by 'Granny anns a' Chòrnair' and the letter-sequence 'Litir Dhachaidh'. In the latter, the theme is the same as in many of his exile-stories, the gradual assimilation of a Highland youth into another culture and his partial estrangement from his native culture; the form is an old one (Cf. Richardson's 'Pamela' in the mid-18th century).

In Spring 1968, Iain Smith published an English novel, 'Consider the Lilies'. It deals with a week in the life of an old woman who, in common with the rest of the village, has been given notice of eviction--the novel is set in the worst period of the Sutherland Clearances, the early 19th century. The novel is a quite brilliant evocation of her mind--her narrow-minded intensity, her hazy comprehension

of what is happening, her gradual disillusionment with the minister and his elder, who refuse to oppose Sellar. The story is told through her eyes, though not explicitly so, and again there are many effective flashes of synthesising poetic intuition (for example, when the minister's fleshy lips remind the old lady of the sensuous red flower outside, the first flowers she has seen for a long time) and also very effective descriptions of people and places. Possibly the character-creation is too sketchy for a novel--especially that of Donald MacLeod, the atheistic self-educated stonemason who is the only man in the village to support the old woman. In a short story, the writer is only concerned with bringing out a moment in a life, one facet of a character, but a novel is more demanding of sustained description.

The first chapter of the novel is based on Smith's Gaelic short story 'Am Maor' ('An Dubh is an Gorm'). Smith himself states that the bulk of the novel is based on his play, 'A' Chùirt', in which Patrick Sellar is tried for a widow's eviction and murder. The novel does not mention her eviction or murder and the emphasis has shifted from Sellar to the woman: the flashbacks in the novel, however, are essentially a dramatist's device--certainly they are used in 'A' Chùirt'. The prose style is very simple though lyrical. Smith is reported to have completed a Gaelic novel now in the hands of the Highland Book Club in Inverness.

SCHOOL TEXTS

Nothing enhances the capability of particular writers to influence the writing of future generations as much as the employment of their work as school texts. Adult readers, unless they are unusually receptive, are not often affected, except in a clearly selfconscious and forced way, by the writings of others.

The first worthwhile collection of Gaelic prose for schools was Norman MacLeod's 'Co-chruinneachadh airson na Sgoilean' (1828). Previous school-books, from the Church of Scotland's General Assembly and the Gaelic Schools' Society, were confined to simple little essays on wild life, sermonettes, and Biblical stories. MacLeod's 'Co-chruinneachadh' contained a wider range of, on the main, more intelligently written articles on history, geography, inventions, and religion. It also contained a traditional story, a true adventure tale (the sinking of an Island boat) and 'Long Mhór nan

'Eilthireach', an original story of the Clearances by MacLeod himself.

MacLeod's work continued to be the basis of school prose collections until the beginning of the 20th century. Professor Donald MacKinnon's Reader (Part I) for his students in 1883 contained six pieces by MacLeod (including two dialogues, 'Long Mhór nan Eilthireach', and 'Litir Fhionnlaigh Piobaire gu Mhnaoi'), two other dialogues from 'Cuairtear nan Gleann', two tales from the 'West Highland Tales', and three other short pieces (of which two were taken from MacLeod's periodicals).

Alexander MacBain's 'Higher Grade Readings' (1905)--intended for people taking the King's Examinations and the Leaving Certificate Examinations--was solidly based on Caraid nan Gaidheal's writings, as were the examinations. This emphasis on the work of MacLeod produced predictable effects: his style, ponderous and stylised, came to be regarded as the standard method of writing Gaelic, in particular, of writing Gaelic informative material.

'MacLeod's Gaelic Reader' (1909), edited by Malcolm MacLennan, however, contained mainly traditional sgeulachdan (many from Campbell's collections) in a much more colloquial Gaelic. The same can be said of John MacFadyen's 'Companach na Cloinne' (undated:[1914]).

W.J. Watson's 'Rosg Gàidhlig' (1915) was an extremely important collection which was commonly

used in schools and universities until recently. Watson was the first, in a book for senior students, to break with the Caraid nan Gaidheal tradition: while presenting Gaelic prose of all periods, ranging from the Gaelic version of Bishop Carswell's Liturgy (16th century) and Neil McWhuirich (17th century), he also printed essays by his contemporaries, Donald MacKinnon (in his deliberate, scholarly style--on proverbs), Lamont (writing much more colloquially), Donald MacKechnie (again a very light style), Kenneth MacLeod (a stylised, colourful style). This opportunity to read, in close context, so many styles and, generally, the granting of equal prestige to ancient and modern writings must have been very influential and fruitful in the case of many pupils. Certainly, it would have helped to establish the light, though still somewhat literary style, of MacKechnie and Lamont, which preponderates in the collection, as the standard style at the expense of Caraid nan Gaidheal's more aureate and decorative style.

The series, 'Leabhraichean Sgoile Gàidhlig', issued in the early 1920's (seven books) under the general editorship of W.J. Watson, again gave informative essays rather than original stories, but the best writers of the time--Angus Henderson (who contributed a series on ornithology), John MacCormick, J.N. MacLeod, Hector MacDougall--were commissioned to write them.

Lachlan MacKinnon's 'An Seanchaidh' (1936) was a

collection of sgeulachdan for schools. The works of Lamont and MacKinnon have been used in schools and universities since these were collected and published (1960 and 1956, respectively).

At the present time, a considerable range of school-books for all ages is available--ranging from the highly colloquial fairy tales (from the French) edited by Donald Grant (1968) to the free-ranging 'Rosg nan Eilean' (1967), a collection more suitable for secondary school. J.A. MacDonald's 'Criochan Ura' (1958) was a collection of essays and short stories from 'Gairm'; he published three of the 'Cabairneach'-style stories, thus demonstrating their breakthrough to the use of colloquial Gaelic to an even larger audience. The essays are mainly about islands, home and foreign.

A.I. MacAskill's 'Rosg nan Eilean' (1967) is a very important and extremely interesting collection. It contains essays on Laplanders (James Thomson), on the atom and on rubber (Iain A. MacLeod, a beautifully lucid writer), bullfights in Spain (Finlay J. MacDonald), waterskiing and launderettes (in Chrissie Dick's simple, colloquial style), on St Kilda, birds, trees, and on the plan of an old Hebridean house (this article in particular is full of old words and turns of speech). The stories in the collection cover a wide range: a traditional sgeulachd (a variant of the Cinderella story from Ann Johnston), a true War story ('Mar a Theich Sinn as a' Champa' by D.J. MacDonald), a 'Cabairneach'-style

story ('An Càr') by Finlay J. MacDonald, space stories and two mystery stories by Colin MacKenzie, two stories by Derrick Thomson, and one each by Paul MacInnes and Rarlon Seixias (both about children); finally there is Iain Smith's futurist 'An Solus Ur'. All the stories are modern in content, as are the essays. Besides enhancing the prestige of Gaelic in this way, the book, in presenting so many styles, is a good exemplar for creative young Gaelic-speakers.

SUMMARY

Caraid nan Gaidheal (1783-1862) is associated principally with the first three periodicals of importance in Gaelic. Gaelic prose became, in his ponderous, rhythmic style, a medium for instruction on a wide range of subjects, and stories--legendary and original--became a recognised type of reading material. His achievement was based on the spreading popular literacy of his time and on his own desire to emulate the English language. His writings were used in schools from 1825 until around 1915 and imitations of his writing-style are still common, especially in informative essays in Gaelic.

By the late 19th century, so many Gaels had moved to Glasgow and Edinburgh that the Societies were set up, part of whose aim was to entertain the exiles: this was a synthetic recreation of the old Highland 'ceilidh' situation, so that it was inevitable that tales--usually adventure or humorous ones--

should be popular. The demand for such tales had been stimulated by the popularity of Campbell's 'West Highland Tales' (1860-62) and of other similar collections; books or readings (on Lowland Scots exemplars)⁵⁸ were published--including legendary, true, and original stories.

Roderick Erskine of Mar--in association with Angus Henderson, Calum MacFarlane, and others--reacted against the lack of sophistication, the insularity, and apolitical attitudes of most of these societies. Motivated by intense Celtic nationalism, they attempted to bring Gaelic prosewriting into line with the best in modern European literature. In this, they did not quite succeed, but their achievement was remarkable. Most of the best creative writing of the time is either imitative or betrays strong traces of the influence of the "ceilidh" oral tales. Like Caraid nan Gaidheal, this small group ran a group of Gaelic magazines which contained, besides stories, comment columns of a high standard on politics, economics, and literature.

The late 1950's saw the number of separate publications of informative Gaelic prose grind almost to a halt, but much informed discussion of current affairs--from the croft and Highland Development Board to Mao Tse Tung and bullfighting--and of literature and the arts, as well as of history and geography and customs at home and abroad is regularly available in Gaelic periodicals ('Gairm' and 'Sruth') and on B.B.C. radio. In this period, creative prosewriting has been

attaining a sophistication comparable to the best in any language. The techniques, however, which modern Gaelic writers are pioneering were highly developed in Russian (Pushkin, Gogol, Chekhov, Turgenev), in French (Honoré de Balzac, Guy de Maupassant) and in American English (Irving, Poe, Hawthorne, O. Henry) before the beginning of this century and in Britain by the 1920's and early 1930's in the work of Joyce, Katherine Mansfield, D.H. Lawrence, and H.E. Bates. The breakaway surrealist style of William Saroyan was pioneered in the United States in the 1930's and is fast becoming an established style itself. In individual instances (with Iain Smith a possible exception) where exotic influence is traceable in detail, there is usually a time-lag of about twenty years involved.⁵⁹

In most languages, the short story--especially the conventional styles--has been becoming decreasingly popular in the past few decades. An important reason for this is that the cinema and television--using the same techniques as the short story writer--can do its job more effectively and require less effort of the audience. The serious short story is more and more becoming a self-parodying form, full of "in"-references and "in"-jokes, so it seems that, in this field, Gaelic is catching up too late.

CHAPTER III: DRAMA

Preface.	124
Before 1900.	125
Dialogue--An Cómhradh.	130
Plays: 1900-1945.	146
Plays: 1945-1968.	163
Performances.	187
Critical Opinion.	211
Summary.	218

PREFACE

One of the most unusual features of Gaelic literature has been the apparently complete absence of drama until the 20th century. For that reason, this chapter will begin with a section reviewing the reasons for this lack and also investigating the possibility of there having been some embryonic dramatic forms which did not come to fruition. The next section of the chapter will discuss the styles and history of the còmhradh (or dialogue), the earliest dramatic form in Gaelic, and will be followed by critical discussions of plays written between 1900 and 1945 and of those written between 1945 and the present day--that date (1945) being chosen because a detectable change in Gaelic entertainment patterns came to a head with the War. Because of the importance of audience participation to drama, the chapter will conclude with sections on performances (incorporating remarks on popular taste) and one on critical taste.

BEFORE 1900

Drama, as an art form, is a development out of religious ritual and pageant. The earliest Greek comedies, for example, (dating around the 5th century B.C.) are clearly an extension of ritualistic totem dances; Aristophanes' 'Birds' and 'Frogs' demonstrate this, as does his use of the phallus as a comic device. These Greek plays were performed in the open air and were in verse. Although the early Christian Church strongly opposed Classical Drama--presumably because of its pagan origins and trappings--it had, by the 14th century, evolved a form of drama out of its own ritual. These Mystery, Miracle, and Morality plays--all in verse--were performed in Italian, French, English, Welsh, and Cornish¹ between the 14th and 16th centuries:² in Wales, the short "dramatic interludes" were a lineal descendant of these in the 18th century, but this newer form was quickly suppressed by the Protestant Church, in spite of its popularity.³ In the 16th century, when the Church drama was losing fast in

popularity, Western Europe gained access for the first time, as a consequence of the general Renaissance, to the Classical drama which the early Christian Church had suppressed and, under its influence, a new and sophisticated drama developed in Spanish (Lope de Vega), English (Shakespeare), and French (in the 17th century--Molière); a national drama evolved in Germany in the 18th (Goethe) and in Russia (Gogol) in the 19th centuries as a by-product of a nationalist movement.

It was mainly their isolation from Europe that withheld the influence of the Continental Church-drama and, in the Renaissance, of Classical drama from Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. There are some indications, however, that the native Gaelic art forms had some dramatic tendencies which might have evolved, independently of outside influence, if they had been allowed to do so. For example, dialogue or emotionally-charged speech is, in the early Irish tales, often in verse,⁴ whereas the narrative portions are in prose. The 9th century Welsh poetry concerning Lywarch Hen has been plausibly reconstructed by Sir Ifor Williams as a dramatic dialogue between father and son: Williams has suggested that poetry was extracted from early tales, now lost, similar in style to the Irish ones. It is plausible, though admittedly completely conjectural, to regard these verse

dialogues--in Welsh and Irish--as early drama and to regard the prose narrative links as later interpolations,⁵ necessitated by the Christian Church's prohibition of the visual representation of pagan gods and god-heroes.

In addition, verse-colloquies--including flytings--were common from early times in Irish. The disputative ones range from the 10th century 'Colloquy of the Two Sages' on the Chief Poetship of Ulster to the verse dialogues between Rob Donn Mackay of Sutherland and his contemporary Gaelic poets in the 18th century. Poems constructed as a dialogue between the poet and some symbol of the past have also been a common form: examples include the later Ossianic ballads, dialogues between St. Patrick and Ossian in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic, and 'Oran Mór Mhic Leòid', in 17th century Scottish Gaelic. A letter from a Rev. Donald MacLeod of Glenslg to Dr Blair,⁶ which is quoted in the 1805 report on Ossian, is of great interest, though of questionable reliability: MacLeod says, "The Highlanders, at their festivals and other public meetings, acted the poems of Ossian. Rude and simple as their manner of acting was, yet any brave or generous action, any injury or distress, exhibited in the representation had a surprising effect towards raising in them corresponding passions and sentiments."

That the Ciar Sheanchainn (the third-rate

bardic entertainers), the jugglers and fools⁷ of the tales, or even the later story-tellers (sgeulaichean) did not evolve a conscious drama from their presumably histrionic performances of tales and poems poses a difficult problem, for a culture, like the Gaelic one, which remained fundamentally "oral" until very late seems a natural field for the development of a native drama. The early Christian Church in the Celtic countries seems to have been less strict than most in its attitude to pagan literature (as witness the transcription of tales by monks). Neil Ross ('An Gaidheal', 1926) made the interesting suggestion that the bards--a highly organised, reactionary, and jealous cultural ascendancy-- would have strongly opposed the creation of a new art form, such as that of drama, out of the performance of heroic tales. In Scotland, from the 18th century, onwards, the dominant Reformed Church strongly opposed the growth of drama, but the Roman Catholic islands-- though the traditional sgeulachd was performed there till quite recently--did not produce a native drama in this period either. It is clear that in the 18th and 19th centuries--as in the mediaeval period-- isolation has been the crucial factor.

When large numbers of Gaelic exiles moved into the Galltachd in the late 19th century, they came into contact with drama as an art form and--for entertainment at their gatherings and, in the case of

more serious drama, on the example of the Irish theatrical movement--Gaelic writers began to produce plays. The provision of large audiences and of halls in the cities was also important, but this, in itself, need not have prevented the growth of drama in the Gaeltachd, since, of course, the Greek plays were produced in the open air and the mediaeval Church plays on carts and rough platforms at fairs.

The only pre-20th century Gaelic literary form which was indisputably performed dramatically was also an imported one: the còmhradh or dialogue.

DIALOGUE--AN COMHRADH

The dialogue, as an essayist's technique, has been used by philosophers such as Plato ('The Republic'), Thomas More ('The Dialogue of Comfort'), and David Hume, and, from the Middle Ages, by religious polemicists. It sets the author's view against an uninformed opinion or uses a process of question and answer. It was much employed by the writers of Scots and Gaelic pamphlets of ecclesiastical controversy in the 17th century and, again in the 18th century, it came to be used in Gaelic for disseminating information on a wide variety of topics.⁸ In the 20th century, Gaelic dialogues were frequently performed, first by one reader and, gradually, by actors, this development being due to the widespread illiteracy in Gaelic. A consequence was that dialogues began to be more entertaining, dramatic, and artistic.

This developement makes the Gaelic dialogue unique: for this reason and because the performed dialogues are among the first examples in Gaelic of a form of drama, dialogues will be dealt with in this chapter at greater length than their artistic merit would justify.

The earliest traceable Gaelic còmhradh is the 'Connsachadh eadar am Pàpa agus an Reformation' published along with some proverbs and "móran de chomhairlibh glice" in 1797, 1833, and again, bound with the Reformed Catechism, in 1844. Other pamphlet dialogues on the Roman Catholic Church appeared in 1823 and 1834. Three translated dialogues on the fundamental tenets of the Church's belief were issued in 1825 ('Tri chòmhraidhean eadar Minisdir agus Aon de Luchd Eiseachd air Fìor Bhunachar a'Chreideamh agus Slàinte Saoraidh'). But the 1843 Disruption in the Established Church and the consequent Church politics were the issues most productive of this kind of polemic. In 1843, a series of at least seven 'Co-Laibhairtean air na Ceistean a Tha san Am so air an Gluasad ann an Eaglais na h-Alba' appeared; and in the same year, Dr Norman MacLeod, the most prolific writer of dialogues in his time, published a twenty-four page 'Còmhradh mu Chor na h-Eaglais', in which he expressed his own views on the ecclesiastic questions of his time. In 1870 and 1871, a pamphlet dialogue discussed 'Ceist an Aonaidh'.

These Church pamphlets are usually between twelve and forty pages long and the technique employed is to invent a mouthpiece for the unfavourable view and to oppose "him" with a protagonist--much the superior in wit and debating technique--of the pamphleteer's own viewpoint. The speeches are long and stilted; there is nothing approaching naturalistic conversation--the whole production is thoroughly undramatic.

In the latter half of the 19th century, a few dialogues were published dealing with a wider range of current affairs--e.g. Mary MacPherson's 'Còmhradh nan Cnoc' (1887), John MacCorquodale's 'Còmhradh eadar Dun-Bhrusgaig agus Fear-turuis' (1861). These are, however, selfconsciously crusading in tone and are written in much the same ponderous style as the ecclesiastical polemics.

The dialogues of Dr Norman MacLeod, which appeared in his periodicals and in his son-in-law's 'Fear-Tathaich nam Beann' (1848-50), and subsequently in the posthumous collection of his work ['Caraid nan Gaidheal' (1867)], are considerably different in content and style and are more obviously the ancestors of the more entertaining and less stridently polemical dialogues of the 20th century (for instance, they are usually short, between 500-1000 words in length).

MacLeod's stated attitude to his composition of dialogues was uncompromisingly utilitarian. In his

memoir of MacLeod (1867), his son writes: "He had an intense delight in those literary labours, not only as furnishing useful and stimulating knowledge to his countrymen, but as reproducing in a new form, and with, I may be permitted to say, hitherto unrivalled genius, the manners of a people and time with which he was so familiar, and with which he so deeply sympathised, but which have almost passed away 'on their wings from Morven'." In practising these serious aims, however, MacLeod availed himself of some humour and, while his dialogues would be very difficult to produce theatrically, it is evident that he attempted to make them at least entertaining for silent reading or for recitation by a narrator to an audience.

His son refers to his father's "quiet enjoyment" in writing the dialogues and quotes a contemporary review of his work, which said, "Under the head Amusing, I include those inimitable dialogues on popular subjects, which convulsed with laughter so many fireside circles, and which are so truly characteristic of Highland customs and manners, and through which so much useful information has been conveyed. The manse of Campsie is endeared to Highlanders as the place from which emanated such instruction and amusement".

In the work of Dr Norman MacLeod--appearing from the late 1820's--the Gaelic dialogue had found the distinctive tone it was to retain well into the

20th century; that is, deliberately informative or proselytising over a wide range of subjects, with more or less humorous content. An increase and more subtlety in the style of humour has been the only obvious development.

MacLeod's dialogues give information on his own periodicals, the law, the penny post, history, the French Revolution, educational policy, political decisions, etc. with opinions on these and on other questions such as religious opposition to secular gatherings, new fashions, new inventions (methods of travel, in particular), progress, Gaelic schools, and emigration to the Galltachd. Again the style of presentation requires a spokesman for each view (with the author's own being much more cogent and long-winded) or a questioner. Stock characters are Lachann nan Ceist, the omniscient Maighstir-Sgoile, and the old crofter who is sceptical of modernity.

Humour in MacLeod's dialogues is that of the conventional or proverbial phrase: "C.Có as a thug thu choiseachd? F. As mo chasan, mar a thuir. . ."; "Is biadh is ceòl so dhòmhsa, mar a thuir an sionnach"; mispronunciation of English words is often used for humorous effect, too. MacLeod's most lively dialogue is 'Còmhradh eadar An Maighstir-sgoile agus Calum Posta'. In it, the addresses are given on the letters in burlesque translation ("Old Wife's Point, Mull"); the postman is highly amused at a

particular man's being styled "Esquire", another is "Shooter of Wild Big Beasts": the humour may not satisfy the modern reader, but, in the context of the 19th century Gaelic còmhradh, it represents a striking and seminal divergence between MacLeod and his contemporary dialogue writers.

This one dialogue has (admittedly primitive) stage directions: for example, there is an introductory prose description of the setting and, at the end, the speakers terminate the dialogue by bidding each other farewell: these are unusual features. Normally what little stage direction there is is contained, by implication, in the first speech (e.g. "Tha sibhse, Fhir a' Ghlinne, air 'ur ceum a dh' ionnsuidh na féill, 's cha-n iongantach leam e, 's ann agaibh fhéin a tha 'n gnothuch ann", etc.). In this, as in all MacLeod's dialogues, however, the physical setting of the conversation is ill defined, characterisation is almost completely absent, and the humour purely verbal. Nevertheless, some of his dialogues were performed--not just at fireside gatherings--but at more formal concerts. The Comunn Gaidhealach Branch reports in 'An Deo-Gréine' reveal that the Penny-post dialogue was performed in Kensalyre, Skye in 1920 (by one person) and at Laggan in 1928 (by two actors) and that, as late as 1921, "a Còmhradh from 'Caraid nan Gaidheal'" was read at a Comunn ceilidh in Ardgour.

In this century, it was still very common to

print còmhraidhean in periodicals,⁹ sometimes (as with Caraid nan Gaidheal) to give information on the magazine itself or the editorial aims, more often to broadcast information or views on some topic, and often, latterly, merely to entertain. A few còmhraidhean were published separately ('Trì Còmhraidhean', 1930; 'Ceithir Còmhraidhean', 1931; and 'Còmhraidhean Gàidhlig', undated) and some few appeared in the collections of songs and sgeulachdan published by Henry Whyte and John MacFadyen in the early part of the century as "readings" for ceilidhs and other gatherings.

There were several dialogues in the monthly 'Am Bàrd' (1901-02). In 'Eachann agus Dòmhnall Gobha' (1901), a third character, Seumas, briefly enters--a not infrequent feature--and "speechifies" on a variety of subjects from indigestion to housebuilding in "Gàidhlig Bheurla" (e.g. "tha thunder anns an air"); when he leaves, the other two criticise his Gaelic and return to discussing a new style of boat's anchor. We have here a common figure of ridicule, the man with affectations about his English, and another common subject, the reaction of a crofter to new inventions.

In the next issue of 'Am Bàrd', there appeared a dialogue on the preservation of Gaelic between a sceptic and an enthusiast, culminating in the enthusiast's giving information on how to buy

'Am Bàrd'. There was another dialogue on the same theme in the next issue (I, 5) by Neil Ross, and in the issue for May 1902; there was a dialogue with which John Whyte won the 1901 Mod Prize for "a còmhradh illustrative of the wisdom and power of the Gaelic proverbs".

There is little or no action involved in these dialogues and scarcely any visual humour: what humour there is is rarified and incidental to the discussion. In the còmhradh, 'Mar a Sheachain Dòmhnall Politics', however, in 'An Deo-Gréine' [I(1905)], there is a highly successful blend of esoteric discussion with humour. Donald welcomes an argumentative neighbour, having earlier determined not to be inveigled into discussing politics. The visitor brings up many inflammatory points, but Donald succeeds in turning them all away with a witty, irrelevant rejoinder. Here the wit is integrated with the serious discussion and both are necessary, whereas normally in the dialogue either the wit or the information--or both--is felt to be an afterthought. This dialogue also shows some dramatic potential in that Donald's twisting his way out of difficult corners builds up some suspense and psychological interest.

From this period, most of the published dialogues are found in 'An Deo-Gréine/An Gaidheal' and many of them are Mod prize-pieces. Throughout this century,

the Comunn have awarded prizes for dialogue scripts, as well as for performances. There has been very little obvious development with respect to subject and treatment.

Many are discussions of current affairs:

e.g. one by Colin Campbell of Islay on National Health which won the first prize at the 1914 Mod, and Iain Moffat-Pender's 'Seònaid' (undated), used by him as an election leaflet. Some dialogues deal with a compendium of topics--for example, Kenneth MacDonald's 'Còmhradh eadar Alasdair Ruadh agus Dòmhnall Bàn' ('Deo-Gréine', 1916), in which the discussion ranges over cars--tea and football replacing porridge and shinty--taxes, sickness benefit, and the singing of Roderick MacLeod. The latest in 'An Gaidheal' of this style of political dialogue were 'Dr Beeching at the Ferry' and 'An "Chief" Ur' in 1964.

Another type of còmhradh is the one proferring the author's views on Gaelic: as with the current affairs type, the style is fundamentally that of Caraid nan Gaidheal. Examples are: 'Còmhradh eadar Alasdair, aig a Bheil Beachdan Gallda mu Chùisean Gaidhealach, agus Dòmhnall, aig a Bheil Beachdan agus anns a Bheil Spiorad an Fhìor Ghaidheil' ('Deo-Gréine', 1917); the over ostentatiously propagandist 'Mo Chànan Fhéin' by Hector MacDougall, written for performance by children at the 1925 Mod; a drily debative 'Còmhradh nan Eilean' by

Fear Chanaidh ('An Gaidheal', 1944); 'Air Sràidean an Obain' (1954); and 'Ceist is Freagairt', a catechism of the "right" attitudes toward Gaelic which appeared in 'An Gaidheal' in 1965.

Another common subject in dialogues from the time of Caraid nan Gaidheal till the present has been the explanation and justification by an informed person, often a "maighstir-sgoile", of recent scientific invention and technological innovations. The other party to the dialogue is usually a rather incredulous and obtuse crofter: he rephrases the explanations in grotesquely mundane terms and, in this way and by his inevitable mispronunciation of English words new to him, provides the humour in the piece. This is a parallel to the village-poets' poems on motor-boats, petrol engines, the atom bomb, Dr Barbara Moore's famous walk, etc. Examples include: 'An Listening-in' by John MacCormick ('An Gaidheal', 1924); 'Còmhradh eadar Seumas Mór agus Ailean Sgoilear mu'n cuairt air an "Electric"' by John Cameron; 'Mar a thainig an ceud Carbad-olaidh do Chataobh' by George Collins (1925); 'An Ealadh Ur', on electricity, by Kenneth MacDonald (1930).

Related to the above is a group of dialogues on new fashions in clothes, including the interesting 'Na Fasain Ura' by Christine MacDonald contained in 'Trì Còmhraidhean' (1920).

Although a Mod adjudicator in 1925 made strong strictures in 'An Gaidheal' on the "slur" on the

Highland peasant of his constantly being presented in the dialogues as unique in his awe-inspiring incredulity in the face of new innovations, it has to be conceded that these dialogues--like those dealing with contemporary politics--do show a certain vitality in their grappling with the latest developments in the intellectual and political worlds. The presentation usually lacks great artistry or depth, but the writers of the dialogue were allowed by the conventions of their form at least to mention things such as the wireless, National Health, home and international politics--which was a liberty not known by the majority of contemporary prosewriters or the generality of poets, at least until the late 1930's.

'Mar a Sheachain Dòmhnall Politics'(1905) was cited as an example of a dialogue in which the humour is sustained throughout and is integral to the plot--a feature which is usually absent from the other dialogues. In 'An Gaidheal'(May 1930), there was another dialogue in which the fusion of humour and instruction is unusually full and which, like the 1905 example, has some dramatic impact: at the onset, the chief character directly addresses the audience ("A chlann bhaega 'sa dhaoine móra. . .") and tells them that the catechist is trying to persuade him to attend his "Coinneamh Cheist". The catechist then enters and questions

the hero on religious topics, but is cleverly thwarted by witty, irrelevant quips. This dialogue, 'Ceist nan Ceist', was by Duncan Johnston and won the first prize at the 1929 Mod.

By the 1920's, the comic sketches, themselves influenced by the traditional còmhradh styles at an earlier stage, began to take over the dialogue framework, so that we find two-character sketches co-existing and being confused with the surviving còmhraidean. One of the earliest examples is 'Calum ag Iarraidh Mna' by Duncan MacDonald ('An Deo-Gréine', 1922), which has no educative content whatsoever and relies for humour on the characteristic sketch techniques of extravagant language, an old bachelor's comical wooing, and a twist ending. The only similarities of 'Calum ag Iarraidh Mna' to the traditional còmhradh are its length (about two pages; 10-15 minutes performance time), its involving only two characters,¹⁰ and its sedentary, conversational setting: there is no action, no visual effects.

Other works of the same type are 'Còmhradh eadar Màiri Dhonn agus Peigi' (1931) and 'Còmhradh eadar Ceit Bheag is Màiri Bhàn' (1933), in which the figure of fun is a foul-tempered man-hunting spinster, another popular farce stock character. More recent examples are a group of 2-3 page playlets by Donald Grant which appeared in 'An Gaidheal' between 1962 and 1964. These are 'Aig a' Chruinneachadh Bhliadhnail'

(a nervous chairman being briefed by his Secretary), 'Còmhradh air Trèan Mhallaig' (closer to the còmhradh style in covering a wide range of current events, but involving the sketches' querulous spinster), 'Co-fharpais Cheist' (in which, as in 'Mar a Sheachainn Dòmhnall Politics', a quiz-master is outwitted and sidetracked), and 'A' Feitheamh a' Bhus'. Grant is a far better creator of conversation than any other dialogue-writer before him: the speeches are short, brisk, and witty and the exchanges effective dramatically.

The survival of còmhradh-writing into the 1960's (e.g. 'Dr Beeching', etc.) is quite anachronistic and due largely to the institutional support which the practise has received. Còmhraidhean were sometimes printed in the magazines sponsored by Roderick Erskine of Mar ('Alba', 'Am Bàrd') and the Gaelic League of Scotland ('An Ceum', 'Crois Tara'), but An Comunn Gaidhealach has been by far the most important bulwark of the form. Competitions for scripts and performances of dialogues, còmhraidhean and sketch-dialogue, have been a regular feature of national and local mods from around 1910 till the present day. The National Mod's competitions for dialogue scripts in the early years usually specified a subject, which fact makes it clear that they were regarded as a form of essay. A common subject was 'The Present-Day State of the Highlands'; the 1913 Mod competition was for a "Gaelic dialogue between an Old Style Farmer and the new on Agriculture

and Cattle Rearing". In 1914, however, and increasingly since then, the competition was titled "Gaelic Humorous Dialogue". This is not, however, to imply that purely humorous dialogues were what was wanted--an 1925 Mod adjudicator complains that recent dialogues tended to be "merely comic"--but merely that the pill of "adequate discussion of recent inventions and discussions"¹¹ was to be more sweetened than, for example, Dr Norman MacLeod had made it. In fact, all the prizewinning dialogue scripts until the late 1930's are basically in the traditional mould.

The main prizewinners at the turn of the century were John MacFadyen and John Whyte. In the next few decades (1920's and 1930's), the most recurrent names in the prize lists are those of Duncan Johnston, Kenneth MacDonald of Contin, Duncan MacDonald of Lewis, and--conspicuously--John MacCormick. In later years, Angus M. MacDonald and Iain M. Moffatt-Pender have been the most important prizewinners.

A study of the type of dialogue that was, and still is regularly performed presents a quite different picture from that given by the above appraisal of dialogues in print. Generally speaking, the ratio of dialogue-sketch to traditional còmhradh is far higher in performance than in print in this century.

That of 1919 is the first Acted Dialogue competition to be recorded in the Mod reports of 'An Gaidheal': it was won by Mrs Coutts and

Mrs M. MacDonald, members of the Glasgow Gaelic Musical Association. Mrs. Coutts and Neil Shaw presented their prize-winning còmhradh 'Clamhas' at concerts in Killin, Oban, and Tounge in 1920, and Mrs Coutts and John Bannerman presented 'An Gille Sin' at a Sutherland ceilidh in 1921: these performances were part of the concert-and-sketch tours undertaken in the 1920's by the Glasgow Gaelic Musical Association and are among the first recorded concert performances of dialogues. Although traditional còmhradh¹²--such as MacCormick's 'Listening-In'--continued to be presented at ceilidhs and mods, by the mid-1920's it appears that the ratio of the performances of còmhradh to that of the humorous dialogue-sketches was falling seriously. This is clear from the adjudicator's comment ('An Gaidheal', 1925) on the 1925 competition: "[There was shown] a measure of good taste in the choice of matter preferred, which has not always been evident. Not infrequently in former years have dialogues been presented whose one and only recommendation was that they were simply comic. After all, there is a wealth of good dialogues in Gaelic. . ."

At the present day, it is almost exclusively the dialogue-sketch which is performed at Mod competitions and at ceilidhs (though the incidence of dialogue performances at ceilidhs has fallen since since the last War). The traditional style of dialogue is still written, but is confined to print. This fact

is an interesting development: the còmhradh began as an essay technique, came to be performed because of Gaelic illiteracy (from the mid-19th century on), but the comic sketch (which originated in the first decade of this century in Gaelic and which was influenced in its early years by the còmhradh) took over the còmhradh framework and in the last three decades, the traditional dialogue has ceased to be performed, that is, it has become once again purely an essayist's device. Apart from its own significance as a distinctive dramatic form, the importance of the còmhradh has been its influence on the early playwriting in Gaelic.

PLAYS: 1900-1945

The output of Gaelic drama up till the Second World War is outstanding neither as to quantity or quality. The number of publications, including both plays broadcast and printed, is around sixty, including several reissues: only about four or five are full-length plays. There were three translations of Shakespeare's plays: 'Julius Caesar' (W.M. Morrison, trans., 1911), 'Measure for Measure' (John MacCormick, trans., 1934; in MS held by Mitchell Library, Glasgow), and 'Macbeth'.¹³ Another interesting venture was the dramatisation of the traditional story of Naoise and Deirdre by Gordon Bottomley, working from an English translation of Alexander Carmichael's version of the story (1905): Bottomley's play was retranslated into Gaelic and published in 1944. Comedies, including children's plays and melodramatic plays with a happy ending as well as humorous plays, outnumber serious plays in a ratio

of about three to one.

The origins of the drama of this period are at least threefold. First, there were the dramatisations, both of old Highland customs and of Highland history, which were published in this period as a deliberately mummifying or otherwise nationalistic and educative activity. A second source was the dealogues which form a part of many of the comic plays as "padding" and which gave this early drama some of its characters and techniques. Third, there was the example of contemporary community plays in English and Scots and, in the case of the more serious Gaelic plays, the Romantic "historic" melodramas of Schiller and others and the mythical-nationalist plays of Yeats.

There were in Gaelic, during the first part of the century, a considerable number of self-consciously preservative reconstructions of old and decaying customs: these have little plot and little character differentiation. They are, in fact, scarcely plays at all, but do represent an interesting stage whose intermediary nature is corroborated by the fact that so many contemporaneous plays have, for example, a ceilidh or reiteach setting. These dramatisations included J.N. MacLeod's 'Reiteach Móraig' (1911, 1922),¹⁴ 'Pósadh Móraig' (n.d.), 'Luadh Bantrach Sheòrais' (1917), and 'Céilidh Tigh Dhòmhnail' (1918); and, on B.B.C. radio, Mary Campbell's 'Cuirm Nollaig a'Clachain Duibh' (1936)

and a series by Duncan MacDonald under the general title 'Ceilidh an Tigh Croiteir am Beàrnaraidh Leódhais'. This type is well represented in the early years, both of the printing and the broadcasting of Gaelic plays.

Plays which have a ceilidh or similar setting include Hector MacDougall's 'An Gaol a Bheir Buaidh' (1912), and the radio play 'Tha Iteagan Bòidheach air na h-eòin tha fad as' by Angus MacDonald (1938; repeated in 1941, 1948, and 1956).

The ceilidh setting is parallel to the endemic conversation setting of the còmhradh, being more equipped than a debate to cope with a play's larger number of characters and its narrative content.

A còmhradh is a not infrequent part of the dramatisations of decadent customs. Similarly, it often forms a part of early plays--usually "padding" that is irrelevant to the central plot of the play. Examples of this use of the còmhradh are: 'Reiteach Móraig' (and others of the type); Donald Sinclair's 'Dòmhnall nan Trioblaid' (1912; radio 1936), the first half of which is entirely taken up with a fully conventional còmhradh, followed by the first appearance in Gaelic of pure farce; Archibald MacCulloch's 'An Rud a Their a Màthair Feumaidh e Bhith Deanta' (first performance, 1910), which has a còmhradh on "Fiscal Policy"; and the radio play 'An t-Ionnsachadh Oig' by Angus MacDonald (1939).

By the 1930's, however, dialogues are seldom found in plays: the plays tend more and more to use only material which is central to their plot, thus gaining higher artistic organisation but losing topicality.

The còmhradh was to have other less obvious influences on Gaelic drama--including an emphasis on verbal rather than visual humour, little action and a static ceilidh setting, some stock characters, and such types of wit as the mispronunciation of English words. The history of Gaelic comedy is that of the lessening of both the obvious and oblique influences of the "custom-reconstruction" and còmhradh and the increasing influence of English and Scots farces, culminating in the extensive translation (sponsored by An Comunn Gaidhealach) and performance of the latter in the later 40's and early 50's.

In a booklet published in 1929, entitled 'Play Choosing: Simple Hints on acting for Community Players and Women's Rural Institutes', Jean Belfrage suggests a list of clan melodramas and light comedies. These are the types of drama which have been the staple of the Gaelic popular stage from 1908 to the present day, witness the fact that a large proportion of the plays listed by Belfrage were translated by An Comunn Gaidhealach in the 1950's: J.A. Ferguson's 'Scarecrows' and 'Campbell of Kilmhor', 'The Wooing O't' by W.D. Cocker,

'The Changehouse' by John Brandane, and 'The Clan of Lochlan' by Betty MacArthur. It is indisputable that Gaelic popular drama--especially in the early years--borrowed much, in the way of style and content, from the body of Scottish community-entertainment plays from which this list was made up in 1929.

The Music Hall and vaudeville "comic turns" or sketches of such men as Tommy Dorsey and Harry Lauder also had direct Gaelic descendents in the person of the topical satirists such as Spaidsear (Kenneth Finlayson), Kenneth MacAulay and Cailleach an Deucoin in Lewis.

Apart from K.W. Grant's translation of Schiller's 'William Tell' (published 1893), the earliest traceable Gaelic dramatic script is that of 'Iseabail na h-Airigh' by Malcolm MacInnes, which appeared over five consecutive issues of the periodical 'Alba' in 1901, although it was not published as a whole until 1933. It is described as "Sgeul-òran le fuinn", being a musical comedy or operetta after the style of the light operas of Gilbert and Sullivan. The story is extremely flimsy, centring on the later omnipresent Gaelic comedy motif of a misunderstanding between lovers, one of whom (in this instance) is a soldier returned from war; the scenes are self-consciously "rustic" and over-sentimentalised, as are the songs (with the exception of the soldier's song in which he rejoices in being away from the carnage and noise of battle).

The connecting dialogue is sometimes spoken (as in musical comedy), sometimes sung in recitative (which is more characteristic of serious opera). The idea for and the main stylistic influence on this play were obviously the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, though it lacks their humour.

Two short verse dramas by Father Allan MacDonald--'Pàrlamaid nan Cailleach' and 'An Gaisgeach fo Uidheam Réiteach'--must have been composed before 1905, the year of MacDonald's death, though they were not published until 1965 ('Bàrdachd Mhgr. Ailein', ed. J.L. Campbell). The first is obviously an extension of conventional bardic humorous poetry,¹⁵ but its story-basis--the wooing of a ludicrous old bachelor and the local gossip's comments--was to be a commonplace of later Gaelic comedies. 'An Gaisgeach fo Uidheam Réitich' (performed B.B.C. radio, 1952) is an excellent mock-heroic poem--very cleverly and humorously written, but, again, remaining a poem rather than a play. The late publication of these plays means they could have had little direct influence on the development of drama.

The second earliest Gaelic play whose script was published is 'Dùsgadh na Feinn', a simple children's musical play by K.W. Grant, which was published in 1908. Of it, Malcolm Macfarlane wrote at the time of publication: 'I believe Mrs Grant's intention in making the play was mainly to preserve and

make useful the children's games which she knew and played in her young days".

In 1908, John MacCormick included a simple humorous play (published separately in 1929) in his collection 'Oiteagan o 'n Iar'. This was 'An Reiteachadh Rathail', a mock trial of a breach-of-promise case, the result of a lovers' quarrel over suspected unfaithfulness which is eventually discovered to be unjustified. It introduces two stock characters of Gaelic comedy--a biassed member of the jury who makes caustic remarks that are irrelevant to the tenor of the discussion at that time and a reluctant witness who feigns deafness and gives riddle answers to avoid telling the unpalatable truth. The former appears again, very prominently, in MacCormick's 'Peigi Bheag' (1921, 1925), in which there is an old woman who keeps tediously interjecting "Dé an eaglais dha bheil e?" and--very much more subtly and seriously--in Iain Smith's 'A' Chùirt'. The evasion of difficult questions is again employed in John Brandane's 'Ruairidh Roimh-ainmichte' (trans. 1937), another "trial" play, and in 'Leannanachd Phàdruig Seòladair' (1939), a radio play by Angus MacDonald in which the girl's father pretends to be deaf till the suitor fulfills certain conditions.

This latter device is one found in several of the còmhradh--e.g. 'Mar a Sheachain Dòmhnall Politics' (1905), 'Ceist nan Ceist' (1930) by Duncan Johnston, and 'Co-fharpais Cheist' (1964) by Donald Grant. It seems a natural humour mechanism

for the catechetic còmhradh form to develop as the writers began to make them lighter and more entertaining, and so is probably to be regarded as a borrowing by the sketch of a còmhradh motif.

The theme of a lover's misunderstanding--usually engineered by a villainous rival--which we find in MacCormick's 1908 play was to become the stock-in-trade of Gaelic comedy-writers. Examples are: Hector MacDougall's 'An Gaol a Bheir Buaidh' (1912), in which, when Seumas is revealed to be poor, Sìne is shown up as a gold-digger and he is reconciled with his former sweetheart, and his 'Còir Samhna air Leannan' (1st prize, 1912 Mod); Donald MacLaren's 'An Tàillear Beag' (1939); Archibald MacCulloch's tediously long prize-winning play 'Mairead' (1924), where the factor-suitor "frames" the hero-suitor, only to be thwarted in the usual happy ending; and in MacCormick's full-length play, 'Rath-Innis' (1924). The latter is a more serious Clan Period adventure story, in which Fear-a-ghlinne succeeds in discrediting Rath-Innis's sweetheart while the latter is an outlaw, but Rath-Innis and his girl are ultimately reconciled.

Most Gaelic comedies of this period utilise either a rival lovers' theme or a misunderstanding, usually one brought about by a malicious character's deception, if not both. Examples of the former are: 'Gaol air a Dhearbhadh' by John MacCormick (1913); the very popular 'An Rud a Their a M'athair Faumaidh e

Bhith Deanta' by Archibald MacCulloch (first performed 1910), in which the father plots for his daughter to accept the suitor he prefers; and Donald MacLaren's 'Se Farmad a Ni Treabhadh' (B.B.C. radio, 1938), which involves a farce-style fight between the lovers.

An early example of the comedy-of-error in Gaelic, apart from the rival-lovers' complex, is MacCormick's 'Peigi Bheag' (1921, 1925), where a "còrdadh" between her father and a young man over a cow is misreported in the neighbourhood as an agreement over the daughter. Other examples of this theme are: 'An Còrdadh' (Duncan Johnston, B.B.C., 1937), in which a husband is deceived by his wife over the existence of "The Discontented Wife's Matrimonial Bill" with embarrassing results; and 'Tha Iteagan Bòidheach air na h-Eòin Tha Fad as' (Angus M. MacDonald, B.B.C., 1938, 1949, 1948, and 1956), which centres on an April First trick.

Farce is a rare ingredient in Gaelic comedies before the Second World War---presumably because of the drama's endemic weakness of visual treatment and character delineation. The only two plays in this period (that I know of) whose central humorous device prescribes the various antics of a comic character are MacCormick's 'An t-Agh Odhar' (1910, 1931) and Donald Sinclair's 'Dòmhnall nan Trioblaid'. The former involves a trick whose repercussions help tie the play together, but Sinclair's play is unified only by the central position played in

its episodes by the accident-prone, outspoken hero, Dòmhnall.

In both of these plays, there are typical farce incidents, such as head collisions, involving a minister, and, in 'Dòmhnall nan Trioblaid', the common farce figure of the drunk (making virtually his only appearance in original Gaelic comedy). MacCormick's 'An t-Agh Odhar' ends with an extravagantly farcical scene in which a man hides under a table, afraid of being found alone with the girl, and is discovered there by visitors to the house. Another farce stock character who makes a late appearance in Gaelic-- but was later to be frequently encountered--is the old bachelor who clumsily and comically woos a girl: the first appearance is in Donald Sinclair's 'Suiridhe Raoghail Mhaoil' (1929; B.B.C. radio, 1937); he appears also in several radio plays of the late 30's and early 40's--e.g. Angus MacDonald's 'Leannanachd Phàdruig Seòladair' (B.B.C., 1939).

Apart from these few examples, situational and visual humour is scarcely employed in Gaelic comic plays of this period. This is a parallel to and almost certainly the result of the influence of the còmhradh, which--as a primarily written form--relied almost entirely on verbal humour.

In summary: the Gaelic comedy of this period (1900-1945) uses only a very few simple plots, being based almost exclusively on comedy-of-error or lovers' misunderstanding. It uses a limited number of stock characters such as the villainous or

ludicrous suitor and the evasive rogue--there are scarcely any characters that have much individuality or vitality (except in 'Dòmhall nan Eibhlaid'). There is a heavy reliance on verbal humour--ranging from "proverbial jokes", witty squibs and mispronunciation of English to a more subtle use of anticlimax and disappointment of audience anticipation. The influence of the dramatisations and the còmhradh are clearly discernable--otherwise the models are exotic and the writing highly imitative, with speeches that are, in the main, unnaturalistic, long and "literary".

Nine children's plays were published in this period, beginning with 'An Sgoil Bheag' ('An Sgeulaiche', 1910; separately in 1911 and 1927), a simple story of an escapade at school by K.W. Grant, and 'Comhairle Glag Sgàin' ('An Gaidheal', 1911) by John MacCormick, an allegorical fairy story. 'Cuilm nan Flath' ('An Gaidheal', 1922) by Hector MacDougall is an allegory on the Gaelic movement as is Malcolm MacPhail's 'Am Mosgladh Mór' (1925)--with characters such as Beurla Nic Theuton, Sannta Nòir, and Dìcheall--but they are, nevertheless, very entertaining, even for children. 'Am Mosgladh Mór' was one of three musical plays for children which won prizes at the 1925 Mod and were published by An Comunn about that year. A children's play by MacCormick printed in 'Deo-Gréine' for 1924 is richly imaginative: young Dugald sets out for London to find his rich uncle and has adventures involving tinkers; in London

he shouts "Srath-mór" (his uncle's Highland home) and is mistaken for a news vendor by other paperboys who bully him; eventually he finds his uncle and gets money to take back to his indigent family. This is a pleasing children's play showing a lively imagination. The same judgement is even more true of Donald Sinclair's 'Ruairéachan' ('Guth na Bliadhna', 1924) and 'Long nan Oig' (1927). In the former, Ruairéachan gets involved with a flock of endearing if contentious birds, some of whom talk in verse: "bha iad a' dalladh air a chéile le bàrdachd" is used to describe an argument between two birds. There is much clever humorous writing in this play. In 'Long nan Oig' (1927), the boy loses his boat in the First Act; the Second Act is a dream scene in which he visits his imagined 'Tìr fo Thuinn' to recover it--the scenes in this act could be grippingly reproduced with the devices available in the modern pantomime theatre. The language in both plays is unfortunately stilted.

With the serious Gaelic plays of this period, the influence of the dialogue is scarcely traceable, but there were a few dramatised histories (Cf. the dramatisation of dying customs discussed above) which are distinguishable from many of the serious plays of their time only by the latter's addition to or manipulation of the original story in order to give it a plot or character interest which the dramatisations do not have. But it is here more of a debatable

point than with the comedies whether the plays partially derive from the features or whether they both, independently, derive from the wish to educate the public with the patriotic view of Highland history.

Most of these dramatisations are the work of J.N. MacLeod and are to be compared with his Reitsach, Ceilidh and Luadh reconstructions: they are 'Coinneach Odhar' ('An Gaidheal', 1916), 'Fionnǵal a' Phrionnsa' ('An Gaidheal', 1916; published separately, 1932), and 'Braithdear~~as~~ Strath Neibhir' ('An Gaidheal', 1918). They are rather stilted straightforward dramatisations of important episodes in Highland history--reproducing the incidents in faithful detail but with little emotional involvement and with no plot or thematic organisation and little vital characterisation.

Many of the Comunn Gaidhealach competitions, as will be detailed below, were specifically for comic plays: most of the rest were won by humorous plays. Sometimes, certainly it was directed that the comedies should have serious extrinsic sociological aims--by, for example, ridiculing Highland exiles who pretended to have lost their Gaelic. It cannot, however, be denied that the main protagonist of serious drama in Gaelic was the Hon. Roderick Erskine of Mar, who--in his periodicals--often advocated the institution of a National Gaelic Theatre and a National Gaelic Drama. He organised a competition,

in 1912, for a play on the MacBeth theme based on the historical facts concerning the King. This competition seems to have elicited no entries, but, in 'Guth na Bliadhna' between the years 1914 and 1924, Mar published four serious Gaelic plays, which--with two Clan Period tragedies, George Marjoribanks' 'Màiri Bhàn Ghlinn Freòin' (1937) and Mary Campbell's 'Una Ghil Bhàin' (B.B.C. radio, 1938)--comprise the total output of serious plays in Gaelic during this period. Two of the four plays in Gaelic in 'Guth na Bliadhna' are patriotically slanted historical plays; the other two incorporate, consciously, Mar's stated theories on the drama: so they can safely be regarded as part of Mar's campaign for a National Drama.

In 'Guth na Bliadhna' in 1913, there appeared the play, 'Fearann a Shinnsir' by Donald Sinclair; again, in 1914, 'Crois Tàra' by the same author appeared in this quarterly. 'Fearann a Shinnsir' is a Clearances drama in four (short) acts, portraying the breakup of a family by compulsory exile, a chance meeting many years later in North America and the young exile's return to save his former girlfriend from marriage to the brutal factor (the old comedy situation in a serious setting) whom he cows with an angry diatribe on Christian charity and agrarian economy. This play is the first example in Gaelic of a seriously committed

play, of a play with a worthwhile statement to make. The statement is made perhaps rather naively, but, in its Gaelic literary setting, is very refreshing and important nevertheless.

'Crois Tàra' is a 1745 drama in which descriptions of the Prince and his Council of Chiefs and advisers alternate with scenes showing the anguished but proud departure of a tenant's son to the war, the family's anxiety for his safety after Culloden, and their eventual reunion. The two strands are skilfully manipulated: for most of the play a direct connection between them is implied only (the noble leaders' decisions are shown being arrived at, and are re-shown as forces affecting the day-to-day lives of a peasant family) and are brought into casual contact momentarily near the end. The play is technically very assured.

In the issues of 'Guth na Bliadhna' for 1923 and 1924, Erskine of Mar published two of his own plays--'Là de na Làithean' (1923) and 'Ar-a-mach' (1924). The former is an allegorical essay on Time, using much traditional Gaelic lore, and written in the terms of his own advice to writers of "symbolic drama" in 'Guth na Bliadhna' (X, 1914). 'Ar-a-mach' is a very interesting play: it shows the reactions of King, Ministers, and Generals to a peasant revolt whose gunfire and mob clamour is heard as a constant, tension-creating background to the discussions. The last scene shows the Prime Minister addressing the unruly mob who accept him as their new leader.

The play is stiffened by the importance of the theme and by the poetic irony involved in the ending. It makes a statement of commitment obliquely and therefore more subtly and effectively than Sinclair's 'Frèarann a' Shinnsir'. These four plays are all of four short acts.

Apart from five translations from English--the three Shakespearian ones, the supernatural fantasy 'The Clan of Lochlan' (pub. 1927; B.B.C., 1943, 1947, and 1950), and the Clearances Period 'The Glen is Mine' by John Brandane (1935)--this period has only two other serious plays, all published at the end of the period. The first of these is George Marjoribanks' 'Màiri Bhàn Ghlinne Freòin' (1937), a dramatisation of the story of Alexander MacGreggor who was treacherously captured by Argyll: Marjoribanks added a sweetheart for the MacGreggor chief and a successful rescue plot involving disguise, the resultant play being a passable "thriller".

The second is 'Una Ghil Bhàin' by Mary A. Campbell (B.B.C. radio, 1939), which centres on the Classic Clan Period drama's triangle of two sweethearts and an obnoxious but powerful laird, who wants the girl, a factor's daughter, for his son to marry. The laird is mortally wounded--accidentally--and reveals that the girl's chosen sweetheart is his son: a tragic and yet a happy conclusion.

PLAYS: 1945-1968

Dramatisations of historical events or old customs are rarely encountered in print during this period, but several were commissioned by the B.B.C. Gaelic Department. From 1945 till 1961, the B.B.C. broadcast an average of three dramatised features per year: several were on Gaelic writers or poets-- Donnchadh Bàn (1950),¹⁶ Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair (1951), Mghr Ailean Dòmhnallach (1959), Iain Og Ile (1960); some others on Highland history--'Feachd a' Phrionnsa' (1945), 'Dorsan na h-Oidhche' (1948), 'Is Sleamhain an Leac' (1954); there was one feature on the effects of the war (1946) and one dramatised 'Callaig' (1961).

In 'An Gaidheal' (1954-1957) and in the collection of five playlets, 'Lorna' (1954), Iain M. Moffat-Pender published a series of short dramatisations of episodes from Highland history, of which his 'Gleann Comhunn' (1954) is the only one which

possesses even a passable degree of artistic organisation. His are the only examples during this period of this form of drama in print. Of plays originally written in Gaelic, there are only three in this period which have a historic setting: 'Thig Ceann air Cinneadh' (B.B.C. radio, 1952) by John Morrison and Kenneth MacDonald; 'Aonghas' (B.B.C., 1959) by Iain Smith; and 'A' Bhean Uaine' (B.B.C., 1960) by Roderick MacKinnon. The first and last of these plays are purely Clan Period adventure tales, weakened by an omen of death early in the play; the other, which is set in the post-Culloden Highlands, has an element of suspense, but is sustained mainly by the author's psychological interest in one of the main characters.

Of the other twenty serious plays published from the Second World War till the present day, fourteen are the work of Iain Smith, Paul MacInnes, and Finlay MacLeod and are, as a group sufficiently differentiated both as to intellectual depth and technical skill to be considered quite separately from the rest of Gaelic drama (which might be called "popular" for ease of reference). The remaining six plays include three which centre on a sea-tragedy, two of them--'Am Feadan' by Donald MacLaren (B.B.C., 1946) and 'Luach a h-Airgid' by Lachlan Robertson (B.B.C., 1963)--sharing the motifs of a miserly parent's refusal to repair a boat and a suspense-dissipating omen of disaster. The rest

are adventure stories.

The comedies of this period--again excluding translated plays--include a rather clever verse satire by Lachlan Robertson (B.B.C., 1952), several entertaining and distinctive plays by Donald Grant which concern the straits in which a Gaelic enthusiast finds himself and a rather interesting play by Grant, 'Eadar Cùirt is Coimisean' (B.B.C., 1960), which describes a demarcation dispute between the Land Court and the recently formed Crofters' Commission when both are called by the respective parties to a crofting dispute: this play is like the folksongs and the dialogues in its topical awareness of how bureaucracy affects ordinary people. Otherwise, the plays are comedies-of-error--for example, 'Lùb-deas is Lùb Chlìth' by Mary Campbell (B.B.C., 1940), 'Là Cur a' Bhuntàta' by Margaret MacPherson (B.B.C., 1960), and 'Fiaradh na Fìrinn' by Helen Watt (B.B.C., 1960); and farce--'Seic Ruairidh' by Alister MacKenzie (B.B.C., 1950) and 'Na Mnathan' by Margaret MacPherson. The latter is the only example in Gaelic of the farce technique of pushing a situation to its logical extreme--a dissident wife forms a successful National Housewives' Union.

Excluding the work of Finlay MacLeod from consideration, it is clear that the Gaelic comedies of this period show very little advance on the plays of the earlier period or even on the work of MacCormick

and MacCulloch in the first few decades of the century. Verbal wit is still the staple and there is very little invention apparent in the plots. The plays of Donald Grant, however, show much more technical skill--especially in the creation of lively conversation--than most of the rest of popular Gaelic drama of any period; he is also much less dependent on conventional plot-types.

There are even fewer basic plot-types underlying the children's plays of this period than there are in the case of the adult popular drama: substantially they are confined to simple adventures ('Rathail'; B.B.C., 1958) and comedies-of-error ('Sìle'; B.B.C., 1959). The only progress evident is a closer approximation to colloquial speech. The one exception is the six-part serial 'Na Balaich air Rònaidh' (B.B.C., 1960), by Finlay MacLeod, which shows two boys marooned for weeks, improvising and discussing intelligently many subjects of topical interest.¹⁷

A total of thirty-five translations of plays into Gaelic were published or broadcast during this period, a considerable increase on the first thirty years of the century. The increase is due partly to the fact that there was not a sufficient output of original Gaelic plays to satisfy the programming demands of B.B.C. radio (the frequent repeats are further evidence of this) and partly to the extensive translating and publishing campaign carried out by An Comunn Gaidhealach in 1949 and the early 1950's.

These translations compensated for the dearth of original Gaelic plays, but they seem to have encouraged Gaelic writers to indolence rather than to have served as a stimulus.

There were no Shakespearian translations in this period, the only "classic" being Marlowe's 'Dr Faustus' (B.B.C., 1950).¹⁸ Other translations of universally known plays were Chekhov's 'The Betrothed' (B.B.C., 1944), John Synge's 'Riders to the Sea' (B.B.C., 1940; published 1950), and Lady Gregory's 'Rising of the Moon' (Comunn Gaidhealach, 1950). Of the remainder, three are Clan Period tragedies--J.A. Ferguson's 'Campbell of Kilmhor' (B.B.C., 1950), M.S. MacPhail's 'Eagle Claw' (1950), and John Brandane's 'Change House' (1950)--all showing a considerably more intelligent use of the imagination than the similar plays that were written originally in Gaelic. There were only two involving adventures at sea. Six of the translated plays include supernatural happenings--all these have a Highland setting, though they are not all by Highland-born writers. In the comedies, the most common plot-motifs are: comedy of error--Angus MacVicar's 'Under Suspicion' (B.B.C., 1959); reluctant and inexperienced wooers--W.D. Cocker's 'The Wooing O't' (B.B.C., 1957); disputes over wills and crofts--Winifred Adam's 'The Will' (B.B.C., 1955); wily "fools"--tinkers in 'Birds of a Feather' by J. Francis (Comunn Gaidhealach, 1950), an idiot in Francis's 'The Poacher' (1951);

and, occasionally, visual humour and farce situations-- Robert MacLellan's 'The Changeling' (B.B.C., 1951), Stanley Houghton's 'The Dear Departed' (1959).

The decline in Gaelic dramatic writing was checked in the 1950's and 1960's by the emergence of three young playwrights, two of whom had practical experience of working in the modern English theatre and all of whom were aware of the latest developments and tendencies in dramatic art in other languages: these are Iain Smith, Paul MacInnes, and Finlay MacLeod. Although their work is often extremely entertaining, it is clear that their main aim--unlike that of most popular dramatists¹⁹--is to comment trenchantly and artistically on facets of life: to this end they utilise sometimes the ready-made techniques of modern theatre, sometimes that theatre's freedom of improvisation.

Iain C. Smith uses both sea-adventure themes (1950, 1953) and a post-Culloden Clan setting (1959), but his use of these conventional themes is radically different from that of earlier playwrights because of his organisation of the plot to focus the attention on the mental state of one or more of his characters.

'Bàta Tharmaid' (B.B.C., 1950) begins after the sea tragedy and accurately--and with an effective oblique approach--depicts the mental deterioration of a self-made boat-owner whose boat has been destroyed with loss of life. He is beset by accumulating paranoid suspicion of attempts to help him--the paranoia, we are

left to infer, is a result of his repressing his guilt for the deaths under a show of heartless bluster. The play ends with his suicide.

As in Smith's short stories, the play has no more superficial organisation than the fact that it deals with a single phase in the psychological history of an individual. This central character is powerfully and accurately drawn--he is not a conventional "villain", but a realistic personality who is to be pitied as well as despised, if only because his only conscious mistake (the repression of guilt) is one of which we are all guilty. His death is inevitable, virtually the only logical way to end the play, but it is inevitable not because it is fated--as in Classical Greek Tragedy²⁰--but because the individual is powerless in the grasp of the new "supernatural", the subconscious mind. If it is acceptable to equate the modern conception of the subconscious with the Greek concept of Fate, we may regard the organisation of 'Bàta Thormaid' as being that of Greek tragedy. Certainly, the artistic organisation--in common with its psychological awareness--was new to Gaelic drama in 1950, since that drama had either lacked any artistic organisation (the *còmhradh* is the extreme form of this) or had had a stringent and overly predictable story-line.

Smith followed this promising first play with another radio play which also involves the repercussions of an adventure in a sea-storm. This play, 'An Stoirm'

(1953), is set in a house in which a mother and girl-friend hold a vigil for the son/lover who is at sea in a boat along with the girl's brother. The absence of the young man and the atmosphere of anxiety in the house is oppressive throughout the play--an intentional and highly effective method of concentrating attention on the old woman's policy, stated at the end, of staying awake in order to "will" courage into her otherwise timid son. Similarly, the anxiety and tension create a mysterious rapport between the two women which neither is able to violate by leaving the house. Finally, the boat's return is reported and the old woman--rather melodramatically--dies. The play is weakened by the ending. It uses Smith's main short-story device--the placing of two individuals in circumstances which cause them to closely examine their relationship. In 'An Stoirm', the sea-adventure is not in itself the subject of the play, but the "invisible" environment which creates the central situation. Again, the central situation is not organised on conventional narrative lines but, unlike the utterly amorphous *cómhradh*, is unified by the development to a climax of the complex psychological relationship between the characters, both those present and those at sea.

'Aonghas' (B.B.C., 1959) is a Clan Period tragedy which is more intelligently written and subtly conceived than its predecessors. The mother is

left happy in the mistaken belief that her son has died a hero. The traitorous son is the first appearance in Gaelic fictional writing of the sophisticated concept of the anti-hero.

Again, in 'A' Chùirt', Smith--in common with many earlier play-writers in Gaelic--used a story from Highland history: the play concerns the trial of Patrick Seller in Hell. The scene is an actual Hell, the build-up to a climax being effected by the gradual recognition of this fact by Sellers: he wonders at the heat, the old lady's descent on a stair, the clock stopped at midnight. As unifying devices, these are flimsy, yet over-obvious and--as items in themselves--ludicrous. In the course of the trial, past incidents are re-enacted in the courtroom: the use of flashbacks is an extremely effective part of many modern plays and of the modern sophisticated cinema, but here it is unnecessarily and unfortunately used, since it detracts from the terrors of a naturalistic Hell that its inhabitants can escape from it, if only in their imagination. For the flashbacks, the legal personages act as other characters and discuss their acting--this self-conscious artistry was new to Gaelic, previous plays having been thoroughly naturalistic in approach.

As with the flashbacks, Smith, in 'A' Chùirt', seems to have been attracted by another avant-garde theatrical device--Brechtian placards slung from the ceiling--which he uses again indiscriminately. At the

beginning of the play, a placard is displayed with the words "Na tugaibh breith chum nach toirear breith airbh": as a court-case immediately follows, this injunction becomes an over-explicit direction to the audience as to how they are to react. Brecht, the pioneer of this device, uses it much more subtly.

The placard and flashbacks seem to be results of a conscious decision by Smith to utilise the most up-to-date of theatrical devices in his Gaelic play: they can both be extremely effectively used, but here they weaken the play. Smith's earlier plays were unpretentious, straight character-analysis plays: 'A' Chùirt' was more ambitious and, because of this, is more regrettably and conclusively a failure than a play in his earlier style could have been.

Smith is back on safer ground with 'An Coileach' (pub. 1966), a play centred on the Gospel story of Peter's betrayal of Christ. There are three climaxes -- opportunities presented to Peter to commit himself irrevocably as a supporter of Christ -- each of which is dissipated. Peter has failed to grasp the opportunity to establish his identity. The play is an essay on the Existentialist theme (discussed by Smith in his essay on Kierkegaard in 'Gairm') that men can make perfectly free choices and that they choose their own personality by the decisions they make. This is a theme of many of Smith's short stories -- his technique in many of these

also being to rewrite a well-known story, such as that of Abraham and Isaac. In several of Smith's most recent plays, one is aware of a not altogether submerged philosophical basis, of a "problem" which the artistic creation is an attempt to illustrate and elucidate. To say that much is not to say, however, that the created situations and characters in his plays (and stories) are not vital in themselves: it is merely an attempt to establish which aspect had temporal precedence with the artist.

Smith's psychological insight and his intelligent awareness and use of modern dramatic methods and of modern thought makes his series of short plays (half-hour performance time) exhilarating and important in the context of Gaelic drama. In contrast with Paul MacInnes and Finlay MacLeod, however, Smith is seen to be a very intelligent, sophisticated, and versatile writer who is experimenting with the form, often using modern theatrical techniques rather too mechanically; his lack of feeling for the theatre being illustrated by the lack of discrimination in 'A' Chùirt', which could not have been demonstrated by a less-intelligent writer who had empathy with the medium.

A writer must be emotionally involved in his ideas to be creative: but he must also, unlike Smith in the context of drama, have integrated them with his artistic medium. The plays of Samuel Beckett

and Eugene Ionesco are excellent examples of the near-perfect and unlaboured integration of technique and content: the most revolutionary of ideas are presented by the newest of techniques, not by a conscious effort of the will to be avant-garde, but because these ideas naturally express themselves in that form. One cannot say often whether the ideas that we can, in retrospect, extract from the play have had temporal precedence in the creation of the play over the visual-verbal techniques of expression.

The plays of Paul MacInnes and Finlay MacLeod achieve this ideal, while lacking--except perhaps in MacLeod's 'Ceann Cropic'--the intellectual depth of Beckett and Ionesco and of Iain Smith. Their plays share an immaculate sense of the theatre, excellent technical control and virtuosity, and the faculty of utilising their practical knowledge of modern dramatic techniques in order accurately to illustrate their narrow but intense experiences of life. Their plays--with again, 'Ceann Cropic' a possible exception--are "studies from the life".

This is certainly true of the only play by Paul MacInnes which has been published, 'Maith Dhuinn ar Peacaidhean' (B.B.C., 1957), which describes the traumatic realisation of an extremely intelligent student (intelligent characters are rare in earlier Gaelic drama) of the fact that his idolised father, whom he has not seen, is a worthless rogue and that his own mother is not dead but is, in fact, the

family's maid. The contrast between the youth's initial brash confidence in his values and the pragmatic acceptance by the grandfather, who is an old minister, of evil as an indomitable factor in our existence--to which acceptance the son reconciles himself at the end of the play--is subtly and unobtrusively brought out. The play is a complex delineation of an always recurring situation: during its performance, we are aware only of its accuracy to reality and are fully engrossed in studying the unpredictable clashes of character. It is in retrospect only that it can be seen that 'Maith Dhuinn ar Peacaidhean' has had a message of philosophical import.

The first play by Finlay MacLeod to be given public performance was 'Oidhche na Bliadhna Uir' (B.B.C., 1963). The technique is similar to that used by John Osborne in his 'Look Back in Anger' (1956), with the central character (the "angry young man") voicing the author's own radical views on his native society: in 'Oidhche na Bliadhna Uir', the harangue is emotionally motivated by the author's deeply felt views on Island religion and society and is given a "raison d'être" by the setting of the play in New Year's Eve on Lewis with the slightly-drunk young man visiting various people and fulminating against their variously anomalous views. The Gaelic play is made less contemptuous of the society and is, therefore, more realistic than 'Look Back in Anger':

in the final dénouement, Tormod becomes extremely solicitous about his injured mother, whose personal values he has attacked earlier in the evening.

MacLeod's 'Shoni' (B.B.C., 1965) also has a central character who represents the author's own views. This play re-enacts the worship of two ancient pagan gods--Shoni (a Lewis sea-god) and the Moon (using the authentic incantation and rituals of the latter, as conserved in Carmichael's 'Carmina Gadelica')--and shows the disruption caused in the previously happy and well-adjusted relationship of two young lovers by the girl's becoming an adherent of these life-denying religions, with their symbolic insistence on a separate sensual wedding and spiritual marriage. While the play is very beautiful yet tragic on this level, it gains considerable force if regarded as allegorical satire on modern organised religion. The vicarious schism forced between the spiritual and the sensual, the illogicality of the Christian doctrine of God as a God of Love and a Temperamental Provider, and the thesis that reverence is sublimated fear are the main points made in the allegory. These suggestions are neither unusually profound nor original criticism in themselves, but they are here as cleverly and effectively expressed as they have been by anyone--and certainly they are made much more artistically than ever before in any genre, in Gaelic. The allegory form ensures the necessary obliqueness of approach: direct attack

always puts an audience on the defensive, but people feel freer to condemn their own views if these are shown situated in a different time, among a different people. Allegory is also effective here in emphasising that history has taught the human race very little, that religious attitudes have basically unchanged for millennia: "history repeats itself".

The success of the play is a consequence largely of the author's creation of the young lovers as characters strong and realistic enough to hold the attention: thus, they evoke memories of modern religion-crossed lovers that the audience know personally and, furthermore, the playwright manages, in this way, to leave the love-tragedy in the audience's mind as his main subject, while quite unobtrusively sowing the seeds of religious doubt. The ideas mooted are not as intellectually radical as some of Iain Smith's, but the treatment is far more skilful.

'An Seachdamh Gealach' (B.B.C., 1965) satirises all the previous acts and personages who have held the Gaelic "stage": there is a burlesque traditional sketch (the bodach and cailleach go out to allow Fear-a'-Ghoovernment to oust a sailor from their daughter's affections); a series of imitations of well-known Gaelic singers; Mod action-song choirs and the slick TV-trained modern groups, such as the MacDonald Sisters, with their geometrical grouping and smiling renderings of all songs; a University professor; writers in the local press and radio announcers; and

the Mod Crowning of the Bard. Although he makes fun of his predecessors and colleagues, the author makes an innovation to the Gaelic stage with this play, for it is the first example in Gaelic of a play whose humour shows great resources of imagination and intelligent observation; and which, while being uproariously funny, is fundamentally utterly serious in its comments on its chosen subject. Furthermore, it is the first sustained example in Gaelic drama of the topical satire (Lachlan Robertson's 'Cò is Airidh air Crùn' satirises historic persons), though the satiric sketches of Spaidsear and Cailleach an Deucoin are clearly its lineal ancestors. Strident topicality of this kind is probably better suited to short sketches than to more ambitious plays, since it is ephemeral and dates very quickly.

'An Seachdamh Gealach' is new also in its artistic organisation: its physical setting is a cronies' gathering after a wedding in which the bride was obviously a former sweetheart of one of the boys; the wedding is soon forgotten (presumably this is a deliberate policy of distraction on the part of the wee-begone lover and his sympathetic mates) but the play ends with the playing, on record, of the song 'I'll Never Get Over You'. Logical development of a theme and a narrative framework are absent from this play, yet there is a unity of tone: 'An Seachdamh Gealach' is a collage of

a heterogeneous series of satiric vignettes, which amount to a unified statement on the condition of Gaelic entertainment. The main superficial unifying device is the English pop-music which is played at the beginning and end and to introduce new scenes.

The only stage-furnishing required for this play, as for 'Shoni', are lengths of cloth which serve as many things--from an academic gown to a kilt. This recognition that a play is not an attempt at "hoodwinking" an audience into thinking they are seeing a real-life room instead of an art-creation is the main contribution to the development of Gaelic drama of MacLeod and Smith: in this way, greater empathy can be achieved with the audience (though this must be as controlled as all other art must), and leads on to the comprehensively stylistic presentation of 'Ceann Cropic'.

MacLeod's 'Pàrlamaid Ogam' (B.B.C., 1965) satirises the Gaelic-language movement, converting it into a movement to resuscitate Pictish by an extremist group in St Kilda who prohibit even glancing towards the east: scenes from the St Kilda Parliament, the ogam schools and university, and the ogam law court are reproduced, dominated by characters who are recognisable as prominent members of the Gaelic Movement and others--such as the religious impostor, Ruairich Mór, with his Talmudic legalistic religion--are drawn from the history of St Kilda, to which

the play is basically faithful in points of detail. The whole project is disrupted by a young man who is regarded as an idiot and who represents, here again, the author's views.²¹ The author's technique of siting his play in St Kilda and in a Pictish-revival context ensures a more receptive attitude to the play on the part of the persons attacked and also reinforces the author's central thesis of the illogicality, from an historic viewpoint, of language revivalism. The allegorical approach also allows him to satirise living persons without fears of libel actions. The language movement concerns the artificially organised sector of Gaelic society and while it is easy to make fun of it, it is correspondingly difficult to make any points of fundamental import in the course of such a satire. The play is well written, extremely skilful technically (running for one hour, it is the nearest to a full-length play in Gaelic since the Second World War), very entertaining, but datable and lacking in depth.

The same may, perhaps, be said of this writer's latest play, 'An Comedy' (first presented May 1967 in Aberdeen). Again the theatrical flare of the author is evident: the scene is a committee room plastered with commercial posters "selling" Gaelic (a parody on the Comunn Gaidhealach's recent interest in modern advertising technique and on commercialism in general); the jury are a cross-section of Island social types--the Gaelic enthusiast, the

yarn-spinning, hail-fellow-well-mat type, the minister Chairman, and "Mrs Daffodil", who cannot speak Gaelic and so suffers from the implementation by this committee of An Comunn's injunction to Highland public bodies to use only Gaelic:²²

there are also references to the proposed proficiency badges of An Comunn. The main theme is the trial of a young schoolmaster for teaching the theory of evolution. Again, there is up to the minute topicality but not much depth and, here, a homiletic tendency: but, as before, the heterogeneous satirical jibes are skilfully integrated, and the author once again shows himself the best (and perhaps the only) master of stagecraft in Gaelic drama. The poster-covered stage, the locations of the accused, the accusing, and the jury, the terrifyingly human-looking ape masks worn by the cast throughout and the brilliant opening when a duffle coat clad ape (symbol of the Highland drudge) lumbers across the stage with a barrow full of Gaelic committee-meeting minutes, all show a practical awareness of the most advanced world theatre and a facility to put its innovations to effective use.

'Ceann Cropic' is undoubtedly MacLeod's most significant achievement to date. This play was performed in theatres in Aberdeen, Glasgow, and on the West Highland tour by Na Lorganaich in 1966; in 1964 it was broadcast on B.B.C. radio and in 1967 became the first Gaelic play to be presented on television.

'Ceann Cropic' is a completely stylistic play, which explains why Gaelic audiences, who have been nurtured on naturalistic drama, have found it so bewildering. Those who have seen the play performed will recollect that two actors alternately enjoy serene togetherness and struggle as one of them viciously domineers.

These actors can be (and have been) variously taken as representing two factions in an individual's mind--perhaps the Freudian destructive and creative forces, or the rational, conscious mind against dangerous subconscious drives, or (less plausibly) an emergent personality trait struggling for dominance against set behaviour patterns. Again, the two actors have been interpreted as representing two individuals living in intimate proximity--with the one attempting to dominate the other between temporary rapprochements. It is possible to regard all these as simultaneously and complementarily valid readings of the play, as a deliberate palimpsest (interestingly, this is the typical artistic organisation of Donald MacAulay's poetry).

During the play, communications with the outside world comprise a letter, which is received in terror, and the utterly passive, silent, and invisible visitor whose very existence is doubted after he has gone. Finally, after the "agressive" actor has realised that the person he saw at a distance with a dog is himself, he is left alone onstage, presumably "cured" for the time being by his recognition that he

is in danger of suffering recurrent schizoid phases, but isolated and very lonely.

Basically, the playwright's preoccupation here is the nature of communication--whether psychological or inter-personal. This inevitably entails investigation (though that word represents too formal a concept) of the origins and consequent function of language. The actors' rapport is achieved, for example, by an exchange of fishing-rock names and the names of fish--these represent shared knowledge and shared experience (Cf. the discussion of symbolism in the poetry chapter). At another time, the two placidly exchange the names of a sheep's earmarks but, after the dialogue has proceeded for some time, the aggressive partner terminates it by saying that the sheep discussed has no head and therefore no ears--that is, their talk had no objective referents, no basis of fact, yet that does not matter as it has helped them to establish a friendly relationship for some time.

Some words have had a history that has surrounded them with connotations of repressions and violent dominance: this has made them not so much designations of rational concepts as weapons of suppression. So, the aggressive partner, in one of his violent moods, pursues the other around a box on stage, beating him down with a barrage of words that all begin with the prefix "mi-" (English anti-, un-, mis-): "mi-chàirdeas, mi-chreideas, mi-mhodhalachd, mi-chliù. . ."

and, most repressive of all, "ministeir". There are other m- alliterative "runs" of this kind-- for example a list of the expletives "mort, muin, misg, mùn"--all used as tools of aggression and symbolising, in their alliteration, rhetoric (particularly pulpit rhetoric) and, generally, fascist (i.e. persuasive) oratory.

The timid partner keeps interjecting, "A bheil an uinneag/an doras dùinte," "a bheil duine stigh"-- here window, door, fear of strangers represent voluntary isolation from the mass and the consciousness of being imprisoned (by society, moral laws, the Mind).

The most striking and superficially the most difficult aspect of 'Ceann Cropic' is the fact that the ratio of "content" or "meaning" words to syntactic, "function" words is very high: this is symptomatic of the play in general. This play is not an "analysis", in the conventional sense, of the theme of communication and the use of language in communication, nor is it an "illustration" of a theme. It is rather a demonstration; it is--to put it crudely--the theme in action.

Here a further comparison with the poetry of Donald MacAulay is apposite, for MacAulay also deals with "skeletons" or "paradigms" of human experience rather than with superficial, naturalistic detail and he does so not by logical analysis but directly, by describing the experience in depth (which is not the same as analysis since "analysis"

implies the superimposition of preconceived notions).

Marshall MacLuhan, in his book 'The Gutenberg Galaxy', claims that the printing press has developed the potential for detachment and the tendency to "logically" compartmentalise life and literature; and that the electric age--television, films, etc.-- is helping to restore the potential for direct, unschematic experience of life and for the absurdist presentation of it in art.²³ If this theory is valid, then we can say, on the evidence of 'Ceann Cropic', that the electric age has hit Gaelic, and hit it hard.

PERFORMANCES

The earliest record I have traced of the performance of a Gaelic play is a note in the introduction to the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness [XXIV, (1899-1901)] to the effect that "just lately an Edinburgh 'Mod' of the local 'Celtic Union' was held, at which a play in Gaelic was enacted".

In the issue of 'Am Bàrd' for August 1901, a writer, probably either Angus Henderson or Roderick Erskine of Mar, wrote of An Comunn Gaidhealach: "It strikes us as a pity that to the attractions of An Mod, the Committees are unable to add that of a Gaelic dramatic representation. Such a play, for instance, as that now being published in our columns ('Iseabail') would have formed an agreeable addition to the day's proceedings and the usual

festivities. Such a play would cost little to stage, whilst no great difficulty should be experienced in securing suitable performers. If Dublin has its Gaelic theatre, why not Glasgow. . . This is the only Association in Scotland at the present moment from which such an undertaking as the staging of a Gaelic play might be expected to come. Indeed. . . a Gaelic play would have been staged at the Exhibition had An Comunn Gaidhealach felt itself strong enough for the task. Unfortunately, however, the Association is presently without that generous measure of public patronage which is so successful in imparting a rosy tinge even to the most chimeric of schemes."

The next traceable Gaelic dramatic performances are a series of three plays--'An Dùsgadh', 'The Great Change'(both propagandist), and one other--presented before the Gaelic Society of London in 1905. The next in Scotland was not by An Comunn Gaidhealach, as the 'Bàrd' writer of 1901 had predicted, but by the Edinburgh Gaelic Musical Association at the 1907 Féill in the Berkeley Hall when it performed Alexander MacLean's historical romance, 'Dioghaltas Lachuinn', which involved, predictably, rival lovers and treachery. An anonymous reviewer in 'An Gaidheal'(January 1908) concluded, "But why criticize? It was Gaelic, and this should cover a multitude of sins". This conclusion is interesting in two connections: it

illustrates the nationalistic origins of Gaelic drama and it differs from most other notices of dramatic performances during the next thirty years by its willingness to criticise constructively, and not just adulate, this new form. The Glasgow Gaelic Musical Association became the first group to present a Gaelic play at the National Mod in 1909--they presented J.N. MacLeod's 'Reiteach Móraig' as part of the Mod's Thursday night concert.

An Comunn Gaidhealach itself had instituted competitions for play scripts before this--in 1906 for children's, and 1907 for an adults' 'comedy representing Highland life": many of the prizewinning plays²⁴ in the first twenty years of the competition were published--in 'An Deo-Gréine/An Gaidheal' and separately--and performed, but though the competition has lasted till the present day, few of the winning plays in recent years have been either published or acted.²⁵ It has become an increasingly more apposite criticism of An Comunn that it regards this script competition as an end in itself: in reality, if the prizewinning plays are not actable and acted, the competition must be regarded as quite fruitless. However the syllabus of the 1911 Mod stipulated that "if the sketch placed first by the adjudicators is of sufficient merit, it may be acted at one of the Mod concerts"; the competition was won by J. MacCormick and his play, 'An Gaidheal a Chail a Ghàidhlig' was performed at that year's Mod and was later to become a popular

sketch at concerts all over the country.

Meanwhile, the practise begun at the 1909 National Mod of presenting a play--on a non-competitive basis--on the Thursday night of the Mod was continued intermittently by the Glasgow Gaelic Musical Association. For example, they repeated their performance of 'An Rud a Their a Màthair' at the 1910 Mod in Edinburgh and they presented MacCulloch's 'Dòmhnall 's an Tombaca' at a National Mod as late as 1919.

This Association's drama group was the most important single group in the early years of Gaelic drama. They were the only group regularly performing Gaelic plays in Glasgow over a long period and, in their incursions into the Gaelic area, they presented several Gaelic comedies, again as parts of concerts. They were closely associated with the writer, Archibald MacCulloch, and performed several of his plays. 'An Rud a Their a Màthair Feumaidh e bhi Deanta', besides the two performances in 1909 detailed above, was presented at the Athenaeum Theatre, Glasgow in 1920; MacCulloch's 'Dòmhnall 's an Tombaca' was performed at their own Annual Gathering as well as at the Edinburgh Mod in 1919, and at Killin (1920), Oban (1920), and at the 1923 Mod in Inverness; MacCulloch's 'A' Chearc Ghuir' was presented at the Association's Annual Gathering in 1920 and, as late as 1929, they presented John MacCormick's prizewinning 'Am Fear a Chail a Ghàidhlig'

at their Annual Gathering in Glasgow. Very little is heard of this Association as a drama group of significance from this time on.

Ceilidh nan Gaidheal also played a prominent part in the performance of Gaelic drama in Glasgow and its environs in the 'twenties. Hugh MacPhee, its Secretary during that period, reports that MacCulloch often "read" his plays from a script at their meetings and that these plays were later performed by Ceilidh members in Glasgow and Greenock. In the year or two immediately following the First World War, the Glasgow Tìre Association presented several comedies--e.g. 'Baitidh', 'Airgid Siùsaidh'-- which had been written especially for them by Mary A. MacKinnon (Mrs Alexander Campbell).

In the second decade of this century, sketches and larger-scale comedies were becoming a not infrequent feature of Gaelic concerts both in the Galltachd communities and in the Highland areas, where An Comunn Gaidhealach was setting up branches at this time. A 1912 branch report from Tìre, for example, states--"A new feature of the evening's entertainment was a Gaelic play, 'An Gaidheal a Chail a' Ghàilig', given by members of the Association". From this date till the Second World War, the branch reports in 'An Deo-Gréine/An Gaidheal' refer to the performance of sketches and comic plays-- but always as a part of concerts or ceilidhs, a fact which explains why only comic plays were

performed; many of the reports refer to the suitability of this new form for providing variety in concert programmes. The following list demonstrates how few of the available play-scripts were regularly performed and also which areas were most involved (only branches outside the Lowland cities are represented). 'Reiteach Móraig' was presented at Kyleakin (1912), Mallaig (1913), Kilmichael-Glassary (1915), Glendaruel (1920), Killin (1921), Knoydart (1921), Bendarloch (1922), Kinloch Rannoch (1924), Tobermory (1925), Kinlochleven (1926), Kilmallie (1927), and Kingussie (1928). MacCormick's 'Am Fear a Chaill a Ghàidhlig'²⁶ was shown in Strath (1913), Jura (1920), Oban (1926), Oban (1927), Bunessan (1927), Kinlochbervie (1927), Glenelg (1929), Fort Augustus (1929), Bunessan (1930), and Killin (1930). 'Posadh Móraig' was staged in Tayvallich (1921), Kinloch Rannoch (1925), Port Ellen (1925), Kildaton (1928), Mealanais (1936). Hector MacDougall's 'An Gaol a Bheir Buaidh' was presented in Jura (1922), Killin (1922), Tiree (1930). Mary A. Campbell's 'Beitidh' was seen in Tobermory (1926), Port Ellen (1927), Salen (1928), Inverness S.C.D.A. Final (1936), Taynuilt (1936). MacCormick's 'An t-Agh Odhar' was in Glenelg (1926), South Uist (1936), Dingwall S.C.D.A. competition (1935), Dalbaid (1936), while his 'Peigi Bheag' was in Salen (1927), Glenelg (1928), Tobermory (1928), Kinlocheil (1930), Portree (1933), Ardvasar (1934), and Kinlochleven (1935).

Three performances of other plays by MacCormick were given in Mull. Apart from several children's plays presented by Comunn an h-Oigridh from the mid-1930's on, there are records of the performance by An Comunn's branches of only three other plays until 1939: this gives a total of only twelve plays used, all comedies, although by 1939 there were forty-three plays available and published (thirty comedies). Also, three of the twelve plays used by the branches were performed disproportionately often: these are--'Reiteach Móraig' (twelve times), 'Am Fear a Chaill a Ghàidhlig' (ten times), and 'Peigi Bheag' (seven times).

The Glasgow Highland societies--apart from the Gaelic Musical Association and, to a lesser extent, Ceilidh nan Gaidheal--very infrequently presented Gaelic plays in this period, though light, ephemeral sketches seem to have been popular at ceilidhs: An Comunn's Secretary's report in 1918 states--"On various occasions this winter, Gaelic sketches have formed attractive items on the programmes of Highland concerts in Glasgow". In reports from the Lewis branch for 1926 and 1928, the character sketches of Kenneth MacAulay and the Ness Sketch Party are mentioned. Mr MacAulay was the first in a line of Lewis comedians who used the stage to present satiric or otherwise humorous interpretations of current affairs. In an article in the 'Stornoway

Gazette' (June 1967), Finlay MacLeod claimed that several of his own plays were direct descendents, in point of dramatic technique, of their sketches. These comedians shared with the earlier dialogues and the village-bards (most of whom were also local if not concert comedians) a strident topicality. These topical sketches show the popular comedy at its most vital, if also its most ephemeral.

Although plays other than comedies were not presented in Gaelic till after the Second World War, there were some unusual and potentially seminal developments. For example, the first performance of Malcolm MacFarlane's propagandist musical for children, 'Am Mosgladh Mór', by Drimmin school in the mid-20's is interesting, as are the references by Neil Ross in 'An Gaidheal' (XXIX, 1933) to performances of the operetta, 'Iseabail': "I have seen the opera rendered by native singers who sang the Gaelic words. The effect was exhilarating to a high degree. And I have seen a critical audience in Inverness, held for a whole evening by melodies from the opera but rendered to an English translation." Mr Hugh MacPhee refers to a "performance" of the opera--the dialogue being read out and the songs sung--by Neil Orr at a Ceilidh nan Gaidheal meeting in the early 1920's. Mr MacPhee also reports on the staging of the play in Greenock around that time by Alexander M. Nicholson (later of Inverness).

A 1914 report from the Glandaruel branch acclaimed the branch's dramatisation of the Dairdra story as a breakthrough in Gaelic drama; a similar project was the dramatisation of 'Little Red Riding Hood' by the Leacmeil Comunn na h-Oigridh in 1935.

The history of drama associations and festivals in Gaelic is one of sporadic periods of enthusiastic and hope-inspiring activity followed in a short time by total collapse until the formation in 1956 of a Gaelic Drama Association in Glasgow which has proved the most stable to date, having now organised eleven consecutive annual festivals. The first Gaelic Drama Organisation originated from the donation by Duncan MacLeod of Skeabost in 1920 of £500 in prize-money for Gaelic plays: this competition was to be administered by An Comunn Gaidhealach in conjunction with the 1921 Mod, prizes of £100 and £50 respectively were to be given to the first and second-prize plays and the remainder of money was to be used to publish the two plays and to adequately stage the first prize winner. Archibald MacCulloch won the £100 prize with his tedious, wordy comedy 'Mairead'; second was John MacCormick with 'Rath-Innis', a much better play. The crucial scene in 'Mairead' is the loosening of a ford-stone and a subsequent accident in the river at the point, which makes it difficult to understand the adjudicator's comment that "the suitability of the plays for stage presentation

was taken into consideration in addition to their literary and other merits". Both 'Mairead' and 'Rath-Innis' are full-length plays. There were nine entries for the competition, five of which were said to be "excellent". 'Mairead' was produced in the Athenaeum Theatre, Glasgow on September 29, 1921-- to the claim that this was the first Gaelic play to be produced in a fully-equipped theatre. The 'Deo-Gréine' report contains critiques of the acting and the play; the actors included Donald A. Robertson (son of Angus Robertson, the novelist), John Bannerman, and Neil Shaw.

The 'Gaidheal' reviewer added, "The Gaelic drama promises to be a popular institution in Glasgow this winter. We trust this is the beginning of a national Gaelic movement." The play was presented in Edinburgh in 1922 by the same group of actors and the following note appeared in 'An Gaidheal' in 1923: "The original performers in 'Mairead' recently formed a society for the closer study of Gaelic drama and elocution and already have a membership of about thirty. The new society is called 'An Comunn Aisneis Gàidhlig'. The President is John R. Bannerman, the Secretary is Donald A. Robertson. Three performances of 'Mairead' will be given this month--Greenock on the 11th, the Athenaeum Hall, Glasgow on the 16th and 17th [January]." These performances were given, but nothing more was heard of the new Association.

The first dramatic performances in Gaelic were given in the Galltachd settlements; popular comedies gradually became a feature of the concert programmes of the branches of 'An Comunn Gaidhealach' (a Lowland-based organisation) in the Highland mainland and in Mull, Islay, Tiree, and Skye. The first touring Gaelic dramatic company was based in Glasgow as was the first Drama Association. Yet the first competitive Gaelic Drama Festival took place in 1935 in the Uists, where An Comunn had only a very young and not very active branch (the Uists, Harris, and Lewis, except for Stornoway, have never been taken very seriously as campaign areas by An Comunn, no doubt because the position of Gaelic in these areas is relatively strong, even yet).

In the mid-1930's, several visits were made to the Uists by Donald MacPhail, An Comunn's dynamic Northern Organiser--mainly in connection with the recently formed Comunn na h-Oigridh. During one of the visits, he discovered and encouraged the intention among a group of North Uist teachers of organising a competitive festival of Gaelic plays. Neil Ross, editor of 'An Gaidheal' commented: "We know of no better method for attaining proficiency and correctness in Gaelic." On July 3, 1934, the Festival began with the presentation in Lochmaddy of 'Airgiod Siùsaidh' by M. A. MacKinnon; on the next night, in Sollas, MacCormick's 'Am Fear a Chail a Ghàidhlig' was produced by the local team; Claddach Kirkabost

produced 'Suiridh Raoghail Mhaoil' (Sinclair) on the next evening; and, on July 6, the festival was terminated by the Tigharry Players in M.A. MacKinnon's 'Beitidh' (all four plays are comedies). The adjudicator was John R. Bannerman, who awarded the cup donated by the Glasgow Uist and Barra Association to the Lochmaddy team. He commented that they had no experienced producers but that they achieved authenticity by type-casting the parts and that they had an advantage over the Gaelic players of the South in their uniformity of dialogue and their good Gaelic. The festival had been extremely successful and Neil Ross noted in a somewhat piqued tone--like Bannerman he tended to patronise the Uist producers--"If one were asked a year ago where should the first awakening of Gaelic drama take place, it is improbable that he would fix on the Outer Hebrides as the likely district. But so it is." This development gave rise to more optimism than even the production of 'Mairead' in a proper theatre in 1921: An Comunn's Secretary wrote in 'An Gaidheal' (Nov. 1934)--"The establishment of Gaelic Community Drama Festivals seems to find much favour among the branches. Quite a number of them have already made arrangements to include the presentation of at least one Gaelic play among their activities this season. It is hoped to establish a Gaelic Drama Festival at Inverness next year and trophies for it have been promised."

The central Gaelic Drama Festival as envisaged

by the writer was not, however, forthcoming at this time, mainly because it was announced in November 1934 that Gaelic plays could compete at the festivals of the Scottish Community Drama Association on an equal footing with English plays. A trophy was obtained by Donald MacPhail for the Gaelic section of the S.C.D.A.'s regional final at Inverness in 1935; in 1935, Ardgour made history by gaining first prize at the area final of the S.C.D.A. Festival in Dingwall and in 1937, with 'Beitidh', the same team became the first to present a Gaelic play at the Divisional Final of the S.C.D.A. competition at Inverness. The opportunity to develop the local festival in Uist into a national all-Gaelic drama festival, separate from the Scottish Community Drama Association, had been lost: instead, local Gaelic drama groups began to compete with plays in Scots and English in the S.C.D.A.'s network of competitions. There is some justice in the fact that the presentday all-Gaelic Drama Festival--which began in 1956 as a local Glasgow one but is gradually becoming national--was sponsored by and is under the aegis of the S.C.D.A.

Two teams from Barra were expected to augment the entries for the 1935 North Uist Festival, but, in the event, the total entry slumped to two, of which one was the Claddach Kirkebost team with the same play as it had presented in 1934. The Uist Gaelic Drama Festival had been an adventurous undertaking and had aroused high hopes for Gaelic drama, but was now

dead. There is no doubt that a large share of the blame for this must be shouldered by the Comunn's organisers in Glasgow, who had adopted the Festival and had defined it as a movement whose aims were--not to entertain or edify--but to help the participants to learn and to speak Gaelic more fluently.

This emphasis may have been justifiable if the Festival had been located on the Highland mainland or in the cities, where the participants and audiences would share the organisers' concern for the decay of Gaelic, but--in the Uists of the 1930's--it was irrelevant and potentially harmful.

In the late 1930's, George Marjoribanks and Donald MacPhail tried very hard to encourage the branches of Comunn na h-Oigridh to present Gaelic plays--again the stated aim being to help them to learn Gaelic, which, since the majority of branches were in strong Gaelic areas, would not have given rise to much urgency. Marjoribanks had great difficulty both in getting plays (he ran several competitions) and in encouraging the acting of plays, although, at the Oban local Mod of 1937, Tobermory Feachd presented a play, 'Na h-Uibhean Prìosail', written by themselves and at the 1938 National Mod the Children's Play Competition was won by Oban High School (with 'An Grioglachlan'), with Bowmore School second; several other plays were produced locally by the Feachdan in the 1935-1939 period. 'Na h-Uibhean Prìosail' won the Mod Prize for Tobermory at the 1947 Mod and this is the last record of

an entry for this competition. Had Marjoribanks been more successful in this field, a dramatically sophisticated Gaelic audience would have been created for the present day.

The next adults' play-acting competition after the Uist Festival was the competition held on the eve of each local Mod in Badenoch from 1935 to 1938, the first of its kind in conjunction with a Mod; plays such as 'An Gaol a Bheir Buaidh' were presented by an average of two clubs annually. This competition did not resume after the War.

In 1938, the play, 'An Duine's Fhaide Beò 's é is Motha Chì' by Nancy MacLean was shown in Glasgow and repeated that year on B.B.C. radio. In 'An Gaidheal' for June 1940, there is a note--'The Gaelic Dramatic Club recently formed in Glasgow is doing excellent work. Two new plays--'Aimhealadh Alasdair Ruaidh' and 'Na Thug Latha mu'n Cuairt', written by Miss Nancy MacLean, were produced in the Highlanders' Institute on 30th May. There is much need for new Gaelic plays and especially plays with some dramatic grip and power and Miss MacLean is to be congratulated on her efforts to produce such drama. But we also need audiences accustomed to listen with intelligence and to enjoy with profit Gaelic plays of dramatic force." I have not been able to see either of these play scripts and nothing more was heard of this club, presumably as a result of the War.

Although a welcome-home ceilidh in North Uist in 1946 contained performances of 'Airgiod Siùsaidh', 'Ruairidh Roimh-ainmichte', 'Reiteach Móraig' and a sketch, it is, generally, true to say that comic plays ceased to be a part of Gaelic concerts after the Second World War--although many short, simple sketches and satiric skits by such men as Spaidseir and Cailleach an Deucoin in Lewis continued to be popular. This developement was to the detriment of the concerts--the more so because their dialogue/debate content had also disappeared--but good for drama in that it made it easier for audiences to regard plays as a form of literature rather than as Variety.²⁷ Up till the War, no serious plays in Gaelic were performed--mainly because drama had come to be regarded as a concert "filler": serious plays were relegated to the periodicals and intended for silent reading.

The first traceable performance of a "serious" Gaelic play is the B.B.C. radio presentation of 'Una Ghil Bhàin' (a Clan Period tragic melodrama) by Mary A. Campbell, in 1939, followed by the radio broadcast of Donald MacLaren's 'Am Feadan' (a sea-tragedy) in 1946. Since then, the B.B.C have continued to broadcast an approximately equal number of comic and serious plays, and also the experimental plays of Smith, MacInnes, and MacLeod in the 1950's and '60's. This balance has been maintained in the number of publications also, but stage performances are still very unadventurous. No groups--apart from Na Lorganaich

and Oban Drama Group--seem prepared to tackle anything but comedies (often translated) and the occasional melodrama.

The B.B.C., besides broadcasting performances of all the worthwhile Gaelic plays (along with many simple "popular" comedies), have broadcast translations of plays by Marlowe, Chekhov, Robert MacLellan, and Neil Gunn. If there is a growing popular realisation that plays can be edifying literature and also entertaining in performance, the B.B.C. are due a large deal of the credit.

The first stage performance of a Gaelic non-comedy that I can trace is that of Sinclair's 'Crois Tàra', produced by Finlay J. MacDonald in the Athenaeum Theatre in 1947 (said to be the only performance of a Gaelic play in a fully-fledged theatre since 'Mairead' in the Athenaeum in 1921). Access was had to costumes and the theatre's lighting and staging facilities: all these were used competently.

In the meantime, the Scottish Education Department had made a grant to An Comunn Gaidhealach to enable them to employ a full-time Organiser for Music and Drama in the Gaelic-speaking areas (An Comunn had employed an itinerent music teacher in the 1930's). They appointed Mr John A. MacSween. Donald MacPhail recorded an interest in drama in Lewis in 1947 and the Organiser was sent to help "local Gaelic teams in preparing for the Lewis Provincial Mod", a special session of which was to be instituted if

a sufficient number of entries came forward. But no plays were presented at Lewis Provincial Mods either in 1947, 1948, or in any year to the present. J.N. MacLeod in a letter to 'An Gaidheal' in April 1948 complained, "Chan fhaicear aon sgioba fhein a' fòillseachadh Dràma Ghàidhlig."

In 1949, Finlay J. MacDonald and Alexander MacKenzie presented a pantomime-cum-satirical revue, 'Whiskers Galore', in the Lyric Theatre--a very up-to-date and lively venture, which drew large audiences and was composed of new songs, impersonations, and sketches. Effie Morrison wrote the lyrics and Pat. Sandeman was musical director. This was largely in English, but it dealt with Highland subjects.

A Gaelic Dramatic Club (Comunn Dràma Ghàidhlig Ghlascho)²⁸ was instituted in 1950, its aims being: 1) the production of original Gaelic plays; 2) the encouragement of the writing of Gaelic plays. It did not, however, set the heather on fire and the only Gaelic dramatic performances continued to be the occasional Gaelic entries for S.C.D.A. competitions.

In 1955, a conference on Gaelic Drama was held in Inverness under the chairmanship of Dr J. A. MacLean. Among the resolutions which were later enacted were: the institution of a separate all-Gaelic Festival (under the auspices of the S.C.D.A.); the special training of Gaelic adjudicators and producers; and the organisation of a play-writing competition.

In April 1956, the S.C.D.A. and Glasgow Education Authority ran an eight-week course for Gaelic drama producers, which was attended by fifteen people. The 'Gaidheal' reported: "High hopes are held in certain quarters that the new Gaelic drama movement will act as a vitalising force in a fading language." The body directly responsible for the running of the festival is the Glasgow Gaelic Drama Association, whose aims are, first, to propagate the Gaelic language and, only second, to encourage the development of Gaelic drama.

The first Gaelic Drama Festival of One-Act Plays in Glasgow was held under the auspices of the Glasgow Area of the S.C.D.A. in May 1957.²⁹ The first Festival had five entries--four from Glasgow and one from Skye; four were slight comedies (two translated) and the other was a translation of Eugene O'Neill's grim tragedy 'The Rope'. A reviewer, possibly Finlay J. MacDonald, in 'An Gaidheal' wrote: "some members of the audience suffered from the delusion that every play on the stage, every action, is meant to be laughed at. Parts of 'An Dul', a grim and tragic play, were quite spoiled, for some at least of the audience, by the determination of others in the audience to guffaw at the wrong time, expecting every Gaelic play to be kitchen sink." Since the majority of the audience had probably not seen a serious play--in Gaelic or English--on stage before and had been acclimatised to see Gaelic drama presented as part of

Variety performances, their reaction to 'An Dul' is scarcely to be wondered at, though it is to be deprecated. The task which faced the Gaelic Drama Association in 1957 was the creation of a sophisticated audience for serious³⁰ Gaelic drama. This task has, unfortunately, not been taken as seriously as it deserved: at the Association's Festival, serious plays--melodramas and avant-garde theatre--are often presented after farces and kitchen comedy, with rather predictable results; also the Association's annual winter presentation has tended towards Variety in recent years.³¹ Significantly, Finlay J. MacDonald has detached himself completely from the Association in recent years.

Entries for the Annual Festival--which now come from Skye, Tiree, Lewis, Inverness, and Aberdeen as well as Glasgow--are usually An Cumunn translations--or original light comedies by Donald Grant and Donald U. Johnson; but several of the plays of Iain Smith and Finlay MacLeod have been presented at the Festival also. The Glasgow Gaelic Drama Association has now a history five times as long as that of any similar venture in Gaelic and--though its financial solvency is assured only by its sponsoring of an annual dance in the Highlanders' Institute in Glasgow--its immediate future seems assured. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the most exciting and hopeful development in the history of the Gaelic theatre has been the formation of Na Lorganaich, a drama group of

Gaelic-speaking students at Aberdeen University.

The group's anchor-man is playwright Finlay MacLeod, who is on the staff of the University's Psychology Department and has used his specialist knowledge of group therapy to achieve excellent team-spirit, and an enthusiastic, crusading approach.

In a meeting of the University Celtic Society during the winter of 1963-64, Na Lorganaich presented 'Shoni', 'Seachdamh Gealach', and 'Ceann Cropic' in Aberdeen at the Children's Theatre, a fully-equipped experimental theatre which they always use. The performance of 'Shoni' and 'Ceann Cropic' was repeated at the Glasgow Festival in May 1964 and 'Seachdamh Gealach' in 1965; the three were presented throughout the week of the 1964 National Mod in Aberdeen, becoming the first unofficial Mod Fringe. In 1965, these three plays and a long radio-play, 'Pàrlamaid Ogam', were recorded in a marathon session by the B.B.C. and were broadcast at intervals afterwards. In 1966, a radio children's serial, 'Na Balaich air Rònaidh', was recorded by the group and in 1967, the group presented 'Ceann Cropic' on B.B.C. television, the first Gaelic play ever on that medium.

In all these performances, care has been taken not to mix the drama with songs and concert-chairman introductions: the aim is to help the audience to see that drama is capable of being a serious (if sometimes humorous and always entertaining) and

sophisticated art-form (like poetry and the short story)--that is, to create an audience. An indication that this is succeeding is given by the audience reaction to the opening scene of 'An Comedy', first, when presented in May 1967 in a symposium run by the Celtic Society in Aberdeen, and, second, when shown at the Glasgow Drama Festival of 1967. This is the scene in which a man in an ape mask lumbers onstage with a barrow of minute-records: it is sheer farce in itself, but got the same tense, expectant reception in Aberdeen as similar scenes (usually "tramp" scenes) receive in performances of Beckett's plays--the audience are afraid to laugh because they know that this can lay them open to the quick, radical assaults this playwright so often makes on their prejudices and beliefs. In Glasgow, however, this initial atmosphere was destroyed because a section of the audience laughed heartily. It has to be admitted, however, that audience sophistication is probably not directly adduceable from these relative reactions, since the play was, in Aberdeen, set in a serious teach-in and, in Glasgow, was preceded and followed by farces. Also, the audiences in Aberdeen are almost exclusively composed of university students, whereas those at the Glasgow Festival represent all classes and degrees of intellectual ability and training: for this latter reason, it is difficult to say with full assurance whether the Aberdeen experiment is succeeding. (It seems plausible to assume that a Festival in

Glasgow that was devoted entirely to experimental theatre would attract only those prepared and able to appreciate these plays--and that there would be a considerable number of these.)³²

Probably the most adventurous and important project undertaken by Na Lorganaich was a tour of the whole Gaelic-speaking area in July 1966 with the plays 'Shoni', 'Seachdamh Gealach', and 'Ceann Cropic'. They were presented in Islay, Mull, Oban, Lochcarron, Skye, North Uist, South Uist, Benbecula, Harris (two villages), and Lewis (five villages). Audiences were poor on the mainland (as few as five), fair in the Inner Isles, and excellent (sometimes over a hundred) in Skye and the Outer Islands. The most remarkable feature of the tour was the sensitive and appreciative receptions given to the plays in all the areas. The audiences were warned before each play that the techniques were novel and difficult and interpretations of each play were given before and after it was acted: the audiences seemed to thrive on this recognition that they were capable of breaking through to the points being made in the play, while being entertained by it. These audiences seemed to have no rigid preconceived notion of what a play must be like.

The appearance of a young experimental drama group in Back, Lewis--under the leadership of Donald MacLean, a very skilful producer--has been a very encouraging development in the past year. Their

presentation of MacLean's own 'Eisd'--though the play is derivative in several respects of both 'Ceann Cropic' and 'Shoni'--at the Lewis S.C.D.A. Final and at the 1968 Glasgow Gaelic Drama Festival was very striking. The facilities of the stage--curtains and, in particular, lighting--were used brilliantly for the desired effects: 'Eisd' is an example of a play which is meaningful only in performance. Very few Gaelic dramatists (with the exception of Finlay MacLeod) have been capable of using the stage to such effect.

In conclusion, it is clear that--while the performance of sketches and satiric skits in concerts and of Variety³³ generally ought to be encouraged--there should be, nevertheless, a conscious effort to differentiate, in performance, between this and serious drama, and every effort should be made to create as large as possible an audience for the latter, if our culture is to attain to any appreciable degree of sophistication in this genre.

CRITICAL OPINION

In a foreword to Sinclair's 'Long nan Og' in 1927, Angus Henderson states: "Gu dearbh is ann o cheann fìor bheagan bhliadhnachan a thainig an Dealbh-chluich gu bhi 'na mheadhoin eagarra air son oilean agus fearas-chuideachd am measg chomunnan Gaidhealach aon chuid aig an tigh no am bailtean-móra an Taobh-deas. Ma tha e nis air tighinn gu ìre glé àird is còir an taing a thoirt an tomhas ro phailt do Ruaraidh Arascain is Mhàirr, agus do Dhonnchadh Mac Leòid (an Glascho), tighearna Sgèaboist. Rinn an dara aon aire na dùthcha 'threòrachadh dh'ionnsuigh an dearmaid, ach beag gun choimeas, a bh'air a dheanamh air an Dràma am measg Chlanna nan Gaidheal; agus rinn am fear eile duaisean eireachdail a sholar air son nan Dealbh-chluichean a b'fheàrr a rachadh a chur ri chéile."

Roderick Erskine of Mar--with a series of articles in his own 'Guth na Bliadhna' in 1913 and 1914--became the first and, to this day, one of the best Gaelic drama critics, even although there was, at this time, so little Gaelic drama that he had to devote most of his attention to European drama and dramatic criticism and to laying down guide-lines for writers of plays in Gaelic.

He was an ardent believer in the social realism of Shaw and Ibsen: "The playwright is, as artist, free to carry his realism as far as he likes--even to the extent of causing us pain and displeasure. . . who can doubt but that it is by such means that crying abuses are frequently reformed. . .if there had been a vigorous Gaelic drama at the time of the infamous 'Clearances', think you that they had taken place? . . .drama should at the same time serve the cause of art, and educate the people." But he distinguished another type of theatre of which he approves, that is, the Symbolic Drama, or Drama of allegory and ideas. In the same number of 'Guth na Bliadhna' as one of these articles on Natural Drama, he printed Sinclair's 'Fearann a Shinnsir', a Clearance-period drama of commitment: further application of his advice to dramatists was Sinclair's 'Crois Tàra' (1914) and his own topical 'Aramach' (1924) and his Symbolist/Expressionist 'Là de na Làithean' (1923).

Besides advising dramatists on how to write drama, Erskine of Mar strongly exhorted them to do so--for

patriotic reasons. "In Scotland, as in Ireland," he wrote, "Gaelic Drama has been somewhat slow to rise out of the Language Movement. The artistic and propagandist value of the Stage has not been realised. . .the Gaelic Association has done nothing to encourage a native drama, and, judging by appearances, does not contemplate doing anything with a view to that end!" He poured vitriolic abuse on those who preferred light entertainment to drama on the stage: "As a child of the modern ghetto--the Music Hall--his proper place is amongst the gods in the galleries of those stultifying establishments, amongst those who take their pleasures sadly by seeking diversion amidst the inanities and vulgarities of 'ragtime' or the senseless 'patter' of Low Comedy." Unfortunately, it was just this type of entertainment that was to triumph, and the plays (principally Sinclair's) which, in 1913, Mar mentioned as the "native drama now springing up which bids fair to lay the foundations of a respectable national stage" were consigned to being "only read in magazines", while light comedies and sketches--usually highly derivative of English musical and vaudeville sketches--became a feature of the "Gaelic Music Hall".

Erskine of Mar deprecated the over-ready "borrowing from the English stage" on the grounds that most of the English plays were "unsuitable models" for a Gaelic writer. He praised Sinclair:

"By surrounding his work with a national atmosphere, he has done not a little to point out the road on which true Gaelic drama should proceed." He, naturally, admired the work of Douglas Hyde and Fr O'Leary in Ireland, who used their plays to propagandise for Irish nationalism and the Language Movement.

In 1912, Erskine of Mar advertised in 'Guth na Bliadhna' a competition for a play "on the subject of MacBeth", stating--"intending competitors for the 'MacBeth' prize are earnestly counselled to make themselves familiar with the actual character and circumstances of that King, as well as with the history and political and social genius of the times in which he lived, before addressing themselves to the task of seeking to eclipse the English Playwright's master-piece." It appears that no entries were received for this competition.

The reports in 'An Gaidheal' of performances of Gaelic plays tend to be uncritically laudatory on virtually all occasions, though most of the plays labelled as "brilliant"(for example, 'An Rud a Their a Màthair') are slight, derivative comic skits (it is to be remembered that the first performance of a "serious" play on a Gaelic stage is that of 'Crois Tàra' in 1947). Naturalistic production and acting are its ideals, as the wording of some of the early An Comunn competitions shows (e.g. "Gaelic comedy representing present-day life in the Highlands"). Apparently popular opinion throughout the country

regarded plays as ideal concert material--e.g. Neil Ross in 'An Gaidheal', 1920: "Such performances [as that of "An Rud a Their a Màthair"] are warmly appreciated by our Gaelic audiences and a much-needed variation from conventional concert programmes."

But Ross, President of An Comunn and editor of 'An Gaidheal', demonstrated more lofty ideals than this in 'An Ròsarnach' (1917) and in a series of articles in 'An Gaidheal' in 1926, in which he advocated a National Gaelic Drama utilising traditional Gaelic literature and he himself suggested, in detail, an outline for a long play on the life of Cu-Chulainn ('An Gaidheal', XXII).

Angus Henderson, in 'Guth na Bliadhna' in 1920, stressed the efficacy of drama as a propaganda medium for the Language Movement; he postulated, interestingly, that the Gaelic-speakers in the Highland area would probably be better audiences for a "serious" Gaelic drama than those in the cities who had been weaned on "low comedies". While he claims that drama must seek to "illustrate and explain life", he does not advocate a thoroughly naturalistic style, admitting that plays can be effective without curtains and extensive props ("Chan ealainn na nithean sin, chan eil annta ach leasachadh"). Apart from his stress on the using of drama as an instrument in the revival of the Gaelic language, Henderson is very much on the same wavelength as Na Lorganaich in the 1960's: in

1920, he was very, very much a voice in the wilderness.

Uisdean MacPhadruig, writing in 'Pictish Review' in April 1928, gives constructive criticisms of several Gaelic plays--virtually the first of the kind in Gaelic--laying much stress on the question of the relative ease with which they could be staged (many commentators, particularly An Comunn Gaidhealach officials, have seemed content to see plays in print). He concludes: "Leigearh iad ris dhuinn an cor mì-shona anns a bheil Albainn mar rìoghachd, agus gach cunnart a tha 'bagairt beatha ar cinnich. Deanadh iad fealla-dhà agus culaidh-mhagaidh de gach claon-bheachd agus barail bhaoth d'am bi sinn a' toirt géill, agus cuireadh iad tùcheadh le àbhachd air gach fàilinn a tha fuaighte ruinn mar shluagh."

A writer in the Gaelic League of Scotland's 'Crois Tara' in 1938 deprecated the presentation on the Gaelic stage of only ludicrous old men and giddy maidens, with consequent defamation of the "noble Gaelic race".

In an article in the anthology, 'Alba' in 1948, Hector MacIver fulminated against the "ceilidh-yard tradition" and "the childish, innocuous and emasculated qualities of such poor specimens of plays as exist". The terms used are reminiscent of those of Erskine of Mar (1913) and MacPhadraig (1938), a fact which is understandable since there had been a steady deterioration in the quality of both

dramatic writing and Gaelic entertainments since Erskine of Mar's day instead of the improvement that one might have expected.³⁴ MacIver advised that "there is time that the Stage was made over, at least temporarily, to its rightful occupants--the actors of drama. Had the drama, serving its traditional purpose of 'holding the mirror up to nature' been encouraged to develop with the Gaelic Movement, the bogus orators with their catch-penny sentiments would long since have become one of the characters of comedy; they would have been guyed out of existence. That, of course, is only one of the minor blessings that a flourishing drama would bestow on the community. Its wider and more important mission would be to serve as an instrument of propaganda, both cultural and political."

Finlay MacLeod in an article in the 'Stornoway Gazette' in 1965, strongly defended the stylistic as distinct from the naturalistic presentation of plays; in the same newspaper, in June 1967, he pleaded-- in an open letter--for drama that is brittle and discomfitting in its topicality and its truth to the basic realities of life--as Mar (1913), MacPhadraig (1938), and MacIver (1948) had done. MacLeod's article was partly a reaction to remarks made by Donald Grant, in reviewing 'Ceann Cropic' in 'An Gaidheal'(1964), to the effect that Gaelic theatre ought to be a place where one could bring one's daughter without blushing.

SUMMARY

The decennial publication figures for Gaelic plays since 1900 are as follows (not including reissues or translations, including B.B.C. radio and television): 3 in 1900-09; 22 in 1910-19; 15 in 1920-29 and in 1930-39; 10 in 1940-49; 34 in 1950-59; and 22 in the period 1960-68 (an equivalent of a decennial total of 31). This shows a very rapid development in the second decade of the century, and then a levelling-off which became a decline after the Second World War; in the 1950's the increase is due largely to the demands of B.B.C. radio.

The following list gives the total number of publications and broadcasts with, in brackets, the number of these that are reissues, followed by the number that were translated into Gaelic:³⁵ in the first decade, 3(1:1); in the second, 26 (5:1);

in the third, 18 (2:1); in the fourth, 24 (5:4); in the fifth, 22 (7:7); in the sixth, 66 (8:30); and in the hypothetical seventh decade, 25 (1:3). These figures show that it is only from the fourth decade, the 1930's, that reissues and translations begin to appear in substantial numbers--largely because of the B.B.C.'s demand for material, a demand which was not being adequately met by Gaelic writers.

It is only in the first few decades that comedies, including humorous plays of a high artistic standard, have significantly outnumbered "serious" plays; yet comedies have been far more frequently performed, the performance in 1947 of 'Crois Tàra' being the first of its kind. Reasons for this are the association in people's minds of drama with the concert stage and, also, the unsuitability for acting of many of the historical plays. The B.B.C., from the 'forties to the present, has broadcast sketches, comedies, melodramas (adventure stories), and serious drama in approximately equal proportions; the Oban Comunn Gaidhealach drama group, the Aberdeen student group, Na Lorganaich, and Na Bacaich from Lewis regularly present serious Gaelic drama.

The most important writers are: in the early period, John MacCormick (11 titles), Donald Sinclair (6), and Roderick Erskine of Mar (2), with J.N. MacLeod (7), Hector MacDougall (3), and Archibald MacCulloch (3) producing a number of pleasantly entertaining plays; in the 'thirties, the main B.B.C. writers were

Angus M. MacDonald (4 titles), Mary A. Campbell (née MacKinnon)(4), Donald MacLaren (3), and Duncan Johnston (2); in the 'fifties, a group of three women--Helen Watt (4), Margaret MacPherson (3), and Kate MacGregor (2)--became prominent among the radio playwrights, especially in the production of children's plays. From the late 'fifties to the present day, Donald Grant and Donald U. Johnston have been writing plays regularly for the annual Glasgow Gaelic Drama Festival. In the 1950 's, also, a group of three very skilful and avant-garde dramatists made their appearance--their work along with Sinclair's 'Crois Tàra' and 'Long nan Oig', MacCormick's 'Rath-Innis' (possibly), and Mar's 'Aramach' comprises the total of significant Gaelic drama.

Lack of stamina is again obvious, as in the case of the short story. Only Erskine of Mar's two plays, Sinclair's 'Crois Tàra', MacCulloch's 'Mairead', MacCormick's 'Rath-Innis', and Finlay MacLeod's 'Pàrlamaid Ogam' approach to being full-length plays. Most of the other plays have a performance time of thirty minutes--a length dictated by the rules of the S.C.D.A. and Glasgow Gaelic Drama Association competitions and by the programming requirements of the B.B.C.

In the work of Finlay MacLeod and Iain Smith, in particular, Gaelic drama has clearly attained the same degree of sophistication as the short story and Gaelic poetry have: the characteristic

development, for example, is not a traditional narrative or thematic one, but more an emotional or organic one. Again, the production and acting of these plays is tending away from traditional naturalism towards the "alienating", thoroughly stylistic approach of most contemporary theatre elsewhere. In drama, however--whatever may be the case with the other genres--the existence of writers capable of this sophistication is not sufficient: an appreciative audience must also exist or be consciously educated.

CHAPTER IV: POETRY

Preface.	223
The 'Bard': Poetry's Extrinsic Function.	224
In Exile: The Romantic Movement	242
The Survival of the Tradition.	290
Another Tradition: The Lyric. Poetry's Intrinsic Function.	299
Religious Poetry	311
Experiments: "Poetry as Knowledge".	319
Summary.	496

PREFACE

There has always been a heavy imbalance in Gaelic literature towards poetry at the expense of other art forms; with the development of the novel and drama in this century, this emphasis has become less pronounced but still persists. This chapter will describe and evaluate two native traditions--the bardic and lyric ones--and the Romantic and experimental lyric poetry which, respectively, developed out of these traditions.

THE 'BARD': POETRY'S EXTRINSIC FUNCTION

Poetry has, from earliest documented times, served two primary functions: first, it has been found to be one of the most efficacious modes of self-expression, employed--if only unconsciously or half-consciously--for the resolution by accurate and analytical description of intellectual, psychological, or sociological problems; second, it--or, at least, some of its characteristic features, such as rhyme, rhythm, and versification--has been employed for the magical, liturgical, mnemonic (or otherwise educative), and entertainment value which it has been felt to have. I will term the first of these the "intrinsic function" of poetry and the second its "extrinsic function".

All cultures in which poetry has been able to develop over centuries have accumulated quite

precise conventions as to what subjects it is fitting for a poet to concern himself with and also as to the way he is to treat certain subjects.¹ These conventions are, of course, in a constant state of evolutionary change and admittedly hold less sway in Western European literatures at present than they have held in the past, but they are, nevertheless, an inescapably important factor at all times. The intellectual energy of great poetry is usually a product of the tension between the limitations of conventional form and the complexity of the thought, attitude, or emotion which the poet wishes to express. Naturally, current literary conventions are more obvious in the case of poetry which serves an "extrinsic" function.

The Gaelic poetry that survives from the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries is divisible into two main groups. First, there is poetry of self-expression--mainly laments by women on the violent death of a warrior-husband or lover, but also some religious poetry; second, there is a large body extant of public poetry--eulogies and elegies to clan chiefs, war and political poetry, satirical or otherwise humorous and/or "entertaining" poetry. Eighteenth century Gaelic poetry is usually--and correctly--regarded as the beginning of modern Gaelic literature, in that it reflects a developing non-heroic, modern society and also in that the conventions it was developing are recognisably those underlying much of

the large body of non-experimental poetry written in Gaelic during the present century.

The repertoire of William Ross, for example, is, basically, the same as that of the 20th century bard:² he composed sentimental nature and homeland poetry (some from the Lowlands), love-idylls, humorous poems on trivial local incidents, and scurrilous satires. In common with all the other famous 18th century poets (except Buchanan), Ross also has a season poem and a conventional heroic eulogy. Ross's best known works are, of course, poems of self-expression, namely the poems to Mór Ross.

Duncan MacIntyre, Rob Donn Mackay, and Alexander MacDonald each has a repertoire of subjects that is very similar to Ross's, except that they all have more political and polemical poetry than Ross.

There are several reasons why these four poets are so very much better known and highly regarded than the plethora of 18th, 19th, and 20th century Gaelic bards who concern themselves with much the same range of subjects as they did. With regard to these subjects and styles, the four poets mentioned, and in particular MacDonald, were innovators in Gaelic; in general, they display more originality, intellectual force, and vivacity than the other bards and they were aware, if only indirectly, of contemporary writings in English. Two of them, at least, have a reputation that is based almost entirely not on their "bardic" output

but on their relatively more personal poems--e.g. Ross's love poems to Mór Ross, MacKay's social satires and poems on poetry. In connection with this last point, it may be remarked that, although Gaelic literature in modern times has not been able to enjoy the luxury of professional, full-time writers, nevertheless, a part of this function has been served by the convention of the "bard". This has given people with an aptitude for expression and versification the opportunity--even the incentive--to practise control over poetic form. William Ross used the control achieved in this way to give memorable expression to his passion for Mór Ross: very few 20th century Gaelic bards progressed to this stage.

When a group of poets can be delimited in this way by their sharing of a distinct set of conventions--as to forms, techniques, subject-matter, and point of view--one is justified in speaking in terms of an established tradition, even though it is one that has spanned several centuries and whose protagonists co-existed with writers in the same culture who have employed different conventions. This particular convention was as stringently controlled by a sense of poetic decorum as even the Augustan tradition in English poetry.

An excellent example from the late 19th century of the continuance of this tradition is John MacLean,³ Bàrd Baile-Mhartin, a Tír na h-Éireann bard: he

composed several love idylls ('Oran Gaoil', 'Rannan Gaoil') and patriotic songs ('Oran Chlainn 'Illeathain'), a formal eulogy ('Do Shir Dòmhnall MacPhàrlain'), a polemical song on the Clearances ('Oran nam Prìosanach'),⁴ and a large number of humorous songs on local characters and topical incidents--these include the still popular 'Calum Beag' songs, 'Breacan Màiri Uisdean', and several burlesque songs on tea and its ill effects, this latter group being a precursor of the large body of humorous songs on inventions and novel commodities by traditional Gaelic bards in this century. MacLean's poetry is characterised by a striking control of the traditional metres and of the language, by a vigorous sense of humour (principally a feeling for the humorous phrase), and by his vital, if uncosmopolitan, topicality. The metres are traditional, much use being made of vowel assonance and rhyme (internal and external).

The role played by the village bard, as illustrated in the person of John MacLean, in the rural Gaelic communities was a strictly defined and an important one. He was, firstly, an entertainer--utilising a blend of humour and sentiment in approximately the same proportions that present-day Hollywood comedies and Broadway musicals do, and exhibiting also a virtuosic control of language and metrical form, not unlike that of W.S. Gilbert; secondly, the "village bard" convention inherited several

facets of the old official bardic tradition--the tradition that included the trained bards, like the MacMhuirichs, and, in the days of its decline, untrained but official clan-poets, such as Mary MacLeod and Iain Lom MacDonald--which gave him a responsibility for celebrating local worthies, either ecclesiastical or secular, and for pleading traditional causes, such as the right of the peasantry to the land or, in the case of the twentieth century's Gaelic bards living in the Galltachd, the preservation of the Gaelic language. The satiric function of the village bard is a combination of the above two and is an extremely important one: Rob Donn MacKay expresses this aspect of his role very precisely--"Bu mhaith leam an ciontach a bhualadh,/ 'S cha b' àill leam duin' uasal a shealg./ 'S ged chuireas mi gruaim air a' choireach,/ Cha ghabh an duin' onorach fearg." Very few village bards have demonstrated as much artistic self-consciousness as Rob Donn, a student of the satiric works of Alexander Pope, but virtually all of them have acted as moral censors within their community by ridiculing indecorous or antisocial behaviour. For example, Mrs Christina MacLeod, a contemporary and near neighbour of the late Bàrd Chluthair (Southeast Harris) tells me that the whole community at the Bard's time were extremely chary of behaving in an immoral or even an unorthodox fashion for fear of being immortalised in one of his scurrilous satires.

John MacLean also exemplifies the personality type that has always been characteristic of the village bards. According to Hector Cameron, he was well versed in local history and traditions and was "an unequalled wit".⁵

Bàrd Thùrnaig⁶ (Alexander Cameron) is probably the best known 20th century village bard from the Northwest mainland of Scotland. His poetic output falls squarely within the bounds of the traditional bardic repertoire. His 'Luinneag' is a youthful love poem, involving conventional sentimental praise of the girl's beauty and character:

"Deud shnaichte mar na dìsne,
 'Nad bheul bho'm binn thig gàire;
 Sùil mheallach is glan lìonach,
 Fo 'n mhalaidh fialaidh, chàirdeil. . .

"Do chridhe socrach, ciallach,
 Gu déirceach, fialaidh, pàirteach."

His 'Moladh Thùrnaig' is equally sentimental and modal--the beauty of the place is itemised at length, the birds sing, the sun always shines there. He also composed a eulogy to Moffat-Pender and a formal elegy on Alexander Carmichael of 'Carmina Gadelica' fame, but it is for his humorous poetry that Bàrd Thùrnaig is best known: and some of this is very vigorous. Some poems celebrate trivial incidents in the neighbourhood, as for example, 'Ealaidh Fhionnlaigh', whose subject is a false alarm raised when the shepherd, Finlay, goes

astray in the hills. The bard achieves his humorous effect by over dramatising an already over dramatised event:

"Cuiream teachdaire-dealain
Do gach earrainn de Ros,
Is gun gléidhear a chorp có dhiùbh dhuinn;
Is cha bhí mi fo choire
Is mo chogais bidh saor,
Ma gheibhear de faodail Fhionnlaigh."

In other poems, scathing invective is expended on a hapless individual, who has either transgressed the community's code of behaviour or has caused personal irritation to the bard. An example is his attack on 'Cailleach Bheag na Moch Eirigh', an immigrant from the Lowlands, who has one habit in particular that appears to incense Cameron:

"Bidh i mach 'san t-Samhradh
Mu 'n gann a dh' éireas a' ghrian;
Na tha cadal teann oirre--
Is gann orra bhith 'n ciall:
Nuair is binne srann aca,
Is geall ac' air cadal fial,
Is ann thig i 'na caoir,
Is bheir i 'n t-aodach dhiùbh a h-uile stiall."

His mock elegy, 'Cumha a' Choin Dúibh', is centrally in the tradition of which MacIntyre's 'Oran do Chaora' and MacDonald's 'Marbh-rann do Pheata Coluim' are 18th century examples. His

vehement verbal attack on influenza, 'Dìomoladh Fliudhain' is a striking example of the fossilisation of the primitive belief in poetry as magic; there are many 18th and 19th century examples of this sub-genre, two of the best known being William Ross's 'Achmhasan an Déididh' and John MacCodrom's 'Oran do 'n Teasaich'.

Malcolm MacAskill,⁷ one of the bards of Bernera, Harris, composed on the same subjects as Bàrd Thùrnaig and in approximately the same style: the one exception--a valedictory poem to the young men of the community who are leaving for the army-- is an example of the principal way in which the 20th century village bards have fulfilled their obligations as the poets laureate of the community. The chorus:

"Dh' fhalbh na gillean grinn fo 'n cuid armaibh
 'S ann leam fhìn bu deònach an còmhdaill a
 bhith sealbhach.

Dh' fhalbh na gillean grinn fo 'n cuid armaibh" has been used in valedictory poems to departing soldiers or sailors by several bards, for example, by John Campbell⁸ of South Uist. His poem, 'Oran Gillean na Navy', is a good example of this type of song. He wishes them luck (in the chorus quoted above), praises their valour:

"Gun chùram gun taise
 Gun ghaiseadh gun chearbaich";

he describes their reputation with the enemy:

"Tha an Ceusar cho diombach
 O'n chuireadh a null iad,
 'S bidh e air a ghlùinean,
 'S cha n-eil sùgh 'na sheanchas",

and anticipates a happy outcome:

"Gheibh gach duine saoirsne
 An fianúis an t-saoghail,
 'S thig feadhainn nach saoil sibh
 As gach taobh dha'n d' fhalbh iad."

In the case of John Campbell also, although he composed a love poem, formal elegies, religious songs, satires on toothache and influenza, and songs on fishing, his humorous songs are undoubtedly his forte. Many of these describe quite insignificant events⁹--for example, "An Turas a Thug Eachann Thormaid an Trosg 's an Liùtha Dhomh'. The bard's practice in 'A' Chiad Tarbh a Fhuairleadh Riamh 'san Aite' of subtly walking a knife's edge of propriety is one that has been very popular with traditional bards when dealing with subjects such as this¹⁰--though, of course, there are very many bardic satires in which such commendable subtlety and delicacy have been thrown to the winds.

Humorous songs on new customs and inventions have played a significant part in the repertoire of several 20th century Gaelic village bards. There are three main reasons for this: first, the typical reaction of an isolated peasantry to such innovations

provided a good climate and good material for such humour; second, the stock character of the reactionary, incredulous peasant was a predictable one for the initially pedagogic còmhradh form to develop and the village bards may in the late 19th and early 20th century have quite consciously decided to model their work on this well known comic character type; third, new inventions provided a challenge to the bard's control of language and form. In connection with this last point, it seems quite clear that a village bard's reputation has always depended largely on his ability to give apt and/or witty expression to an attitude which can be quite trite, or to graphically describe an object, whether or not the description is transmuted by the imagination from the level of a mere inventory. John Campbell's 'A Chiad Mhotor a Thànaig Riamh Dha 'n Aite' illustrates this, whether he is describing action, as here:

"Cho math 's g' eil Sruth a' Chòmhraig 's cho
bòsdail 's gum bì e,

Nuair bhios e bras a' lìonadh, 's e sìor-dhol
am mì 'd leis;

Nuair thig i 'na chòmhdhail le móran do dhìcheall
Ma chuireas e gu strìth i, cha till ise dha",

or describing the "motor" itself:

"An uair sin thubhairt am Motor 'na biodh ortsa
dad a chùram,

Ma chumas tu mi olaigte 's nach coisinn
 thu mo dhiombadh. . .

"Tha screwichean is cnothan agus gnothaichean
 mu chuairt dhomh,
 Tha mòran ann do ghriodalaidh nach tuigeadh
 duine fuadain".

In 'Oran an Duine Iarainn', Campbell poses
 as being similarly awestricken by a capstan in a
 fishing boat:

"Ged nach biodh a bhrògan dìonach
 'Se nach iarr an cur g' an càradh;
 Cha bhi e gearain an déididh,
 'S ann aige tha an deud 's an càirein."

The tendency to describe an object naturalistically
 is evident in 'Eilean mo Ghaoil', one of the best
 known poems of Donald MacDonald, Bàrd Bharabhais.¹¹
 The poem is basically a list of the objects of his
 affection:

"Is toigh leam gach beinn, gach gleann, gach
 tulach is òs,
 Gach sruthan is allt gu mall 'tha siubhal gu lòn.
 Is toigh leam am feur 's gach geug a chinneas
 air blàr,
 An eilean mo ghaoil; is caomh leam eilean
 mo ghràidh."

The description is sentimental in that it is
 idealised, but it does not meet all the requirements
 of the term "Romantic poetry"--it has more concreteness

than most Romantic poetry. The poet is coding his everyday experience and his vision is not vitiated by Wordsworthian pantheism or the exile-poetry's nostalgia (the main characteristic of Romantic poetry in Gaelic). This extreme naturalism can, however, be a weakness as well as a virtue in poetry: much of the poetry in praise of islands or villages by village bards comprises lists of the place's natural features and of names,¹² which, though perhaps evocative for the poet and his immediate neighbours, are meaningless to all others. MacDonald's poem, though, is partially redeemed by a few lines that indicate a vision of the subject that is different from the normal:

"Tha uisgeachan mìn ri cìreadh fuiltein nan gleann",
and again:

"Tha 'ghealach 's a' ghrian ag iathadh eilein
mo ghràidh,
'Toirt thairis am miann gu siol a thabhairt
gu fàs."

The range, as to subject matter, of the poetry of Bàrd Bharabhais, is that of the traditional bard, except that he apparently did not compose any love poems. He wrote poems to Lewis and to Mùirneag (a hill in Lewis), he composed songs about the shieling, a season poem ('An Samhradh Cridheach'), a formal elegy, an invective against toothache ('Oran d' an Déideadh'), and a large body of humorous and satiric songs. His 'Oran na Pàrlamaid'

is of much interest. It shows that he is as aware of current affairs throughout the nation as were the well known Lewis comedians, Kenneth Finlayson (Spaidsear) and Cailleach an Deucain, and that, like them, he chose to exploit the potential for humour in these matters, rather than--as a poet might have done, but as a comedian of course could not--to examine their serious consequences for mankind. This seems to confirm the supposition that the role played by the bard in the village communities was quite similar to that of the Variety stars, such as Tommy Dorsey and Harry Lauder, whom the emigré Highlanders found in the Lowland cities. Many of the Lowland Scots Music Hall comedians popularised (even, occasionally, composed) sentimental love and homeland songs as well as comic ditties--for example, 'The Northern Lights of Old Aberdeen', 'I Belong to Glasgow', 'I Love a Lassie', 'Roamin' in the Gloamin''. Gradually, the music hall influence percolated back--through the Gaelic Societies in the cities and their branches in the Gaeltachd--to the rural communities of Gaels and gave rise to performers such as Spaidsear and Cailleach an Deucain. The role of the bard and of these comedians, being close from the outset, gradually coalesced, so that we find the latter often composing their own songs in traditional fashion and the bards moving from the fire-side ceilidh to the more formal concert

atmosphere (in a hall) and the Mod. This is clear from John N. MacLeod's introductory remarks in the 1920 collection: "Cha robh cuirm-chiùil 's a cheàrnaidh sin de Leódhas iomlan gun bhàrd Bharabhais a bhi 's a chuideachd. Bha 'òrain éibhinn a' call leth an tlachd 'nuair nach robh iad air an seinn leis fhéin. Cha robh féith 'na chorp nach robh e cur an cumadh àraidh 'n uair a bha e ' an seinn, 's gu 'n saoiladh thu mar sin gu'm robh aodann a' labhairt nam facal a bha e 'seinn."

The well known song, 'Dòmhnall an Gille 'se Còrr is Trì Fichead', is presented in a humorous prose narrative: this is a characteristic comedian's style of performance and also clearly illustrates the history of this style, it being the usual style of John MacFadyen, one of Glasgow's Gaelic entertainers in the early years of this century.

The influence of the Glasgow Gaelic community's societies is seen even more clearly in the case of Charles MacNiven, the Bard of Kilchoman in Islay.¹³ In the foreword to the 1936 edition, Neil Shaw, Secretary of An Comunn Gaidhealach, noted: "Thug Teàrlach toileachas is aighear do gach neach a fhrithheil aig co-fharpaisean is cuirmean-ciùil Mòdan Ile le a bhàrdachd gheur, àbhachdach an cuspairean air an robh a luchd éisdeachd glé eòlach."

Charles MacNiven's repertoire is squarely in the tradition. He composed a formal eulogy ('Do 'n Uasal, Iain MacGhille-mhoire, Ile'), a poem on the Boer War ('Oran do Ghille Og aig Cogadh Africa'), another occasional poem (on the 'Otranto' disaster),¹⁴ a conventional island-praise poem ('Moladh Ile'), a conventional love idyll ('Oran Gaoil', with lines such as "Mala chaol mar it' an eòin/Dà shùil bhòidheach, mheallach, bhlàth,/Còmhradh milis, bilean caoin/Air a bheil daonnan fiamh a' ghàir"), and a large body of humorous verse. The humorous songs include two on wedding celebrations, a favourite subject for humorous poetry with traditional village bards at all times: John MacCodrom's 'Banais Mhic Asgail' and Rob Donn MacKay's 'Briogais Mhic Ruaraidh' are well known early examples. Most of MacNiven's subject matter is of topical and local interest only: often he works by exalting a very trivial subject, as here in 'Gànradh Peigi':

"Sud an gànradh a bha mór,
An gànradh sònraichte fhuair Peigi.
Cha robh a leithid 'san Roinn Eòrp.
Bha e còrr is cóig troighean."

There is scarcely a single Highland village that has not boasted a bard of its own: I have selected for discussion bards whose work is squarely in the tradition, whose poems have been published, and who give as wide a geographical distribution as possible; in the interest of accuracy, I will

conclude this section with a brief discussion of one man whose poetic output is in the bardic tradition but who differs from the characteristic bardic style in a few small but significant respects. This is Angus Campbell of Ness in Lewis, whose poems were published in 1943 with a foreword by the bard himself in which he expresses the hope that they will amuse his audience and remind them of bygone days. The collection contains several excellent naturalistic praise-poems to places in Lewis, love poems, humorous songs ('Buntàta agus Sgadan', 'An Guga Niseach', 'Na 'm bàisicheadh na Boireannaich') and philosophical poems composed obviously in late middle-age. Many bards have composed reflective poems in their later years: what makes Campbell's exceptional is their proportion of his total output (about one quarter of the 1943 collection) and the fact that at least one of them is not merely a versification of commonplace aphorisms but a serious, intelligent psychological study: this poem is 'Amadan a' Chridhe', which ends with this very honest, realistic assessment:

"O Amadain, tha nis do chòmhradh
 'G ùrachadh mo thrèoir ga d' éisdeachd
 Cluas mo chridhe ruit a lasadh
 Ge dall aineolach air fheum thu.
 Tigh nan iomadh seòmar falaich
 Cò da 'n aithne ceart gu léir iad!
 'S tusa togail suas nan caisteal

'S chaoidh cha charraich ach an t-eug thu."

'Cùirtean na Cuimhne' is more systematically philosophical, owing more to Christian theology than to self-analysis for its themes. In it, Campbell makes much use of personified abstractions--"talla nam Bòid-bhriste", "talla lom na Mórchuisse", "talla fuar nan Amhghairean"--so that the poem is more conceptual and further removed from first-hand experience than 'Amadan a' Chridhe': 'Cùirtean na Cuimhne' is more similar than 'Amadan a' Chridhe' to the reflective poetry of the other bards.

Campbell's best known love song, 'Mar a' ghràdhaich mi thu', also shows a concise and intelligent use of language that is more typical of poetry that has been written by a literate poet--Campbell could read and write Gaelic--for silent reading by his audience than it is of the work of the village bards, who were in the main illiterate in Gaelic and composed songs for oral performance to a largely illiterate audience. This is the first verse of this excellent song:

"Mar a ghràdhaich mi thu
 'N tomhais gliocas a ghrunnd, na àird?
 'N tomhais àmhghair is tùrs
 'N tomhais trioblaid, na lùig, na bàs?
 Am bàth teanga na treubh,
 Am maoch miodal, na breug, na cràdh,
 Mar a ghràdhaich mi thu?
 'Reul mo chridhe! is tu gu bràth."

THE 'BARD' IN EXILE: THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

John MacFadyen, a railwayman in Glasgow for most of his adult life, was one of the mainstays of Gaelic cultural life there in the early years of this century. The article, 'A Bhi 'gan Cuimhneachadh 's 'gan Ionndrainn', in his second book, 'Sgeulaiche nan Caol' (1902), illustrates the functions he served in the Gaelic emigré community: it comprises reminiscences of ceilidhs in Mull in the past, giving texts of about thirty songs. These songs include waulking and spinning songs, lullabies, a nature-poem ('Taobh-Loch-Gorm'), love poems, a drinking and a sailing song, and several humorous songs (e.g. 'An Coileach a bha 'n Cærara'), including one on a new fashion ('Na Brògan Biorach'): some of these are traditional, some by MacFadyen himself and

these exemplify the repertoire of a traditional village bard and their presentation here in an essay on the traditional Mull ceilidh and elsewhere in MacFadyen's humorous prose readings illustrates the fact that they are part of the attempt to recreate the ceilidh-culture (of which the village bard was an indispensable part) in the Gaelic communities of the Galltachd.¹⁵ Only thirty of the sixty-one songs in 'Sgeulaidhe nan Caol' are printed separately from prose readings: these include a war poem ('Saorsa Ladysmith'), poems in praise of Mull (e.g. 'Chì mi Muile nam Beann Fuar'), a season poem ('Maduinn Earraich'), and several humorous songs ('Oran a' Mhonkey' and 'Na Corns'). As to these, it is accurate to describe MacFadyen as a traditional bard, but there are facets of his work (adduceable to his residence in Glasgow) which differentiate him from the typical village bard. The first of these is his attempts to write semi-epic verse (on Bannockburn, the Battle of Stirling Bridge, and 'Mòrachd Bhreatainn') for the competitions of An Comunn Gaidhealach; the second is his extension of the village bard's function as poet-laureate by his composition of poems on the Gaelic movement (e.g. 'Do 'n Chomunn Leòghasach' and 'Soraich leibh is Oidhche Mhath leibh', which is customarily sung at the close of Gaelic societies' meetings at the present); the third way in which his song output differs from that of the village bard is in his greater nostalgia and general

sentimentality at the expense of the village bard's naturalism. In 'Mo Chòmhnuidh Taobh an t-Sàil', for example, the bard sees Mull darkly through the rose-tinted glass of his memory:

"Ach 's tric gheibh m' inntinn tlàths,
'S mo chridh o fhuarachd blàths,
Ann an cuimhne caidir m' òige,
'S mo chòmhnuidh taobh an t-sàil. . .

"B'e 'n sòlas còmhradh cagailt,
'S a chòmhlàn gheanail, ghrinn;
Bu taitneach sgeul o'n aithris,
No duan le caithream binn.

Toirt aiteal de na bh' ann
O chian an tìr nam beann. . .

"Nuair thilgeadh beinn a dubhar
Air coill fo 'duilleach gorm,
Dé dh' fhàgadh m' intinn dubhach,
Dé chuireach mulad orm?

'S mo leannan caomh ri m' thaobh,
Leinn fhéin fo sgàil nan craobh:
Gur a cuimhne caidir dhòmhsa
Mo chòmhnuidh taobh an t-sàil'."

This is Romantic poetry, in its idealisation of what is distant in time and location, and in its adherence to the pastoral conventions, to the extent of introducing a guileless nymph-lover.

Duncan Ban MacIntyre has sometimes been referred

to as a Romantic poet: this ascription is not quite accurate. The English (and German) Romantic school of poets were characterised by their idealisation of the rural peasantry's way of life (particularly as it was imagined to be in the past) and by a supposed empathy between themselves and the natural, as distinct from the synthetic, world: MacIntyre's style, in his best nature poetry, is characterised by an extreme naturalism.¹⁶ Certainly MacIntyre's arbitrary selection from life for his subject matter is indisputable--he spoke far more often of deer and hills than of men--but one has to remember that MacIntyre was a bard and therefore obliged to play a particular role (which prescribed in detail) in which self-expression played a not very important part. MacIntyre, however, in his later years in Edinburgh, composed nostalgic songs to his homeland; similarly, William Ross, on his journeys to the Lowlands, composed nostalgic songs in some of which a bucolic sweetheart is introduced, as in the poem of MacFadyen's which has been discussed above. Generally speaking, when Gaelic bards--from the 18th century to the present day--found themselves in Lowland cities, their nature songs began to take on an uncharacteristic mistiness and Romanticism. The doctrinaire Marxist-historicist interpretation of the Romantic movement in literature is that it was a reaction against the squalor of the newly

industrialised cities--a reaction which sent the poets looking for a less "corrupt" way of life, either in the past (hence the popularity of MacPherson's 'Ossian') or among the rural peasantry. Gaelic poets from the 18th century--but particularly during the late 19th and early 20th centuries--began to come into contact with the squalor and with the, to a rural population, equally inimical highly organised life of the large conurbations: their instinctive reaction was to take flight in the imagination from the "gleadhrach éitigh chabhsairean" to an idealised homeland and an imagined idyllic past. This reaction was strengthened by the fact that many of these poets had come to the Lowland cities in order to make economic advancement and therefore quickly assumed the tendency, so prevalent among the middle class, to patronise the working classes and the peasantry in particular.

Macfadyen's first book, 'An t-Eileanach' (1840; 2nd ed., 1921), contains more Romantic poetry than the second. 'Sgrìob do Mhuile' is a characteristic exile's song, imagining the details of the return home to his golden-haired ("A liuthad camag 's òr gach dual"), rosy-checked ("Gruaidh is bòidhch' na 'n ròs air mheangan") sweetheart. The present beauty of 'Loch Leamhain' is itemised, but the bard is quite atypical of the village bards in his lament for the past: "Mo choimpirean-sa dhìobair so, cha tig 's

cha till na dh' fhalbh." A sailor's love song was an ideal form for a Romantic poet--giving scope for expression of nostalgia and sentimentalised love; MacFadyen composed one, 'Duanag an t-Seòladair', as did Neil MacLeod¹⁷ and others. In 'Duanag an t-Seòladair', the girl's physical beauty is described in the conventional nature imagery of the love idyll--"sneachda fìor ghlan", "sobhrach ghreannar", "subh-craobh nan alldan", "ròsan"-- and the whole is depicted in an unreal dreamy light--"Gur tric mi brúadar ort air mo chluasaig", "Thar leam, mar bhruadar, gu'm faic mi bhuam e:/An tìr nam fuar-bheann gu'm gabh sinn còmhnuidh."

Apart from his Romanticism, MacFadyen is, in the poetry in 'An t-Eileanach', firmly in the bardic tradition. There is a eulogy to General Gordon and to Neil Maclean, a poem to the Gordon Highlanders and another to the Highland soldiers in Afghanistan, a song to Drink, a season song ('A' Mhaduinn Chéitein Chiùin'), some love idylls, poems to Mull, and a large number of humorous songs. With MacFadyen, fights in the Glasgow pubs have replaced wedding celebrations as a subject for humorous songs--in 'Oran Margaidh-an-t-Salainn', it is the Glasgow Irish who perpetrate the brawl which MacFadyen extravagantly describes:

"Nuair thbisich an tuasaid bu chruaidh a
bha'n sadadh;

Bha slaodadh air cluasan is struaiceadh air

claiginn;

Gach fear air a bhualadh is spuaic air a
mhalaidh,

'S a glaothaich air caraid gu streup."

For the village bard's ignorant peasant who is bewildered by new inventions, the exiled bards usually have a gawkish peasant paying his first visit to Glasgow. In MacFadyen's 'Turus Eoghain do Ghlascho', the unfortunate hero is persuaded to take electric shock-treatment for rheumatism at a fair:

"Cha chreidsinn-sa buileach o dhuine go bràth
Nach robh miltean de shnàthadan 'sàs ann
am fheadail-sa."

MacFadyen's 'Oran mu'n Bhuntàta-ròisde' describes his estrangement from his girlfriend in Glasgow because of an incident involving a "chips and haggis supper"; 'Oran na Valentine', 'Oran do 'n Clutha', 'Oran mu "Grandfather's Clock"', and 'Oran do 'n Hokey Pokey' again show the bard adapting the role played by the reactionary peasant in the dialogues--making fun at the expense of these fads and novelties. Like the village bards, MacFadyen's subjects are the trivia of everyday life--but, in his case, of the everyday life of a large urban population, which shares most of its fashions with Britain as a whole, rather than those of a village: this means that his humorous poetry--

though no more topical than that of the village bards--is more cosmopolitan than theirs. But it is a deceptively superficial cosmopolitanism: the basic attitude underlying his poems is quite uncosmopolitan. MacFadyen chose to play the part of a reactionary who frowns on all novelties, especially if they are not utilitarian. Whether he was guided in this by his own bent, by the bardic tradition, or by the nature of his audience cannot be determined. It is plausible to assume that all these factors were complementarily operative.

The poetry in 'An t-Eileanach' is divided in the List of Contents into 'Orain' (57 items) and 'Dàin' (7 items): the latter are clearly more ambitious. In 'Còmhradh eadar an t-Ughdar agus Cailleach-oidhche', the author, returning home from a drunken spree is treated to a homily of aphorisms on the hypocrisies of late-night revelers who become Sunday-serious and on the misdeeds of others by a typically wise owl: apart from the delineation of individual cases of misconduct, the basic style is an epigrammatic, proverbial one, with examples from the natural world:

"Cha tig maorach ás a mhonadh,
 'S cha tig sonas ás an fhoill;
 Air do shlighe imich romhad,
 'S cuimhnich comhairl' caillich-oidhch',
 Is beannachd leat."

The poem, 'A' Mhaighdeann-mhara', is narrative in character, being an account of a dream. The author's boat was wrecked on a reef, but the mermaid rescued him in return for a verse with seven sevens in it--a request which allows MacFadyen to demonstrate his control of versification:

"Seachd amhsain, seachd learg,
 Seachd sgairbh, seachd bòin;
 Seachd stèarnail, seachd faoilinn,
 Seachd adhaircean, seachd còirn;
 Seachd bradain, seachd sgadain,
 Seachd canna, seachd ròin;
 Agus seachd maighdeann mhara;
 Abair ma tha sin gu leòir."¹⁸

'Còmhradh eadar an t-Ughdar agus Calman-coille' begins when the bird interrupts his reading by tapping on his study window:

"Dhealaich gean rium 's thàinig fadal
 'S mhaoidh an cadal clò orm;
 Nuair a thug an gloine fuaim ás,
 Mar fu'n buailt' air pònair;
 Thionndaidh mi le seòrsa geillt
 A ch' fhaicinn ciod bha còmh rium;
 'S bha calman-coille 'n sud gun cheid,
 Is rinn e beic cho bòidheach
 Air an taobh mach."¹⁹

This is strikingly reminiscent of the beginning of Edgar Allan Poe's 'The Raven'--"of the saintly days of yore". Poe's poem begins:

"Once upon a midnight dreary, while I pondered,
 weak and weary,
 Over many a quaint and curious volume of
 forgotten lore--
 While I nodded, nearly napping, suddenly
 there came a tapping,
 As of some one gently rapping, rapping at
 my chamber door.

' 'Tis some visitor,' I muttered, 'tapping
 at my chamber door--

Only this and nothing more.'"

The similarity is strong enough to argue that MacFadyen is mimicking the beginning of Poe's poem, but, after the beginning, MacFadyen's model is 'Comhachag na Stròine' or 'Oran Mór Mhìc Leòid' rather than 'The Raven'. MacFadyen's pigeon is a warm-hearted socially concerned bird who tells the poet about the forced depopulation of a glen despite the services of the men of that glen in the Army: Poe's raven is a sinister and secret bird whose only words are, "Nevermore". MacFadyen's bird describes the coming of an unprincipled landlord, the war-exploits of the Highlanders in detail, the cruelty of the Clearances and the landlord's eventual downfall. The narrative is carefully sustained in the main, but occasionally the author's anger breaks through as open polemic against the "sannt is braid" (acquisitiveness and

robbery) of the "snake in the guise of a nobleman". Polemic is, generally, not characteristic of MacFadyen--though there is, of course, ample precedent for it in the bardic tradition.

MacFadyen's one other more ambitious poem is also in dialogue form. This is 'Dealbh na Ceòl-mhaighdinn'; the poem begins lightly:

"Chunna mi do dhealbh-sa:
 'S aobhar farmaid thu air a' bhalla;
 An robh e umad eòlach
 An t-òganach rinn do tharruing?
 An robh e ann ad choibhneas
 'S thu foillseachadh dha do charan?"

but developes into a list of the anomalies in the world around him which this surprisingly socially-concerned Muse forces him to see. In the picture's reply to the poet's cavils, MacFadyen reveals a somewhat loftier conception of the function of poetry than one would adduce from the bulk of his printed work:

"C'uim nach tog thu d' bhòilich,
 'S gu leòir dhith air feadh a' bhaile?
 Do chainnt gun rian, gun òrdugh,
 Ach ròpa de rannaibh prabach. . .

"Chunna tusa cuilean coin,
 'Ga phroiteadh aig mnaoi-uasail,
 A dhiùlt an t-aran do'n a' leanabh
 'S a thug a dhachaidh bhuaithe;

'S ged thàinig seòrsa taiséalachd,
 Chaidh seachad aig an uair ort,
 Is iomadh rud a chunnaic thusa,
 'S mur do chunnaic, chuala,
 'S cha d' thuir thu dad."

Such highly principled statements as this of the function of poetry are very characteristic of Rob Donn MacKay, the 18th century satirist, but they are seldom found in the compositions of Gaelic village bards since MacKay's time. Those Gaelic bards, however, who took up residence in the Lowland cities, though they remained basically in the tradition, frequently show a relatively more developed artistic self-consciousness and ambitiousness, probably because of their acquaintance with English (or Scots) literature: MacFadyen, as well as Henry Whyte and Donald MacIntyre, whose work is to be discussed below, translated English or Scots poems, usually those of Burns, into Gaelic.²⁰

This is also true of Neil MacLeod,²¹ a Skyeman resident in Edinburgh, whose admiration of Burns's work is implied in his frequent use of the Burnsian stanza. MacLeod's 'Rainn do Neòinean' and 'An t-Uan' were probably inspired, though not influenced in detail, by Burns's philosophical poems on animals and flowers (e.g. 'To a Daisy', 'To a Mouse'). His 'An Seillean agus a' Chuileag' is in dialogue form and inspired no doubt by the advice to

sluggards to "consider the ant " in the Book of Proverbs; 'Tigh a' Mhìsgeir' is a description of the destitution caused by the drunkenness of a family man; 'Maise nach Searg', a plea for Christian charity.

The philosophical poems of MacLeod which have a more clearly religious colouring--e.g. 'Dòchas', 'An Uaigh'--are in the bardic tradition: many bards, from MacIntyre on, composed reflective poems on death and the grave in their later years. In the main, MacLeod's philosophy is trite and commonplace. Generally it is too distilled, too conceptualised and divorced from its real referents. When particular cases are described, as in 'Tigh a' Mhìsgeir', we feel quite strongly that they have been conjured up wilfully as illustrations or parables, rather than that the poet adduced his philosophy from them. This is "poetry of the will", the imagery giving the characteristic lack of denotative cohesion: these lines from the last verse of 'Maise nach Searg' are illustrative:

"Mar lòchran laiste suas le gràdh
Biodh t'imeachd glan gun chealg. . .
Sin agad ionmhasan nach tràigh,
'S maise gu bràth nach searg."

MacLeod took the requirements of his unofficial poet laureateship much more seriously than most village bards. In common with most of the other exiled bards, he composed poems to the Gaelic

movement (e.g. 'Am Faigh a' Ghàidhlig Eàs?', 'Féill a' Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich', 'Comunn Gàidhlig Inbhirnis'). MacLeod also directed some vigorous polemic against the Clearances--a fact which seems to have been ignored by the many who denounce him as merely a Romantic poet. He shows awareness of the sufferings of the Highland tenantry:

"Cò chaidh fhuadach thar a' chuain,
Le uachdarain gun iochd, gun truas,
Mar thràillean dìblidh, air an ruaig? Na Gaidheil.
('Na Gaidheil'),

inflicts vigorous invective on the culprits:-

"Mo chàirdean 'gan sgiùrsadh
Aig ùmaidhean Ghall" ('Na Croitearan Sgitheanach'),

and expresses strong hopes of eventual victory for the cause he is championing:

"Togaidh sinn ar cinn gu dàna
Dh' aindheoin bàillidh tha air thalamh"
('Oran nan Croitearan').

MacLeod composed several formal elegies (e.g. 'Do 'n Léigh Mac-'Ille-'Mhoire, nach maireann', 'John Stuart Blackie') and a considerable amount of light humorous verse. 'An Seann Fhleasgach' and 'An Gille Cam, Crùbach' have as their subject the unfortunate scapegoat of many Gaelic humorous poets (including Rob Donn MacKay) and sketch writers--a person whose amorous exploits are made ludicrous either by his age or by a physical infirmity: this is also the case in MacLeod's better known, 'Dùghall na Sròine'.

One gets the impression, however, that MacLeod is here deliberately writing to the requirements of a well established genre and that his subjects are imaginary--in MacKay's case, the subjects were mostly real personages and the poet's practice consequently more cruel. 'Dòmhnall Cruaidh agus an Ceàrd' is an account of a drunken adventure and 'A' Bhean agam fhìn' undoubtedly inspired by the example of the Scots popular comedians. His 'Turus Dhòmhnuille do Ghlascho', like MacFadyen's 'Turus Eoghain', has the gauche Highlander being tricked by a "city slicker": on this occasion a girl seduces him into a drinking-den where his money is stolen, whereupon a graphically described fight ensues:

"Chaidh an talla gu tuasaid,
 Is gu gruagan a tharruing;
 Cha robh claiginn gun spuaic air,
 'S cha robh gruaidh gun a prannadh;
 Mis' a' slachladh mu'n cuairt dhomh
 Le mo chuaile maith daraich,
 'G an cruaidh-iomain 's na cùiltean,
 Is an driùchd air am malaidh,
 'S cha robh i glan."

The description of a fight in MacFadyen's 'Oran Margaidh-an-t-Salainn' (see above, pp. 247-248) is very similar and the verse form is, of course, one frequently employed by MacFadyen.

Although, in the interests of complete accuracy,

one must draw attention to Neil MacLeod's polemical verse and to his adherence in some respects to the village bard conventions, it is, nevertheless, undeniable that his most striking characteristic is his tendency--in his nature and love poetry--towards Romanticism and away from the concreteness²² of the village bards. It is Neil MacLeod's Romantic poetry that has enjoyed the widest and most sustained popularity and that has had most seminal influence in Gaelic.

The hypothesis that Romantic poetry is a corollary of industrialisation and of its concomitant commercialism is substantiated by this verse from MacLeod's 'Ri Taobh na Tràigh'--written, let us remember, by an Edinburgh businessman:

"Tha cuid an tòir air stòr 's air maoin,
 'G an ruith bho 'm brèith gu 'm bàs;
 Cha 'n fhaigh iad foic 's cha bhi iad saor,
 Ma ch'ì iad sin aig càch;
 Thoir dhòmhsa sìth, is gràdh, is gaol,
 Aig taobh nan sruthan tlàth,
 Mo bhothan beag fo sgàil nan craobh,
 'S mo lios ri taobh na tràigh."

The life of the Skye crofter is patronisingly idealised:

"Tha 'n còmhdach glan, 's an lòn gun dìth
 No nì bho thràth gu tràth,
 Iad beò gun lochd, 's an òran binn
 An so ri taobh na tràigh."

The scenic beauty of the place is also idealised, but this is a feature of the village bards' poetry also and is, of course, a requirement of the eulogy convention. It is his conception of the peasantry's life--as a middle class city-dweller--and his laments for the past that distinguish MacLeod from them. This nostalgia for the past is seen in 'Cumha Eilean a' Cheò', in 'Cumha an t-Seann Ghaidheal', in 'Fàilte do'n Eilean Sgitheanach' ("Ach tha 'm fàrdaichean sguabta, / 'S an seòmraichean uain; / Iad fhéin is an gaisge / 'N an cadal fo'n fhòd."), and in that most seminal of MacLeod's songs, 'An Gleann san Robh mi Og'. This song begins with a description of the glen:

"Nuair philleas ruinn an samhradh,
 Bidh gach doire 's crann fo chròic;
 Na h-eòin air bhàrr nam meanglan
 Deanamh caithreim bhinn le 'n ceòl";

the past is recalled, peopled by milkmaids and genial guileless storytellers:

"Nam an cruinneachadh do'n bhuailidh
 B'e mo luaidh a bhi 'n a còir;
 Bhiodh a duanag aig gach guanaig,
 Agus cuach aice 'na dòrn. . .

"Bhiodh gach seanair aosmhor, liath,
 'G innseadh sgialachdan gun ghò,
 Air gach gaisgeach fearail, greannmhor,
 Bha 'sa' ghleann 'n uair bha iad òg";

the passing of that idyllic past is lamented:

"Chaochail maduinn ait ar n-bìge

Mar an ceò air bhàrr nam beann";

and finally, the poet nostalgically bids farewell to the glen itself, expressing the wish that his body be laid there in death.

Many of MacLeod's love songs are similarly Romantic. Some of his love songs are in the same tradition as the love idylls of the village bards, highly conventional, but describing real and not imagined experience:

"Mala chaol is beul tana,

Slios mar fhaoileag na mara,

Cuailean cuachach nan dual

Sios mu ghuaillean mo leannain".

Generally, however, his subject matter is not so concrete:²³ in 'Màiri Bhaile-chrà'--a song that has been re-popularised in the past few years by Donald MacRae, a Glasgow-based singer--the girl is a milkmaid met on a remote shieling when the poet lost his way in a mist, an encounter reminiscent of Wordsworth's with the Highland Reaper and, in general spirit, of Wordsworth's poems to Lucy, that other "violet by a mossy stone/Half-hidden from the eye". Màiri Bhaile-chrà is a typically beautiful, innocent, and humble nymph:

"Tha mais' is nàire snàmh 'na gruaidh;

Gun fhoill, gun uail 'na doigh,

Mar lilidh mhìn a' fàs le buaidh
Aig fuaran Bhaile-chrò".

MacLeod, like MacFadyen, composed a sailor's love song, 'Duanag an t-Seòladair' (better known as 'Gu ma Slàn do'n Nìghinn Og'); his 'An Teid Thu Leam, a Nìghinn Og' also combines nostalgia for the homeland with sentimentalised love:

"An teid thu leam, a nìghinn òg,
A nunn gu Tìr nam Beanntan?

". . .Gheibh thu càirdeas, blàths, is mùirn,
Is chì thu coibhneas anns gach sùil,
Tha iochd is bàigh a' snàmh an gnùis
Gach dùil tha'n Tìr nam beanntan."

Although most of the publications of Henry Whyte (Fionn) first appeared considerably before the beginning of this century, most of them were reprinted up to the 1920's and continue up to the present to have a very considerable influence on taste and, therefore, on original composition. Whyte's 'Celtic Lyre', of which the first part was published in 1883, contains sixty-seven songs, old and new, which are virtually all songs of homeland or of love. The former range from a very naturalistic style (usually these are early, e.g. MacDonald's 'Allt an t-Siùcair') to Romantic island songs, such as Dugald MacPhail's 'An t-Eilean Muileadh' Murdo MacLeod's 'Eilean an Fhraoich' and Mary MacPherson's

'Eilean a' Cheò' (these are, in the main, more modern, are considerably in the majority and have sustained their popularity more than the 'Allt an t-Siùcair' type of song); generally, these nature poems exude Romanticism and nostalgia, whether in polemical dress, as in Whyte's 'Fuadach nan Gaidheal', or, in more usual guise, in James Munro's 'A' Chuairt Shamhraidh' or Malcolm MacFarlane's 'Mo Dhachaidh', with its closing verse which is so interestingly similar to the verse quoted from Neil MacLeod's 'Taobh na Tràigh':

"Air falbh uam a' mhór-chuis, an t-òr agus cliù;
Cha'n eil annta ach faoineas 'us saobh-ghlòir
nach fhiù;

Cha'n fhàginn mo dhachaidh 's bean-chagair
mo rùin

Gu bhi 'sealbhachadh lùchairt le bàn-rìgh "
[Chorus] "Seall thall thar an aiseag fo fhasgadh
nan craobh. . ."

The love poetry in 'Celtic Lyre' also ranges from the greater realism of (usually) earlier songs like 'Fear a' Bhàta' and 'Cuir a' Chinn Dìlis' to romantic idylls such as Whyte's 'A' Mhaighdean Aluinn', Evan MacColl's 'O, Till, a Leannain' and 'Gael an t-Seòladair'.

Whyte's 'The Celtic Garland' (first pub. 1881) is a collection of prose readings, translations of poetry from and into Gaelic and some few original

poems. The poems translated from Gaelic comprise a representative selection from the 'Celtic Lyre'; the translations from English were obviously selected because of their similarity in subject matter and tone to the Gaelic poems--they were drawn mainly from the work of Burns and Scott, but also from Longfellow, Thomas Moore, and others. The original poetry consists of Romantic love songs, songs of sentiment ('An Gaidheal air Leaba-bàis'), and 'Fuadach nan Gaidheal'.

Whyte's 'Leabhar na Ceilidh' (1898) comprises prose readings and poems: the latter include translations from English, nostalgic songs of homeland ('Beannachd Dheireannach an Eilthirich', 'Na Laithean a dh' Aom'), a sailor's love song ('Am Maraich 's a Leannan'), and MacFadyen's poem on Bannockburn, but makes more concessions than Whyte's other books to the bardic tradition by including a season poem ('An t-Earrach' by R. Whyte), a poet laureate piece ('Clann nan Gaidheal'), and two humorous songs (Donald Mackechnie's 'Seacharan Seilg' and MacFadyen's 'Turus Dhòmhnuille do Chaisteal na Ban-rìgh').

John MacFadyen's output is almost entirely in the village bardic tradition--with a strong emphasis on humour--but he also composed a few Romantic songs on the homeland. Neil MacLeod also is in the bardic tradition, but he composed substantially more Romantic homeland and love poetry than MacFadyen.

Whyte's anthologies, however, scarcely represent the village bard tradition at all (even in its urban form)--his preference is overwhelmingly for Romantic poetry. And in fact, although the transplantation of the village bard tradition into the organised Gaelic communities of the Scottish Lowland cities was a real and an important phenomenon (not least because of its influence on the home-based culture),²⁴ it was not this but the Romanticism consequent on the migration that persisted as a literary tradition. It was Whyte and the MacLeod of 'An Gleann san robh mi òg' who became the model for later exiled bards.

The poetry of Murdo Morrison ('Fear Siubhal nan Gleann', 1923), a native of Lewis who became an exile first in Glasgow (where all his poetry was composed) and latterly in the United States, is a good example. Like Whyte and MacFadyen, he translated from English--in his case from the work of Burns and Lady Nairne--and has, presumably as a consequence, poems to a flower and to a mouse; he composed a poem on summer, a eulogy to a fellow poet (Dòmhnall Mac-an-léigh), and two war songs. Otherwise his poetry consists of nostalgic songs in praise of Lewis in general and Gleann Easclaid in particular, including the well known 'Leòdhas mo ghràidh', songs about visits to Lewis,²⁵ and one song with a conventional "thugainn, a rùin. . ." beginning. Morrison had nothing to say in his verse about his Glasgow or American homes: this John MacFadyen and

(when he is acting the "bard") Neil MacLeod have. This lack of topicality indicates a very serious breach with the bardic tradition and yet I feel that the breach is not a fundamental one. Bardic poetry in the main is not produced by powerful emotional or intellectual tension which the individual finds it is very difficult for him not to articulate. It is, rather, produced because the community have acknowledged that the individual has a talent for graphic expression, pleasing imagery and versification and has, therefore, unofficially granted him the honour and responsibility of being its public apologist and entertainer. Thus, Murdo Morrison, though--in his Glasgow exile--fulfilling few of the traditional requirements of a bard, composed poems that express not so much a personal, idiosyncratic homesickness but the nostalgia shared by the emigré community in general.

There is precedent from earliest times for the composition by village bards of nostalgic praise poetry for their home while they were resident in the South of Scotland--this includes Duncan MacIntyre and William Ross--but these poets spent the greater part of their lives--including their formative years--in the Gaeltachd and consequently the majority of their songs are in the old tradition. Again, John MacFadyen, for example, spent his early years in Glasgow in a society which was an (admittedly somewhat synthetic) imitation of Gaelic village

society and so the bulk of his output is in the old tradition. Murdo Morrison lived in the same environment as MacFadyen--he lived in Glasgow from 1906, his twenty-third year, until 1911, when he went to the United States, and was a frequent performer at ceilidhs--but had a quite different temperament:²⁶ he composed relatively fewer poems and songs that are in the old tradition. Other poets, either because they emigrated to the Lowland cities only after the first two or three decades of this century or because they emigrated to a country like Australia which had no appreciable Gaelic settlement, had no opportunity to spend a considerable period of time, even in their youth, in contact with the ceilidh-culture at home or abroad--and so the exile poetry's share of their total bardic output is disproportionately large. Iain Archie MacAskill (1898-1933)²⁷ is interesting in this latter connection.

MacAskill's songs, composed between his return to Bernera (from Glasgow) in March 1923 and his exile to Australia in the winter of 1924, exemplify the main bardic styles--there are a song of naturalistic description of Bernera, a song describing a boat's sail, other poems of praise to local fishing boats, and several humorous songs ('Oran Cuilean Chaluim Bhàin, 'Oran dha'n té Scalpach', 'Oran Tarbh Ruisgearraidh', etc). Apart from a denigratory poem about the Australian aborigines and some poems,

of which the immediate occasions are storms or adventures in the desert in Australia but in which he finishes by longing for a return to Bernera, all the rest of the poetry he composed between 1924 and his death in 1933 are nostalgic paeans or Romantic love idylls. These include three entitled 'Oran a' Chianalais', one 'Oran an Ionndrainn', and an 'Oran Ionndrainn', poems about letters from Bernera and several poems not only to Bernera but also to Harris, North Uist, and even Scotland (implying that his exile has given him a perspective wider than he would have had on his homeland if he had remained in Bernera). His 'Oran do Mhaighdinn Oig, 1929' combines homesickness and love as the sailor's love songs do:

"Fhir a sheòlas thar nan cuantan
 Null gu fearann àrd nam bruachan,
 Thoir gach soraidh chon na gruagaich
 'S mìle beannachd bhuam is fàilt."

Donald MacLean, a Skyeman resident in Isleworth is another example of a Gael who might have been a village bard had he spent much time in the appropriate social setting, but who instead emigrated to England with the result that his total bardic output²⁸ is Romantic: this includes songs like 'Cliù na Caillein Sgitheanaich', 'Cuachag nan Sùil Blàth', 'Caisteal nam Fuar Bheann' (Dunvegan), and 'An t-Eilean Lurach', which ends:

"Slàn leis an tìr uasail far an d'fhuair mi lòn,
'S tric mi ort a' bruadar, 's iomadh uair fo
bhròn;
'S ann leam bu mhiann bith cluaineas measg
do bhruachan réidh,
'S gur muldach mi 'n dràs d'gam fàgail 'na
mo dhéidh."

The poems of Neil MacLean, "The Govan Bard", and Somerled MacMillan, Bard to the Clan MacMillan--both published around 1950--also comprise sentimental love and homeland songs. An interesting point as regards MacLean is that he composed poems to at least four islands (Coll, Uist, Skye, and Mull), illustrating again the degree of perspective on the homeland that exile gave to the bards: village bards such as Bàrd Bharabhais composed only to their own island or neighbourhood. The type of Romantic poetry composed by Donald and Neil MacLean and Somerled MacMillan has been growing increasingly popular during this century.

In 'Ceòl nam Bann/The Ceilidh Song Book/Revised Edition', the popular song book issued by the Gaelic League of Scotland, there are twenty-one songs to islands or places--mostly Romantic--out of a total of sixty: and this even although the collection obviously attempts to be representative rather than to slavishly represent popular taste. It also contains love songs, several of which are Romantic, and songs in which homeland and love themes are

combined, such as 'Té Bhàn', by Murdo Smith of Lewis:

"Gach creag is allt is cnoc is gleann
Air feadh nam beann 's na ghluais sinn,
'Toirt fianuis air na thuirt sinn ann
Ma bhios am bann air fhuasgladh."

A study of 'Baird a' Chomuinn' (ed. Lachlan MacKinnon, 1953), an anthology of the poems which have won the Crown of the Mod of An Comunn Gaidhealach from 1923 to 1951, shows that fourteen out of the total of twenty-three poems are to islands or places; three are on the Highland people and verge on the polemical; three are on a lark, seal, and the moon respectively; there is one love song, one humorous song and one epic (by John MacCormick on the Battle of Inverkeithing). In the interests of accuracy it must be conceded that only about half of the poems on islands or places are Romantic exile poems--some are by village bards who stayed at home: but the very fact that the rest of the village bardic repertoire is so little represented in this "Bardic" competition is not without significance.

It is not necessary to document this development in taste in detail. At the present time, the programmes of most concerts in the Gaidhealtachd and beyond it are usually saturated with this type of Romantic song. Some singers, however--principally Flora MacNeill, Joan MacKenzie, Kitty MacLeod, and (in the case of 'oran mhóra') Carol Galbraith--bypass the Romantic period in our song and

popular poetic tradition by singing older Gaelic folksongs, mainly from the Heroic period. Very few new non-Romantic songs win popularity, with the exception of the village bardic songs sung by John (Hoddan) MacDonald--these will be discussed in the next section--and with the marginal exception of the translations of English popular songs which are sung by Alasdair Gillies. In considering the popularity of different types of song, however, one must take regional variations into consideration: Mr Martin MacDonald of the B.B.C. Gaelic Department tells me that audience research he has carried out informally over the past few years seems to confirm that the Glasgow-based or originated societies, such as An Comunn Gaidhealach, have had far greater influence in Argyllshire than elsewhere, in that the songs of the 'Celtic Lyre' and of MacFadyen and Neil MacLeod²⁹--the doyens of the Glasgow societies in the early years--are far more popular there than older Gaelic folksongs, for which there is considerable though not universal appreciation in the Outer Isles and Skye.

This section--on the exile of the bards--will be concluded with a brief discussion of three bards who do not fit comfortably into any of the categories established so far.

The first of these is Dugald Gordon MacDougal ('Bràiste Lathurna', ed. Somerled MacMillan, 1959), who was born in Kilbride, Argyll, in 1845 and spent

most of his working life first in a travelling appointment in Scotland and England and latterly (1897 to 1907) in a government office in Yorkshire: in 1904 he was appointed official bard to the Clan MacDougal. Quite inexplicably, he composed scarcely any Romantic poetry: he did compose songs in praise of places, but, as in 'Oran Dùthcha', these are naturalistic though composed in exile, his sole conventional homeland song, 'An t-Eilean Luinneach', being far more wholehearted in its polemic than in its nostalgia:

"Ach thàin' an Gall ann le chuid bhùrach,
Gura diombach mi dh' an ealdhain;
Cha mhór an diugh tha de Chloinn Dùghaill ann,
Chaidh na fiùrain fad o'n dachaidh."

He composed a considerable number of love lyrics, such as 'Thug mi geol do Bhanaraich' and 'Oigh nam mìog-shùil', but these are well represented in the village bard tradition from Alexander MacDonald, Duncan MacIntyre, and William Ross. He also composed a verse on old age and several humorous songs, thereby fulfilling the bardic role. What is most intriguing about MacDougall, however, is that formal elegies and eulogies--mostly featuring prominent MacDougalls--comprise the vastly greater part of his output. His appointment as Clan Bard in 1904 explains a lot of this, but he had, in fact, composed many poems honouring the leading members of the Clan before this and it was in recognition

of this fact that the appointment was made. Somerled MacMillan writes in his introduction to 'Bràiste Lathurna': "During his early impressionable years he made good use of his time in acquiring local traditions and historical facts regarding his clan." It was probably the inherent disposition revealed by this early interest in traditions and the grounding consequently received in the native Gaelic culture that made MacDougall adhere so closely, even in his exile, not only to the village bardic tradition of his contemporary Gaeltachd, but also to the clan-bard tradition that is, with the notable exception of MacCodrón, represented in a decadent stage in the 18th century poets. MacDougall died in 1914.

The second bard to be dealt with was not, in any real sense, an exile at all. He is Calum Gillies, who was born in Southwest Margary in Inverness County, Nova Scotia in 1856 and died there in 1929. The community he lived in was similar in economic and social structure to the native Gaelic communities of the Old World. Furthermore, the immigrant Highlanders had brought with them the customs and culture of the Scottish Gaeltachd to their new homeland in the New World and, because the socio-economic setting was a similar one, the Gaelic customs and culture were able to take root and develop organically.³⁰

Gillies ('Smeòrach nan Cnoc 's na Gleann', ed. Hector MacDougall, 1939) was a living corroboration of the success of this cultural transplantation: he composed a formal elegy ('Cumha do Niall Mac Ghill-Eathain'); a poem in praise of Cape Breton; a poem to the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Cape Breton--a poet-laureate piece; a poem to the local soldiers who went away to the First World War ('Saighdearan Cheap Breatuinn); a philosophical poem on old age, reminiscent of Duncan MacIntyre's ('Féin-labhairt an t-Seann Duine'); and several humorous songs. These humorous songs are on characteristic bardic subjects--a ludicrous lover ('An té Ruadh 's am Bodach'), the funny side of an important political event ('Oran an Taghaidh'), a wedding ('A' Bhanais Chridheil'), and a trivial incident (a fiddler's ill-fated trip to the city, in 'Oran Ailein'). The repertoire and style are those of a village bard. And that is, in fact, what Gillies was: he was born in a Gaelic village setting and never became an exile from it. I include him in this section because the existence of his native community is an important facet of the total exile phenomenon: Gaels emigrated to Glasgow in large numbers, but the sociological environment was not conducive to the survival of their village culture in its original form or, ultimately, in its adapted form. Gaels emigrated to towns and rural areas in Lowland Scotland, England, Australia and the

United States, but not in sufficient numbers to establish viable distinct communities. The Gaels who emigrated to the Eastern Provinces in Canada did so in very large numbers and, because of this and the fact that they moved to areas ecologically and, therefore, sociologically similar to the Highlands, they were able--as the other Gaelic emigrants were not--to recreate the old culture in a new land. So a poet, like Gillies, whose ancestors had emigrated, was, though a Gael in language and culture, Canadian by birth and consequently knew no nostalgia for the Scottish Highlands, as did Iain Archie MacAskill in Australia and Neil MacLeod in Edinburgh.

What has been said of Calum Gillies could equally validly be said of the other bards represented in 'Smeòrach nan Cnoc 's nan Gleann'--including, principally, Donald MacFarlane.

The third bard who is difficult to satisfactorily categorise is Donald MacIntyre, 'The Paisley Bard', whose works were edited by his friend Somarled MacMillan and published by the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society in June 1968. MacIntyre was born in 1889 in South Uist and worked as a stonemason in the Outer Isles until the beginning of the 1914-18 War, when he served as a piper in the Army. After the War, he worked as a fisherman in Uist for several years (probably till around 1922), until he moved to Lochaber and thence to Perthshire; around

1930 (he was then about forty years of age) he left the Highlands for the South, settling eventually in Paisley, where he continued to reside until his death in 1964. What makes MacIntyre so unusual as a bard is that, despite his long exile in Paisley, he composed very little Romantic poetry and that generally his poems are so firmly in the bardic tradition though many of them were composed in the Galltachd at a time when the artificial cèilidh-culture there had lost most of its vitality. But MacIntyre had, of course, spent more than half his life (including his formative years) in the Gaeltachd (though not in Uist), and it has been demonstrated by Somerled MacMillan that he had begun composing as early as 1911 ('Sporan Dhòmhnail', p. xviii), so that it is safe to assume that his style of composition and his attitudes to the function of poetry had been fully and trenchantly formulated by the time he went to the South. As he himself says in one poem:

"Ged tha mi treis air m'aineol
 Anns a' bhaile so an còmhnuidh
 'S mi leigeadh seachad fasain
 Agus cleachdannan na h-òige,
 Nan toirinn fhathast earraig air
 Gun deanainn ceathramh òrain
 O bha mi romhad eòlach
 Air còmhradh nam bàrd",

as introduction to a conventional humorous poem on

an adventure involving 'Giomadairean Aird-mhaoile', his former neighbours in Uist.

MacIntyre is, in fact, one of the very best of the Gaelic bards and his work repays close attention. I will study it in more detail than has been afforded the work of other bards who have been discussed so far. First, one notices that the traditional bardic repertoire is fully exemplified: he composed songs of euhemerised magic ('Aoir na Rodain', 'Oran a' Chnatain Mhóir'); drinking songs ('Bho'n Fhuair mi Bhlasad'); songs to Uist; love idylls; war songs (a poem of congratulation to the Scots soldiers in 'El Alamein', and 'Aoir Mhussolínidh'); eulogies ('Do 'n Diùc Hamilton', 'Catrìona Nic Mhathain'); polemical songs (the early 'Oran nan Con', 'Aoir an Luchd-Riaghlaidh', 'Oran na Cloiche'); poet laureate verse ('Gairm', 'Oran air Cor na Gàidhlig', 'Marbh-rann do 'n Rìgh', 'Oran do 'n Bhàn-rìgh Ealasaid'); humorous songs ('Giomadairean Aird-mhaoile', 'Sporan Dhòmhnuille', 'Bùth Dhòmhnuille 'Ic Leòid', etc.); and satires ('Oran do dh' A***** S**r*ch', 'MacPhàil is MacThómais').

MacIntyre's humorous and light poetry is very similar, in the main, to that of the village bards: in 'An Turus Cuain', he naturalistically describes a trivial adventure in a style that reminds one very much of John Campbell, another Uist bard:

"A' fiaradh ris na fairgeachan
 Bha diosgan aig a ceanna-chnagan,
 'S a dh' aindheoin sian na gailbhinne
 Cha tug i 'm balgam beòil as.

"Gun cocadh i ri cuantannan,
 'S gum plocadh i fo guaillean iad
 Le bòc-thonnan cho cruaidh-bhuileach
 Ri buaileadair an eòrna."

These verses illustrate MacIntyre's often brilliant control of words and of assonance and metre. In the first of the two verses, he gives prominence to sounds that mimic the harsh creaking and violent thudding of the timbers against the waves, while the repetition of "fairgeachan. . . ceanna-chnagan. . . gailbhinne" is extremely effective in evoking the turbulent bucking of the boat. The "cocadh" and "plocadh" of the second verse excellently back up his description of how the boat rides the waves and the third line also is effectively onomatopoeitic. This is a very good example of versification and assonance being used to corroborate the statement being made. In the case of much Romantic poetry, such as that of Neil MacLeod, broad vowel sounds predominate in the rhyme schemes and are used quite uncritically in the main (as witness 'An Gleann 'san Robh mi Og', quoted above): often it can be said that the metres and ornaments dominate the sense. This does not happen so frequently in

the case of the village bards, but they, most usually, are content with achieving a colloquial tone rather than positively using metre and rhyme to produce a more complex mode of expression. When he is at his best, as here, MacIntyre's control of language and metre is comparable to that of Duncan MacIntyre in, for example, 'Moladh Beinn Dóbhrainn':

"S i 'n eilid bheag bhinneach
 Bu ghuiniche sraonadh,
 Le cuinnean geur biorach
 A' sireadh na gaoithe."

Control of versification and language has always been regarded as the highest of virtues in a village bard: we have the testimony of Somerled MacMillan ('Sporan Dhòmhnail', p. xxvi) that Donald MacIntyre so regarded them. Certainly on this criterion, he must be given a considerably higher ranking than other 20th century Gaelic bards.

In 'Dìth nan Cungaidhean', a humorous song on the scarcity of cosmetics and finery during the Second World War--in the tradition of the bardic humorous songs on new commodities or fashions--MacIntyre shows a subtlety and concision of phrase which reminds one of Rob Donn MacKay's satires (though MacKay's thought is often far more subtle than MacIntyre's is here or elsewhere) and a mastery of scurrilous invective that approximates that of the usually less subtle John MacCodrom:

(a)"Chan eil annas no rìomhadh,

Chan eil anart no sìoda,
 Chan eil ad air an cìrean,
 Le ite fìor-eun no ràcain;
 Chan eil nithe their gu dòigh iad,
 Ach an inntinn 'ga leònach,
 A' cagnadh ionga na meòireadh
 A tha gun dòchas ri fàinne";

- (b) "Bha gasan liatha 'na cìrean,
 Bha fichead cnaimhseag 'na cìbhlean,
 'S bha guirean dearg is cóig frìdean
 Os cionn a cuinneanan deàrrsach" (describing a
 girl who has no cosmetics).

In 'Bùth Dhòmhnail 'Ic Leòid', MacIntyre follows the same practice as John Campbell, giving a straightforward description of details in the operation of a new device:

"Gheibh tha searbhadair shios, gheibh thu
 siabann is bùrn,
 'S los gum falbhaich thu mhias, tog a' chiochag
 'na grunnnd,
 Chì thu sgàthan is cìr 's rud a shliùbas a nunn,
 'S a bheir loinn air do cheann ged bhiodh
 sgall air gu chùl

Ann am Bùth Dhòmhnail 'Ic Leòid."

MacIntyre did not compose poems on fights in the city or on the adventures of yokel Highland visitors.

The composition of light and humorous verse is to a large extent pointless if there is not an audience for it: Mr MacMillan states in his

introduction to 'Sporan Dhòmhnail' that MacIntyre's "main ambition was to compose something comical or amusing for the sake of giving his friends a good laugh". Some of his songs, however, passed into a country-wide currency--e.g. 'Sporan Dhòmhnail', 'Bùth Dhòmhnail 'Ic Leòid' and 'Na Rocaidean'-- and, in more recent years especially, some of his songs were popularised by Donald Joseph MacKinnon's performance of them at ceilidhs and on radio (for example, 'Oran na Cloiche'). MacIntyre himself apparently was always delighted to see his poems printed in 'Gairm'--this happened quite frequently.

MacIntyre shared with many of the other Gaelic bards who moved to the cities (e.g. MacFadyen and Murdo Morrison) an awareness of the writings of Scots and English poets and, like them, he translated the work of Burns ('Tam o' Shanter' and 'The Twa Dugs', the latter of which was the model for his own 'Oran nan Con') and also Byron's 'Lochnagar'. Again, like those others--as a consequence probably both of his reading and of the greater self-consciousness of the decay of Gaelic culture that has always characterised the Galltachd community--MacIntyre took his self-imposed "duties" as poet laureate to his people more seriously than most village bards. As he says in his poem to 'Gairm' magazine:

"Gur mithich dhuinn mar bhàird

Bruidheann ann an àird,

'S mios thoirt air na h-àrmuinn a thòisich. . ."

Besides his poems to Gaelic and Gaelic institutions and his poems on Scottish Nationalist themes, MacIntyre occasionally concerned himself with a broader spectrum of current affairs: 'O, faighibh suas an Cogadh', 'Na Rocaidean' and 'Aoir an Luchd-Riaghlaidh' are the best examples of this concern. In the first of these, he directs sardonic invective against those who are pursuing the Cold War against the Communist bloc at a time when the world has not yet recovered from World War II:

"'S beag an t-ioghnadh ged bhiodh sòlas
Air gach aon ann an Roinn-Eòrpa;
Gheibh iad gunnathan 'nan dòrn
An àite flùr is feòil is ìm";

he underlines the dangers of a World War in the nuclear age:

"Dheasaicheadh acfuinn 's a' Ghearmailt,
Chuireas Glaschu 'na sgealban
Fuil is gaor is daoine marbh ann,
Cuirp is anmannan a dhìth";

he shows a keen and sophisticated awareness of the crucial part played in the precipitation of wars by vested economic interests rather than by idealism:

"Bidh Ameiriga fo ghruaimean
Mur a reic i móran cruadhach";

the new enemies are named dispassionately, quite without conviction, in fact, the naming is phrased in the manner of a governmental directive:

"'Se na Ruiseanaich ar nàmhaid,
'S feumaidh sinn dhol g'an smàladh", and

"Ged tha Sìna fad air falbh bhuainn,
 Miltean mìle bho chrìochan Albann;
 Feumaidh sinne dhol g'am marbhadh";

the new allies are Germany:

"An nàmhaid a dh' fheuch ri 'r marbhadh
 Anns an iarmailt 's air an fhairge"

and the United States:

"Saoil nach sòlasach an ceart uair
 Bhith fo òrdain aig MacArtuir,
 Rùsgadh phàisdean feadh an t-sneachda,
 'S bhith 'gan sgailceadh mu na cinn".

'O, Faighibh suas an Cogadh' shows a sophisticated awareness of the futility of war that is comparable to Yeats's:

"Those that I fight I do not hate
 Those that I guard I do not love
 My country is Kiltartan Cross
 My countrymen Kiltartan's poor";

it also shows commendable restraint, in the main, from direct polemic, its oblique sarcasm being considerably more effective than rhetoric. In this poem, not only is the subject matter modern, but--unlike the vast majority of bardic poems on modern themes--the viewpoint is also a mid-twentieth century one.

In 'Na Rocaidean', MacIntyre paints a graphic picture of nuclear holocaust, localised in the places they know well in order to impress its horror the more on his audience:

"Uibhist agus Barraich,
 Cha bhi leanabh no fear liath ann,
 Leòghasaich is h-Earraich
 Dol 'nan sradagan dha 'n iarmailt;
 Sgitheanaich is Muilich
 Air am buileachadh dha'n t-siorr 'achd,
 'S na h-eileanan an iar
 Air an lionadh le plàigh."

The Government's disregard of the Uist opposition to the rocket range completely disillusioned this bard, who, in two World Wars, had celebrated British victories and had sung the glories of the Highland Regiments: as a result he gained a radical insight into the situation which is angrily expressed in this verse:

"Tha a' bhuil air tigh'nn gun teagamh oirnn
 'S gur beag a bha do dhiù dhinn,
 Ach bhith 'nar fodar ghunnaichean
 Aig Lunnainnich 's aig Iudhaich;
 Gach ginealach 'ga leagail dhinn
 Le peilearan 's le fùdar
 'Gar cumail ris gach fùirneis
 'S té ùr ac' an dràs."

The ending of this is particularly horrifying in its implications. Here also, the viewpoint, as well as the subject matter is a modern (and an un-bardic) one, reflecting the collapse of idealism that is so characteristic of the Post-war period. 'Na Rocaidean' is also a polemic--less obliquely so, in fact, than 'O, Faighibh Suas an Cogadh'--that is, it is "committed"

to a particular theory of politics and gives vigorous expression to that theory. Although Sorley MacLean, whose work is to be discussed below, is also firmly committed to a particular political theory (Communism), his poetry is best described as lyric rather than polemic in that, instead of expounding the theory, he examines its implications for his everyday behaviour and its effects on his intimate personal relationships. MacIntyre, therefore, is clearly still rooted in the bardic tradition--of giving witty, graphic, or persuasive expression to a story, object, or attitude--but he extends that tradition in these two poems.

'Aoir an Luchd-Riaghlaidh'--which also attacks abortionists, hoteliers who "baptise" their beer, and polygamous film stars--is more of a versified soap-box oration, of great eloquence and wit, than a poem. Basically, its tenor is that the Government are economically preying on the lower classes, but it also attacks Chamberlain for his political naiveté in his dealings with Hitler and Mussolini.

'Oran nan Beairtean Adhair' is the one example (with the possible exception of 'Dìth nan Cungaidhean') in MacIntyre's work where he treats an event of vital importance to the human condition (here the blitz of the Clyde basin during World War II) as merely a subject for humorous verse.

MacIntyre's poems to Uist have the same naturalism as that of the bards who never experienced exile, e. g.:

"Tir nam mullaichean àrd;
 Chi thu muran a' fàs;
 Chi thu bruthaichean làn gainmhich ann.
 Chi thu muing nan each bàn;
 Cluinn thu guth a' mhuir-làin
 A' toirt luinneag air tràigh airgiodach'
 ('Moladh Uibhist').

'Dol do dh' Uibhist' is an exile poem, but contains no nostalgia, rather it comprises a list of the places to be passed on his trip home, two verses describing the Uist scenery, and a final verse depicting his arrival:

"Nuair ruigeas mi 'n cidhe cha bhi mi fo ghruaimen,
 Coinnichidh a fichead a thig o'n taobh tuath mi;
 'Tha thu air tilleadh a Mhic Aonghais Ruaidh;
 Nach tiugainn sin suas gum faigheamaid stòp.'"

Like the village bards, MacIntyre describes the island itself much more than the people or the way of life: village bards can take the way of life for granted--bards like Neil MacLeod could not and so described and sentimentalised it. It is only in one poem, 'Dòmhnall Ruadh/(Sùil air Ais), that MacIntyre laments the change that has come over his birthplace; the style of the final verse is reminiscent of that of Neil Macleod (and of that archetypal Romantic poem, Goldsmith's 'The Deserted Village'):

"Far faca mi na h-àrmuinn,
 'S na fir a bha gun fhàillinn
 A ruitheadh thar na tràghad

Gus àirde nam beann;
 Bhith ag coimhead air an dràsda,
 Gun choimhearsnach, gun nàbaidh,
 Cha toilich e mo nàdur

Ged thàrlainn bhith ann."

But regret for the past comprises only the last three stanzas of this ten-stanza poem. The remainder is clear, unsentimental, and eloquent--a reminiscence of the bard's youth:

"Bhiodh busan chun nan ciabhagan
 Dubh le breacadh-sianain,
 Bhiodh luirgnean 's iad riabhach,
 Breac, liath-ghorm dearg.
 Air dathadh leis a' ghrìosaich
 Bho mhadainn nuair a liath i,
 'S na faigheamaid gus bialaig
 Nach iarramaid falbh,
 Nuair bhiodh an crannadh geur ann,
 'S gum feannadh e na féithean,
 A' ghaoth an Ear ag éirigh,
 'S a séideadh gu garbh.
 A dh' aindheòin sin 's 'na dhéidh sin,
 Chan fhanamaid bho'n chéilidh,
 Far 'n cluinneamaid an sgeul
 Ris an éisdeamaid balbh."

One is reassured to gather from MacIntyre's lists of boyhood pranks further on in the poem that he and his pals were not so "gun fhoill, gun ghò" as Neil MacLeod's milkmaids reputedly were.

One important reason for MacIntyre's adhering so closely to the old bardic tradition was that he made a close study of the poetry of the 18th century bards, particularly MacCodrom and Alexander MacDonald, and modelled his own poetry on theirs ('Sporan Dhòmhnaill', p. xxiii). Consequently, his poetry is in some respects, despite his exile, closer to that of these early bards than that of the village bards is--MacIntyre went directly to the source of the tradition for inspiration.

His most obvious debt to Alexander MacDonald is the idea for 'Aeolus agus am Balg'. This poem describes the oncoming storm in detail and, chiefly, in terms of Greek mythology. Like 'Birlinn Clann Raghnaill', its obvious inspiration, the poem is in sections and in varying metres and, like the 'Birlinn' also, the ferocity of the gale is used as a foil for the courage and strength of the crew. Like MacDonald's poem, 'Aeolus agus am Balg' is almost purely a metrical and lexical set-piece. MacIntyre's Classical allusions in other nature poems are no doubt another example of direct influence by MacDonald's nature poetry, e. g.:

"Nuair thig a' ghrian o Chapricorn
Le samhradh bòidheach blàth thugainn."

But it is not so much in subjects and ideas that the influence of 18th century poetry is most felt as in the variety of versification and the richness of vocabulary of MacIntyre's songs. I have dealt above with his descriptive skill and his effective subordination of metrical devices to description.

The following are examples of a selection of the metres used by MacIntyre, suggesting what his sources for them may have been:

(a) "A Chatriona Nic Mhathain,

'S ann leam bu mhiannach gach math

A bhith 'n dàn dhut": the strophe metre, of which variants were used by most clan eulogists, including MacCodrom in 'Marbhrann do Shir Seumas MacDhòmhnuill';

(b) "Gun chuir mi ceathramh òrain

air dòigh do na balaich so,

A dh' fhalbh a dh' ionnsaigh Bhòirnis

Cho deònach 's cho eangarra": the metre of 'Cabarféidh';

(c) "Le dìth an stuth ' le phrìs an diugh,

Le dhùbladh cìs is barrachd air,

Tha 'n t-am agam an t-seann phoit dhubh

Thoirt chun an t-struth 'ga sgùradh": the metre and rhyme scheme of 'An t-Alltan Dubh';

(d) "Cluinnear anns gach ceàrn

Mu Mhac Thómais,

Ma chuireas mi 's a' phaipeir

An t-òran so

A tha mi deanamh dhà.

Dìreach mar a bhà

Moladh Dhonnachaidh Bhàin

Do Bheinn Dóbhrainn.

The last two examples show the old metres being parodied for humorous effect: MacIntyre also humorously

parodied the tone and vocabulary as well as the metre of certain old poetic styles, as here with the old folksongs of love:

"Thug mi 'n oidhche raoir glé shàmhach,
Thug mi 'n oidhche raoir gun diog
'S mi 'g éisdeachd ri Móir bhig 's a màthair,
Thug mi 'n oidhche raoir glé shàmhach",

or as here with the clan eulogy style:

"Mo chreach mhór, mo sgeul cianail,
Mar a dh' éirich am bliadhna
Do dhròbhair mór nan damh fiadhaich,
A chaidh air chall is nach robh sgial air,
A ghabh air muin an eich-iaruinn,
'S a shluig an ceò as ar fianuis,
Nuair a dh' fhalbh e Bhòirnis a dh' iarraidh
An ràcain".

But he could also compose serious poetry in these styles, as he illustrated by (a) his elegy to King George VI (which was commissioned from him by the B.B.C.) and (b) his poem in praise of Queen Elizabeth:

(a) "Moch 's a' mhadainn Di-ciadain
Thainig naidheachd a' chianalais oirnn,
Buille-mhuineal a chiùrr sinn,
'S a thug silteach bho 'r sùilean na deòir.
'S beag an t-ioghnadh an dùthaich
A bhí gu tuireamach, tùrsach ri bròn;
Chaill sinn caraid ar daoine
Tha 'n diugh go cràiteach a' caoineadh Rìgh Deòrs'";

(b) "'S bàn-rìgh dhe 'r cuideachda fhìn i,
Dhe 'r fuil rìoghail bho Nòah.

"Bàrr mullaich na craoibh' as àrsaidh
Chinn ann an àl na Roinn Eòrpa."

The Uist bard, MacCodrom, whose output comprises an almost equal number of clan eulogies and of the type of humorous songs which are the hallmark of the modern village bards, was obviously MacIntyre's inspiration and guide here. These poems to the King and Queen are extremely similar to MacCodrom's poetry as to the ideas expressed, the tone that prevails, and the metre and language.

MacIntyre's eloquence and wit have been alluded to and illustrated on several occasions already: it may be appropriate to finish the discussion of this, the closest to the roots of the tradition and almost certainly the best of the village bards, by quoting a verse in which he mimics Alexander MacDonald, in particular, by composing a virtuosic list of adjectives in praise of Uist:

"An tìr tha taitneach, gleannach, glacach,
Beanntach, bacach, bàghannach;
Gur lùbach, leacach, stùcach, stacach,
Cùilteach, cnapach, càrnach i."

THE 'BARD': THE SURVIVAL OF THE TRADITION

"Theagamh da rìribh gura h-e am fear mu dheireadh dha na fìor-bhàird a tha ann; oir is glé-ghann a chitear a leithid a's a' Ghaidhealtachd an diu. Theirig na bàird bho'n a chaidh foghlum Gallda a sparradh air na Gaidheil; 's fhearr le móran dha'n òigridh a bhith leubhadh nam pàipeirean-naidheachd Beurla na bhith 'g óisdeachd ri bardachd no ri sgialachdan, agus is dòcha nach fhaic sinn leithid Sheonaidh a rithist." Thus John Lorne Campbell introduced his edition of the poems of John Campbell of South Uist in 1936. Even at that time it was beginning to be a fair statement of the situation in several areas of the Highlands--though not, in particular, in the Northern Isles--for in corroboration of the education policy's effects, the concerts and formal village-hall ceilidhs were spreading from the South and these, though they accomodated such bards as

Bàrd. Bharabhais and Charles MacIiven up to the late 1920's and 30's, gradually--and precipitately after the Second World War--became concerts of Romantic songs, the programmes being varied only infrequently and in a few areas, by sketches, comic turns, or the witty songs of local bards. At the present time, even these concerts themselves are threatened by the advent of television, which has already had a very serious effect on the old-style Variety shows in the Southern Scottish cities. Roderick MacLean, one of those who still compose much bardic poetry, deprecates this tendency in a poem that appeared in 'Gairm' in 1961:

"Nuair a thig thu steach a chéilidh,
 Feumaidh tu bhith umhal sàmhach,
 'Na do chorra-biod air 'seur',
 Gu'n tig deurach 'na do chnàmhan

"'S e a chòrdadh ri mo linn-sa,
 Seinn na rainn an cainnt am màthar,
 Cruinn timicheall mu 'n a' ghealbhan,
 'S tha mac-meanmainn falbh dh' an cheàrn leam."

Angus Campbell of Ness (Am Puilean), one of the old-style bards and wits, in a poem printed in 'Gairm' in Summer 1966, similarly regrets the new order:

"Far am bithte roinn nan sgeul
 Aig luchd céilidh mu'n teine,
 'Sann tha 'n aire 'n diugh gu léir
 Air a' chéis leis a' ghloinne.

"Far an deanainn brìodal blàth,
 Fealla-dhà is dibhersion,
 Tha mo bhilean gu dol bàs
 'S fear nas fheàrr na mi labhairt. . .

"Cha toir aire ga mo nòs,
 Tha mo spòrs 'na cuis fhanoid,
 Balaich an cur air an dòigh
 Hud is Logan is Harry";

but he finishes with a stroke of wit which indicates that there is more real humour and vitality in the old tradition yet, where it survives, than there is in most of what is ousting it:

"Chan eil math ach a bhith balbh
 'S cluiche dhealbh' air a' ghloinne,
 Furachail mun cail mi dùrd
 Mar fhear gaoil gur air leannan."

Despite Am Puilean's pessimism, it seems that Ness in Lewis is one of the few areas in which the ceilidh- or bothan-going habit is still strong enough to support bards. 'Gairm' for Summer 1968 contained a very entertaining selection of information and anecdotes which had been collected for the 'Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic', by Norman MacLeod ('Am Bàrd Bochd') at house-ceilidhs in Ness: other contributors comprised most of the local repositories of the old tradition, including several bards (e.g. MacLeod himself and Am Puilean). Much of Am Bard Bochd's own work has appeared in 'Gairm': interestingly,

it is divided between memories of Lewis in days past (e.g. 'Tigh na h-Ighneig, 1916-1959' and 'Geàrrraidh Bhat-an-Dib', both of which appeared in 'Gairm', 1960) and humorous songs, much as the article in 'Gairm' (Summer 1968). This reminds us that Angus Campbell of Ness, in introducing his own work in 1942 (for their publication in 1943), chose to spotlight his reminiscent and humorous songs rather than his love or philosophical poetry, which are undoubtedly his highest achievement. 'Am Bàrd Bochd' is a versatile and intelligent composer of humorous verse: his 'Pìana Fhionnghail A' Nurse' ('Gairm', 1961) is in the convention of poems to strange new commodities (one of the people standing by in awe as the piano arrives is struck by the resemblance of its keys to teeth and, when the piano is found not to be working properly, he suggests that 'Oil of Cloves' be tried).

'An 'Sus' a Shàraich mi' makes fun at the expense of another new device:

"Bha mis' is M___ triall le sunnd
 'S a' conaltradh gu càirdeil,
 Nuair bhuail i làmh air clàr a cuim
 Is thug i sgal a' bhàis aist;
 'Gu dá, mo chreach,' thuir mi, 'tha cearr,
 'N e cràdh tha 'nad Appendix?'
 Sin fhreagair i 's i tionndadh bàn,
 "'S ann dh' fhosgail mo Suspendar.'"

'Sgoil Shabaid nan Ceàrd' (1961) is a clever retelling of Biblical stories, selected for their combative or immoral content, in colloquial and

often indecorous Gaelic. MacLeod's 'Valentine Ceàird' is very effective visually--the man's proposal and the girl's acceptance being placed in facing pages, the whole being covered by the embossed title.

The existence of an appreciative audience is essential to bardic composition: the change in the community life that has brought about the near demise, except in a few areas such as Ness, of the traditional ceilidh has also largely removed the figure of the bard from the Gaelic cultural scene. Donald MacIntyre and Donald MacDonald (Dòmhnall Ruadh Chorùna)--whose work will be studied below--were composing as bards until the last decade or two, but these were men who had begun composing in the period 1910-20, when the bardic tradition was still vigorous and popular and who happened to retain their faculties to a very old age. But in recent years, bardic composition has been regaining touch with a substantial audience through three new channels--the .3.B.C., Gaelfonn records, and 'Gairm'. An interesting case is that of the song 'An Uinneag a Rinn Dòmhnall le Seann Chrogain Jam', which commemorates an utterly trivial incident and was little known even in the area in Harris (Southern Bays) where it was composed until Mod Medallist John M. Morrison began to popularise it at concerts and on radio. The song is now quite well known and its success must serve as a spur to any who have the ability and inclination to compose village bardic songs. A similar popularisation of the songs of contemporary village bards has been effected

by Donald Joseph MacKinnon of South Uist and John (Hoddan) MacDonald of Point in Lewis. MacDonald has been particularly successful and is now in great demand even at formal Gaelic concerts and at non-Gaelic folksong festivals--singing Point songs such as 'Oran a' Bhaitsealair' and 'Oran an A.I.'. The latter song is a conventional humorous song on a new invention: an old-fashioned "bodach" and "cailleach" are bemused by a new technique, which is described--in detail, but with a self-parodying prudishness (in this it is very similar to John Campbell of South Uist's 'A' Chiad Tarbh').

'Gairm' magazine in recent years has published a considerable number of village bardic songs, including those of Donald MacIntyre, Am Bàrd Bochd, and Calum Ruadh Nicolson (e.g. 'Cul-Ùhair', 'Gairm', 1960) of Braes in Skye. Several poems by Roderick MacLean have also been published recently which have the topicality and lively wit that characterises the village bards at their best. These include 'Bothan Eibhinn Ceann a' Bhàigh' (1960)--on the proposed Lewis Museum--'An N.A.T.O. Base' (1960), and 'An Telebhisean' (1961). 'Am "Bookie"' by Duncan MacLeod--on the establishment of a betting-shop in Stornoway--is in the same style.

These new media seem to be encouraging the most vital facet of the old tradition--the humorous poems on new inventions or current affairs--at the expense of the bardic functions which have least relevance to

the present time (namely eulogies, poems to places or to illnesses, or poet laureate verse). The new media also discourage parochialism--any song broadcast on radio or published in a magazine must have some relevance for as large a section of the total potential audience as possible. And yet, when one compares the total bardic output now to the total bardic output³¹ of 1900-1910, it cannot be denied that there has been and continues to be a steady decline in quantity which more than outweighs what improvements there have been in the quality of the poems.

Finally, one is left to assess what the value of the bardic tradition has been. In the first place, one has to make an important distinction between the 20th century bards and the well known 18th century bards. Alexander MacDonald was a literate and substantially educated man who knew a great deal about Classical and English literature; Rob Donn MacKay, though illiterate, was conversant with the work of his great English contemporary, Alexander Pope; William Ross similarly had received a good formal education; and Duncan MacIntyre, though himself virtually unschooled, knew the works of Alexander MacDonald and mimicked MacDonald's innovations to great effect. The 20th century village bards, on the other hand, scarcely ever show an awareness of literary styles and experiments in Scots or English. The literary milieu and inspiration of each generation of bards consists entirely of the work of the previous generation of village bards--

a progression that arrives back eventually at the work of the great 18th century innovators. (though these were by no means the pioneers of all the village bardic styles). The 20th century village bards have usually very restricted horizons as to subject matter also. They, of course, do occasionally write on events of nation-wide significance--and on new fashions and commodities--but their viewpoint on these things is usually an unsophisticated and parochial one. Bards who settled in the Lowland cities often show more awareness of literary fashions outside Gaelic--particularly a knowledge of the work of Burns--than do the village bards. Donald MacIntyre and Neil MacLeod are examples of this: their work is often more ambitious--it stretches the limits of the bardic conventions more--but their intellectual stance continues to be a parochial, reactionary one, with the exception of a few poems by Donald MacIntyre.

The strength of the bardic tradition lies in its being both a truly proletarian culture and a communal activity: and yet it shares more with the modern institution of the professional, full-time writer³² (a middle class phenomenon), than with other proletarian cultures such as the American cowboy literature and Negro jazz. Negro ballad singers, such as the convict "Leadbelly", composed songs to express and thereby to alleviate personal emotional tensions, whereas Gaelic bards compose because their community needs their compositions--even though it was not able or prepared to reward them financially--and what they

composed was usually strictly defined by the particular social function they had to fulfill. It is the uniqueness of this function and the vitality--as to humour, expression, and topicality--which was often evinced in fulfilling it that makes this tradition so interesting and worthy of close study. As the whole of Britain rapidly approaches the stage, under the goad of technological progress, of being a sociological unit, this valuable and unique tradition will inevitably disappear. It is being replaced by a system of popular culture in which the proletariat and a large majority of the other classes passively enjoy or endure the entertainment that is provided for them--usually from America, London, Liverpool, or Glasgow (in the case of Gaelic popular culture)³³--by a small group of usually middle class performers.

The best printed sources for bardic poetry, besides the editions of the individual authors mentioned above are 'Bàrdachd Leódhuis' (1916) and 'Na Bàird Thirisdeach' (1932).

ANOTHER TRADITION: THE LYRIC.
POETRY'S INTRINSIC FUNCTION

In terms of the Freudian analysis of the human mind, poetic imagery is one of the most effective avenues for the release of the emotions which the conscious mind has dangerously suppressed: in poetic creation, where the conscious mind is concerned with versification and diction, the subconscious often finds release, to the extent that a poet may say things in his work which he himself may not be consciously aware of having said.³⁴ Writers in all ages have exploited this therapeutic effect of poetry: some have been at least partially aware at the time that they were doing this, for example William Ross in his 'Oran Cumhaidh'; but most poets are not and it seems reasonable to assume that, like psychoanalysis and the religious confessional, the exercise is most effective when one is as little conscious of its real function as is possible.

C.M. Bowra, in his book 'Primitive Song', suggests, on the evidence of the poetry of presentday peoples who still have a Stone Age economy, that this type of poetry--lyrics written in the wake usually of a personal catastrophe--actually came before narrative and eulogistic poetry, which are the poems first recorded in extant manuscripts. Whether or not this is so, it is indisputable that lyric poetry, motivated by psychological discomfort, has had a long history. In Gaelic, examples are extant from as early as the 16th century (e.g. the well known Clan Gregor songs) and many of the styles exemplified in these early poems are found in the traditional (i.e. non-experimental) lyric poetry of this century, though some new styles have also evolved in the intervening centuries.

There are many songs dating from the mid-19th century to the present day that belong to this category. One of these is the modern Harris version of 'Tha mi fo Chùram air Cùlthaobh Eirinn', in which a young sailor in World War II expresses the quite helpless anxiety of his friends and himself as they lie in their bunks while their convoy moves through the U-boat-ridden Atlantic. The song merely describes their situation, an exercise which by itself can often alleviate severe anxiety of this kind.

'Sud mar Chuir mi 'n Geamhradh Tharam', a Lewis song, is another whose motivation is clear: the girl, whose favours had been granted to an unfaithful lover, had no motive for expressing this in a song (considering

that she shows no desire to defame him, not even making his identity at all explicit), except that the articulation of intense emotion can often be therapeutic-- especially through a poem. The description of the situation is straightforward:

"'S iomadh oidhche air bheagan aodaich
 Chan na beinge rinn mi éiridh
 Cha robh fhios a' am anns an ré ud
 Gur e leannan t-éile bh' agam."

'Gad chuimhneachadh' is another song from this modern period that is interesting for its obvious (though probably unconscious) attempt to resolve a complex emotional problem by giving articulate expression to it:

"Ged 's dealaicht' sinn an dràsda
 Cha b'e d' fhàgail bha 'nam mhiann
 Ach thug fear eile làmh dhut
 Mus do ràinig mis' thu riamh
 'S an crìdh' tha cruaidh mar iarrunn
 Ged by mhiann leis bhi ort dlùth
 Cha bhris e chaoidh son bòidhchead,
 Nìghnean òg na sùilean ciùin."

Basically, there are two stylistic tendencies in the traditional Gaelic lyric. The first is exemplified by a Harris exile song of around 1900 which, as it is not very well known, I shall quote in some detail. The authoress was a woman who decided to emigrate to Canada because of a particularly vicious slander which had been circulated about her

by a local gossip. The song is mostly made up of verses describing the various places she will pass through on her journey from Harris:

"Nuair théid a steamer tro' na caoil
Leis na daoine Di-màirt
Bi mi faicinn mo thigh fhéin
'S gu fuar, falamh fàs

"Nuair a ruigeas sinn Port-Rìgh
Cha bhi m' intinn aig tàmh
Faicinn Beinn a' Chaolais uam
Teanntainn uam-sa gach là.

"Nuair ruigeas mi Glaschu nam Bùth
Bi mo shùil anns gach àit',
Chan fhaic mi ann ach Mac a' Ghoill
'S cha bhi cainnt agam dhà.

"Nuair ruigeas mi a null
Dòmhnall Bùidseir 's 'An Bàn,
Sgrìobhaidh mise nall gu luatha
A bheil fuachd ann no blàths."

These lists are reminiscent of similar lists in the poems of exile's return, but in the latter, the places on the way home are listed because they evoke the journey for a poet who has travelled that way in the past. The woman who composed this song is translating her forthcoming venture into objective detail--defining the sadness she feels while contemplating the venture in terms of its objective correlatives.

A Romantic poet would have expressed this sadness as a vague, amorphous emotion, expressed through the first person. The ending of the poem where she imagines her future life in Canada and states her reason for going there:

"Tha mi 'n dùil mach cluinn mi breug
O na bheul air nach téid tàmh"

is also mundane, but the mundaneness of these visualised objective details is a symptom of the particular function that the composition of the song is serving rather than of a lack of imagination on the part of the poetess.³⁵ The tendency to define the emotion purely in terms of its objective referents-- even if those lie in the future, as here--is the chief characteristic of the traditional Gaelic lyric (See 'Tha mi fo Chùram', etc., above).

'Cuibhl' an Fhortain', a Lewis song popularised by Hoddan MacDonald, is a good example of the second type of lyric. The song laments a broken love affair, but there is very little straightforward description of the situation:

"An té a b' fheàrr leam bha riamh 'san àite

An diugh gur gràin leath' thigh'nn 'nam mo chòmhradh";

this song serves its cathartic function mainly by setting the individual's plight in the perspective of a fatalistic philosophy:

"Tha cuibhl' an fhortain ag cur nan car dhith

Gur mise dh' fhairich sud ged is òg mi. . ."

and:

"Gur iomadh caochladh tha 'n gaol 'na h-òige."

It makes it much easier to bear a personal sorrow if a person can not only see it as part of a predetermined scheme of things, but can also tell the world through a song that it is Fate and not a personal failing that has brought the catastrophe on him. This technique is found in many love songs.

Most of the lyric poems discussed above are anonymous or would at any rate be very difficult to ascribe. This has been a feature of this kind of poetry from earliest times in Gaelic--most of the authors and authoresses composed a poem in the throes of some emotional upheaval in their lives, and usually composed no more poetry after that. There are two striking exceptions to this rule among 20th century traditional poets. The first of these was William MacKenzie of Lewis ('Cnoc Chùsbaig', ed. Peggy MacKenzie, 1936). MacKenzie was born in 1857, was married with a family of eleven and seems to have lived a very contented life (this assessment is based on his own statements in his poems) until he was about forty-nine years old, when his wife died. Up till this time he does not seem to have composed any poetry. His wife's death and his family's consequent emigration to Canada were a very traumatic experience for the aging MacKenzie. Obligated to follow his children into exile, he composed, within a year, a total of seven poems in which he bitterly--and often almost morbidly--describes his new situation. He laments his deceased wife:

"Thug sinn fichead bliadhna pòsd'
 Is bha sinn òg ri leannanachd,
 Is 'nuair a b' fheàrr a bha ar dòigh,
 Nach brònach rinn sinn dealachadh"
 ('Gaoil na h-Oige');

his enforced exile in his old age:

"Cha bhi dùil 'am tilleadh tuille,
 Ma théid mi idir thar sàl;
 Tha falt mo chinn dhomh ag innseadh,
 Gu bheil mo thìde gu bhi 'n àird"
 ('A' Bàrd a' Fàgail a Dhùthcha');

and, as if he had not trouble enough without that,
 his doubts about his soul's salvation:

"Ach na'm bithinn de an t-sluagh
 A théid suas 's nach téid a dhìth
 Gu'n lùiginn iomadh uair,
 A bhi anns an uaigh ri 'n taobh"
 ('Na'n Ceadaicheadh an Tìde Dhomh').

His basic style is to describe his situation
 naturalistically. Like the Harris exile song discussed
 above, he details the journey he is to make:

"Fàgail Shiadair air mo chasan,
 Théid mi Mhallaig air a' bhàt,
 'S bheir an "treine" sinn a Ghlaschu,
 'S dùil tighinn air ais gu bràth"
 ('Am Bàrd a' Fàgail a Dhùthcha'0;

he visualises the concrete changes that his exile
 will bring about in his day to day life:

"Chan fhaic mi na daoine chleachd mi,
 Chan fhaic mi sgadan no bàta,
 Chan fhaic mi ann slige maoraich,
 'S chan fhaic mi faochag ann air tràigh"

(Ibid.);

on one or two occasions, he takes the exploration of the physical implications of his impending departure to extreme and bathetic lengths, as here:

"Dh' fhàg mi aon ann de m' fhiacian,
 Thug mi as mo bheul le cràdh,
 'Se coltach gu 'm bi iomadh mìle,
 Eadar i 's far 'n cuirear càch." (Ibid.)

The poems MacKenzie composed after his exile are in the same style, as is shown by this pathetic verse in which he imagines a former neighbour, Calum Iain Ruaidh, looking at the ruins of the bard's house:

"Ged a thàinig e gu aois,
 Is ged tha mhaol gun fhàlt oirre,
 Bidh e muigh aig ceann na cruaidh',
 Ged biodh i fuar, 's e 'g amharc air."

('Gaul na h-Oige');

and by this other in which he sadly thinks that the marks of his own work are still to be seen in Cnoc Chùsbaig:

"Tha fhathast na lusan fo dhuilleig 's fo bhlàth
 Chuir mi le 'm làimh an Cnoc Chùsbaig,"

MacKenzie seldom uses imagery and, generally, his work does not show the effects of much conscious artistry.³⁶ He was--quite unlike the bards--a man

who had a problem that he needed urgently to express but who lacked much facility of poetic expression:

"Tha mi dol a dh' òran
 Na'm b' eòl dhomh dhol 'na cheann,
 Na'n tugte dhòmhsa treòrachadh,
 Dé 'n còmhradh chuirinn ann."

MacKenzie died shortly after settling in Canada.

The other interesting exception is Donald MacDonald (Dòmhnall Ruadh Chorùna) of Uist. His work is at present being prepared for the press by John Alick MacPherson and Mr MacPherson has kindly allowed me to see his typescript. The poems have been arranged as closely as possible to chronological order of composition, an excellent editorial practice: this shows that Domhnall Ruadh's first compositions were a group of about a dozen poems written during the First World War and giving expression to the poet's own experiences in the trenches. Some of this poetry is squarely in the convention of war poetry in Gaelic--calumniating the enemy and their leaders, eulogising the British Army and in particular the Scottish Regiments--but there are poems and sections of poems in which Domhnall Ruadh is not acting as poet laureate to the Army, but is instead articulating--undoubtedly under a strong psychological motivation--his own feelings and those of his comrades in the heat of battle. Sometimes he describes their physical situation:

"Fhearaibh a bheil cuimhn' agaibh
 An là thàinig am puinnsean oirnn,

'Nar seasamh anns na truinneachan
'S gun nì ann gus ar còmhach. . .

"Cha robh nì gu teanacsadh dhuinn
Ach làmh thoirt air an t-searbhadair
'S a cheangal gus nach fhalbhadh e
Gu dearbhte mu ar srònach"

('Oran a' Phuinnsein');

often he describes their emotions at particular stages of the battle, being particularly successful at conveying the brooding atmosphere prevailing as they await the signal to attack:

"An oidhche mus deach sinn a null
Bha i drùidhteach a' sileadh,
Bha mi fhìn 'nam laigh an cùil
'S thug mi sùil feadh nan gillean
Ochan ì, ochan ì,
Tha sinn sgìth anns an ionad"

('Air an Somme');

sometimes the emotion described is a very complex one:

" 'S gu robh fir mo rùin-sa
Tuiteam aig gach taobh dhìom
'S bha mo chridhe caoineadh
Ged bha 'n caoch 'nam eanchainn"

('Dh' fhalbh na Gillean Grinn').

The poems that concern Uist and his life there, which he composed at this time, are full of longing to get out of the squalid trenches and away from the slaughter: this is their obvious motivation rather than a desire to consciously compose conventional

nature poems. Domhnall Ruadh's well known 'An Eala Bhàn' was also composed at this time and is again given its individual tone by the author's knowledge that he may well not see his beloved again:

"Tha mise 'n seo 's mo shùil an iar
 On chrom a' ghrian 's an t-sàl;
 Mo dhùrachd leig mi as a déidh
 Ged thréig i mi cho tràth,
 Gun fhios am faic mi màireach i
 'Nuair dhìreas i gu h-àrd,
 Is iomairt lann gu bhith ri chéil'
 'Nuair 's léir dhuinn beul an là."

Domhnall Ruadh's poems give us an interesting picture of what it felt like to be a soldier, Gael, and lover during the fiercest fighting of World War I.

After the War and his return to Uist, Domhnall Ruadh ceased writing poems of selfexpression and instead began acting out the role of village bard, composing virtually all the conventional bardic poem-types. He composed poems to Uist, a eulogy ('Calum Moireastan, an Arlington Court'), elegies (e.g. 'Marbhrann Dhòmhnail Eairstidh Howie'), poet laureate pieces ('Do 'n Ghàidhlig' and poems on World War II), and a large number of humorous poems. These humorous poems deal with topical incidents of purely local interest (e.g. 'Do Sheumas Chia-Ora, air dha Muinntir Chorùna a Chur gu Mocheirigh') and with modern inventions and current affairs, exploiting their potential for humour and ignoring their serious

implications (unlike Donald MacIntyre). Examples of the latter type of poem are 'Oran a' Home Guard', 'Oran na h-Aeroplaine', 'Rocaid an Ameireigeanaich', and 'Motor-boat Heillsgeir', which is very reminiscent of John Campbell of South Uist's 'A' Chiad Mhotor a Thainig Riamh dh' an Aite' (quoted above), having, like it, a straightforward description of the workings of the new device:

"Cepar agus cruaidhe fuaigheilte gu réidh
Cnò itean air an uachdar gus nach gluais 's
nach géill. . .

Bataraidh 'ga shuathadh 's sradag uaine leum."

His poem on the H-bomb is a serious poem on a modern phenomenon that has frightening implications, but his viewpoint on it is not so radical as Donald MacIntyre's--Domhnall Ruadh, as an old soldier, laments more that it has spoiled combat, much as poets like John Roy Stuart resented the use of guns in preference to swordplay at Culloden.

Domhnall Ruadh seems to have been coerced into composing poetry--lyric poetry--by the traumatic experience of the First World War and, having thereby discovered his ability to control poetic form and--what is probably even more important--having acquired a reputation in his locality as a poet, he became his village's bard. Towards the end of his life, he composed a series of seven reflective poems. There is precedent enough for this in the case of earlier bards, but Domhnall Ruadh is somewhat exceptional in

that he composed so many and that the philosophy in them is so personalised. He vividly conveys the sad hopelessness of being old:

"Chuala mi 'n giadh a' tighinn o'n iar
 'S amach dha'n an t-sliabh sheòl e,
 Chaidh siodach mar sgiàn 'nam chridhe gu fìor
 Is dh' fhàg e mo chiall brònach.
 Tha mise nis dall, cha ghluais mi ach mall
 Tha mi 'na mo cheann neònach. . ."

('Oran a' Gheòidh').

In his poems on death, he philosophises on the subject but also--in a manner reminiscent of William MacKenzie--he imagines, in concrete detail, the physical consequences of the event to himself:

"Chan fhaic mi rionnag 's an uaigh
 Chan eil tuar gun éirich grian. . ."

('Bha Dùil agam mus Faighinn Bàs');

it is this strongly empirical basis to his reflections on old age and death that makes these poems so valid. They are by no means merely versifications of commonplace philosophy; they code what it is like to be old and decrepit and were--like his World War I poems--composed not because his community required them of him, but because his mind was obsessed with the subject:

"Tha bàs is uaigh is sìorruidheachd
 Ag iadhadh orm gun tàmh"

('Smuaintean 'nam Shean Aois').

RELIGIOUS POETRY

With the exception of some of Rob Donn MacKay's satiric poems, the only considerably body of poetry in Gaelic prior to the 20th century that had much philosophical content was religious poetry--mainly written, it appears, by members of the Presbyterian Churches. Instead of being analyses of the poet's experience of life, however, most of these religious poems are merely versification--for mnemonic and popularising purposes--of traditional Christian dogma and Biblical history: singular exceptions to this assessment are the personal involvement and detailed vision of Dugald Buchanan, the introspective John Morrison (Iain Gobha), and Peter Grant's exuberant "rejoicing in the Lord". In the 20th century, the

majority of religious poetry published continues to be compendia of conventional truths. The aim is usually to instruct and evangelise, as this introductory verse to the poem 'Tròcair Dhé' by Donald MacKinnon ('Durachd mo Chridhe/Dàin Spioradail', 1938) makes clear:

"Nach truagh nach robh mi 'na mo bhàrd
 'S air mo chuideachadh le Gràs;
 Lùiginn a bhi 'g inns' do chàch,
 Mu 'n t-slàinte sin tha nasgaidh dhuinn."

With these religious poets, as with the bards, the ability to give eloquent and persuasive expression to conventional observations was more highly regarded than psychological insight or intellectual originality.

Significantly, several of the best known Gaelic religious poets were bards³⁷ also (usually in their youth) and, in addition, elegies³⁸ to divines in this century, as in the 19th, are very similar in style to the bardic eulogistic elegies to chiefs and magnates.

Generally, Gaelic religious poetry--like bardic verse--is "poetry of the will": that is, the subject is consciously chosen, and logically and discursively developed and ornamented with versification, rhyme, and imagery. This fact is superficially demonstrated by the denotative incongruity of the imagery. Jessie Matheson's 'M' Fhear-tìghè 's m' Fhear-còmhnaidh' is an example:

"Théid na h-ainglean mach a thionail
 A chuid chaorach stigh do 'n chrò,
 'S théid gach aon dhiubh 'n sin a sheuladh
 Is an eudachadh chum glòir."

Saoilidh mi gu 'n cluinn mi 'n t-òran,
 Bhios aig a' chòmhlàn ud, 's an ceòl,
 A' seinn 's a' moladh Rìgh Iehòbhadh
 Airson Chrìosd' thoirt dhaibh 'san fheadail."

Among the Gaelic religious poetry of this century, however, there are several--obviously inspired by Peter Grant's popular hymns--in which the poet expresses not a theological maxim but his own joy in the faith; an example is 'Taisbeanadh' by Roderick MacKinnon ('Ar Slànuighear/Dàin Spioradail. 1932), which is, significantly, set to the tune of Peter Grant's ebullient 'Tha Sìon a' Seinn". It begins:

"O seinnibh mì dân 's cha nàr leam aithris,
 An gràdh tha lasadh am' chridh;
 Do 'n fhear a tha ghnàth gu h-àrd 's na flaitheis,
 Mar fhàidh, 's mar shagart, is rìgh."

A very few poets/poetesses have recorded their feelings of despair and concern over their eventual salvation--a much more common experience³⁹ among members of the Calvinistic Churches than its incidence in religious poetry reflects. 'Gur Tric a Bhios Mi Cuimhneachadh' by Catherine Campbell ('Laoidhean Ghàidhlig le Catriona Caimbeul'. Ca. 1960), an interesting poem in which the sea-image is consistently maintained almost throughout, is an example of this:

"Bidh sinn dol domhainn sìos mar sin
 'S ag éirigh suas gu nèamh;
 'S zon stoirm ma ghabhas seachad
 Bidh t' éile faisg 'na déich. . ."

James Thomson and Duncan Livingstone are almost certainly the best religious poets of this century: their work is discussed in the 'Experiments' section below. Of the rest, Christine MacLeod ('An Sìreadh', 1952) is the most interesting of the Presbyterian poets. Again, she describes her occasional bouts of despair, being less detached in her observations on it than Catherine Campbell. 'An Dubhsgaile' is a fine example:

"Gur doirbh a' chis an dubhsgaile
 'S ro chudthromach thar chàch.
 Os cionn gach dìth is uireasbhuidh
 Orr' uile thug i bàrr.
 Ged 's fhiosrach mi gur neo-ni i
 Seach cruas is sgrios nam blàr,
 Tha bioran innt' tha coimheach leam
 Aig moch-thràth 's deireadh là."

Much of her emotional uneasiness is a consequence of her intellectual curiosity:

"Ach thus' tha tric is mulad ort
 gun fhios dhuit ciod a ghnè;
 Strì intinn tric cur iomairt ort
 gu tuigsinn obair Dhé,
 Guth sèimh a ghnàth a' bruidheann riut
 mu ghlòir a' chruinne-cé,
 'S mu ghlòir air cùl a' chruinne sin
 tha doirbh a chur an céill.
 Tuigidh tu ged sìreadh tu
 gach uair an diugh 's an dé

Nach ruig thu ceann an t-sìridh sin
 gu raub na neòil bho chéil'" ('An Sìreadh');
 she is not, like the traditional Gaelic poets, content
 with uncritical acceptance and expression of dogma.
 She seeks more deeply after truth and this can result
 in doubts about the basic tenets of Christianity:

"Dia a' cheartais; Dia a' ghràidh
 'S aithne Dha mo chàs gach ám;
 Chan eil eagal orm roimh Dhia
 M' eagalsa,--'Bheil Dia ann?'" ('Dia'),

but she resolves these doubts, if only on a paradoxical,
 non-logical, even an "absurdist" level:

"Cha tuig mi e;
 Cha chreid mi e.
 Carson bhiodh Dia os cionn gach dé
 Gu dìoghaltach is suarach
 Mar bha an t-Iùdhach
 Dìblidh crìon
 Ag iarraidh dòrtadh fala?
 Is punnd de dh' fheòil
 An deòraidh truaigh
 Gu riarachadh a cheartais?

"Cha tuig mi e,
 Cha chreid mi e,
 A Dhé a' gràidh 's a' cheartais!"

What Christina MacLeod intelligently describes
 in these poems is not the Christian belief but the
 Christian experience. Mrs MacLeod also composed
 traditional bardic poetry--on herring, Lewis, and

love themes, with a large number on the First World War and, in particular, the Island men who gave their lives in it.

Very little Roman Catholic religious poetry has been published in this century in Gaelic. The most significant poet is certainly Father Allan MacDonald,⁴⁰ of Eriskay. He wrote several poems on the physical events on which the Christian religion is based (for example, the three 'Laoidh Nollaig' and 'Slighe na Croise'): these represent the main difference between his output and that of the Presbyterian poets. Generally, his reflections are as little personalised (witness his verse prayers) and as rigidly controlled by Church dogma ('Treibhdhireachd') as theirs, though he is often, as in 'Adhram Thu, Adhbhar mo Bhith', distinguished for his craftsmanship. Two religious poems by Father Allan, however, are exceptional.

In 'An t-Eòintean', the bird and the star (introduced as an image for the bird--"Thus' ad runnaig/Urlar glinne") are used as symbols in a sophisticated and imaginative way, for example:

"Fhuair an runnag

Shuas a gruinnead

Bith 'ga h-ionnlad anns a' chaoir;

Teas 'na mhire

Bhith 'ga nighe

Cleas òr buidhe faighinn caoin;

Anam duine

Dol gu fhulag

Nuair is gile an teas 'ga chlaoidh;

Reul na glainne

'S ainglidh lainnir

Thu 'nar sealladh air druim an t-saogh'1";

and:

"Caoineag chuimir

Bòidhchead glinne

Fosglaidh cridh, tionndaidh' ceann

Ris na saighdaibh

Gaoil 's na gathaibh,

Grian 'gan caitheamh nuas 'nan deann."

The psychological insights in this poem are original and acutely sensitive, the coherent persistence of the central image-complex very remarkable.

The second of Father Allan's poems which is of unusual poetic worth is the striking short piece, 'Bha Ceòthragach Mìn am nuigh' with its Symbolist and mystical overtones:

"Bha ceòthragach mìn am nuigh,

'S cha chluinnteadh osna na gaoith,

Bha solus an latha mùchte,

'S cha mhuthachainn guth nan daoine;

Thàinig cianalas air m' anam

Thog mi mo cheann bhàrr na cluasaig;

Cha do shiubhail an anail ach ainneamh,

'S bu làidir mo chridhe a' bualadh;

Tha fuaim 'nam chluais 's nam cheann

A tha fàgail gailt air mo chridhe,
 Mar cheum nam mìltean ag imeachd 'san ùr-shneachd
 Dol gu gleac as nach till iad."

These two poems of Father Allan's are exceptional for their time in Gaelic and--under any circumstances--excellent poems.

Father Allan was also a fine traditional bard. His 'Eilean na h-Oige' is still very widely known and his verse dramas on local trivial incidents ('Pàrlamaid nan Cailleach' and 'An Gaisgeach fo Uidheam Réitich') vital and are an interesting development on the traditional bardic poetry.

EXPERIMENTS: "POETRY AS KNOWLEDGE"⁴²

I have discussed above two of the motivating forces behind the composition of poetry, namely the existence in a community of a particular social function--here of entertainer and spokesman--which the poet has to fulfil and, secondly, the subconsciously induced psychotherapeutic effects of the exercise. A further motivation--a more modern one--is the awareness by an individual--and ideally of his community also--of the valid and special knowledge of human life which poetry can discover and communicate. The difference between the poetry produced by this motivation and the more formal methods for the study of the human condition--such as philosophy, sociology, and psychology--lies in the following facts:

(a) poetry can use the connotative as well as the denotative extension of the lexicon; (b) proceeding as it does by intuitional insights, it is not restricted by the rigidity of sequential logic; and (c) unlike traditional moral philosophy in particular, poetry is firmly rooted in the actual and particular rather than in the conceptual and general, in the individual's experience rather than his cerebrations. It is the duty of "pure" (as distinct from historicist) literary criticism to extract from this poetry its content of knowledge and to present this in the more universally comprehensible terms of conceptual logic.

Compared to the other two categories, this latter type of poetry is almost always a more selfconscious practice and thrives in a cultural climate in which literary criticism is highly developed: because of this, virtually all technical experimentation and innovation in poetry is confined to this category. In Gaelic before the 20th century, it has only been among the trained clan bards of the 12th to 17th centuries that literary criticism was practised to any appreciable extent and their criticism, in fact, confined itself to prosodic standards, stopping short of assessment of a poem's perceptual excellence (or lack of it). Of the 18th century poets, Rob Donn MacKay was the only one, with the possible exception of MacDonald, to express an apparently strongly-held and consciously formulated theory of poetry⁴³ (that it must disinterestedly seek to portray truth) and his poetry is, significantly,

the only substantial body of pre-20th century poetry to attempt to critically analyse and evaluate (against the yard-stick not of Pope's Reason but of Christian charity) the lives of the people he knew; substantially all the other Gaelic poems of this period are philosophical poems only in a limited sense (assessed as poetry, not as philosophy): they give often eloquent expression to religio-philosophical generalisations, not to the poet's experience.

There were several reviews of contemporary publications in the periodicals of Dr Norman MacLeod in the first half of the 19th century, but the first considerable body of criticism of contemporary Gaelic literature did not appear until the era of 'Guth na Bliadhna' (the early decades of the 20th century). As regards poetry, the two most important contributions of this kind were undoubtedly the series of articles on 'Bàrdachd an Là an Diugh' by Calum MacFarlane, which appeared between 1908 and 1910 ('Guth na Bliadhna', V-VII), and an article, 'Inbhe ar Bàrdachd' by Donald Sinclair which was published in 1916 (XIII).

MacFarlane discussed the work of contemporaries of his own--most of them were active in the late 19th century rather than the 20th--such as Evan MacColl, Donald Mackenzie, Neil MacLeod, John MacFadyen, Henry Whyte (and other translators), and several unpublished bards. He stated in his introduction that he would not condemn a poem merely because its style was novel to Gaelic nor condemn new influences merely

because they were from English literature and he adhered to these commendable--and, at this time, very rare--principles. But he seems rather too uncritical of the new Romantic and humorous poetry of the city-Gaels--this was, of course, the type of poetry MacFarlane himself composed.

The standards set out by Sinclair in his essay, 'Inbhe ar Bàrdachd', are considerably more exacting than those of MacFarlane. He insisted that the Gaels must try to evaluate the status of their poetry--not, as was the practice of the time, against the other branches of Gaelic literature, but against the standard of English literature. On that criterion, Sinclair contended, Gaelic poetry was sadly lagging: "Anns a cheud àite, cha'n eil uidhir de cheol 'na chuid bàrdachd-san 's a tha againn-ne, air neo dh' fhaodamaid a ràdh nach eil uidhir de dhragh aige-san air rèim 's a tha againn-ne. Mar sin, cha'n eil e cho trom air na h-òrain, na luinneagan, agus na duanagan 's a tha sinn-ne. Ach, mur a bheil e sin, tha e an geall air a dhol na's àirde agus na's doimhne na tha sinn-ne ann an seadh agus brìgh bhàrdail."

He attacked the unmitigated naturalism that is typified by 'Moladh Beinn Dóbhrainn' ("Tha 'Beinn Dóbhrainn' as eugmhais na lèirsinn annanta sin a thogas nìthean talmhaidh os cionn 'mcnadh fada réidh'"); the great emphasis laid on expressive polish at the expense of sense (of the bardic war and humorous songs

he says disparagingly--"Chè'n eil an sin ach 'bruidheann'"); the consequent tendency to accumulation of adjectives; and the attitude that singing is the most proper medium for the communication of Gaelic poetry--rather than print. He mentioned, as a partial explanation of the gap between English and Gaelic poetry, the fact that the Gaelic poets have generally had little formal education, making the very sane observation that learning, while it cannot by itself make a poet, can help a poet develop his native talent.

He gave his own definition of the ideal function of the poet--". . .gur e bàrd neach air an do bhuilich an Crutheadair buadhan àraidh inntinn, meanmna agus anma a tha a' toirt comais dha an Fhìrinn Mhór a léirsinn agus fhaireachduinn, agus a léirsinn agus a' fhaireachduinn aiseag chugainn-ne cho fìor-dhìleas 's a dh' fhaodas e am briathran beòil."

Sinclair also expresses here the importance of the Gaelic poets' looking for inspiration not in exotic literatures (such as Greek), but in the early Celtic literature and culture. The conjunction of this emphasis on the importance of achieving a "blas Ceilteach" with Sinclair's mysticism⁴⁴ reminds us at once of the writings of Yeats's early Celtic Twilight period, which Sinclair almost certainly would have read.

Sinclair was not able to put his sophisticated and demanding critical dicta into effective practice, but his poetry does show the results of some experimentation

and, generally, an intelligent care in the choice and application of words which is exceptional. His poems were published mostly in 'Guth na Bliadhna', the first ('Faicileag an Droch Chladaich') appearing in 1913 (X). A poem of his, 'Slighe nan Seann Seun'--a lament for the old and disappearing culture of the Highlands--was published in Maurice Lindsay's 'Modern Scottish Poetry/An Anthology of the Scottish Renaissance' (1946; 2nd ed. 1966), with a Scots translation by Hugh MacDiarmid: it was probably through the mediation of Sorley MacLean, who very much admired Sinclair's poetry, that it was brought to MacDiarmid's--and thereby to Lindsay's--notice.

Sinclair was an electrical engineer and spent most of his working life in England and the Lowlands of Scotland. His poems to his native Barra, however, are only marginally in the Gaelic Romantic tradition--he had little of that tradition's glorification of the past and its weakly diffused nostalgia. Sinclair's poems express the feelings of a genuine nature lover who had to live in the city, the feelings of a man who, like Wordsworth, felt he was capable of meaningful communion with nature. His robust love of nature is illustrated by this verse from 'Fàilte a' Chuain' (XV, 1918):

"O, Shaoghail! an t-saorsa, an t-anam
 'Tha dùsgadh, a' lasadh am chom
 Ri beò-ghuth, ri luasgadh na mara,
 Ri àilleadh, ri anail nan tonn",

and by this other from a poem to Barra in which, in Romantic fashion, a love theme is also involved:

"Tiugainn, tiugainn, tiugainn cò' rium
 Gu ruig ceòl-thìr gheal no ghaoil,
 'S caitheam sgìl is sgoil is stòras
 Gu toil stròghalach nan gaath"

(*'An t-Siorruig'*, XVI, 1919).

In many of his other nature poems, Sinclair uses words with economy and intelligence, as in the last example. The following verse demonstrates this quality and also exemplifies the uncommon degree of imagination shown by him in his treatment of nature themes:

"Is ùror blàth sa mhaduinn chiùin
 A' fosgladh sùl a clò;
 Is ùror rìbhinn gheal mo rùin
 An dreach fo chrùn a h-òig';
 Is ùror dorsan dait' an là
 'Nan lasair-smàl le bòidhch';
 Ach ùroireachd is sin tha 'bhàrr
 Air àilleachd Loch na h-Ob"

(*'Loch na h-Ob'*, 1915)

Sinclair's Romanticism has more in common with that of Wordsworth than that of the other city-ridden Gaelic poets: a nascent pantheism is apparent behind lines like "An sian tha 'g iathach bhàgh" (*'Innse Ra-Soluis'*), "Dhòmhsa tha seadh 'na ar luath-ghair" (of the waves in *'Fàilte air a' Chuan'*) and, particularly, the poem *'An Duradan Duslaich'* (XIV, 1917), in which he affirms

a special kinship with Mother Earth that culminates in this address to the speck of dust--"A' Ghaineamh, is bràithrean sinn."

The line from this poem, "Le doille-dheil ag iarraidh cridh' a gnath"--on his own poetic vision--gives an example again of Sinclair's linguistic experimentation and consequent conciseness and also of the fine poetic insights which are found intermittently in his work.

Sinclair's longest poem is 'Là na Seachd Sion' [XXII-XXIII(1915-1916)], a description of a storm and of the plight of the crew of the fishing boat 'Ealasaid'. This poem is almost a thousand lines long and divided into seven sections and a conclusion, an appropriate metre being used for each section. The obvious inspiration for it was Alexander MacDonald's epic, 'Birlinn Clainn Raghnaid'. Like the older poet, Sinclair personifies the elements and, in that and in his descriptions generally, reveals a degree of imagination⁴⁵ as well as naturalistic descriptive skill that is hard to parallel in Gaelic outside the work of MacDonald himself. There is a graphic description of the boat's weathering of the storm, in which the versification is skilfully used to abet the description:

"A fiacail ghlan bu chàileachdach
A' treabhadh leugan gàbhailta,
B' e sin gu tric a shàbhail i
Is muir is bàs 'g a' ruaig.

Fo spàirn na dòruinn' bharraichte
 Gun chreanaich seòl 's cha b'annasach,
 Aig fàitheam leòid bha 'n canabhas
 A' brath air tighinn o' chéil";

and passages of extravagant description in which, as with MacDonald's image of the white wave-tops being the shattered brains of sea monsters, the imagination runs riot. Two examples of this, the first somewhat more restrained than the second are:

- (a) "Chrith talamh is adhar le maoin
 Mar dhuilleach air craoibh roimh 'n deò,
 Stad anail na gaillin 'na cliabh
 'N uair chuel i mór-bhriathar mhic neòil.
 Oir b' esan ard-labhraich nan sion
 'N uair rachadh an ciall 'o dhòigh;
 Ro-sheise do phoitear an t-sluaigh
 A' glaodhaich thar dhuan luchd-òil";
- (b) "Dhùisg muir amh air leaba fiabhruis
 Air na laidh i riamh o thòs,
 Ghluais a nàdur madaidh iargalt',
 Thréig a ciall i 's chaill i dòigh."

The use of language in this poem is often terse and effective: "Air teine bha connadh donn-ruadh/A' cath eadar fuachd is blàths", "B' ùr-sgàinte aghaidh nan creag", "Bu chianail smacin-mhosglach an sealladh", etc.

This creative usage of words is evident also in 'Innse Ra-Soluis', one of the best of Sinclair's nature poems. His starting point is the physical whiteness of the moonlight on the Isles and on the sea (as he imagines

it from the South), but he develops this into a conception of a somewhat magical atmosphere surrounding the Isles ("an sian tha 'g iadhadh bàgh"), basing this thematic development on the fact that the word "geal" means both "white" and "lucky":

"Geal an Tabh gu fois air sioladh--
Sgàthan fìor gach iomhaigh àill';
Geal do mhac an ròin a bhriag-riochd,
Geal d' a chuilein gnìomh air snàmh".

It is his feeling for words and the vital flashes of his imagination that distinguish Sinclair from the other Gaelic poets of his time, since his subject matter is usually very traditional, comprising mostly descriptions of natural phenomena or praise poems to his homeland and race (e.g. 'Gairm Dùsgaidh', 1917). He did, however, compose at least three philosophical poems: two are in conventional dialogue form-- 'Faoileag an Droch Chladaich' and 'Creag nan Sgarbh' (XX:1, Spring 1915), which merely verbalise trite reflections on aspects of the Islanders' life. They are both, however, more artistically disciplined (e. g. they do not contain a humorous prelude) than the corresponding poems by John Mac Fadyen and 'Creag nan Sgarbh', in particular, ends well:

"Dh' fhalbh am bàrd is e air gnèus
Is thog e 'n t-sèisd air reir a smaoin."

The other philosophical poem published in 'Guth na Bliadhna' was 'Long nan Daoine (XIX, 1924). The

central image is a traditional one:

"Chunna mise Long nan Daoine

'Ruith nan tonn air cuan an t-saoghail",

and the philosophy is, in the main, traditional also:

"Fear a' dìreadh ri crann sòlais,

Fear a' teàrnadh gu clàr bhòrda",

but the assimilation of native folklore material--e.g. this verse from an actual folk love song--is neatly done:

"Fear 'na toiseach 's e sior-chaoineadh,

Fear 'na deireadh 's e sior-ghlaodhaich",

and, in a verse or two, the predictable generalisations are replaced by a concrete image of startling precision and applicability:

"Boinn' o rosg air broilleach màthar,

Air bhàrr urla [ùrla?] cùirnein gàbhaidh".

Sinclair shows more metrical versatility than was prevalent among his contemporaries among Gaelic poets or, in fact, among traditional bards (with the exception of Donald MacIntyre) until the present. In one poem at least ('Tìr mo Dhùthcha', XIX, 1924), he uses a very much freer metrical and rhyme scheme than traditional prosody would tolerate:

"'S e th' air m' aire-sa 'san uair,

Guth is duan ud a' chuain Bharraich,

Cuireadh innisean mo luaidh;

Buan-mhaise mo dhùthcha."

In 1917, an attempt was made to set up a properly constituted 'Comunn nam Bàrd Albannach', of which

Sinclair was to be the Secretary. The aims of the society as set out in its constitution were as follows:

- "1) a bhi a' brosnuchadh agus a' cur an céill
Ealainean Bàrdachd agus Dàin-cheòl na Gàidhlighe;
- "2) a bhi a' treòrachadh adhartais agus
gnàthachadh na Gàidhlighe, a litreachas agus
a min-oilean."

Sinclair himself, in an article in 'Guth na Bliadhna', explained that the reason for the institution of this society was--"air chòir agus gu' m buannaich ar bàrdachd agus ar dān-cheòl ann an toradh agus an aghartas an aonta ri ar n-inbhe mar chinneadh oileanta, agus mar shluagh a chumas ar ceum féin ri caismeachd nan àm." But this society received little support and produced no tangible results.

It seems that the admittedly restricted experimental achievement of Sinclair's poetry was widely ignored--perhaps because not recognised--at his time. H.F. Campbell's article on contemporary Gaelic literature in 'An Deo-Gréine' in 1916 lamented the death or unproductive old age of all the "great" poets of the late 19th and early 20th centuries such as Neil MacLeod, MacFadyen, and Whyte, commenting anxiously on the apparently complete absence of worthy successors; and, in 'An Deo-Gréine' for June 1919 (XIV:9, p. 142), an anonymous letter led with the question, "A bheil na Bàird Ghaidhealach 'nan cadal?"

If the situation had been as bad in 1919--just after the War--as this letter implied, then Gaelic poetry would indeed have been in a sorry state. The First

World War produced--in virtually all the literatures of Europe--a new radical attitude to the form, subject matter, and function of poetry. Previous wars had in the main involved professional armies fighting battles far from home according to a chivalric code of conduct: the European War of 1914-18 involved large sections of the civilian population and witnessed unparalleled brutality (including the use of poison gas) and dishonour on both sides. Its literary consequence was, chiefly, a growing scepticism--corroborated by the Freudian demonstration of the large part played in the formulation of decisions by the subconscious--about the value of the rational processes of deduction, a scepticism which became a subject for literature in itself but, more fundamentally, also produced a new approach to the plastic and literary arts. This new approach is usually referred to as Surrealism and involves the use in art of the emanations of the subconscious, subjected to as little control as possible from the conscious mind: Surrealism was not an active factor in Gaelic literature until the 1950's and following. The more immediate of the effects which the First War had on the European literatures was, however, operative on the Gaelic literature of the time--this was the more permissive attitude towards new forms and subject matter and a more radical thought content.

John Munro and Murdo Murray--both natives of Lewis--were University men who fought on the battlefield for most of the war (Munro was killed in April 1918).

Munro's poetry--his total surviving output, published in James Thomson's 'An Dìleab', 1932, comprises three poems, totalling less than 100 lines, all composed during the war--is, as to content, more akin to the work of the English patriotic poet of the First War, Rupert Brooke, than to that of the poets like Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon, whose attitudes to war in general, the conduct and motives for this war in particular, and to the civilian life they left behind was given a radical bent by their experiences in the trenches. But Munro interestingly broke away more radically even than Owen and Sassoon from the traditional prosodic modes. For example, in 'Ar Tìr', a poem describing his return to the Highlands on leave-- a poem fully traditional as to subject and attitude-- he varies the length and metrical pattern of his lines in order to corroborate his verbal description rhythmically:

"Brat shneachda air mullach nam beann,
Currachd caòtha mar liath-fhalt m' an ceann,
Feadainn is sruthain mòintich
A' leum 's a' dòrtadh,

'S le torman a' sporghail measg garbhloch nan gleann."

The last line is extremely effective in conveying the turbulent haste of the river: it is all the more effective coming after the tidier, more ponderous rhythms of the first four lines.

The poems 'Ar Gaisgich a Thuit's na Blàir' and 'Air Sgàth nan Sonn', though not in fully-fledged

vers libre, also show a commendable degree of freedom from the straight-jacket of the Gaelic prosodic conventions. In the first part of 'Air Sgàth nan Sonn', for example, though the rhyme scheme is based on the ù and ò sounds so popular with Gaelic bards, the incidence of either sound is varied to produce a sound pattern that is not at all tedious:

"Air sgàth nan sonn nach fhaic mo shùil
 Tuilleadh ri m' bheò,
 'S nach cuir blàth-phlac gu m' chridh' ni 's mò,
 Le greim an làmh le tlàths an gnùis,
 Le fàilt is furan am beòil".

Murdo Murray's importance as a poet is based almost entirely on one poem, 'Luach na Saorsa';⁴⁶ it is in conventional versification (the Burnsian stanza), but within these bounds achieves a near colloquial rhythm. What is most significant about the poem, however, is not its metrics, but the radical attitude to the war which underlies part of it. The poem focuses our attention on one incident, a few crucial seconds in the course of the war--that is, the few seconds after a bullet is fired into the enemy trenches from the poet's gun:

"Stad tamull beag, a pheileir chaoimh,
 Tha 'dol gu d' uidhe; ged is faoin
 Mo cheist--am bheil 'nad shraon
 Ro-ghuilleag bàis?--
 'M bheil bith tha beò le anam caoin
 Ro-sgart' o thàmh?"

In the second verse, the poet--moving completely away from the traditional bardic approach to war poetry--shows that he feels genuine sympathy for the widow and orphans which the bullet he has fired may have created. The poem's dramatic immediacy and the emotional--as distinct from purely intellectual--importance to the poet of resolving the central philosophical issue of his poem--that is, the justification for the killing--make 'Luach na Saorsa' a most interesting poem. But to the central question:

"An urras maith do chlann nan daoine"

Thu guin a' bhàis, le d' ruinn bhig chaoil,

A chur am broilleach fallain laoiach

'San àr-fhaich fhuair?"

Murray lamely gives the conventional patriotic answer:

". . . 's uil' iad iobairt-saors' o' n Aird,

Tro 'n Bhàis thig SUAIDH".

One felt in the preceding three verses that the poet was feeling his way towards expressing a supra-national kinship with the enemy whom he had killed, a kinship which would make war and its values quite meaningless. This was the attitude that Owen had arrived at when he wrote 'Strange Meeting', in which the dead soldier tells the poet in a dream: "I am the enemy you killed, my friend." It seems to me that the ending of Murray's poem--though no doubt psychologically comforting the poet--conflicts in tone with the rest of the poem.

The poetic output of Murray and Munro is severely limited as to bulk and even as to literary merit

(whether that is judged purely on the degree of innovatory success or is judged absolutely). Their importance lay in their influence on later poetry. Though some of their poems were published in the 'Stornoway Gazette' towards the end of the war and Murray's 'Luach na Saorsa' in the 1920 edition of MacBain's 'Gaelic Reader', the first significant publications of Murray's and Munro's poetry was in 'An Dileab' (ed. James Thomson, 1932; 2nd ed. 1936); this was used widely in schools as a supplementary textbook and must be reckoned to have played an important part in later more substantial poetic experiments in Gaelic.

T.D. MacDonald's⁴⁷ 'Dàin agus Dealbhan-Fhacail an Am a' Chogaidh' (ca. 1919) is an example of a considerably larger body of poetry which was coloured by the experience of the war, even though MacDonald himself did not serve in this war. Some of the poetry is in the traditional hortatory style of the bardic war poetry (for example, 'A' Bhratach tha Dearg, Geal is Gorm', 'Creideamh', 'Trusadh nan Gaidheal a Tìrean Céin', etc.), but in many other poems, though they are written in this same discursive style, he expresses a viewpoint on the war that is quite different from the conventional bardic one. In the poem 'Maighdeanan a' Chogaidh', for example, he deprecates the way in which the "pride of race" (so fondly praised by the bards) is helping to make men and women into brutish beasts:

"Fuil air a' chlaidheamh! fuil-ruadh an t-sùil!
Gun mhothachadh a mhòr-chuis tha

A gineadh miann a' bhrùid 's na h-uil'
 A h-aon bu chòir 'bhi caoibhneil blàth:
 Gamhlas, uail, is sannt a' chridhe
 A' fàs is uaibhreachas na strì";

he shows himself on several occasions to be intimately conscious of the suffering and destruction caused by the war and, though in the main he rounds off these poems--as Murdo Murray did 'Luach na Saorsa'--by stating that the slaughter and destruction is justified, for the British soldiers, by the consummate righteousness of the cause they are fighting for, there are a few verses in which this reasoning is viewed with some scepticism:

"Innleachdan dhaoine a' cur as do dhaoin',
 Diorasachd nàmhaidhean ri chèile--
 A' strì air son ceann, 's gach aon anns a' gheall
 Gu bheil iad na 's ceart na 'n taobh eile"
 ('Imcheist a' Chogaidh').

Again, MacDonald, while, like the bards, praising the Highland Regiments, differs radically from them by questioning the cause that they in particular--the Gaels--are fighting for:

"An fhuil a dhòirteadh air son saors'
 'S na dùthch'n nan fada thall,
 An ceannaich e iad féin a daors'
 Nuair thilleas iad a nall?"

('Am a' Chogaidh is na Dhéidh').

While dealing with this same subject in another

poem, 'Leasain a' Chogaidh', MacDonald shows a concern for the slum-dwellers of Britain's great industrial centres that was only rarely expressed in poetry in any language until the writings of Hugh MacDiarmid, Stephen Spender, Auden and others in the late 1920's and, in particular, in the 1930's. The environment which MacDonald describes is the one which coerced the exiled bards into Romanticism but which they ignored in their poetry:

"An clobhsaichean dubh, salach, fuar'
 Bha iomadh aon diubh tàmh,
 Na dh' fhaoidte, shuas air staidhrichean,
 Le mosaiche a' cnàmh.

"Am baile mór--an saoghal mór--
 Bha iad am fangan oillt,
 Gun fharsuinneachd, gun tìoraileachd,
 Gun àite cluich aig cloinn."

In most of these poems, MacDonald ends by expressing conventional patriotic sentiments which often contradict, in spirit, if not in letter, the radical comments made earlier. Often these endings give the impression of being penitent retractions, possibly appended to the poem just before publication.

Some of MacDonald's poems are of considerable interest from the point of view of form as well as of content. The verse from 'Maighdeanan a' Chogaidh' quoted above (p. 335f.), for example, though laid out on the page in conventional format, actually reads as

vers libre. The beautifully simple 'An Lòn-dubh 'san Fhraing' is in a pleasingly unorthodox metre and can also be read as free verse (especially the third stanza):

"Ann an so, ri tuaisead
A measg muinntir céin,
Chuala mi 's an astar
Eun beag a' seinn.

"Eun beag a' seinn,
'S dh' aithnich mi a ghuth:
B' annsa leamsa riamh e--
An lòn-dubh.

"An lòn-dubh,
Binn mar a b' àbh'st:
Chuimhnich e mo dhachaidh
Dhòmh's an dràs'd'."

Considerable technical ingenuity is also demonstrated by the poem 'Aig an Tigh, is an Dùthchannan Eile', in which the idyllic tranquillity of the Highlands is juxtaposed interlineally with the filth and brutality of the trenches:

"An so--tha sealladh caoibhneil agus blàths an teine,
An sud--tha spreadhadh millteach a sìor ghlaodhaich
ruinne.

"An so--cùbhraidheachd nam blàth 's an Earraich
a' tighinn,
An sud--truailleidheachd a' bhàis le guth àrd
a' bruidhinn",

and also by the poem, 'An Àit-eiginn 's an Fhraing', in which, verse by verse, the theme is developed from "An àit-eiginn 's an Fhraing/The móran suinn 'n an laidhe'(the beginning of verse 1) through "An àit-eiginn fo 'n mhuir. . ." (verse 2) and "An àit-eigin an cridhe /Gach neach do 'n eòl an aithris" (verse 3) to "An àit-eiginn bi' sgrìobht'/An eachdraidh na cruinne,/ 'N leabhar-cuimhn an Tì is àird'. . ." (verse 4).

MacDonald, though some of his poems tend towards the discursive style of the bards, was clearly conscious that the true function of the poet (as distinct from the versifying sociologist/historian) is to accurately define his own experience and that of his contemporaries and he was fully aware of how elusive that subject can be. He expresses this idea very subtly in 'An Guth a tha mu 'n Cuairt', probably his best, certainly his least polemical poem. These are the first four verses:

"Tha ceòl bhinn anns an astar
Tha eadar mi 's an cuan;
Ag éirigh measg nam beanntan,
Is anns na coilltean uain'.

"Séis--

Cha'n urrainn dhomh a chantainn,
Ach cluinnidh mi am fonn;
Cha'n aithne dhomh na facail,
Ach tuigidh mi am bonn.

"Air feasgar ciùin an t-samhraidh,
 'S an cìteig ghrinn the siùbh'1,
 Tha cagar binn a' sanais
 Nan tachairtean 'nam chluais,
 Cha'n urrain, etc.

"An gaillionn fuar a' gheamhraidh
 The éigheach agus ràn,
 Mar ghuth a' feuchainn aithris
 Air nì a dheanadh dân.
 Cha'n urrainn, etc."

In 1921, MacDonald published a sequel to 'Dàin is Dealbhan-Fhacail', titled 'An Déidh a' Chogaidh'. In the introduction to this collection, he answered the cavils of reviewers who had attacked the innovations he had introduced--in versification, subjects, and even in spelling--in the first collection. He seems to take these criticisms very seriously, claiming--"tha'n cumhainneachd inntinn so a cumail móran air ais bho oidhirpean a dh' fhaodadh a bhi air an deanamh air sgàth na Gàidhlig." In terms reminiscent of Sinclair's, he claimed that the majority of the readers of Gaelic poetry paid attention only to versification and the poem's ability to be sung rather than to its subject matter ("brìgh nam facal"). Probably as a reaction to these criticisms, the poetry in 'An Déidh a' Chogaidh' is almost militantly topical and socially concerned, though the versification is more conventional than that of the first book: the return of the soldiers is welcomed and the political situation at home and abroad reviewed

in detail, but the result is sociology (albeit in verse) rather than poetry.

The same is largely true of the political poetry of Angus Morrison ('Dàin agus Grain Ghàidhlig', [1929]). Morrison's aims were clearly much loftier than those of the village bards. He composed conventional eulogies not to the worthies of the neighbourhood but to nationally known personages such as Earl Haig and David Lloyd George, and an elegy on William Gladstone. His poems on the political events of his day include a number of Scottish National poems, 'Sìth an Eirinn', 'Smuaintean air Mórachd Impireachd Shreathuinn', and 'Air Taghadh Fear Pàrlamaid an Siorramachd Rois--1910'. These, like his elegies and eulogies to politicians reflect little application of the imagination or emotional involvement in the ideas discussed. The following lines from the last-mentioned poem are characteristic:

"'Illeathanaich bho Chluaidh,
 Fine uasal bha tartarach,
 Carson a chuir thu cùlaibh
 Rì gnàthan do shinnsire,
 Ga thagh an t-slighe chuagaich,
 Is oillteil na 'Unionists',
 Is miann leam a' cheist fhaighneachd,
 'Tarriff Reform' gur sin do bhòd,
 Gur gràineil leam an ealaidh ud. . ."

Morrison also composed on philosophical themes-- few of which are more successfully synthesised with his experience

than his political subjects: they include 'An Post', 'Bàs an "Cileanaich"', etc. Even his humorous poems and nature poems are sententious: some of the former, in fact, such as 'Dòmhnall Ruadh 's na h-Uibhean' (a parody of 'Tam o' Shanter') seem to be fictional narrative poems rather than humorous descriptions of actual incidents. Morrison's 'Céilidh Samhna' is a long (ca. 500 words) narrative poem in which an old man tells a story of his youth. It uses rhymed couplets and was obviously intended as a short epic, but neither the story nor central character are of epic proportions.

Angus Robertson's 'Cnoc an Fhradhair', published in 1940, was another undertaking of epic scope. The poem is over 1000 lines long and was an attempt to describe "the ethos of his race". It begins with scenic description that is pervaded with neo-Platonic mysticism, then proceeds to tell, as a dream, of the life of the Highlanders in the past--their social customs, literature, and history--finishing the poem with a quick summary of Celtic history (legendary and authenticated), including the Dagda, Finn, the Druids, Tir nan Og legends, and Columba and the Christian era. He frequently interrupts his narrative to reflect philosophically on the incidents he has just described: this philosophy has a distinctly proverbial flavour, e. g.--

"Nach ann mar sin tha cuid de 'n t-saoghal--
 Ma bheir e thaobh, 's an car asad--
 Nuair theicheas uipinn leis a' ghaoith,
 Cha chuirear suim 'n ad chomhairle?"

and again--

"Is taitneach leis an làimh an àbh'st;
 Bidh fear na dàlach, carraideach--
 Cha mhair a' mhaduinn ré an là;
 No dreach air ceàird nach amais air."

The poet's philosophical observations are not particularly original in most cases. As a writer, Robertson resembles Donald Sinclair, a personal friend of his, in several ways: both made a deliberate attempt to glean old and disappearing words and expressions and to use them in their work. A result of this interest in language was the fact that the prose style of both of them became very aureate and rhythmic and, in many passages, turgid and obscure. Sinclair's poetry is distinguished by a creative use of language rather than by its thought content. Similarly Robertson, though he often verges on obscurity in this poem, shows much more conscious craftsmanship in his use of words than was customary with the bards (or even with the other epic writers), whose salient characteristic is a glib facility of expression. Robertson's style is more effective when he is using figurative language, as here:

"Gach linne, loch is iomad ì--
 Bha 'n àille sìd' so-fhaicsinneach--
 Mar sheudan bean-na-bainne' air Lir,
 Is tulgadh tuinn 'g am paidireachd";

again:

"Tha tìm, le cuigeal is crois-iarn'

A' tomhas rian a' bheartachaidh,
 A thig bho'n chridhe dheilbheas gnìomh
 De'n chuid bheir fianuis altmhorach. . .";

and, finally:

"Bu taisgeal cridhe, àbhadh-ciùil
 A' tighinn bho shùil nan rionnagan
 Nuair sgaoileadh oidhche brat air stùc;
 'S a chaoineadh driuchd air bileagan".

Besides the title-poem, the book 'Cnoc an Fhradhairc' contained several shorter poems by Robertson--these comprise Romantic nature and love songs and a few humorous poems.

As with the poetry of Angus Morrison, a coincidence of lofty literary ambition and paucity of talent characterises the two main attempts during this century to produce traditional epic poetry in Gaelic. These were the Rev. Donald MacCallum's 'Dòmhnallan/Dàn an ceithir earrannan' (1925) and the Rev. Neil Ross's 'Armageddon' (1950).

MacCallum, taking his cue, no doubt, from the old Irish heroic tales, used heroic couplets for narration and more lively and singable metres, with shorter lines, for emotive speech. The first part ('Duan 1') describes the call to battle, the hero's parting from his beloved, his friend's death, the hero's receiving an award for gallantry, and his return to his sweetheart who, thinking him dead, has married another. The second part explains how the girl made this mistake, following the conventional epic pattern of describing first the climax of the action and filling in the background in a subsequent section of the poem. Parts 3 and 4 diverge from the

naturalistic style of the first half of the poem and describe allegorically the Domhnullan's enslavement to money, his worldly success, and his complementary emotional bankruptcy. His doctors give medicines and suggest travel and recreation, but he becomes happy only when the ghost of his dead soldier comrade tells him to renounce Mammon. Cunning and greed ('Seòlt' and 'Sannd') are personified and struggle with him-- these are the equivalent of the mythical "machinery" of the traditional Vergilian/Miltonic epic--and finally he dies, this incident also being described symbolically:

"Ach thàinig là,

'S a' mhìre bu chruaidh, 's am fac an sàr
 An sealladh so: Boelsebub, le straon
 Bu chunnartach, a' teachd air Fear a Ghaoil
 Emanuel, 's dha féin a' sireadh rùd
 Gu dol g'a chòmhnadh, bhris e chlaidheamh-mór,
 Is, feuch, 'n a eud, gun aige nì na b' fheàrr,
 A chridh a thaobh do thilg e 'n sùil an nàmh,
 Mar sin g'a dhalladh enns an uair. . ."

'Dòmhnallan' is almost 2000 lines long, but contains very few poetic insights or even memorably effective phrases. The story falls too rigidly into two distinct halves and the narration is, in the main, very prosaic, seldom conveying any feeling of excitement, tension, or grandeur.

Ross's 'Armageddon' (over 1000 lines) is a versified history of the Second World War up to the end of the Battle of Britain:⁴⁸ it is in no sense poetry. It

is certainly topical and full of information, but this information has been adduced, ordered, and expressed using the techniques of one of the scientific, logical methods for the study of human affairs--namely, the historian's. As defined at the beginning of this section, poetry's distinctive function is to give not information but knowledge of life--and it does so in a way that is distinguishable at several points from the scientific method. Neil Ross in this poem has merely used the external trappings of poetry to gild his historical account of the War. The following verse, for example, describes part of the Battle of Britain:

"Lùnasdal ochd 's aon deug thug Heinkel, Dornier,
Junkers,

Ionnsaigh air luingeis fo dhìon thar còrsachan
Thames agus Harwich;

Thaom iad spreadhaidhean aoig air Bournemouth,
Weymouth is Portland;

Tuilleadh cha till do 'n cairtealan seachd fichead inneal
a thàinig."

'An Déidh a' Chogaidh' (1921), 'Dòmhnallan' (1925), Morrison's 'Dàin is Orain' (1929), 'Cnoc an Fhradhairc' (1940), and 'Armageddon' (1950) represent a distinct and continuing avenue of development in Gaelic poetry.

These are all poems of epic grandeur and size, distinguished by strident topicality or merely by the ambitiousness of their scheme rather than by poetic insight, and inspired in the main by chauvinism rather than by the need of a poetic sensibility to express itself. This

avenue was, however, fortunately, not the only, or even the most important one along which Gaelic poetry has developed in the period since the First World War. Other poets attempted to give expression--not to world affairs of their time as in 'Armageddon'--but to their own experience of their time, to the way in which these affairs were moulding their personality: this is the distinctive knowledge that poetry can adduce and express. The roots of this development were in the 1920's-- in particular, in the Scottish Literary Renaissance.

Christopher Murray Grieve (better known now under his pseudonym of Hugh MacDiarmid) made his first significant contribution to Scottish letters with the publication of 'Northern Numbers', a series of three annual anthologies of new and mostly experimental Scottish poetry which he edited between 1920 and 1922. During the subsequent twenty-year period, at least, MacDiarmid was the main driving force behind all new literary developments in Scotland--both by the example of his own poetry and by his vigorous advocacy of a Scottish Literary Renaissance.

MacDiarmid's poetry comprises lyrics in Scots-- e.g. 'Sangschaw' (1925), 'A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle' (1926)--and, from the early 1930's on, verse-- mainly in English and on political or scientific themes-- which was becoming increasingly discursive and polemical (e.g. 'The First Hymn to Lenin'). His most widely acclaimed work--and the one most significant to a study

of Gaelic poetry--has almost certainly been 'A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle'. Long poems attempting to delineate the sensibility of a people or of the time are a feature of the first two decades of this century in English literature, Eliot's 'Wasteland' being the most successful and best known example. Unlike the 'Wasteland', which has a rigid, if heavily overlaid, philosophical framework, MacDiarmid's poem is a series of short lyrics, unified by discursive connecting links and, more importantly, by the persistence of the poem's central image--the thistle as a symbol of the various aspects of the Scottish sensibility. MacDiarmid's poem is in Lallans, in traditional Scots verse forms and is reminiscent in many aspects of the best in early Scots literature, but he also shows himself aware and ready to avail himself of the successful experiments made by his contemporary poets in other languages. As a consequence of the introversion of most Scots poetry at his time, MacDiarmid is often, in fact, too self-consciously cosmopolitan, quoting whole poems from Russian, French, and German (in Scots translation) and literally using words from foreign languages--these tendencies are also found, and for a similar reason, a decade or so earlier in the English poetry of Eliot and Pound. Many of the remarks made here on MacDiarmid's poem are also, significantly, apposite to much of the poetry of the Gaelic poet, Sorley MacLean.

MacDiarmid's campaign for a renaissance in Scottish letters was motivated largely by his political convictions .

and was conducted through his own periodicals--e.g. 'Scottish Chapbook' (1922), which had a Gaelic page edited by Alexander Nicolson, 'The Scottish Nation' (1923--), and 'The Voice of Scotland' (1938--)--through the press generally, and in published collections of his own literary criticism. His main emphasis was on the return to Lallans and Gaelic as literary media, on a return generally to the mainsprings of the Scots tradition by ignoring the romantics, and, complementarily, to the return to "grass roots", on an awareness and application of the best in world literature. MacDiarmid's example and enthusiasm soon attracted many followers: among the poets who were inspired by MacDiarmid to compose in Lallans some of the most important are Robert Garrioch, Sydney Goodsir Smith, Alexander Scott, Tom Scott, Albert Mackie, and Douglas Young. MacDiarmid's most fruitful influence is probably exemplified in Lewis Grassie Gibbon's trilogy 'A Scots Quair'. George Campbell Hay wrote both in Lallans and in Gaelic, though the latter was not his native tongue, and both Hay and Sorley MacLean clearly benefitted from the friendship⁴⁹ and inspiration of MacDiarmid.

Sorley MacLean was born in 1911 in Raasay off Skye, went to Portree High School and Edinburgh University where he took an Honours degree in English literature. Graduating from teachers' training college around 1935, he spent a short time teaching in Portree, but was teaching in an Edinburgh school during the year or two before the Second World War. MacLean's first publication, '17 Poems for 6d' (1940) was in

collaboration with the Lallans poet, Robert Garrioch. MacLean contributed eight poems to the collection, all but one of them (see below) reappearing later in 'Dàin do Eimhir is Dàin Eile' (1943). Significantly, this latter collection was edited by a group of four which comprised two Gaelic experts and Douglas Young and Robert Garrioch, two leading figures in the Lallans movement, and was published by William MacLellan, on whose enlightened patronage in the 1940's the success of the Scottish Renaissance was, to a considerable extent, laid.

The 'Dàin do Eimhir' section of the book comprises a total of forty-eight numbered poems.⁵⁰ All were inspired by the poet's love for 'Eimhir'--a name which probably stands for more than one actual woman⁵¹--and represent a conscious and systematic attempt to analytically describe the various facets and consequences of that love. The first ten poems, for example, represent almost as many aspects of the subject: the first deals with the girl's lack of sympathy with his intellectual preoccupations; the second with the relationship between love and reason; poems III, IV, and VIII lament the lack of concern over poverty and the Republican cause in Spain that is caused by his love for her; poem IX stresses her spiritual beauty (àilleachd t' anama); XI is a simple lyrical verse; X and XIII outline his poetic credo; and XIV is an example of Metaphysical⁵² style and dialectical acrobatics. These themes and approaches are returned to

again and again in the series. Sometimes they are qualified, sometimes refuted, sometimes extended or merely corroborated. Though the order of the poems is clearly not a haphazard one, it is equally clear that it was not imposed on the poems at some time after their completion--it is broadly the chronological order of composition. This is clear from Poem XX, for example:

"Nan robh an comas mar a b' àill lean,
le ealain fuaighte ri mo shàth-ghaol,
Cha n-e naoi deug an àireamh
no a leithid so de dhàintean. . ."

It is further demonstrated by the way in which, occasionally, a poem can be clearly seen to have inspired the following one, as with 'Na Sàmhlaidhean' (XXVIII), in which his poems are ghosts, and 'Coin is Madaidhean-allaidh' (XXIX), in which his unwritten poems are hounds of hell. Finally--and most interestingly of all--that their ordering is chronological is demonstrated by the subtle thematic change of emphasis towards the end. From LI' onwards, the girl's face (symbol of physical beauty) figures with increasing prominence (the long 'Tha aodann 'ga mo thathaich', LVII, being a climax) at the expense of the poet's praise of her character, his regret at her inability to understand his poetry, and his analysis of his own feelings. It is as though the love affair has physically terminated and he is writing from memory (LVII seems to confirm this), this supposition being further confirmed by the last

poem:

"chunna mi 'n cùl ruadh an raoir
's a bhathais shaoibhir bhòidheach.

"Chunna mi 'n cùl ruadh is dhùisg
seann roinneadh ùr 'nam fheòil-sa."

It seems that the majority of the poems in 'Dàin do Eimhir' were composed between 1937 and the early years of the war (in Poem LX MacLean refers to himself as a soldier). The length of the period involved is documented in the retrospective poem, 'Dàin Eile',

XXIII:

"Thug Yeats dà fhichead bliadhna
gu tric 's cruaidh a' fiachainn
ri annas aon aodainn
chur an caoine bhriathran.

"Thug mise còrr 's dà bhliadhna
am faoine a' cheart fhiachainn. . ."

and the dating is corroborated by the second verse of 'Dàin Eile: XVIII' ('An Dun-Eideann/1939'), which has already been quoted in a footnote above:

"Am bliadhna roghainn na h-Albann,
An nighean ruadh, clàr na gréine;
'S a bhòn-uiridh an nighean bhàn,
Roghainn àlainn na h-Eireann."

It also seems, however, that at the point when MacLean decided to construct a unified poem sequence (sometime prior to the composition of XX), he used some poems that complemented the tone of the sequence, but had, in fact,

been composed considerably earlier--Poem XI, which is ascribed to 1932, is an example. It may also be that MacLean at this point spread out the poems, according to theme, in the systematic fashion that characterises the first third of 'Dàin do Eimhir'. Broadly speaking, however, chronological order is represented, especially after XX.

'Dàin do Eimhir'--like 'A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle'--is unified as one poem by its being a systematic examination of a single subject. In the case of 'Dàin do Eimhir' the subject, the poet's love of a woman, is considered from several viewpoints as in the 'Drunk Man', but in the case of 'Dàin do Eimhir', it is reconsidered from these same angles at a later period of time, which--in conjunction with its lack of a formal unifying device such as MacDiarmid's thistle image--gives the superficial impression of a lack of unity. It has, in fact, a very real organic unity.

MacLean had an undeniably high regard for MacDiarmid, as is indicated, for example, in his poem 'Trì Slighean' ('Dàin Eile: XVI'):

"Cha b' urrainn dòmh-sa cumail fàire
air slighe chumhang nan àrd-bheann
a nochdadh thar cridhe do bhàrdachd. . .";

also we know of his involvement in the Scottish Renaissance and, in any case, the 'Drunk Man' was, of course, an extremely seminal poem generally in Scotland. For these reasons, it would be foolish to suggest otherwise than that the inspiration for the ambitious scheme of

'Dàin do Eimhir' (not, naturally, for its themes) was MacDiarmid's poem. In the interests of accuracy, however, it ought to be pointed out that theme-grouping of poems was also a characteristic of the style of W.B. Yeats, who influenced MacLean's poetry in many fruitful ways: two of the best known examples of Yeats's theme groups are 'Meditations in the Time of Civil War' (in 'The Tower', 1928) and the Crazy Jane poems in the collection 'Words for Music Perhaps' (1931).

Some of the individual poems in the 'Dàin do Eimhir' sequence are simple lyrical expressions of the poet's emotion at a particular point in time-- for example, Poem XLIX:

"Bha 'm bàt' agam fo sheòl 's a Chlàrach
ag gàireachdaich fo sròin,
mo làmh ceàrr air falmadair
's an t-éile 'n suaineadh sgòid.

"Air dara tobhta 'n fhuaraidh
shuidh thu, luaidh, 'nam chùir
agus do ròp laist cuailleàn
mu m' chridh 'na shuaineadh òir.

"A Dhia nan robh 'n cùrsa ud
gu ceann uidh mo dheòin
cha bhiodh am Bùta Leódhasach
air fóghnadh do mo sheòl."

The first verse brilliantly evokes a carefree, holiday atmosphere; in the second, the traditional Celtic image of womanly beauty--golden hair--is further

developed as an image to echo the "suaineadh sgòid" of the first verse; and the last verse culminates this synthesis of the first two by expressing the aspiration of his love in terms of a boat's voyage. Poem LIV is also an exceptionally successful love lyric. In the first verse, the imagery is fresh and vital, achieving an interesting complexity in the last line, in which "ròs geal" becomes an image of the girl's beauty both directly and indirectly:

"Bu tu camhanaich air a' Chuilthionn
's latha suilbhir air a' Chlàraich,
grian air a h-uilinn anns an òr-shruth
agus ròs geal bristeadh fàire."

Both Angus Robertson and Donald Sinclair show an intelligent and imaginative use of imagery which distinguishes them from most of their poetic contemporaries in Gaelic, but their achievement was a very limited one compared to that of MacLean. Nor had these or any other 20th century Gaelic poets before MacLean approximated his craftsmanship in these two poems, which, though they read as simple artless expressions of love, are shown by close reading to have been very artfully constructed to give that effect. MacLean--as his critical articles in 'The Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness' reveal--had an intense admiration for William Ross and the early Gaelic folksongs of love: his own poetry, as these two poems demonstrate, is rooted in that tradition, but his powerful poetic intelligence has extended the tradition not just formally, but also

thematically. The last two lines of Poem LIV, for example, which was basically traditional as to content up to that point, ends with this sophisticated reservation:

" . . .tha bior glas an dòlais
troimh chliabh m' òg-mhaidne sàthte."

Again, this ending is highly ingenious technically, referring one back to the first line of the poem and maintaining the poem's unity both on a denotative and connotative level. Poem XXII, in which a simple lyrical expression that is very reminiscent of the folk-poets and in particular of William Ross follows a very sophisticated intellectual concept, is an example of a rather violent thematic expansion of the tradition:

"Choisich mi cuide ri mo thuigse
a muigh ri taobh a' chuain:
bha sinn còmhla ach bha ise
a' fuireach tiotan bhuam.

"An sin thionndaidh i ag ràdh:
Am bheil e fìor gun cual
thu gum bheil do ghaol geal àlainn
a' pòsadh tràth Di-luain."

The tradition is further extended by Poem XVII, which is also an attempt to express (rather than, for example, to analyse) the strength of his love for Eimhir: he compares it to the beauty and order of the universe, which he describes in the two memorable opening verses:

"Lionmhoireachd anns na speuran,
òr-chriathar muillionan de reultan,

fuar, fad as, lòghmhor, àlainn,
 tosdadh, neo-fhaireachdail, neo-fhàilteach.

"Lanachd an eòlais m' an cùrsa,
 failmhe an aineolais gun iùl-chairt,
 cruinne-cé ag gluasad sàmhach,
 aigne leis fhéin anns an àruinn."

In the third verse, he repudiates the cold splendid beauty of the stars with its mainly intellectual appeal in favour of the warmer, a-rational beauty of human love. Many previous love poets in Gaelic had compared the beloved to the stars. Here, however, MacLean examines the aptness for his subject of this conventional image--with a keen and honest mind--and finds it lacking. This poem has grown out of the Gaelic tradition. The radical attitude to literary convention and the generally analytical mind that underlies it characterise MacLean as a Gaelic poet.

Gaelic love poets of the past, in giving expression to their emotions, have often--and inevitably--analysed their love, as the examples of traditional lyric given in the preceding section of this chapter illustrate. This analysis has often been an unconscious consequence of their attempt to describe it. Many of MacLean's poems represent a fully conscious philosophical and psychological examination of the subject. The facet of his love that he most frequently investigates is the part played in it by the intellect. Poem II, 'A Chiall 's a ghràidh' is a good example: he starts with

a discussion of the apparently anomalous yoking of intellect and emotion--popularly regarded as antithetical--in the proverbial phrase which he uses as his title. His own love started as emotion but this was later corroborated by his mind; the two concepts, therefore, are fused in love:

"Is thubhairt mo thuigse ri mo ghaol,
 'Cha dhuinn an dúbailteachd;
 Tha an coimeasgadh 's a' ghaol'."

This poem is ascribed to May 1932, which, very interestingly, is also the year of the publication of T.S. Eliot's 'Selected Essays' in which, in the essay 'The Metaphysical Poets', he first defined the "dissociation of the sensibility"--between emotion and intellect. Eliot felt that this dissociation had set in with the poetry of Milton and Dryden, and had characterised literature from then till the 20th century, but that the modern school of English poets were redressing this by going back to the pre-Miltonic era, that of Donne and the other Metaphysicals, for their inspiration. Interestingly, Poem XLV, in which again MacLean pursues this theme, is very reminiscent of the work of John Donne. He uses startlingly concrete imagery for intangible phenomena (his love is a stone, his intellect a knife, a microscope, a fire, etc. which tests the strength of the stone). Every single thought or implication is tortuously pursued to its logical conclusion. This characteristic and his effective synthesis of thought and feeling are illustrated by these lines:

"'S e 'n gaol ginte leis a' chridhe
 an gaol tha 'n geimhlich shaoir
 an uair a ghabhas e 'na spiorad
 gaol eanchainn air a ghaol."

I am not suggesting that MacLean is, in these poems, mimicking Eliot's poetry or consciously practicing what Eliot has preached, or even that he sought stylistic inspiration in the English Metaphysicals: all I wish to illustrate is that MacLean was, as a poet, on the wavelength of his time, a wavelength which Eliot diagnosed in his famous essay.

In LVII, in which MacLean ponders the ways in which the girl's beauty may be mummified, the undeniably real emotion has again been thoroughly intellectualised. All the philosophical implications have been investigated with a painstaking comprehensiveness.

The best known of the ways in which MacLean has extended the native tradition, with regard to subject matter, is in his preoccupation with the Spanish Civil War and with the plight of the proletariat which is expressed in some of his love poems: less than a third of the poems in 'Dàin do Eimhir' refer to Spain or Communism, but these poems are a very significant minority. Almost all the English poets of the 1930's are characterised by a rather sentimental brand of Communism, a consequent social concern and, in particular, a strong emotional involvement in the cause of the Republicans in Spain. Their poetry on these subjects falls into two categories: the poets who served in the

International Brigade in Spain, like John Cornford, talk more of their own loneliness and fear than of Communism as an abstract concept ("Though Communism was my waking time,/Always before the lights of home/Shone clear and steady and full in view--/Here, if you fall, there's help for you--/Now, with my Party, I stand quite alone"); and the poets, like W.H. Auden and Stephen Spender, who stayed at home--except for a brief visit by each as observers--tended to wax abstract, conceptual, and often garrulous both about the Republican cause and about Communism in general. MacLean differs from both groups, principally in that, in 'Dàin do Eimhir', he did not write poems about either Communism or the war but, on occasion, discussed the relationship of both of these to his central subject, his love for Eimhir.

He investigates this relationship in Poem IV, referring to Communism, concern for Scotland (reminiscent of MacDiarmid's), and the Spanish War in turn:

"An tugadh d' fhonn no t-àilleachd ghlòrmhor
 bhuan-sa gràinealachd mharbh nan dòigh so,
 a' bhrùid 's am mèirleach air ceann na h-Eòrpa
 's do bheul-sa, uaill-dhearg, 's an t-sean òran?

"An tugadh corp geal is clàr gréine
 bhuan-sa cealgairachd dhubh na bréine,
 nimh bhùirdeasach is puinnsean créide
 is diblidheachd ar n-Albann éitigh?

"An cuireadh bòidhichead is ceòl suaimhneach

bhuam-sa breòiteachd an aobhair bhuaib so
 am mèinnear Spàinnteach a' leum ri cruadal
 is 'anam mòrail 'dol sìos gun bhruaillean?"

'Urnuigh' (XVIII), though stylistically atypical of MacLean, throws some interesting light on his literary aspirations. In the first place, it is of significance that the poem, though by a Humanist ("cha n-eil ann ach: Deànam làidir/m' aigne fhìn an aghaidh àmhghair"), is fashioned as a prayer: Marxism was the religion of the 30's poets and it is, in fact, Marxism that MacLean desires to cleanse him, not from sin, but from the sway of emotion, a fatal weakness in a revolutionary Marxist. The following verse is a striking simulation of the tone of a conventional Christian prayer:

"Esan d' am bheil an cridhe air ionnlaid
 théid e troimh theine gun tionndadh;
 dìridh e 'bheinn mhór gun ionndrainn:
 cha d' fhuair mise leithid de anam
 's [gun] mo chridhe ach air leth-fhaladh."

As a Christian poet might admire a saint, so MacLean seeks to emulate active revolutionaries such as Dimitrov and Connolly and John Cornford "'n uair a bha an Spàinn 'na latha-traisg dha".

It was this same complete devotion to a political idea which Yeats marvelled at in 'Easter 1916':

"Hearts with one purpose alone
 Through summer and winter seem
 Enchanted to a stone
 To trouble the living stream",

and which Yeats also, in poetic practice, was fortunately unable to achieve:

"How can I, that girl standing there,
My attention fix
On Roman or on Russian
Or on Spanish politics"

(*'Last Poems'*: 1936-1939).

Neither MacLean nor Yeats was temperamentally equipped to purge his poetry of purely personal and idiosyncratic preoccupations even though, in the 1930's, that practise was de rigueur among writers, particularly among poets. This was much more of a blessing that MacLean, in particular, would have recognised at the time, in that it saved them from the discursiveness, vapidness, and tactile weakness that we find in much of the English poetry of the 30's. Yet, paradoxically, it is his remorse for this that gives their fire to many of the poems in *'Dàin do Eimhir'*. This remorse and feeling of impotence are, interestingly, shared by Mathieu, the central character in Jean-Paul Sartre's *'The Age of Reason'* (1945): Mathieu is a Marxist lecturer in philosophy (no doubt the character was modelled on Sartre himself) who was too embroiled in a love-affair to go to fight in Spain.

This brings one to a final assessment of the poem sequence *'Dàin do Eimhir'*, judged--as Donald Sinclair recommended--against the best of its kind in European literature. The theme of its probable model, *'A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle'* is the Scottish sensibility; Eliot's theme in *'The Wasteland'* is the socio-intellectual

condition of Western Europe in the early 20th century; MacLean, on the other hand, in 'Dàin do Eimhir', confines himself to an expression of his own sensibility. Although, superficially, this is limiting, it need be so in a fundamental sense only if that sensibility is a narrow one: MacLean's included in its scope concern over the social and cultural state of Europe, the world politics of his time, poetry and music in a European context,⁵³ and the condition of Scotland. To that extent, his poem sequence is as cosmic in the knowledge of life it adduced and expressed as these other poems, especially if we allow its relatively deeper probing of experience to compensate for its lack of perspective and systematic ideology. But it is clear--in retrospect at least--that MacLean would have preferred to have composed a philosophical/sociological poem like 'The Wasteland' or 'A Drunk Man' rather than a poem sequence of the type of 'Dàin do Eimhir'. This is expressed bluntly in XIX of 'Dàin Eile':

"Cha d' rinn mi leat mar bu chaomh leam
 an tuigsinn no atharrachadh an t-saoghail;
 Cha d' lean mi aon riabh gu crìch leat:
 dh' fhàgadh staoìn is cam gach strì leat
 agus mi fhìn le rann neo-brìghmhor."

The poetry in the 'Dàin Eile' section of the 1943 collection is also rooted in the native Gaelic tradition, but the techniques of that tradition have again been amended and added to in the ways and to the extent made necessary by MacLean's contemporary sensibility, his considerable creative intelligence and intellectual

training, and his knowledge of development in other literatures. In this latter connection, it seems here also that MacDiarmid was more of an inspiration than a stylistic influence, that his role was catalytic: the main influences on MacLean's style in 'Dàin Eile' were the 30's poets and the Symbolists, generally, but W.B. Yeats in particular.

The metres used in this section also are--like those of Yeats and MacDiarmid--basically the traditional ones, distinguished by a less insistent rhythmic and rhyme pattern. Occasionally, as in 'Dàin Eile:XX', MacLean uses a somewhat freer verse pattern for effect:

"Mo bheatha ruith chun nan cuantan
troimh fhraoch is raineach is droch fhiarach
air a cùrsa fangte, tiamhaidh,
mar an sruthan staoin suarach,
bha gabhail slighe chrìon troimh chluaineag
gu cuan anns a' chaol."

Generally, however, MacLean is much more conservative in his use of metre than was John Munro and very little more adventurous than T.D. MacDonald.

MacLean's use of vowel sounds to establish a particular tone in a poem has had, of course, an honourable pedigree in Gaelic--due to the importance of oral performance. Few poets, however, have shown such technical mastery as that which produced this verse from 'Craobh nan Teud', Poem VII in 'Dàin Eile':

"Tha ghlas-mheur dùint'
mu dhùn a' mhullaich;
tha 'n cumha ùr

fo dhriùchd na dunaidh:
 tha chraobh mhór sgaoilt
 air aonach tuiridh;
 tha Craobh nan Teud
 'na leus luath duillich."

The rich, deep ù-sounds of the first four lines suggest the sonorous dignity of laments; the ao-sounds which follow express a higher pitched, more frantic lamentation; the last line, with its three linguals, brilliantly evokes speed, surface brilliance, and restlessness.

MacLean's ability to give economical and effective expression to subtle concepts was foreshadowed in the poetry of Donald Sinclair, whom MacLean is known to have greatly admired, but MacLean's concepts are, in the main, more complex, modern, and therefore difficult to articulate than those of Sinclair and he has little of the latter's tendency to list little known words for their own sake, though this tendency is not altogether lacking as these lines from 'Dàin Eile: IX' show:

"Onfhadh-chrios mhullaichean,
 confhadh-shlios thulaichean,
 monbhar luim thurraidean màrsail,
 gorm shliosan Mhosgaraidh,
 stoirm-shliosan mosganach,
 borb bhiodan mhonaichean àrda."

Memorably effective phrases such as the "diathan/nach eil ach 'nam falas iarraidh" of 'Urnuigh' abound in both sections. The following lines from 'Dàin Eile: VI' ('An Soitheach') are a brilliant description of

a Celtic Twilightist:

"chunnacas, cha b' ann am bruadar,
duine 'na sheasamh air àird,
'nan ràth geal soluis mu 'n cuairt air
faclan gun sgoinn gun stàth.

"Cò seo e a dh' fhiar an seòladh,
am fear ud a ciarachd àrd?"

This semantic density is a result and symptom of the poem's having been "written" and designed for silent reading, rather than composed by an illiterate bard and designed for oral performance, as most earlier poetry in Gaelic had been.

The images in 'Dàin Eile', as in 'Dàin do Eimhir', are drawn from the traditional repertoire (mainly images from nature), but their application here also is often vivacious and original. The final, synthesising image in I ('Ban-Ghaidheal') is startling and powerful:

"Is thriall a tìm mar shnighe dubh
a' drùdhadh tughaidh fàrdaich bochd;
mheal ise an dubh chosnadh cruaidh;
is glas a cadal suain an nochd."

A true poet's eye is indicated by this beautiful image from XV ('Coilltean Ratharsair'):

"'n uair dhòirt a' ghealach na crùn shoilleir
air clàr dùghorm na linne doilleir."

The combination of imagination and precision in these lines has seldom been paralleled in Gaelic nature poetry. Alexander MacDonald and, to a lesser degree, Donald Sinclair come closest of all the poets before

MacLean, but, in their imaginative passages, they usually lack this essential faithfulness to the observed facts.

MacLean's intense artistic selfconsciousness distinguishes him from most preceding Gaelic poets. A majority of the 'Dàin Eile'--including virtually all the long poems--concern poetry and its creation. Of the short poems, XIX and XVI ('Trì Slighean./ Do Uisdean MacDhiarmid') are of particular interest. XIX laments his lack of application to the techniques of poetry:

"Gabh a mach as mo bhàrdachd,
's tu mo chuthach, aodainn àlainn,
trìd nach tug mi 'n t-suim bu chòir dhomh
do churachd is do fhàs nan dòchas
no do ghnìomhadh nan rann seòlta."

This is very like Yeats's "All things can tempt me from this craft of verse" ('The Green Helmet and Other Poems', 1910), as the basic attitude to the beloved that underlies it ("a nighean a' chùil ruaidh òir/gur glé fhada bhuat mo bhròn") is very similar to that which Yeats expressed in 'Words':

"My darling cannot understand
What I have done, or what would do
In this blind bitter land."

In 'Trì Slighean', MacLean gives a precise and useful statement of his poetic aims. The poem is also noted for its list of contemporary English poets:

". . .Eliot, Pound agus Auden
MacNeice, is Herbert Read 's an còmhlan";

the temptation to list one's exotic reading has, of course, always been very strongly felt--and usually yielded to--by experimenting poets in a culture whose writers have, before his time, been too inward looking and out of touch with developments outside. Also, personality-banding of this kind has been frequently remarked on as unusually prevalent among the English poets of the 30's, the following example from Julian Symon's 'Letter to the Intelligentsia' being well known:

"But there waited for me in the summer morning
Auden, fiercely. I read, shuddered and knew."

There is considerably more of the didactic poetry that is so characteristic of the 30's in 'Dàin Eile' than in 'Dàin do Einhir'. 'Ban-Ghaidheal' is too obviously didactic, but is redeemed somewhat by the powerful "snighe dubh" image of the last verse. II, 'Calbharaigh', discusses the slum problem; III, 'An Crann Dubh', is, like 'Bàn-Ghaidheal', an attack on Christianity; and 'Gealach Ur', a naïve expression of belief in Communism. Poem V is dominated by the repetition of another rollcall of names--"Còrnford agus Julian Bell/agus Garcia Lorca"--and too little distinguished by artistic synthesis as well as being clamantly propagandist, e.g.:

"Dé dhuinne ìmpireachd na Gearmailt
no ìmpireachd Bhreatainn,
no ìmpireachd na Frainge,
's a h-uile té dhiubh sgreadaidh?"

in MacDiarmid's 'A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle'; though these were indubitably the important influences on MacLean as far as Symbolism is concerned, it is not altogether insignificant that some preparation of the ground had been made by Donald Sinclair's neo-Wordsworthianism.

Baudelaire's most important single poem was 'Correspondances'. The first two quatrains (here given in English translation) outline his general theory: "Nature is a temple where living columns/Sometimes murmur indistinct words;/There man passes through forests of symbols/That watch him with familiar glances.// Like prolonged echoes that mingle in the distance,/ In a shadowy and profound unity,/Vast as night and as the light of day,/Perfumes, colours and sounds respond to one another."⁵⁴ MacLean's 'Dàin Eile: XXII' echoes this:

"Ach tric an smuaintean na h-oidhch',
an uair bhios m' aigne 'na coille chiar,
thig osag cuimhne ag gluasad duillich
ag cur a furtachd gu luasgan";

'Coilltean Ratharsair' (XV)--a poem of over 200 lines-- does so even more obviously. The poet, apparently in a boat on the Sound of Raasay, describes the wood in terms of its connotative, or symbolic values. First, the actual view is described:

"Gallain a' ghiuthais
air lughadh an fhirich"--

then its representational significance:

"gorm chlogadan suaithneis,
muir uaine gun dinne. . ."

The second verse, instead of looking at the wood from a distance, takes us inside it, describing the visible scene first and then the invisible world of its connotations:

"Urlar frainich is beithe
air an t-seòmar àrd uaine;
am mullach 's an t-ùrlar
trom dhathte le suaimhneas:
mith chuachan na sóbhraig,
bileag bhuidhe air uaine;
is cuilbh dhìreach an t-seòmair,
giuthas òirdhearc an luasgain e":

this is Baudelaire's pillared temple/forest of symbols. The subsequent three verses express, in terms of the symbolism developed in the first two, what 'Coilltean Ratharsair' have given the poet:

"Thug thu dhomh clogadan,
clogadan buadhmhòr,
clogadan mireanach,
buidhe is uaine, . . ."
"Ghabh mi an t-slighe
troimh fhilleadh an luasgain:
thug mi an cùrsa
thar ùr-fonn a' bhruadair."

The remaining verses of this section describe the wood--its bird-song and coolness during the day and at night its shadowy forms (reminiscent again of Baudelaire's symbolism):

"Ri d' thosd anns an oidhche
 bhiodh loinn-chruthan ò m air
 thar ciaradh nan coilltean
 's fann shoillse na glòmainn,
 ag eàladh gu cuireideach,
 ioma-chruthach, seòlta,
 a' falbh 's a' sìor-thighinn
 's gam filleadh 'nad chròn nan."

The last verse of this section echoes verse three,
 but an ominous note is struck now:

"Thug thu dhomh clogadan,
 clogadan uaine,
 clogad a' bhioraidh
 is clogad an t-suaimhneis. . ."

The next section sets the actual scene--he is in
 a boat and looks around him at, on one side, Sgùrr nan
 Gillean, on another, the wood and the graveyards where
 his ancestors lie. The third section--again in a
 different metre--returns us to the wood, picking up
 the note of grief and danger on which the first section
 had finished. In the restless ("luaineach"), delicate
 ("duilleagan maotha"), fertile ("coille chaochan")
 forest, a serpent appears:

"Dhùisg an nathair 'na luisreadh
 'na duilleach ioma-luath, caol, ùrar,
 'na gaugan duilleagach gu ciùrradh,
 gath a' chràdh-ghal anns an t-sùgradh."

The serpent is a symbol of the disadvantages, in terms
 of psychological discomfort, of love and of poetry. It

is obviously drawn from the Biblical story of the Devil's assuming the form of a serpent in order to persuade mankind to eat of the Tree of Goodness and Knowledge in the Garden of Eden. The serpent is here connected with "Cuilthionn", which symbolises lofty aspirations:

"Thàinig an sithheadh bho 'n Chuilthionn,
bho na beanntan bu duilghe
dìreadh gu mullach suilbhir."

The poet then equates himself with Actaeon who, in Greek legend, discovered Diana and her maidens bathing in the woods and was, as a punishment, turned into a stag and pursued and killed by his own dogs. The poet sees the three muses naked among the trees and simultaneously pursues and is pursued and scourged by them. In three paragraphs of much freer versification MacLean directly expounds his lack of confidence in the value of his aspirations, substantiating his direct statements in the third paragraph with a symbolic expression of the same theme:

"Dé fàth bhith toirt do dhòchas
gaol stèud-crodhanta, crò-dhearg,
bhith liubhairt do àird a' Chuilthinn
gaol a nì strì thar gach duilghinn?"

The futility of these aspirations lies in the fact that the foundation is precarious:

"Bochd, mì-chinnteach am bonn
tha stéidheachadh Cuilthionn nan sonn."

This foundation is the heart, the poet's feelings,

"Coilltean Ratharsair":

"Cha n-eil eòl air an t-slighe
th' aig fiarachd cham a' chridhe
's cha n-eil eòl air a' mhilleadh
do 'n tàrr gun fhios a chearn-uidhe.

"Cha n-eil eòlas, cha n-eil eòlas
air crìch dheireannach gach tòrachd
no air seòltachd nan lùban
leis an caill i a cùrsa."

This "tòrachd" is the pursuit of the beloved through the wood which was described in the fifth verse of the poem:

"a' siubhal 's a' tilleadh
's a' sireadh na buaidhe,
am mire 's an deann-ruith
is m' annsachd gu h-uallach";

and also the associated pursuit of the muses by the poet and their pursuit of him (i.e. the high aspiration symbolised by the Cuilinnns, whose consequent unhappiness is symbolised by the serpent and by the scourging of Actaeon).

The "myth" or system of symbolism underlying this poem is again used in 'Dàin Eile: XX' ('Gleann Aoighre') and underlies parts of non-Symbolist poems like 'Trì Slighean':

"Cha b' urrainn dòmh-sa cumail faire
air slighe chumhang nan àrd-bheann
a nochdadh thar cridhe do bhàrdachd."

A consistently Symbolist procedure very similar to

that of 'Coilltean Ratharsair' is found in 'The Wasteland' and 'A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle' (the two probable models for 'Dàin do Eimhir') and, of course, in many poems of Yeats. The beginning of 'Coilltean Ratharsair' suggests that MacLean went to the roots of the movement for his inspiration. His application of this continental literary theory to Gaelic composition has been of vital importance, for Symbolism, while, in a diluted form, characterising modern poetry in all languages, has been developed in a distinctive and particularly intense way by two modern Gaelic poets after MacLean.

In 'Craobh nan Teud' (VII)--a study of poetry-- and 'An Soitheach' (XI)--a poem on Gaelic culture-- the symbolism is more traditionally employed, but the persistence of the central image distinguishes these poems also from previous poetry in Gaelic, in which imagery was usually "imagery of the will", that is, sensuous pictures consciously utilised to ornament the statement being made. In 'Craobh nan Teud', one feels that the poet started off, as in "poetry of the will", with his idea, but that the image he chose to express it developed organically with the development of the idea. In 'Coilltean Ratharsair', the wood, rather than a theory, was the inspiration for the poem: again, however, the two became fused and are developed in the poem as a unity.

'Imagism' as a consciously applied literary theory⁵⁵ was a significant though short-lived off-shoot of Symbolism in which the emphasis was shifted from the

"reality" behind the "appearance" to giving concise, vivid pictures of the sensuous surface of things, of visual reality. In English, it was a reaction against the opaqueness and concentration on sound of much late 19th century verse (e.g. Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites). Donald Sinclair's poetry shows a similar tendency towards conciseness and visual clarity of images. Examples of it in MacLean's work are manifold, as many of the quotations given above illustrate, although there is nothing that one could describe as the product of doctrinaire Imagism (this was outdated in English long before the 1930's). The poem 'A' Chorra-ghritheach' is an interesting case. It begins with a description of the scene, followed by an account of the poet's state of mind expressed in the terms of that description; then the heron is described:

"Thàinig chorra-ghritheach ghiùigeach,
sheas i air uachdar tiùrra,
phaisg i a sgiathan dlùth rith',
a' beachdachadh air gach taobh dhi";

the poet thereafter discusses the degree of fulness of the heron's life as compared to man's, interrupting these reflections twice to describe the scene:

"Is i air clachan loma tràghad
ag amharc sleamhnachd cuain neo-bhàrcaich,
ag éisdeachd ris an t-slugadh-mhara
is sàl a'suathadh air na clachan. . .",

and:

"mise mar riut 's mi am ònar
ag amharc fuachd na linne còmhnaidh".

The poem ends with a resumption of the philosophical discussion:

"A h-aisling mire le aon shitheadh
tighinn 'na h-aimsir gun chrionnachd,
gun bhròn, gun teagamh, ach aon mhìreadh,
lagh dìreach, neo-cham corra-ghrithich.

"M' aisling-sa air iomairt truaighe,
briste, cam, le lainnir buairidh,
ciùrrte, aon-drithleannach, neo-shuairce,
eanchainn, cridhe 's gaol neo-shuaimhneach."

As with Symbolism, the Gaelic poets who came after MacLean (in this case, Donald MacAulay) took mainstream Imagism (that of the 1913 Manifesto) considerably further than MacLean, its pioneer in Gaelic, had done.

MacLean seems to have composed little poetry after the publication of 'Dàin do Eimhir is Dàin Eile' in 1943. Between December 1945 and January 1946, four short poems of his appeared in 'An Gaidheal'. The themes are those of 'Dàin do Eimhir', e.g.--"Mhag mo reusan/air mo chridhe" (May 1946); as are the styles, e.g.

"Dhìrich mi beinn an uamhais. . .

"Ach cha bu shuarach a' chreachainn.
Ged a bha i mar am bàs,
B' uasal a' chreag am mullach
Ge b' e an-ìochd a càrn" ('A' Bheinn', Jan. 1946).

A poem on Gaelic poetic taste:

"Chailleadh a' ghaisce anns a' cheòl

Chailleadh spéis is fearg is bròn"

('Chunnaic mi Long 'sa Chaol Chanach')

appeared in 'Gairm' (Aireamh 6) in the Spring of 1954; and a Symbolist poem, 'Hallaig', was published in 'Gairm' (Aireamh 8) in the Summer of 1954 and reappeared in the anthology 'Honour'd Shade' (ed. Norman MacCaig, 1959). In it, the poet sees the trees in Hallaig as the dead in Hallaig graveyard:

"Ann an Screapadal mo chinnidh,

Far robh Tarmad 's Eachunn Mór,

Tha 'n nigheanan 's am mic 'nan coille";

the girls are birches, and still live:

"An gàireachdaich 'nam cluais 'na ceò.

"'S am bòidhchead 'na sgleò air mo chridhe",

because time--symbolised as a deer in the caption to the poem--has been destroyed by "peileir dian a gunna Ghaoil". Conventional notions of time are laid aside and the poet sees the unchangeability of love over the centuries in the similarity in love between those Skye girls of the past and his own present sweetheart of whom he said at the very outset of the poem:

". . .tha mo ghaol aig Allt Hallaig

'Na craoibh bheithe. . ."

Several of MacLean's poems were republished in 'Poetry Scotland'⁵⁶ (an annual edited by Maurice Lindsay and issued between 1944 and 1947) and in No. 1 (1944, ed. R. Crombie Saunders) and No. 5 (1950, ed. Hugh MacDiarmid)

of 'Scottish Art and Letters'. MacLean and Donald Sinclair were the two Gaelic poets represented in Maurice Lindsay's 'Modern Scottish Poetry, an Anthology of the Scottish Renaissance' (1946).⁵⁷

Besides his published work, MacLean wrote a long poem (ca. 1500 lines), 'An Cuilthionn', dedicated to Hugh MacDiarmid and of which only small fragments have been published (e.g. in '17 Poems for 6d'): the manuscript of it is deposited in Aberdeen University Library. This poem is very similar to the work of the "Thirties" poets in English, such as Auden, Spender, and Louis Macneice. It contains a large body of social and political criticism, whose binding philosophy is Marxism, and in the main the style is discursive and naively polemical. In 'An Cuilthionn', the poet discusses the economic history of Skye, directing vigorous invective against those who have exploited the crofters and praises those who have fought against this oppression (e.g. the poetess Mary MacPherson and Rev Donald MacCalum). He equates the crofters' plight with that of the proletariat in other countries and sees Communism as the only salvation for them all (name-dropping profusely in this section). The Cuilinn is the main unifying device in the poem. Generally, its connection with the thoughts expressed is purely casual (the poet is represented as reminiscing as he surveys Skye from the Cuilinn), but sometimes the mountain range or the view from it becomes a symbol for the expression of the poet's polemic:

"Och a mhòinteach Mararobhlainn
's tusa fhéin a' bhoglach sheannsail

's tu a shluigeas sluagh na h-Èorpa
 America 's an Asia còmhla."

The conventional symbol of the colour red for Communism (used at the beginning of Part V), is effectively combined with the Cuilinn as symbol of political aspiration (cf. 'Coilltean Ratharsair') in these very beautiful lines:

"Ròs dubh a' Chuilthionn ghuinich
 dearg le fuil cridhe 'n duine;
 ròs ciar na h-eanchainne glaise
 dearg le tuar na fala braise;

ròs geal⁵⁸ tuigse nan saoi
 dearg leis an fhuil gun chlaoidh;
 ròs dearg misneachd nan laoch
 thar mullach shléibhtean 'na chaoir."

In general, however, the Symbolistic system is too often displaced by discursive polemic and the subject matter of the poem not deeply enough felt for it to convey that special knowledge of life for which we look in poetry (rather than in political science or political pamphlets). As a consequence, the poem is also not satisfactorily unified--either formally or organically. It is distinguished, however, by a remarkable control of language (especially invective) and by its display of MacLean's typical intellectual ebullience.

It would be difficult to overstate the value of Sorley MacLean's total contribution to Gaelic literature. His poetry's intellectual depth and psychological penetration, its cosmopolitan nature--in style, theory,

and subject matter--coupled with a true poetic temperament and his infectious ebullience inspired and influenced the younger Gaelic poets of his own time and the younger poets (like Iain Smith and Donald MacAulay) who came after him.

The year or two before the publication of 'Dàin do Eimhir is Dàin Eile', several poems by one of these young Gaelic poets had begun to be printed in 'An Gaidheal': this was George Campbell Hay, a son of the novelist J. MacDougall Hay. Born in 1915 in Kintyre, Hay was educated at Fettes College, Edinburgh, and Oxford, where Douglas Young was a fellow student, returning to Edinburgh a year or two before the Second World War. There he came into contact with MacLean, MacDiarmid, and Goodsir Smith and became an ardent adherent of the Scottish Literary Renaissance: he intensified his learning of Gaelic, which he had begun in his late teens and was soon fluent enough in it to begin composing Gaelic poetry; he also composed poems in Lallans (the earliest dated being from 1938) which, along with some in English, a few in French (mainly translations from Gaelic), and one in Norwegian, were printed in 'Wind on Loch Fyne' in 1948. Two collections of Hay's Gaelic poetry have appeared-- 'Fuaran Sléibh' (1947) and 'O na Ceithir Airdean' (1952).

In December 1938, a Gaelic poem by Hay was published in 'An Gaidheal': this is merely a humorous demonstration of the chaos that would ensue if the suggested elimination of all accent-marks in Gaelic became effective--"B' fhearr leam gàd no gad, is clach r' a dùsgadh,/ Cuir

ait an àite àit, 's is tearc a gheibh tùr ann." This poem is no more than an exercise in words. The humour is that of a highly literate man (in fact, of a University student) rather than of a bard.

The next poem of Hay's to be published in 'An Gaidheal' was 'Trì Rainn is Amhran', an imitation of Irish courtly love poetry. 'Cinntìre', a nature poem, appeared in October 1943, but apart from these I have been unable to trace in print any more of Hay's Gaelic poems until late 1945, since Hay was abroad in the fighting forces. Between September 1945 and the appearance of 'Fuaran Sléibh' in mid-1947, eight Gaelic poems by Hay appeared in 'An Gaidheal'. Apart from the first one ('An t-Oigfhear a' Bruidheann o'n Uir'), all of these appeared in 'O na Ceithir Airdean' in 1952. 'An t-Oigfhear a' Bruidheann o'n Uir' ('An Gaidheal, Sept. 1945), along with all the poems printed in 'An Gaidheal' up to then, appeared in 'Fuaran Sléibh': this implies that 'Fuaran Sléibh' was in preparation for the press by the autumn of 1945. Although 'O na Ceithir Airdean' contains some poems definitely composed before 1945--e.g. 'Bisearta', which is dated 1944--it is clear from Hay's own ascriptions to some poems and also from the difference in tone between the two books that the poems in 'Fuaran Sléibh' are in the main earlier than those in 'O na Ceithir Airdean'.

The poems in 'An Gaidheal', while they include scarcely any of Hay's best known poems, represent a fair cross-section of his poetic output--nature poems, a

love poem, Symbolist poems, a poem on fishermen, and an elegy. None of his religio-philosophical poems were published in 'An Gaidheal'.

'Fuaran Sléibh' was published by William MacLellan in 1947. In a prefatorial note, Hay thanked Sorley MacLean "on account of what he did for it [i.e. the book]" and Douglas Young for a Lallans version of one of the Gaelic poems: the dust-jacket blurb referred to Hay himself as "one of the outstanding figures in the Scottish Literary Renaissance movement of today".

'Fuaran Sléibh' is distinguished from 'Dàin do Eimhir is Dàin Eile' by its content of light verse--mainly amatory and humorous--and nature-descriptive poetry. His humorous verse has a distinctly "literary" flavour, as in his poem to his cat:

"'S e Spògan sròil a b' athair dhuit, fear
caithreamach na h-oidhche,
a fhuair ri Coiseachd Chlùimh thu, bean chiùin a
b' fhaide ìghnean"

(a eulogistic parody from 'Casan Sìoda');

and:

"Fuighleach do bhùird mar thuarasdal--nach duairc do
shùil an déidh sin,
s gach cuirm a th' aig na luchainn s iad
cruinn san tseòmar-leughaidh?
Chreim iad leabhar Shomhairle, s tha 'n comharra 'nan
déidh air;

Chaidh am fiacalan minàrach anns na Dàin s an Craobh
Nan Teud ort.

"Cuiridh mi geall nach tomhais thu an cron is mò a
 dhrùigh orm--
 fhuair mi an raoir gu driopail iad ag ithe t'òrain
 ùir-sa."

('Casan Sloda a' Freagairt').

Much of the humorous effect also depends on the
 appreciation of rather esoteric allusions, e.g.:

"Sealgair nan trannsa is fear-rannsachaidh nan cùiltean,
 Ord nan Luch⁵⁹ 'gan tòireachd. . ."

('Casan Sloda');

and:

"Oisein.

. . .Toll làn snagardaich fhiacalan,
 Cha n-fhaic m' Fhiann-sa no Fionn e,
 is e làn casadaich s lònidh
 is mìle sròn ann 'gan srùbadh.

"Pàdraig.

Nach do leugh thu Chriosostom?
 Bi 'd thosd, a anaChriosd dhearbhta,
 oir tha 'n t-àit 'na loch lasrach."

('Urnuigh Oisein as Ur').

'Urnuigh Oisein as Ur' manages to combine some keen
 social criticism with (admittedly intermittent)
 flashes of humour.

Hay's love poetry gives the impression of being
 more of a conscious exercise in writing in a particular
 genre than being self-expression. His 'Trì Rainn is
 Amhran' poems are obviously imitative of the medieval
 Irish courtly love poetry (See 'Dànta Gràdha', ed.in 1916 by

T.F. O'Rahilly), several of which he translated into English verse in 'Wind on Loch Fyne'. The Gaelic poems use the same imagery and standard of beauty and the same versification as many of the Irish poems and two of them use the courtly love convention of the poet's avowedly dying for love. Hay's 'Oran'(XII) is a demonstration of the conventional techniques of Scottish Gaelic love poetry: it begins with a statement of his grief since the girl left; the second verse uses the folksong motif of the lover's climbing a hill to see his beloved's house (found also in Wordsworth's 'Lucy' poems); the third verse describes her physical beauty in terms of conventional imagery; and the last verse imagines the lover's thoughts and feelings being conveyed by the wind--again a very common motif in Gaelic love songs. The eight-line poem, 'An Gaol a bh' ann'(XIV) is an interesting philosophical reflection on the estrangement of former lovers:

"Is e 'n dìochuimhne as suaineadh dhaibh,
is e 'n suarachas as fàsghadh dhaibh,
s a' ghriosach fhuar gun chridhealas
sa' chridh' astaigh 'ga saltairt leo."

The lullaby, 'Briodal Mathar', exhibits a delight in the play of words and images which is remarkable in one who learned Gaelic as an adult:

"M' Osgar mór thu,
m' usgar òir thu,
mo mhogal chnò a chromas geug;
lìonadh cupain,

riarach' guidhe,
crioch mo shiubhail, freagairt m' fheum."

Hay's nature descriptive poetry is almost certainly the best of its kind to have been written in Gaelic during this century. His 'Luinneag', a compact sixteen lines of homeland poetry, is quite free of the discursive tendency that marks most poetry of its type in Gaelic. In it, the poet describes a daydream of his as a student in England and confines himself to that one experience:

"Lagan Ròraig s tràigh na Lùibs
eadar mo shùilean s mo leabhar,

"Agus Rudha Clach an Tràghaidh
a' snàmh air a' bhalla."

The image in the latter two lines has great visual clarity and also effectively designates the poet's state of mind.

In 'Cinntire', the poet's deep and very real admiration for the scenic beauty of his birthplace is again much in evidence:

"Is daor a cheannaich mi mo bheòshlàint'
ma 's e mo stòras fanachd uait,
crom gach là os cionn mo leabhair
gun amharc ort, mo ghoirtein uain'."

Some of the description of Kintyre is very graphic and, by relying on a selection of impressionistic detail rather than comprehensive naturalistic description, it achieves a commendable--and, in the Gaelic context, unusual--succinctness:

"Binn guth gaoithe air do chruachan
ag éigheach air an guaillean àrd;
gur riomhach do ghealchrios umad,
a' mhuir a' teannadh gu tràigh."

A parallel economy in the use of words produced such lines as--"réidh a tràigh, tonn bhàn a taobh", "long 's a lorg 'na gaoir fo druim", and contributed much to the impact of imagery like,

"Talla rìoghail cruadhlach t'aonach,
cluasag shìoda fraoch do chòs,
is mìls' an deoch e, deur o d'shruthain
na fion tìr eile an cupan òir".

Another very effective image is used in 'Na Baidealan' (Vlll), here to convey the visual effect of rain-clouds sweeping in from the sea:

"slaodar leò an t-uisge glas
'na chùirtein dallaidh trasd' an speur".

Hay's 'Do Bheithe Bhòidheach' is probably the most beautiful of his nature poems. Again the description is very economical, as when the poet describes his situation at the beginning of the poem:

"Neul a' snàmh air an speur
duilleach eadar e s mo shùil;
ùr bàrr-uaine gruag a' bheithe,
leug nan leitir cas mu'n Luib".

This semantic density is exemplified even better by the play on 'dos' in the following lines:

"Oiteag tighinn bharr an tuim,
a' toirt fuinn as do dhos";

The imagery in this poem also is beautiful and expressive, for example: "cuisleannan nan geug ri port", "sìodhbhrugh do na h-eòin do dhlùths", "na h-eòin Samhraidh. . .s mil nan gob". The superficial organisation of the poem is also very effective. The first verse comprises description of the tree, the next three the music of the wind and the birds in its branches, and the last returns to the tree itself, describing first its overall impression on the eye and finishing with a striking detail: "dealt 'na chùirnein air gach slait". What Hay has conveyed to the reader is not so much a detailed picture of the tree but rather the total sensation it engendered in him: the poem describes his 'impression' of the tree.

In Hay's nature poetry there is no patronising of the peasantry (who are scarcely mentioned at all in fact) and no nostalgia for a Highland 'Golden Age' that has passed; the only contribution of his exile to his nature-descriptive poetry was that it intensified his appreciation of the scenic beauty of his native Kintyre, but that appreciation is coloured by a realism that goes beyond even that of the village-bards. The sun does not always shine in Hay's Kintyre:

"Dh'iarrainn gaith is sgairt aice
ag cur sgapadh fo na nòdil,
a' teachd á tuath bharr Chruachain
s an fhuachd an teum a beòil
marcan-sìne a' màrsaladh
air clàr a' chuain le pròis"

(Hay's ideal life-after-death as

expressed in 'Tiomnadh').

The most distinctive facets of Hay's nature poetry are his lack--as a middle-class exile--of Romanticism and his substitution of the impressionistic for the naturalistic method of description, the development that Sinclair advocated in his 'Inbhe ar Bàrdachd' in 'Guth na Gliadhna' (1916).

'Fuaran Sléibh' contains five poems in which Hay's Scottish Nationalism--the driving force behind the Scottish Literary Renaissance--finds expression in, basically, two different ways. 'Fhearaibh s a Mhnai na h-Albann' and 'Alba Ghaeil O' are polemical statements of the case for nationalism. In 'Sguabag 1942', 'Dleasnas nan Airdean' and 'Ceithir Gaothan na h-Albann', Hay uses a Symbolist technique. In 'Sguabag 1942', the theme is expressed straightforwardly in the first verse:

"Cha n-ám caoinidh so na osnaich,
ám gu brosnachadh s gu sùrd,
ám gu deachdadh, cainnt is òrain,
ám gu dòchas is gu dùil",

and in the subsequent two (eight-line) verses this theme is expounded very skilfully in terms of a meteorological symbolism:

"Cha n-e so ach stoirm an Earraich,
a sguabas sneachd a' Gheamhraidh uainn,
bean-ghlùin neo-thruasail a' Chéitein,
Sguabag gheur le meuraibh cruaidh".

In 'Dleasnas nan Airdean', personal aspiration is symbolised as a mountain--as in MacLean's myth.

Again, the detailed development of the symbol is very effective:

"A' bheinn dhorcha fo 'n dilinn,
 ris na siontan 'na h-inneoin,
 tha sìor shéideadh m' a chreachann,
 tha sìor cheathach m' a sliosaibh,
 is doirbh fo na casan
 a h-aisridhean snidheach:
 is seasgar m' a bonnaibh
 tighean, gortan is liosan."

In the second verse, the meaning of the symbolism is made explicit. The combination in these two poems of the discursive and the Symbolist approaches is probably because Hay is here a conscious propagandist, setting, therefore, a higher premium on communicating with his potential audience than on achieving stylistic unity within the poem.

In 'Ceithir Gaothan na h-Alba', the symbolism is of a traditional variety. The four winds represent the total range of possible weather conditions--that is, the whole range of the contributions that Scotland has made to the poet's personality.

Another traditional symbol--the ship of life--is used in 'Clann Adhamh'(X); this is one of four religio-philosophical poems contained in 'Fuaran Sléibh'. 'Is e Chrìoch Araidh'(dated 1945) is a compendium of traditional Christian dogma, precisely expressed, often with extremely apposite imagery, as in this example:

"lean cumadh sìorruidh a' Phuirt Mhóir
a rinn e dhuinn mar cheòl ar gnè."

'Priosan da Fhéin an Duine' is again discursive,
but the theme--that man ought to live "the full life"--
is here also often picturesquely and succinctly
expressed, e.g.:

"Ach nì e tric de 'bhuadhanna
bròg chuagach fo shàil"

and:

"Is seall an troichshluagh dàicheil rianail,
nach robh riamh ach lethbheò,
is beachdan chàich 'nan gàradh-crìche dhaibh
'gan crìonadh ann an crò."

In 'Aonarain na Cille', the poet's message is
implied rather than bluntly stated and the poem's
concrete particularity also is more effective than the
rarified conceptualism of the other two philosophical
poems. This poem is only eight lines in length:

"Ochan, aonarain na cille,
gach aon 'na ionad fhéin fa leth,
'na thighearna air tigh gun tathaich
far nach dèanar farraid air.
Cha n-éirich grian ann no reul,
cha tig neul no fras no gaoth,
gormadh an là no 'n dùthrath,
sìth no ùspairt, gràin no gaol."

During the War, Hay saw military service in Algeria,
Italy, and Greece and the brutality and consequent
suffering he witnessed in these arenas gave rise to

profound psychological disturbance which, finally, upset the balance of his mind. Since the War, Hay has been intermittently hospitalised, working as a journalist when fit. 'Fuaran Sléibh' contains three poems which record facets of his experience of the War. 'Grund na Mara' begins as a widow's lament for her drowned son, then records his return as a ghost-- a motif very often found in the Scots ballads--in order to explain his death:

"Lunnainn a mharbh mi,
a mhill an tsùil nach fhaca i".

The poem ends with two lines of direct polemical commentary on the story by the poet:

"Mo losgadh, mhuinntir nan Eilean,
is daor a phàigh sibh mórachd Bhreatainn!"

'An t-oighear a' Bruichinn o 'n Uir', which is also propagandist though the central image is more consistently sustained throughout the poem, is less fragmented by forthright polemic than is Hay's Scottish Nationalist poetry. The columns of dust that rise from the body-strewn battlefields and the destroyed town represent the destructiveness of the War:

"Seall smùr nan taighean marbha,
stùr armailtean air uaigh nan dachaidh";

Hay wants the whole of the people of Europe to become more aware than they are of the suffering caused by the war so that an end can be put to it:

"Bu chòir gu 'n cruinnicheadh gaoth mhór e
air feadh na h-Eòrpa fad' is farsuing.

"As an Eòrpa is á Breatainn
'ga sguabadh leatha 'na neul gathach.

"S gun séideadh i sna sùilean cruaidhe
leis nach truagh ar lotan sracte."

'An Lagan' is a most illuminating poem: the first part is a self-contained poem describing the idyllic beauty of the hollow, alluding to the Fingalian romances and laying much stress on its being a haven of purity and innocence:

"Cha n-fhaicear tnù no gràin san lagan,
cha n-fhaicear ciùrradh ann no bròn".

The second part of 'An Lagan' was written during the War and is a commentary on the "moladh bras a' bhalaich" of the first poem. The poet is now far away in a foreign land. The natural environment is still beautiful but now it is a setting for slaughter:

"Tha mi an diugh taobh mara céine
fo speur nach fhaic a ghrian sgòth,
ag éisteachd drumaireachd ar làmhaich,
là fo gheasaibh, blàth, gun deò".

The poet reflects on the bloodshed that this sea (the Mediterranean) has seen in the past--in the days of Carthage and Rome--and the symbolic corruption of its apparently pure water ("Cà bheil tuinn uain' as glaine cobhar?") by these and the present war. An obsessional tendency--no doubt reflecting Hay's incipient mental breakdown--becomes evident in the last few verses:

"Tha fuil 'sa ghainmhich air am bris iad,
 tha fuil s gach all d a thig 'nan ceann,
 tha grìs san oidhche dhiubh ri lasair
 bhailtean air chrith fo chlaidheamh dall.⁶⁰

"Sud a' mhuir a tha cho farsuing,
 is strìoch fala cùl gach stuaidh."

Hay, in a fine concluding verse, wonders if he will ever again be able to write a poem like the first part of 'An Lagan', i.e. ever be able to observe the sea without seeing the blood:

"Tha toirm nan stuadh s nam bliadhna eadar
 mi fhéin is fear a' mholaidh thall.
 'Nan deidh am faighear leam san lagan
 na dh' fhàg mi uair de m' anam ann?"

In this final verse, Hay is a spokesman for the whole generation of Gaelic poets who came after him. For them the "moladh bras a' bhalaich" of the first poem to the hollow is no longer possible, as Iain Crichton Smith powerfully states in this verse:

"Dh' fhalbh na féidh, a Dhonnchaidh Bhàin.
 Tha ma càmpaichean air feadh do ghleann.
 Tha na Nazis ann an Coire Cheathaich.
 Dh' fhalbh dealt na maidne bho do cheann. . ."

Hay's 'O na Ceithir Airdean' (1952), significantly, contains only two nature poems (or eight per cent. of the total number of original poems in the book) compared to nine (or twenty-five per cent.) in 'Fuaran Sléibh'. Again, 'O na Ceithir Airdean' contains only

two (8%) love poems and no humorous or otherwise light verse, whereas 'Fuaran Sléibh' contains eleven poems (33%) that fall into one or the other of these categories. Assuming, despite a small degree of chronological overlap,⁶¹ that the second book contains later compositions than the first, it is clear that his war experiences made Hay increasingly more preoccupied with serious philosophical topics: there are eighteen poems on such themes (including Scottish Nationalism) in 'O na Ceithir Airdean' (representing eighty per cent. of the original poetry in this collection, compared to forty-five per cent. of the first book). In connection, however, with the light verse (including the love poems), it is probably the case that Hay composed most of these poems chiefly in order to practise his control of Gaelic and that, therefore, his second collection would have contained fewer of them in any case. The fact that his nature poetry was not composed merely for purposes of practice is clear from the relative depth of feeling in it and, more conclusively, from the fact that nature is his theme in a large number of the English and Lallans poems in 'Wind on Loch Fyne', which contains no love or humorous poems.

Although the political poetry in 'O na Ceithir Airdean' (dedicated to Sorley MacLean) is more formally propagandist--some like 'Na tréig do Thalamh Dùthchail' being uncompromisingly hortatory--and therefore less effective as poetry than that in 'Fuaran Sléibh', the

high quality of the philosophical poetry in the second book more than compensates for this. The theme, for example, of 'Atman' is very nearly the same as that of 'Prìosan da fhéin an Duine', but, whereas in the latter Hay discusses the theme in conceptual terms, in 'Atman', he describes an actual individual who since his birth has "lived" the message of 'Prìosan da fhéin an Duine': "Bi iomlan is bi beò". 'Prìosan da fhéin an Duine' is versified philosophy--albeit eloquently and picturesquely expressed--but in 'Atman' Hay has used the special techniques of poetry, giving an analytical description of an actual situation (the trial for robbery of the Arab thief Atman, a friend of Hay, whose wit, vitality, and aesthetic sense he found more appealing than the sterile legalistic respectability of the rich judge).

In 'An t-Eòlas nach Cruthaich' and 'Fàire', the thought content is more original than in the corresponding poems in 'Fuaran Sléibh' and the reflections are substantiated by nicely observed details from the life. This verse from 'An t-Eòlas nach Cruthaich', for example, keenly and adequately describes many actual persons:

"Cluasan éisdeachd gach aon bhinnis,
s nach gluais an spiorad as a thosd;
sùilean sgrùdaidh gach aon sgèimhe,
an ceann céille marbh nach mol."

In 'Fàire', Hay is not repeating conventional spherisms as in, for example, 'S e Chrìoch Araidh', but is

analysing his own personality. His wanderlust is impressionistically described in typically original and expressive imagery:

"Uair is uair, còrsaichean ùra,
is cùinneadh ùr 'ga chur a cheannach
blais ùir a dh' fhìon; is sriut de chòmhradh,
nach tuigear deò dheth, taobh a' chalaich".

He describes his great happiness in returning to Kintyre and his belief that there is enough in Kintyre to satisfy his needs, but he finishes on a more realistic key:

"Ach tha fios agam, ged chì mi
Cluaidh 's Loch Fìne mu dheireadh,
tha fàire 'n sin deas air Arainn
a bhios 'gam tharruing uair eile."

In the Symbolist poems in 'O na Ceithir Airdean', the central image is usually well sustained until the last verse, which gives the key to the symbolism. In 'Stoc is Failleanan', Gaelic culture is seen as a tree that has been cut down, but on whose stump there are encouraging signs of growth:

"Tha ceathach uaine uimpe ag cleith oirnn
lot na tuaighe a leag a mullach".

The poets are the birds in the branches and Scotland the ground in which it is rooted. The last verse is over explicit:

"Ar cainnt s ar cultur, car sealain
ged rachadh an leagadh buileach,
cuiridh am freumhan s an seann stoc dhiubh
failleanan snodhaich is duilleach".

'Beinn is Machair' is the most complex Symbolist poem in this collection. As in 'Dleasnas nan Airdean' ('Fuaran Sléibh: XXI') and Sorley MacLean's Symbolism, the hills represent high aspirations and adherence to principle. Here, however, they are also the actual mountains of the Gaeltachd while the plains--representing conventionalism and commercialism--are also the actual plains of the industrialised Lowlands, in particular of the Clyde basin. The mountain stream and the broad sluggish polluted river, symbols of personality types, are also an Argyllshire burn and the Clyde, respectively. The denotative and connotative extensions of Hay's imagery are fully exploited and firmly controlled: the hills are "fuar, frasach"(under psychological strain), "fosgailte"(always open to attacks on their principles) and attacked by "sgeanan nan sopag" (taunted and despised); but each one is "fo choron geal chuithe 'na òigh"(their talents unprostituted--this reading being substantiated by the rest of the verse) and have "seasmhachd"(a stable personality base), "àrdan nan stùcan"(self-respect), and "fàire neo-chumhang"(a sense of perspective on events); their streams are "labhar brasbhinn" and full of "ceilearan saora".

The plains, on the other hand, house the ant-nests with their ratrace and lack of a sense of purpose ("Troimh a' chéile ag utadh,/ag cur réis gun cheann-uidhe,/ driop gun chéill ac' a thrusadh an còrr"). They slow the melodious mountain streams down to a "leisgean donn, sàmhach,/dall domhainn a' snagail" and their

cities pollute them with their refuse (both real and symbolic):

"is a chuartagan créise
air an truailleadh le bréinead,
ag òl druaid agus déistinn an tsìdigh".

The last verse, separated from the rest by asterisks, points the message of the poem in a straightforward injunction:

"A dheagh mhuinntir an tsaoghail,
mur b'e tartar nan daoine
'sa' bheil gnè nam beann gaothach s nan sgèrr;
mur b'e an geur stàilinn faobhair
a bhith 'nur mèinn, bha bhur daorsa
mar chuing na treud a ghreas Maois as a' chrò."

'Bisearta', a war poem, is probably the most highly regarded generally of all Hay's poems. It is constructed on the same pattern as 'A' Bheithe'--beginning and ending with impressionistic description of the burning city and discussing the implications of the bombing in the intervening two verse-paragraphs. 'Bisearta' has been subjected to saturation bombing and is now a mass of flames:

"Chì mi ré gearr na h-oidhche
dreos air chrith 'na fhroidhneas thall air faire";

no cries of pain or fear or anger are heard from it, and the poet is distressed by the ghostly silence--"tosdachd olc is aognuidh"--in which the destruction that he visualises in detail from the distance is taking place. This detailed visualisation of the suffering is very skilfully synthesised with his general

description of the distant fire in the imagery of the last paragraph:

"Uair dearg mar lod na h-àraich,
uair bàn mar ghile thràighte an eagail éitigh."

In the city itself there is blood and terror. From a distance, Hay sees the fire as pulsating like the heartbeat of Evil (this a very powerful passage), but also as disturbingly beautiful:

"Tha 'n dreòs 'na oillt air fàire,
'na fhàinne ròis is òir am bun nan speuran."

This poem, like most of Hay's, is in a basically traditional verse form (except that paragraphs of varying lengths have replaced quatrains or octets) with a much freer rhythmic and rhyme pattern than the normal. The language is very rich and copious, and precisely used, while onomatopoetic effects are, in the main, well executed and effective:

"comhart chon cuthaich uaidh no ulfhairt fhaolchon",
and:

"Ach sud a' dol an leud e
ri oir an speur an tosdachd olc is aognuidh."

'Bisarta' is not, in a formal sense, a philosophical poem and that is a large measure of its success as a poem. It is neither an attempt to define, explain, or refute war, but a description of the psychological effect of one incident in the war on one man. Since the brutality and destructiveness of this war has created the social and intellectual environment of our day, it is very useful for us to know--in depth and in detail--

how someone "on the spot" felt.

'Truaighe na h-Eòrpa' is a more generalised and detached statement of the pointless and irreparable destruction caused by war. It also is effective:

"Chaidh geurghuth an truaighe
thar cruaidhghàir a gaothan.

"Dh' fhalbh bharr na h-Eòrpa
trian de 'bòidhchead sèimh aosda.

"Sean tearmunn na h-ealain,
cridhe meachair na daondachd.

"Och, Rudha na h-Asià,
Bàlcan an t-saoghail."

These two are the only war poems in this collection.

'Turus Fàsaich'--an account of desert-sky--and 'Dàin is Rainn An Gàidhlig Tairbeart Loch Fìne'--short nature poems and one about Tarbert fishermen--appeared in 'Gairm' in 1954 (No. 10) and 1960(No. 34) respectively: these seem to be the total of Hay's poetic output in Gaelic since the publication of 'O na Ceithir Airdean'.

Before finally evaluating Hay's poetry, it is illuminating to study his own statements on the function of poetry and his own aspirations as a poet. In 'Meftah Babkum es-Sabar?', he is quite explicit as to what he does and does not want:

"Na iarraibh oirnn, matà, cur sìos diubh
draoidheachd cheòlmhor fhacal lìomhta,

nithean clòimhteach, sgeòil an tsidheìn,
ceò no òrain air son nìonag. . .

"Iarraibh faileas fìor ar n-intinn."

We get something approaching this ideal in 'Bisearta', but Hay himself was painfully aware of too often falling short of it--not from lack of ability but through fearing the psychological dangers of the exercise. This is clearly expressed in 'Is Duilich an t-Slighe':

"Och o'n dhùilt mi an gàbhadh,
's a rinn mi stad aig beul àtha,
tha mo chridhe 'ga chnàmh gu ro-gheur.

"Ach a chuideachd na seasmhachd,
moladh beò cha do mheath sibh,
ged a choisinn mi masladh dhomh fhéin.

"Nuair a ghlaodhas mi 'n ath-uair
le móralachd fhacal,
bidh mo ghnìomhan, mo ghealladh, d' an réir."

Hay's initial lack of fluency in Gaelic, along with the fact that he was literate in the language and composing for a literate audience, help achieve an economy and precision in his use of words that has not been often surpassed. On the other hand, on an appreciable number of occasions the meaning of a line is occluded by an excess of conciseness or by a clumsy expression, e.g.--"a' ruith na dh' fhalaich cromadh gach faire fad air fuarach", "speur cinnidh ùir fo smùid an éirigh", and "fuil an ràn nam blàr

asainne". The thought content of some of his philosophical poems is neither original nor deeply felt. Some of those in 'O na Ceithir Airdean', however, are more original and his few self-analytical studies and his war poems, in particular, are distinguished by a more radical approach and an impression of deep emotional involvement in the subject. Hay's imagery is often very original, vivid, and effectively employed, but his Symbolist poems are almost all marred by an explanatory peroration, its naïve propaganda clashing with the oblique tone of the Symbolism. His nature and war poems represent Hay's finest achievement: significant as this achievement is, one cannot help agreeing with the poet's own assessment that his very real talent was never properly disciplined (witness his Symbolist verse) or fully exploited.

Hay, besides his original compositions, translated poetry from many languages into Gaelic, almost half of 'O na Ceithir Airdean' comprising translations. These are mainly from Italian (including a group of Petrarch's sonnets), Arabic, Serbo-Croatian, and modern Greek and are mostly on love or on philosophical themes: there is also a very interesting group of Arabic and Greek epigrammatic poems. The motivation for this translating work was probably twofold: first, translating is an excellent method of improving one's control of a language, in that the thoughts to be expressed are ready-made and the necessity of keeping close to the original a very demanding test; second, the Scottish

Literary Renaissance, of which Hay is an emanation, was generally stridently cosmopolitan and polyglot (compare MacDiarmid's use of translation from Russian, German, etc. in 'A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle'). I am not competent to judge the accuracy of Hay's renderings: judged as Gaelic poetry, however, they often read somewhat lamely and clumsily, e.g.:

"A Bhana-Mharc, ma nochdas m' aodann
seul na h-aoise na nì no dhà,
cuimhnich, nuair ruigeas tu mo shìneadh
is gann gu 'm prìsear thu na 's àird!"

(from French);

"Cia truagh an cobhartach nach eòlach mise
a nì am Bàs dinn, nach seall iochd ri aonan"

(from Italian);

and:

"'S ann gu aineol an ceum so a bhos
s e gun sréin ri ro-luaths;
ged chuir cluiche s ar cuid bhith 'gar n-àill
as ar cuimhne e ri uair."

(from Arabic).

Hay's 'Wind on Loch Fyne' (1948) contains Scottish Nationalist poetry, short reflective poems, one anti-war poem (literally laced with foreign phrases), and a large number of nature poems and poems to fishermen. Several of the poems are English or Lallans versions of poems that appeared also in Gaelic--e.g. 'The Fisherman', 'Pleasure and Courage', and 'Old Stump and Young Shoots'. The poems in 'Wind on Loch Fyne' seldom

approach the standard of the best of Hay's Gaelic poems. It is undoubtedly easier to make a break with the interests and attitudes of one's youth through the medium of a language other than that which was spoken during the early formative years. Samuel Beckett, the playwright and novelist, is a fine example of this in that his most recent publications ('Waiting for Godot', 'Endgame', 'Molloy')--written first in French and translated by himself into English--lack the "Irishness" of his earlier works ('All that Fall', 'Watt') which were originally written in English.

The period of ten years between 1935 and 1945 is an extremely important one in the history of the development of Gaelic poetry. It covers the most creative years of both Sorley MacLean and George Campbell Hay and also the early but quite mature compositions of Derick Thomson, the youngest⁶² member of this generation of innovating Gaelic poets. Of the three, MacLean was obviously the pioneer: most of his best poetry was completed by around 1939 and was in print, or at any rate in circulation before the earliest serious attempts at poetry by either Hay or Thomson. Thomson's first published poem was 'Eainn a' Bhuna', which appeared in 'An Gaidheal' in February 1943, the year of publication of Hay's first mature composition. Unlike MacLean and Hay, Thomson has continued to compose poetry up to the present day. He also forms a physical link with the next generation of Gaelic poets in that the two best known of that generation--Iain Smith and

Donald MacAulay--are, respectively, a co-villager (and fellow student) and a friend of long standing.

Thomson was educated at the Nicolson Institute in Stornoway and at Aberdeen, where he took an Honours degree in English and Celtic, and Cambridge Universities, his University career being interrupted by a spell of War Service. In a B.B.C. radio talk in Winter 1966, Thomson recalled that, as a young (20-year old) student in Aberdeen, he was shown the poems of Sorley MacLean by Douglas Young, then a lecturer in Classics in Aberdeen, and that he found the experience a very stimulating one. In the preface to his own first collection, 'An Dealbh Briste' (1951), he acknowledged "the encouragement. . . received fairly early from the writings of Sorley Maclean, the most notable poet writing in Gaelic today."⁶³ Despite the undoubted inspiration and even stylistic influence of MacLean's poetry, however, Thomson's poetry is exceptionally personal as to content--to the extent that lack of biographical information is much more of a handicap in reading some poems than it is even with MacLean--and his original stylistic contribution has been very significant and influential.

'Beinn a' Bhuna' is a Romantic nature poem, introducing a milkmaid sweetheart and lamenting the passing of the old idyllic order--"Ach thrial gach sean-shòlas bho mhonadh mo ghràidh"; it is obviously a youthful poem--very little more than an exercise in this convention. The next poem to appear in 'An Gaidheal' was 'Faoisgnèadh' ("A bheanntan Chill-Fhinn. . .")

in September 1943, an expression in vers libre of the poet's Scottish Nationalist political views. In October 1944, 'An Gaidheal' published 'N e so 'n Dan Deireannach Dhut-sa', one of the very sophisticated love poems that distinguish Thomson's first collection, and, in January 1945, 'Marbhrann do Shomhairle MacNeacail', which is probably the first elegy of poetic worth to have been written in Gaelic since those of Rob Donn. Poems of his continued to be published in 'An Gaidheal' up till the publication of 'An Dealbh Briste' in 1951.⁶⁴

The poet himself testifies that the poems in 'An Dealbh Briste' are arranged in a basically chronological order and that the earliest ('Seann Oran', 'Duslach 'san Anam') date from around 1940. 'Roghadal, 1943' to 'Anail a' Ghaidheil am Mullach' (six poems) were composed during the poet's period of R.A.F. service between 1943 and 1945--this was spent in Bradford and Cranwell in England and in Rodel in Harris. Later on in the book, the poems between 'Asaid' (p. 37) and 'Tilleadh' (p. 49)--twelve poems--comprise an interesting group that were written in Bangor, North Wales, in Spring 1950, while Thomson was doing postgraduate research there. The last poems in the collection were composed between then and the publication of 'An Dealbh Briste' in Summer 1951.

'Seann Oran' describes how he was reminded of a girl by the singing of a song (not, one notes, by the song itself or the singer--"Chuala mi raoir seann òran bhith 'ga sheinn"). The singing has reminded him of her

because it has the same satisfying wholeheartedness as she had--". . .bha taisealachd do bhilean anns a' cheòl". This basic similarity having unconsciously suggested itself to him, he proceeds consciously to seek further comparison. The singer's warm breath is like her beauty and personality, a striking and very beautiful and eloquent comparison:

"Mar anail thlàth an t-seinneadair do sgiamh,
Tiugh chùbhraidheachd do spioraid, 's t'aoibhneas.
làn. . ."

The last verse weakens the poem in turning our attention to the song itself rather than the singing, discussing the philosophical questions of whether the poet's soul was aware of the pain the song has caused to another lover. This very early poem already exhibits some distinctive facets of Thomson's style--in particular, its rich assonantal texture and its expressive and, in part, subconsciously chosen imagery.

'Duslach 's an Anam', the second poem in the collection, pursues the implications of the traditional image of passion as a fire in a manner reminiscent of John Donne: his love and the girl's has been burnt to dust, each by the other's, but, if she will say the word, God can blow life into the dust and create new life. A slight note of denotative incoherence is introduced by his further symbolising love as a thorn--"Tlàth ròs mo dhroighinn-ghaoil" and "fuar-dhust mo droighinn-s'". Otherwise the main symbol is consistently sustained throughout. The poem is distinguished

by the vital interest shown in the manipulation of words, e.g.--"Duslach ar fiar-ghaoil, chiar-ghaoil, sìor-ghaoil,/Geur ghaoil. . ." and ". . .iargain gràidh,/ fad-iargain, sìor iar-iargain, fiaraidh, fàs". The metre is a variety of blank verse.

'Chreid mi 'n Uiridh' discusses a past love affair-- as do the first two--this time using the image of vegetation decaying and returning to life in the course of the natural cycle. Though the theme here also is partly expounded in straightforward fashion, the imagery used to assist the exposition is well sustained. For instance, wondering if their love can be renewed, the poet says:

"A ghaoil, a bheil 'nad bhroilloach chaomh
Fionn shnodhach",

echoing Yeats's--". . .up from my heart's root/So great a sweetness flows"; and the poem's conclusion is expressed in terms of this symbolism:

"Thig blàths an t-samhraidh', fhreagair mi,
'Is taiseachadh na froise ciùin,
Ag ùrachadh gach lus 'na thràth,
Ach cha tig blàth air ròs do rùin'".

The same passionate feeling for words is evident in this poem also in, for example, this word play:

"Chunncas dreach an earraich uanaich
'G uaineadh mheanganan is chraobh".

'Nam b'è Ròs do Choimeas' shows, in a different way, Thomson's care in the use of imagery. He examines the relevance to his subject of the traditional image of the rose. The rose does not show the girl's

sadness and anxieties (the foreboding of winter), but it does symbolise the unforgettability of her happy moments (in that its fragrance lasts into winter). This intellectual evaluation of the rose image is pointed, in the last verse, by the expression, in terms of the poem's basic imagery, of the poet's emotional reaction to the situation which has prompted these thoughts:

"O chridhe, mo rùin-ghil, is m' éiteag,
 Na biodh faileas na gaillinn 'nad shùilean,
 Dir togaidh sinn dìon roimh 'n ghaillionn,
 A gràidh: eadhon t' ùidh-s agus m' ùidh-sa."

The poem is all the more effective for the oblique way in which its theme has been developed up till the last verse.

'Roghadal 1943' is notable for its splendid image of love as a breaker swelling over the reef's and returning, humiliating, draining through the sand of hope; "'N e so an Dàn Deireannach Dhut-sa" for its subtle conception of his love for the girl as one endless poem--"làn molaidh is mìl-bhriathran"--and also for its technical self-consciousness:

"Cha dean mi mo dhàn deireannach dhut fhathast
 Agus gun m' ealain coimhlionta
 'S gun mo chuspair leth-dheilbhte."

The poem 'Anail a' Ghaidheil am Mullach', written in the same year as the last mentioned--while the poet's skill has still not been perfected nor his symbolism fully developed--does show the results of a conscious development of his technique in a particular

expressed using the logic-based techniques of philosophy than through poetry. In 'Anail a' Ghaidheil am Mullach', Part II, the imagery is not used as an extension of a fundamentally expository style. The poet describes streams that, when tasted of, will attract the drinker to their source in the hills--very few clues are given as to what interpretation of the symbolism the poet prescribes. The first part of the poem, however, is more explicit; the hill-tops represent, as in the proverbial saying which is used as a title, determined aspirations to greatness, the development of the theme being half Symbolist, half ratiocinative: this is closer to Sorley MacLean's symbolist technique. Of the very interesting group of twelve poems composed in Bangor in the Spring of 1950, seven are of the same style as Part II of 'Anail a' Ghaidheil am Mullach', that is, a coherent picture of a physical reality--usually a process in nature--is presented, with very little indication in some cases that the picture has a connotational level at all and usually with no indication as to how it is to be interpreted.

'Asaid' (p. 37) is the first in 'An Dealbh Briste' of the Bangor group; it describes how, though the crops are ripe and the implements honed, no one makes a move to start harvesting. In past autumns there used to be laughter and noise in the fields; on this day all that is heard is the cry of a child--"Nach bris air sàmhchair balbh a' chridhe bhriste". This dénouement at the end of a poem implies a more elusive meaning

for the poem than the superficial one. The poem's title means delivery, i.e. childbirth; the word is first used figuratively of the harvest--". . .na raointean torrach a' feitheamh an asaid,/'S cha ghluais duine". The poet cannot assist in this delivery-- "Chan fhaod mi mo shùil a leagail air raon an arbhair", but in the last half of the poem, the poet refers to an actual childbirth and seasonal imagery also is, I think, to be read literally here--"Thug bliadhna mun cuairt/Geamhradh is earrach is samhradh,/'s tha 'm foghar air tighinn". This "asaid" is performed, producing "gal cràidhteach naoidhean" and a broken heart. The central symbol of the harvest remains enigmatic: I presume it represents the fruits of education or of poetic apprenticeship, which the poet feels he has been prevented from reaping by a catastrophe in his personal life.

In 'Chunnaic mi Ròs a' Fàs', the central image is again capable of several interpretations. The rose grows on "stalla na h-eachdraidh", sucking nutrition from the rock, remaining fragrant in the memory of men, surviving the salt spray and the sword. The poet plucked the rose and planted it in his garden, but it has died. Obviously, Yeats's symbolic rose, "the rose upon the rood of time", the "far-off, most secret, and inviolate Rose", all symbols of eternal beauty, contributed to the evolution of this poem. Yeats, however, like MacLean, prescribes more clearly than Thomson how we are to interpret the symbol. The rose-symbol in the Gaelic

poem probably represents either love or Yeats's "eternal beauty"--or both.

'Ged bha 'Gaoth an Raoir a' Seideadh' ostensibly describes the felling of corn-stooks by the wind, the speaker's discovery that the ears and seed were not damaged, and his reflections on the sorry state of an adjoining field, which has not been harvested and in which the corn has been flattened and is rotting into the ground. In 'Asaid', the poet had not harvested the grain crop, but in this poem it is someone else who has not done so. The symbol has undoubtedly been suggested by the Biblical image of the mission field as a harvest for which "the reapers are few". The poet has taken difficult character-making decisions--in love, in cultural affairs, or with regard to poetry and mental discipline; that is, he has cut the corn while others have not and, as a consequence, has gleaned seed for future growth which the occasional emotional setback (the wind) cannot destroy. The same symbol is used in 'Taobh thall na Beinne', in which the seed planted by the poet in the spring is said to be now ripe, while he waits, on the other side of the hill, for the apples, to which he aspires, to fall. The corn crop is probably--as in 'Asaid'--poetry or philosophy; the apple, love. In 'Achadh Buana', the poet is imagined as in the process of reaping the harvest when he is interrupted by a girl. In order not to hurt her, he hides the sharp tools of the harvester (the intellect, words); idyllic happiness is achieved in this way--". . . dh' éirich a' ghealach a meadhon

suaimhneis"--but others have not been as careful for her happiness as he:

"Thuit thu air speal bha fear eile air fhàgail,
Is ghearradh do chneas, is dhiùilt e slànadh."

'An Tobar' is the most complex of this group of poems. An old woman tells the poet about a grass-hidden well of pure water which was popular in her youth: the symbolism is again Biblical in inspiration--the well contains a spiritual salve--"nì slàn gach ciùrradh/
Gu ruig ciùrradh cridhe". The symbolic well is itself symbolised by the old woman's eyes:

"nuair sheall mi troimh 'n raineach 'na sùilean
Chunnaic mi lainnir a' bhùirn ud. . .";

but, though he brings the water from it to her, when he returns to look for the well again, he cannot now find it and the old woman herself is dead:

"Cha d' fhuair mi ach raineach is luachair,
'S tha sùilean na caillich dùinte
'S tha lì air tighinn air an luathghair."

The symbolism here also denotes a finely observed physical reality.

In reading this poem in particular, it is quite clear that the synthesis of image and designation is an organic and not a forced one: the observable objects--here a well and an old woman's eyes--were not chosen consciously as symbols of a particular concept. They probably did stimulate the experience, but the experience has been organised largely subconsciously. What we are dealing with is not a literary fashion, but a habit of mind--that of seeing intangible truths

in terms of physical (usually natural) objects and processes. We notice its growth in the early lyrics, in which the logical exposition of concepts are substantiated by this more oblique vision; in the Bangor poems, the ratiocination has been eliminated.

There are, no doubt, several reasons why Thomson developed this distinct strain of Symbolism. It seems in retrospect a natural developement of his early lyric style, but that style has been the characteristic one of most poets--in all European languages--in this century and has not usually developed in this way. In the Surrealist period of European Symbolism, it became a theoretical ideal to make a poem mean as much as possible to the reader and to that end grammatical connecting links were often dropped and the key symbol of poems left unspecified--the meaning of a poem came to be defined as the "total of all its ambiguities" [William Empson, 'Seven Types of Ambiguity' (1930)]. Poems written in the light of this theory tended to be superficially unconnected strings of images (an emanation of the "stream of consciousness" procedure used most distinctively in the novel, e.g. Joyce's 'Ulysses') rather than anything approaching the denotative compactness of Thomson's poems, but he may have been influenced, if only unconsciously, by his knowledge of the underlying theory. A more mundane explanation for the developement of this very oblique style is that the relative privacy it gives is attractive in such a tightly knit community as the Gaelic one and, especially, to as reserved a person as Thomson shows himself to be in 'Mur b' e 'n saoghal .

is m' eagal':

"Shiùbhlainn leat-sa gu fada
 Is chaidlimid mùirneach
 Ann an gàrradh na h-ùidhe
 Fo chraobhan an àigh,
 Mur b' e eagal an t-saoghail
 Bhith daonnan 'gam leònedh,
 A' cur glas-ghuib air ceòl
 Agus sgleò air a' ghràdh."

In addition, this style forms a superficial link with the long tradition of naturalistic nature descriptive poetry in Gaelic and its oblique approach to the expression of thought compensates for the lack of a highly developed conceptual vocabulary in Gaelic. In this latter connection, it is probably true that the lack of such a vocabulary has been a good thing for Gaelic poetry in that it has consequently remained in closer touch with the observable and tactile reality than much of modern English poetry, for example.

Donald MacAulay has been the only Gaelic poet to practise and develop this distinctive Symbolist style: his application of it has been distinguished and important.

This development in Thomson's poetry--though important, because of its distinctive quality and its influence--involves only a very small number of his poems in 'An Dealbh Briste', in fact, only the seven composed in Bangor and the second section of 'Anail a' Ghaidheil an Mullach'. In the rest, his style is basically that of the early poems--they are lyric or discursive poems which

use symbols coherently and graphically.

'Faoisgneadh' (composed in 1943) is a Nationalist poem. Beginning with the Killin Hills as a symbol of Scotland--in particular, its gloomy history and its unchanging character--the poet reviews the history of Scotland and symbolises, in the music of pipe and fiddle, the distinctive character which that history has given to it:

"O tùchanach, tormanach,
Luaisgeanach, iolagach,
Gluaistinneach, caithreamach
Bagair do phìoba;
Sìreachdach, mánranach,
Sìdhicheil, blàth-shuilleach
Cagair na fìdhle--
Spiorad na h-Albann
An fhiodhull 's a' phìob."

The poem lapses into vehement exhortation in a pipe-march rhythm:

"Sgal na piob-móire, O tùchanach tormanach,
Eireamaid aighearach, cuireamaid oirnn
Treuntas ar sinnsirean, trusgan ath-leasaichte,
Claidheamh an spioraid, n' as prìseil na 'n t-òr",
finishing with a rather abrupt forced return to the mountain symbolism of the beginning.

'Marbhrann', composed for a friend of the poet killed during the war, is like the best elegies of Rob Donn in deducing thoughts of universal significance from the death of an individual. The two had been students together:

"A' sniomh seann saoghal ann an saoghal ùr
Le iomadh bristeadh snàtha. . ."

and often discussed together "na ceistean sin/Tha dol
'nan éibhlean teine/'N eanchainn òg". So it seems
quite natural, and not at all sententious (Cf. Angus
Morrison), for the poet to make this death an occasion for
philosophising on the topic, "Troimh 'n bhàs thig buaidh".
The basic attitude to war contained in the poem is a
highly radical one: the friend has been killed by a
German but his only real enemy was a more elusive one--

"T'ionnsaigh-sa

Bha 'n aghaidh namh na's sleamhna. . .

. . .Bha t'ionnsaigh-sa

an aghaidh cogaidh, mìoruin, braid,

murt, féinealachd, an-shuairceas de gach gnè".

The poem's thought-content is original and subtle and
the expression of it and of his feelings of grief very
succinct, accurate, and often picturesque. The poem is
in vers libre, but very rich in assonance, though the
incidence of the latter is far from regular:

"Samhradh 'san Eilean Sgitheanach, is cebl,

Is diadhachd a' Bhràighe, is Port-Rìgh,

Is gann dà bhliadhna anns a' bhàile mhór

A' sniomh seann saoghal ann an saoghal ùr

Le iomadh bristeadh snàtha, mar bu dual

'S mar b' éiginn do luchd t'eilein 's luchd do

dhùthch."

Thomson's verse style is often, as here, very reminiscent
of that of John Munro, although vowel rhyming is

somewhat more dominant in Munro's poems. In 'Faoisgneadh', Thomson varies line length more noticeably than here, while in other paragraphs of 'Marbhrann' and in many other of Thomson's poems, the verse reads much more like colloquial speech than does the example quoted above.

The assonantal texture of the poems when read is often very richly sensuous: a good example is the beginning of 'Làraichean'. After the introductory first line, four lines in a slow monotonous rhythm--dominated by long and sensuous vowels--describe the decay, the sixth and seventh lines being arrestingly long and colloquial in rhythm, with very flat vowels, symbolising the break with the past that they describe:

. "Tha làraichean thighean shios air an sgaoiltich,
 'S na feannagan bàna 'nan cadal
 An achlais na tràghad,
 'S na h-eathraichean móra ri grodadh
 Ri gréidheadh na gréine.
 Air là samhraidh, o chionn leth-cheud bliadhna
 Tug am baile ceum air ais, 's a nis. . ."

The dull uneventfulness and the yet inexorable progress of decay are represented in the slow repetitive development of the theme in the second paragraph:

"Tha an t-seann bhean a dh' innis an uiridh dhomh
 Eachdraidh nan tighean-saillidh,
 Is eachdraidh a h-òige fhéin,
 Is eachdraidh a' bhòn-dé 's a' bhàile,
 'Na suidhe ri taobh na cagailt,
 Is am feasgar am fagus,

Is an samhradh gu bhith againn,
Is an geamhradh gu bhith againn."

The third and last paragraph starts with the beginning of the one before--"Tha an t-seann bhean a dh' innis an uiridh dhomh"--describes her reminiscences of the past, and finishes with the two lines that bring the last two lines of paragraph 2, with a laboured but steady slowness, to a conclusion:

'S a cuimhneachadh obair a' chorrainn ⁶⁶
Anns an fhoghar a bh' againn,
'S tha 'n geamhradh gu bhith againn."

The rhythmic monotony, the somniferous quality of the vowel sounds, and the syntactical and thematic repetitions express the nature of the progress of decay even more effectively than does the rather oblique verbal description. The rhythm approximates that of colloquial speech, but examination reveals that it has been artfully created to achieve an effect that the rhythm of normal speech could not. Vers libre, ideally, does not aim at reproduction of colloquial speech rhythms: if it did, there would be no point in not writing it as prose. Instead, it aims--both through aural and visual means--at conveying the rhythm of thought at some particular time.⁶⁷ This, in fact, is what 'Làraichean' aims and succeeds at doing. Thomson was the first and remains one of the best practitioners of vers libre in Gaelic: again his most successful follower has been MacAulay.

'Nam laigh air a' Chnoc so 'san Fhraoch' is a philosophical poem based on the poet's analysis of his own feelings of futility. The sky, seas, hills--

and nature's work in general--are permanent but, surrounded by them, he muses on:

" . . . giorrad mo linn agus an-treòir mo làimh,
Air neoinitheachd ghnìomh,

'S an snàth caol tha na cailleachan a' snìomh",
but he recognises the reason for this pessimism:

"Is tric dìth misneachd bhith 'n cuideachd cus
smaoinn",

and becomes once more optimistic. Looking around him at the villages and hills he sees many signs of the important contribution to the progress of the human race that even insignificant lives can make. First, the sight of a small boy and his grandfather tying a cow ("Giollan ri fearalas") remind him of how important is the handing down by one generation to another of the techniques and attitudes of civilised life; again, the peat bog has developed into its present useful form only over long centuries and great trees have sacrificed their grandeur to that end:

"Dubh-bhàite fo 'd chois

Tha coilltean 'nan laighe aig fois".

This is an excellent and beautifully expressed philosophical poem.

'Pabail' is a delightful vignette, describing an impression of the poet's native village. The theme is developed with skilful but unobtrusive craftsmanship. The poem begins with an impressionistic detail--a lapwing's white breast is intermittently seen and lost by the poet's eye; from that he moves to an even more

elusive reality, the smell of summer which he detects and loses, and finally to the most elusive sensation of all:

"Is fras-mhullach tonn an t-sonais
'Ga lorg 's 'ga chall aig mo chuimhne."

The second paragraph moves from the immediate tangible reality--the sea's constant movement--to consideration of the constant ebb and flow of life in the village ("am bàs 's an ùrtan,/An ùrnuigh 's an t-suirghe, is mìle ceidhe/Ag at 's a' seacadh"), returning to the lapwing which is still "a' ruith 's a' stad, 's a' ruith 's a' stad." The only exile poem in this collection, 'Fàgail Leòdhais, 1949' is similarly free of conventional attitudes to the subject and similarly original as to style. He is more true to the real experience of most Gaels, especially young Gaels, than the nostalgic Romantic poets are when he states:

". . .chan iarrainn-sa falbh as na fuireach,
Chan iarrainn-sa fuireach na falbh as,
Ach ghiùllain an tràigh dheth mi 'n uiridh."

The plane taking him away from Lewis becomes a symbol of his education--which is, in another sense, what is taking him away. He would gladly be lifted up beyond the clouds by it if he thought that would bring happiness, but, in a striking and effective extension of his basic symbol, he doubts that he will achieve happiness in this way:

". . .cha ghluais m' inntinn gu beachdaidh
Air eagal sluic-adhar a' bhròin".

The conclusion is a satisfying one. The island must itself move with the times as he is doing; it must act courageously:

"Ach cuireas i sròn ris a' gharbhlaich,
 'S ri cridh na droch-aimsir,
 Ag éiridh air sgiathan neo-chearbach."

Written in 1949, this is the first exile poem in Gaelic to appraise realistically and intelligently the exile's complex feelings towards the homeland. In its awareness of the degree of alienation from the native Gaelic community that is an inevitable consequence of education and of assimilation into the modern technological world, it foreshadows the equally realistic and penetrative exile poetry of Donald MacAulay and Iain Smith.

The bulk of Thomson's poetry is on love themes. The early lyrics and the later comprehensively Symbolist love poems were discussed above. The remainder are basically in the same style as the early poems--illuminated by expressive symbolism--but are, in the main, longer and--probably as a direct consequence--have more obvious formal unifying devices than the earlier poems and also involve often a more profound and thorough psychological self-analysis. One of the very best of these poems is 'Ghluais an raoir an trom-laighe mo chuimhne'. In it, the poet ostensibly describes a nightmare of a very conventional nature--his standing on the edge of a gull-girt precipice over the sea, but the description has distinct sexual connotations:

" . . . bha mi, mar chleachd mi, fo uamhunn
 Air chrith air stalla an uamhais, 's an bàs stobach
 Ag at 's a' glaothaich."

These connotations are fully pertinent in a description of a dream; here, they designate the real theme of the poem, which is the poet's memory, while in a state of emotional limbo, of a previous period of intense passion. He implies that this strength of passion had an epiphanous quality:

"Is dh' aithnich mi 'm bidean bho 'n aigeann,
 Is chunnaic mi 'chlach a' tuiteam,
 Is thomhais mi luaths a siùbhail."

He reflects that he does not now know either "bidean" or "aigeann", "ciùineas" or "fearg", "fuath" or love; in the remainder of the poem, he discusses this and his longing for his old red-blooded sensations, mainly in terms of Yeats's symbolism in the poem 'The White Birds' ('The Rose', 1893):

"I would that we were, my beloved, white birds on the
 foam of the sea,
 We tire of the flame of the meteor, before it can
 fade and flee;
 And the flame of the blue star of twilight, hung low
 on the rim of the sky,
 Has waked in our hearts, my beloved, a sadness
 that may not die."

Thomson feels himself to be:

" . . . 'n diugh mar àrc air marbh-shruth dìomhain",
 and is not content:

"Bìdh cuid ag iarraidh fois nam bliadhntan,

Ach foghnaidh sud dhomh an dáidh dhomh liathadh". Assimilating Yeats's symbolism neatly with traditional Gaelic imagery, he concludes with the wise:

"Chan e riochd nan eun fionn tha mi nochd
ag iarraidh,

Ach fèath nan eun fionn is mire iarmailt."

This poem, in its acuteness of self-analysis, its allusive cosmopolitanism, and unobtrusive artistry, surpasses most other poems of love in Gaelic, including most of MacLean's, which--while gaining in sheer lyric ebullience--lack this poem's quiet subtlety.

Examples of the use of more formal unifying devices are "'Nam Dhachaidh eadar dhà Dhùthaich' and 'Mur a biodh ann ach Sireadh'. The first verse of the latter begins--"Mur a biodh ann ach sireadh/ Bu tù an ròs Frangach 'sa' ghàrradh" and goes on to list conventional images of beauty; the second begins--"Mur a biodh ann ach sireadh/Dh' fhanadh an latha samhraidh/'S cha tigeadh am brúadar gu ceann dhuinn"; and the third develops the theme a little further by wishing not that something would happen, but that he was able not to see what is happening--"Mur a biodh ann ach sireadh/'S gun aithne air an là-màireach,/Chan fhaicinn do bhòidheach a' cnàmhadh"; the next verse repeats the theme of the other three, through a sea symbol; the last verse is the first to drop the "Mur a biodh ann ach sireadh" beginning and expresses the logical conclusion of the preceding verse forthrightly, in terms of the rose and sea symbols. "'Nam Dhachaidh eadar

dhà Dhùthaich' is constructed on a similar pattern. The first verse begins, "'Nam dhachaidh eadar dhà dhùthaich/Chì thu air bùird càiricht'/Sligean iomallach na tràghad/Is air a' bhalla, dealbh siùrsaich"; the second begins, "'Nam sgrìobhadh eadar dhà chànain"; and the third, "'S 'nam chridhe eadar dhà chuireadh/Leughaidh tu 'm mulad as léir dhut,/Mulad a chionn 's gun do ghéill mi,/'S gun d'rinn mi do dhùltadh buileach". The last verse begins with a different phrase and, in it, the theme, which has been developed unobtrusively throughout the ostensibly episodic first three-quarters of the poem, is summed up and the subject of each of the three verses synthesised in the very condensed last five lines:

"Bidh eagal orm roimh do mhànan
 'S gum fàg a mhìlseachd mi leòinte
 Taobh-muigh do sheòmair 'san fhuar-ghaoth
 Tha reodhadh mo chainnté fuadain
 'S tha sgailceadh mo chridhe luainich."

A poet's remarks on poetry, its functions and techniques, in his poems is always of significance. It is obvious that Thomson sets a high value on originality and appositeness of imagery (symbols). In 'Feitheamh', he rejects most conventional Gaelic love imagery as irrelevant to the feeling he seeks to express:

"'S a chionn 's nach diù leam do chòmhradh
 A choimeas ri guth na smeòraich,
 No ceòl do bhilean
 Ri binneas fiodhuill,
 'S a chionn 's gu bheil an teud a bhriseadh

Gun chàradh mienich,
 Eisdidh mi thar gach samhlaidh
 Ri duan-dòchais do shamhraidh."

In 'Dà Là', he claims that the images chosen by Wordsworth to symbolise sorrow and joy--a withered bush and the moon rising--are irrelevant for describing the experience of mid-twentieth century man. He sees a kiosk as symbolising his own sadness and the cinema neon lights on Princes' Street his joy. But in practise, his imagery is almost exclusively taken from nature--albeit imaginatively chosen and vivaciously used. Finally, in 'An Loch a Tuath', he makes it clear that his primary aim in composing poetry is not to perfect his wit or versification (cf. the bards) or even to discuss philosophical or political topics, but to describe in full detail his elusive experience of life:

"'S cha ghlac mo bhreithneachadh a chaoidh
 Ged shiuthladh i air iteig luath,

"Cion-fàth an aoibhneis a tha falbh
 Mar airgead-beò air leac mo smuain."

Thomson's second collection, 'Eadar Samhradh is Foghar', was published in 1967. The poems are divided into five groups according to subject: the first section is 'Eilean an Fhraoich', poems about Lewis; the second, 'Gaidhealtachd na h-Albann', dealing with cultural affairs and history, for the most part; the third is titled 'Air Fàire' and deals with more general topics; the last two sections are 'Lus a' Chorracha-mille',

love poems, and 'Mar Chuimhneachan', elegies and reminiscences of the old and disappearing Gaelic way of life.

Only three of the fifteen poems in the 'Eilean an Fhraoich' section deal with present-day life in the island. Each of these concentrates the attention on one facet of the way of life and incisively describes it. 'Clann-nighean an Sgadain' is a particularly successful poem. The degree to which their working conditions ("nan tràillean aig ciùrairean cutach/thall 's a-bhos air Galldachd 's an Sasuinn") shaped the personality of the fishergirls is the poem's main theme. It is developed--with superlative craftsmanship--by describing their character in terms of the tools and associated images of their work, using simile ("An gàire mar chraiteachan salainn", "na sùilean cho domhainn ri feàth"), metaphor ("Bhàireadh cutag an teanga/sluisinn á fanaid nan Gall", "bha craiteachan uail air an chridhe"), and word-play ("ciùrairean cutach", "Bu shailhte an duais a thàrr iad"). The poem ends effectively with the girls' ironic final triumph:

"air oidhche robach gheamhraidh,
ma bha sud an dân dhaibh,
dheanadh iad daoine."

'Na Cailleachan' concentrates on another distinctive sector of the island community and is also very polished technically. The old ladies sit "ri còmhradh/air crodh 's air daoine,/'s ri cur fàd air an teine" while the ominous soot creeps closer:

"'s an sileadh 'na ghlaodh dubh a' dlùthadh". The second paragraph gives further snatches of conversation-- e.g. "cha dainig iasg an diugh, nì ach sgadan,/sgadan saillte 's buntàt', buntàt' is sgadan"--finishing with an echo of the first paragraph--"chan eil nì ri dheanamh ach fàd a chur mun an teine/is bruidhinn air crodh 's air daoine". The third paragraph begins-- "'S tha 'n sileadh 'na ghlaodh dubh a' dlùthadh/a nuas bho na sparrann,/a-nuas bho 'n an tughadh", further develops the conversation (discussing the soot and the necessity of rethatching the house), and ends-- "'s cha dainig iasg an diugh, nì ach buntàt' is sgadan." The last paragraph makes the significance of the previous description perhaps over explicit. The poet is here using the same technique as was used in 'Làraichean' to convey a similar atmosphere of inertia underlaid by a slow, inexorable current of decay.

'Na Fir Bhréige' is a Symbolist poem, discussing the Calvinistic religion of the islands in terms of the standing stones at Callanish. The religion seems a harsh one, ostensibly without charity:

"tha a' Chrois tha so gun truas innt,
an Slànaighear gun deòir, an Dia gun tròcair",

but is, in actuality, not so life-denying as it seems:

"Mura b' e am fear a tha fàs gorm ann
thuigeadh tu 'n diadhachd so,
ged nach eil gràs ga riaghladh leath';
leughadh tu na stoban

a sgrìobh an seann fhaois so air a' chnocan

le solus o a dhia fhéin, an ciaradh
 a sheann shaoghail,
 ach on a tha am fear gorm a' fàs ann
 cha leugh thu gu brath iad."

Most of the poems to Lewis are retrospective--as were, it is of interest to note, a majority of the poems in 'An Dealbh Briste'. 'Eilean Chaluim Chille, an Loch Eireasort, Leòdhus' contemplated changes in that island--from being virtually uninhabited, through the settlement by the Christian missionaries and others to its present state of desolation:

"'S torrach an deanntag mu do chlachan lom,
 i frasadh siol as t-fhoghar thar nan leac."

"'N fhaoileag. . . crochte air a sgéith" is a keenly observed and succinctly expressed detail.

'Nuair a Thill mi gu t' Uaigh' describes the past way-of-life in the Islands (apostrophised at the end-- "O shaoghail a bh' ann"). The poem is distinguished by virtuosic craftsmanship. The various facets of the old way-of-life are expressed in terms of the days of the week, using the traditional associations of particular days with certain activities or objects, e.g.:

"Troimh fhilleadh na Sàbaid
 chuimhnich mi air do chràbhadh;
 troimh fhilleadh Luain
 dh' fhairich mi tarraing a' chuain."

In many of the poems in 'Eilean an Fhraoich', the poet reminisces on incidents and personages in the island's past with which he has been personally and

closely connected. In 'An Rathad', the sight of the old road reminds him, by association, of incidents in his own youth; in 'Raointean Eile', the street (which also symbolises an avenue of thought) and smooth handrail remind him, by contrast, of his boyhood in Lewis:

"An uair nach fhaiceadh sùil os cionn nan dias,
is ròidean glaiste uaine ruith gun chrìoch
a mheadhon gorm na tìre. Bha fàsgadh ann a' sin
bho ghaoith fhuair an anmoich, no bho theas
na gréin am bruthainneachd an là."

"Bu ghreannach suathadh na bàrr-dháis ri m' làimh.. ."

The connotations of this description make this a more complex poem than it superficially appears to be. In 'Mu Chrìochan Hòil', a long but well constructed poem, details the environment, social and physical, of his youth. In 'Troimh Uinneig a' Chithe', the poet's son's delight at the snowfall reminds him of his own father's and grandfather's attitude to snow and he reflects on the difference between himself and the past generations of his people:

"Iadsan a' fàgail staid a' bhalach,
's a strì ri fearann, 's a' treabhadh na mara
le neart an guàillibh,
's ag adhradh, air uairibh;
's mise caitheamh an spionnaidh, ach ainneamh,
a' treabhadh ann an gainneamh".

In 'Fuaim an t-Samhraidh', he recalls and longs for the rural sensations of a summer's evening

in Lewis as he remembers them.

The explanation for the fact that so much of his poetry to Lewis is retrospective, is, of course, that from his late youth Thomson has been exiled from it. But, like 'Fàgail Leódhuis, 1949' in 'An Dealbh Briste', these poems differ radically from the traditional exile poetry in their attitude to the homeland. Thomson's attitude is clearly not a simple one of love and nostalgia; in 'Sgòthan' he says of various sights in Lewis:

"ach chaidh mis a bhuap air taod
cho fada 's a thèid gaol bho fhuath";

and in 'An Cianalas', he echoes, in sentiment, the statement, "chan iarrainn-sa fuireach no falbh as", in 'Fàgail Leódhuis':

"Clachan a' mhuil fliuch fo imlich na mara--
nam biodh deòir agam, shilinn mo dheòir tharaibh.

"Seana bhàtaichean iasgaich 'na laigh air tràigh ghil--
nam b' e 's gun sgàineadh mo chridhe cha deanainn
àicheadh."

What we have in the 'Eilean an Fhraoich' section are attempts by the poet to indirectly analyse his personality by coding the early experience which laid the foundation for it. Conscious that his education has partially alienated him from the island way-of-life and his own youthful experience, he tries, in terms of his own symbolism in 'Mu Chriochan Hòil' to release the boy from the walls of the schoolrooms:

"'s gann gu lorgadh sgeilb
na clachan eadar-dhealaichte fo 'n aol,
no obair mheanbh a' chlachair air a' chrìdh,
'se togail bhallachan--tha 'm bàlach stigh 'nam broinn
's a ghrian neo-thruasail, gheal a' drùdhadh orr'."

The perspective in the next section of the book is a wider one. Only one poem describes 'Gaidhealtachd na h-Albann' in terms of its scenic beauty: this is 'Nuair a thig an As-eirigh', written with eloquent verve in a traditional verse form around a highly imaginative central idea--the poet's wishes as to where he is to spend eternity.⁶⁸ A number deal, in a basically symbolist style, with aspects of Highland (i.e. Gaelic) culture and life. In 'A' Ghaidhealtachd', the poet sees the Highlands as a house ("tigh Gall-Gaidhealtach ") whose decay shows that its inhabitants are dying even though the neighbouring house's children disport themselves around it; in 'Frasadh nan Duilleagan', Gaelic culture is a tree which used to shed beautiful poetry like leaves and is now sadly bare, but the poet hopes that this is just winter, not death, and that it will merely sweep away decaying leaves and wasted branches to make way for new growth--the symbolism here is consciously manipulated--as in the last verse, which begins, "Ma thagh mi an samhla-s'/tha fios gu robh dòchas 'nam chrìdh. . .". The last poem in this section, 'Anns a' bhalbh Mhadainn' uses the falling of snow--described naturalistically in the first verse--as a symbol of the process of decay which is killing the

Gaelic way of life, this image being skilfully exploited:

"dheanadh mo chridhe iollach
nam faicinn air a' chlàr bhàn sin ball buidhe
's gun tuiginn gu robh anail a' Ghaidheil a'
tighinn am mullach".

'Geodha air Chùl na Gréine' is the most complex poem of this type in the 'Gaidhealtachd na h-Albann' section: the "geodha" is an actual cove but is also a symbol of the emotional backwater into which the fishermen's widows retreat from their grief and a symbol also of the Gaeltachd as sheltered from the sociological currents and tides of the outside world; the water is full of salmon, symbol in Celtic lore of wisdom ("Beithir airgeadach beò a' ghliocais 's an eòlais"), which are caught only at great expense (the widow's grief) but which, nevertheless, are ultimately irresistible:

"Ach ged bheireadh miann an duiligh duine a thaobh
car ùine,
tha'm bradan lainnireach sìnt' fo shàmhchair dorch,
is ma bheir mi an sgobadh sin air an àit sam bì e
bidh maistreadh fairg ann, is cearcaill sìth
'na lorg".

This is one of the few poems in the collection where the poet's preferred interpretation of the symbolism is not indicated: the placing of the poem in this section is illuminating, but it can as easily be read as a love-poem.

The remainder of the poems in this section are polemical but use irony rather than invective; they are 'Cainnt nan Oghaichean', 'Strath Nabhair' and 'Cruaidh', with its effectively understated anger:

"nuair a ruigeas tu Tìr a' Gheallaidh,
mura bi thu air t'aire,
coinnichidh Sasunnach riut is plìon air,
a dh'innse dhut gun tug Dia, bràthair athar, còir
dha anns an fhearann".

'Air Fàire' broadens the perspective even further. Its range includes the sensitive 'Do Dheòrsa Caimbeul Hay', 'Dùn nan Gall' ("far a bheil grian na h-Eireann a' dol sìos,/is grian Ameireagaidh ag éirigh le éigheachd is caithream"), 'Budapest', and 'Uiseag', a record of a moment of grief over a wounded bird.

The most striking difference between 'Eadar Samhradh is Foghar' and 'An Dealbh Briste' is the relatively low proportion of love poems in the former--only about one-fifth of the total, whereas nearly two-third of the poems in 'An Dealbh Briste' are on love themes. A higher ratio of the love poems in the second book are distinguished by a profound and original philosophical argument or an acute psychological insight, there are fewer simple lyrics. This searching intellectual concern is illustrated, for example, by 'Aig Tursachan Chalanais', a penetrative and illuminating examination of the relationship of the lovers' thought and their love for each other to the geometrical figure of the circle (as represented by the standing

stones); again an apparently insignificant incident such as his son's crying in the night inspires the poet to articulate the philosophy underlying his actions--'Sireamaid gliocas meanbh nan tràth 's nam mionaid"('Coma leam Faighneachd'). 'Lus a' Chorracha-mille' lacks the philosopher's perspective that the other two examples have, but gains in analytical depth-- "Is thionail mise uair eile lus a' chorracha-mille,/ sgrìob is ghlan mi na cnothan, is chuir mi air falbh iad,/an àite diomhair dorch, an cùil na cuimhne, /air chùil a' mheadhail, an tigh an aoibhneis". The ending of this poem illustrates Thomson's feeling for words--"Lus a' chorracha-mille a mhill mo shuaimhneas,/ bu chorrach do chioch, 's a mhill a' sruthadh uaibe".

'Teine' uses the same basic image as 'Duslach 'san anam' in the first collection, but the love described is reciprocated and mature: this factor differentiates most of the poetry in 'Lus a' Chorracha-mille' from that of the first book. Describing his love, in 'An deidh grian gheal an Earraich' in terms of his most recurrent symbol system, he says of the sun of autumn:

"I cionacraich nan stràbhan
's a' deanamh buidhe an uaine,
's a sgaoileadh bréid an abachaidh
air leadanan an cuailein"--

tying this image in at the end of the poem:

"Is cuiridh mi am bréid ort
mas è 's gun gabh thu bhuam e,
gus còmhach do chuil chamalaich

òr-bhuidhe, fhàinnich, chuachaich."

He expresses, very beautifully, in 'Cnò', how serenity has, paradoxically, been the result of his earlier emotional turmoil, his step-by-step development of the symbol paralleling the episodic nature of the emotional process described:

"Ann am meadhon na stoirm ud,
nuair bha 'chraobh ga riasladh,
's a geugan gan spionadh,
ann am meadhon na craoibh sin
bha geug gun mhàbadh,
is air a' ghéig sin bha cnò ga tàladh."

'Mar Chuimhneachan' contains elegies and reminiscences. 'Cisteachan-laighe', ominously the last in the book, is a quite interesting poem that is, I feel, not fully a success. The immediate occasion for the poem is a reminiscence of the poet's grandfather, a joiner who made coffins, and of his funeral; in the second half of the poem, the making of the coffins becomes a symbol for the replacing of the native Gaelic attitudes of mind by the Lowland ones in school-- "cha do dh' aithnich mi 'm bréid Beurla, / an liomh Gallda bha dol air an fhiodh"; the two sections of the poem are linked only very tenuously and superficially. In 'Orduighean an Fhoghair', Thomson's always considerable technical inventiveness is at a peak. The communion, the visitors and their conversations, the feeling of sanctity, and the communion-goers' subsequent death is described; but, interlineally and parenthetically,

a girl is asked to hide her seductive lips and eyes, which tempt and yet finally elude the poet. Superficially, the implication is that the poet's thoughts have been on a girl during communion time, but, on a more significant level, the poem is an attempt to evaluate the two types of experience--that of the worshippers (those stolid, unexcited, practical men--"strainnsearan calma. . .a' bruidheann air creideamh is bàtaichean-iasgaich") whose aspiration has been fulfilled or that of the poet whose goal is still out of reach, but which fires his soul:

"Tha na fir sin air buannachd taobh thall an

Rubha--

mo mhulad, mo mhulad--

's tha 'n cuimhne cho cùbhraidh ri fàileadh

ubhall--

cha d' fhuair mi fàth ort--

tha am marcan-sìne air laighe sìos leo--

's tha m' iargain, m' iargain

a' dol am meud⁶⁹ mar as lugha m' fhiughar--

am buaidh am bàs ud."

In the first two verses, as in this final one, the last line can be read as following on from either the fifth or seventh line of the verse.

'Air Leabaidh Shochd' is one of the best poems in the collection. The versification creates rhythms that are close to those of speech, but is more versatile in its effects. The impression on the eye, for example, of the following few lines is important in juxtaposing the mobility of the old woman's eyes with the immobility

of her feelings:

"chì thu an sud
a dealbh is a dath
a sùilean ag amharc 's a chridhe gun mhùthadh".

The imagery is extremely effectively used:

". . .a sùilean a' faicinn--
mar gum faiceadh camera--
nithean ùra is annasach
nach gluais a fuil is nach mùch a cuimhne",

and, in the second paragraph:

"Air a leabaidh-àird far am faic i a beatha
dol suas 'na ceò bho chaoranan dubha."

In the second paragraph, the poet again, while approximating speech rhythms, achieves instead a subtle, unobtrusive rhetoric of his own with the repetition of "lathaichean/làithean" in each of the first five phrases that describe the woman's memories and the interruption of this pattern before describing the radically different world of her old age:

"lathaichean òga san sgoil, is làithean an iasgaich,
is làithean na suirghe,
làithean na falamhacht cuideachd,
làithean na h-iargain,
gun chuideachd ri gualainn no glùn;
is làithean a' chonais, nuair choisinn an aois
saorsa bho chiùrradh."

All around her is new and inimical to her--even the medicine bottle has its "fios a' bhàis" written in English, but she remembers happy times and old accustomed

things. The poem is a well synthesised one and brilliant in detail.

The poetry in 'Eadar Samhradh is Foghar' is more detached and contemplative, in the main, than that of 'An Dealbh Briste'; complementarily, the range is less restricted. It also shows a more consistently high standard of craftsmanship. Thomson's poetry as a whole is distinguished by an oblique approach to events that tends to superficially obscure the profundity and originality of the poetry's thought content and its technical inventiveness: though his love poems lack the ebullience of MacLean's, they compensatorily gain in subtlety. He shows great interest and skill in the manipulation of words and of their sounds. His use of imagery is distinctive, but the most distinctive and influential contributions--at least superficially--made by Thomson to the technical advance of Gaelic poetry are his interesting developement of Symbolism and his use of vers libre.

Sorley MacLean (born 1911), George Hay (b. 1915), and Derick Thomson (b. 1921) are distinguished from the subsequent generation of Gaelic poets by the fact that they served in the Second World War, whereas Iain Smith (b. 1925) and Donald MacAulay (b. 1930) were too young to take part. The situation is, of course, complicated by the fact that Thomson has remained a prolific and inventive poet up till the present day so that he is, in fact, a member of the new generation of literateurs also.

Besides the appearance of a new generation of experimental Gaelic poets, an interesting development has been the emergence from around 1950 of a group of poets who have continued deliberately to compose in a basically traditional style, but whose work has, nevertheless, been significantly influenced by the experiments of MacLean, Hay ('Fuaran Sléibh'-- Thomson) and, marginally, by those of Smith and Mac Aulay: sometimes this influence has operated indirectly, that is, by inducing a reaction. This group comprises, chiefly, James Thomson, Duncan Livingstone, Donald R. Morrison, Eoghan Gilios, Colin MacKenzie, Rarlon Seixias, James MacKenzie, and John Alick MacPherson.

James Thomson was, in 1923, the first crowned Bard of An Comunn Gaicheadalach, winning the competition with the poem, 'Buaidh an Laoich';⁷⁰ most of the poems in his collection 'Fasgnadh' (1953), however, were composed considerably later⁷¹ than this and show the influence of the innovations of MacLean, Hay, and Derick Thomson, the poet's son.

Thomson composed mainly nature poems and philosophical poems with a strongly religious colouring. Though some of the nature poems are in the traditional naturalistic style--for example 'Mo Ghrian-Eirigh', a variant of the season poem style--some others employ an impressionistic mode of description. Examples of the latter are 'Gàir nan Tonn', 'Fuaran a' Lodain', and the very beautiful 'Raon m' Oige':

"An fhaoileann air sgéith
 An guirme nan speur,
 'S an linne gu réich fòdha;
 Tràigh dhrìlseanach bhàn
 An achlais a' bhàigh,
 Is culaidh nan ràmh òirdheirc.

"Sealladh nach crion
 Tràth mhaireas mo ghrian,
 'S a thaisich gach miann dhòmhsa,
 Tadhal mo ghaoil,
 Dachaidh mo smaoin,
 Comar, is raon m' òige."

Statements such as "Tha mìle guth 's a' chruinne-ché nach eòl dhomh féin am brìgh", "Tha ceòl an cagair fann na gaoith'/Nach tog mi chaoidh air chòir" (both from 'Earbsa') imply a belief in the Wordsworthian empathy with nature, but, in fact, Thomson is in this respect closer to the Symbolist extension of Romanticism (for example, to Baudelaire) than he is to Wordsworth. Objects and events in external nature remind him of divine truths and thereby become symbols of these concepts.⁷² This process produced, for example, the poem, 'Anfhois'. The first verse describes the sea, which is still restless after a storm; the second verse continues the description, but does so in terms of a human image:

"Muir tràghaidh is lionaidh a riamh
 Air cladach an òb'

A' dìreadh 's a' sìoladh mar uchd
Fo iargain bròin. . .";

and the third and final verse completes this process, presumably at least a partially subconscious one, by making the state of nature a symbol of the human emotions:

"Tha'n chridhe gun urras, gun iùil,
Luasganach, fann;
Bidh dubhar air lòn is gealach
Fo sgèth gach àm."

In some poems the theme is developed exclusively in terms of a symbol. In 'Chaochail Duilleach m' Earraich', the image used is one that is popular with Derick Thomson:

"Chaochail duilleach m' Earraich
Gu abachas Samhna.
Caomh fhrasan mo Chéitein
'S gathan gréine mo Bhealltainn,
Altrum sìtheil mo ghealaich
'S gaathan tlàtha mo Shamhraidh
Thaom á cuilidh gun aigeann,
A tobar gun cheann air.
Ach dearbhar sìol-chur an Earraich
Le agartas Geamhraidh."

In others, the theme is expounded dialectically but with the aid of some imagery. This imagery is sometimes denotatively incongruous (i.e., the poetry is "of the will"), as in 'Chan Iarrainn Clach-chuimhnè', in which the first three verses begin respectively as

follows--"Chan iarrainn clach-chuimhne/Air tograidhean
baotha chrion"; "Chan òlainn le m' dheòin/A tobar a
thréigeadh le saoi"; and "Cha stadainn gu tàmh/An
dachaidh gun aighear gun cheòl". Sometimes, however,
the imagery is, on a denotative level, largely congruent:

" . . . cuir an ùir air iomadh ceum,
fàg am brat air rùn gun tuar,
Paisg 's an uaigh gach nì breun."

In connection with the use of symbolisms in religious
poetry, homiletic practice is of significance. Many
Presbyterian ministers--wary always of the censure that
their sermon has been only "sop as gach seid"--attempt
to bind their sermon together with the traditional
Christian symbolism (e.g. the blood of Christ, the
Cross, water, etc.)

Natural objects also frequently remind the poet
of friends and acquaintances and, in general, of Island
people who have either died or emigrated. A majority
of Thomson's nature poems--including 'An t-Seann
Làrach', 'Ceòl Mara', 'Acain nan Stùadh', 'An Clachan'--
lament the absence from the scene of old acquaintances
and the great mass of the tenantry. In this Thomson
follows in the footsteps of Donald MacIver,⁷³ a
predecessor of his as headmaster of Bayble School in
Lewis. MacIver's poems include 'Fàsalachd na Gaidhealtachd'
and the well-known 'An Aitearachd Ard', of which 'Acain
nan Stùadh' is reminiscent in several respects,
including versification and tone.

Thomson's religious poetry is sometimes symbolist in style, as detailed above, but is also more straightforwardly discursive in many cases: examples of this approach are 'Trasg', 'Dean Gàirdeachas' (which is self-evidently hortatory), and 'Thoir dhomh do Làmh'. Some of his philosophical poetry is very original and skilfully expressed, the best examples being 'An Smuainn' and 'Seòmraichean na h-Inntinne'.

Gaelic religious poetry--with the honourable exception of Dugald Buchanan and the marginal exceptions of Iain Gobha (Morrison), Donald MacRae of Petty, and Peter Grant--has tended to be merely mnemonic versification of religious dogma or reflections (usually of a traditional nature) intended for the edification of a peasantry illiterate in Gaelic. Thomson's distinctive contribution is a subjective and even introspective tendency. 'An Ròs', for example, describes a dramatic confrontation with a particular truth. The poet looks at and admires a rose, and in answer to his own queries on the source of this beauty gives the reply:

"Esan thug m' àilleachd gu Ìre

Is leis-san an innleachd nach gann".

'Chan Fhaodar am Falach' has something of the exuberance of many of Peter Grant's poems. 'Choinnich mi Mi-Fhéin', 'Tilleadh Dhachaidh', 'Tàladh', and 'Dà Là' are, again, records of facets of the experience of a particular Christian rather than expressions of

generalised truths: they are hymns, rather than religious poems. Thomson himself, in 'Sireadh', refers to "Sireadh na h-inntinn/An tòir air foirfeachd mo ghnè" and states, in an excellent line in the last poem in the book, "Chladhaich mi domhainn an broilleach gach gnìomh."

James Thomson's poetry exhibits a rich and carefully used vocabulary. Many of his poems, also, have a rich musicality that is very striking, as, for example, in 'Tailmrich na h-Uine':

"Tha tailmrich na h-Ùine dol seachad le luath 's
A' dùsgadh mac-talla 'nam chliabh;
Le tartar an iomairt, mar shlacraich nan stuadh,
A' luasgadh an aigne 's a' caisleadh an srùain
'S a' creachadh ùr-agradh mo mhiann."

His versification is basically traditional, but he uses a considerable variety of metres and has one poem, 'Tìr nan Oig', in vers libre. The following sentences from his own preface to 'Fàgnadh' are, I think, a fair final comment on Thomson's works--

"The central theme is Life in its varied moods and patterned by the mind. The form and verse technique are largely traditional, but influenced in some degree by modern tendencies."

The second part of the last sentence is even more true of the poetry of Duncan Livingstone. Livingstone contributed some conventional eulogies and war poems to 'An Gaidheal' in the 1940's but, as with Thomson, it has only been in more recent years--and, in particular,

in the years between the founding of 'Gairm' in 1952 and Livingstone's death in 1964--that he has developed a distinctive style.

Livingstone's 'Meòmhrachadh' ['Gairm', No. 22 (1957)], an elegy to his late wife, is distinguished from the early Gaelic love elegies⁷⁴ and from William MacKenzie's elegies mainly by the selfconsciousness of its psychological self-analysis, by the acuity of that analysis and by his "modern" concern over his purposelessness; the preception, in the second verse of his emotional state is considerably more complex and subtle than MacKenzie's:

"Dh' fhalbh a' bhòidhchead leat, òg-bhean;
 Dh' fhalbh an spòrs is an uair;
 Dh' fhalbh Luan is dh' fhalbh Dòmhnach;
 Dh' fhalbh m' eòlas air uair;
 Neoni sìnte fa m' chomhair
 Gu a coimh-chrìch, gun lì;
 Mi ri caithris an dòlais,
 Gun dòchas an nì."

The poem differs from the bardic tradition, in particular from bardic elegies, in its introspection and virtual lack of naturalism--the subject being praised in terms of the poet's sense of deprivation--and by its degree of formal, as of organic, unity. The formal unification of the poem consists chiefly of the repetition of the "caithris" motif: the first verse begins "Mise caithris na h-oidhche,/ Air nach tig soillse gu bràth"; the second contains

the line "Mi ri caithris an dòlais"; the third begins "Mi ri caithris am aonar"; and the last verse echoes the first--"Mise 'caithris mo loinn-bheann,/ Tobar aoibhneis is gràidh;/Mise 'caithris mo choibhneig/ Fad na h-oidhche--gu bràth." Formal unity alone is not, of course, of great significance, but, in association with a degree of organic development and unity, it is corroboratory evidence for supposing that, in a poem, the poet is describing a single experience of his own rather than, as in many bardic elegies, discussing external events with which he has achieved little empathy.

Livingstone's 'Cràdh' ['Gairm', No. 25 (1958)] is on the same topic and is also an excellent poem. In the first few verses he speaks of "Mo chòir a bhith éibhinn an dùthaich na gréine"⁷⁵ but also of his desire, so irrational in the light of South Africa's beauty and prosperity, to return to Mull, ". . .san d' fhuair mi mo luaidh-sa,/Ròs uasal a' ghàrraidh". It is only in the fourth verse that he explains why he abjures "Mo chòir a bhith éibhinn", describing his wife's death in terms of the rose image of the previous verse--"Anns an ùir so tha naisgte mo ùr-ros 'n tasgadh"--elaborating this in the next verse--"Fo sgàil nan crann dathail, 's na blàthan fàs tharrad,/ Is t' uaigh mar an gàrradh". Her burial in South African soil has given its natural beauty a new dimension which Mull, for him, lacks--". . .rinn thu 'n dùthaich so naomhadh,/Is naomhaich thu h-àilleachd"; he will therefore not return to Mull,

as he suggested at the outset, but will stay in this beautiful land to be eventually laid beside her under its soil. The way in which the poet hedges and eventually changes his own attitude in the course of the poem gives it a dramatic quality that does not seem in the least contrived. These two elegies by Livingstone are very touching in their manifestation of a very deep and mature love and also demonstrate a very considerable poetic intelligence. "Anns a' Chill Di-Dòmhnach" ['Gairm', No. 47 (1964)] is another fine poem on the same topic.

Livingstone's 'Feadaireachd an Eòin Bhig' ['Gairm', No. 28 (1959)] is a poem that makes nonsense of the conventional categories of "philosophical poetry" and "nature poetry". His description of the bird's singing implies a complex intellectual conception of the universe:

"A' cumail do ghléis fo smachd
Air eagal luachmhoireachd òigheil clàr glan an latha
A chur á gleus",

but he envies the bird its freedom from the uneasiness of the intellect:

"Bheil do bhith cho coimhlionta sona
Is nach eil ceist no amharus agad
A bhàrr air dìth an latha?"

His 'An Leannan-Reul' ['Gairm', No. 23 (1958)] and 'Ar Feasd' ['Gairm', No. 37 (1961)] both deal with the phenomena of the space age.⁷⁶ The former comprises the poet's reflections while watching the Russian satellite, 'Mutnik', orbit the earth: in the

last verse, the poet brings together the various threads of the poem to a questioning conclusion:

"A leannain-reul, ciod e do sgeul?
 Ciod e do ghealltanas?
 Ciod e an targradh?
 'Se so an tùs?
 Ach tùs ciod è?
 Tùs na crìche?
 Ach cha chaoidh mi an saoghal a dhol as
 On tha an Ghàidhlig a' dol as."

The last two lines--though laughably parochial and selfish if judged aesthetically--are effective poetically. It is trite and commonplace nowadays to express concern over the imminent nuclear destruction of the world: what Livingstone is doing, rather refreshingly, in the last two lines, is estimating the reality of this concern against the yardstick of something he does feel very strongly about.

'Ar Feasd' has as a theme the intellectual freedom, from superstition and fundamentalist religion, that man has achieved:

"Le cumhachd an dealanaich fo a smachd,
 Is cumhachd an daduim fo a réim;
 Tha fànas uile fo a reachd
 'S e tilgeil saoghail nuadh san speur.

"Na Pharasaich a nis 'nan tosd,
 Na taibhsearan air call an sgeul,
 Na sagairtean go balbh fo sprochd,
 Chan fhosgail ministear a bheul.

Is mac an duine nis an saors'
 Gu saoghal nan saoghal, gu bith-bhuan,
 Gun sgàth, gun eagal, cuing no daors'
 Feadh tìm gun chrìch. Cha tig Là Luain."

In this new intellectual freedom, Livingstone concludes, man is able the more freely and validly to worship God. This is probably the first and almost the only space age religious poem in Gaelic: of its type, it is a very fine effort.

Several poems in a more conventional style-- for example, exile poems like 'Cianalas' ['Gairm', No. 26 (1958)] and 'Am Firzach' ['Gairm', No. 46 (1964)]-- appeared in 'Gairm' and 'An Gaidheal'. Livingstone's versification is usually basically traditional but occasionally is freer though there is almost always a recurrent underlying pattern to the stanzas. Livingstone was a very fine poet whose work is distinguished not only by modern ideas and subjects but also by a significant degree of stylistic modernisation.

Donald R. Morrison has written a large amount of traditional nature, exile, and love poetry, published mainly in 'The Stornoway Gazette', 'Gairm', and 'An Gaidheal'. Some of his poems, however, show a limited experimental tendency: though this often amounts only to the accumulation of colourful dialect words (See 'Fuaim air Tràigh' in 'Gairm' 1955), it often results in images of a startling originality, based on observation rather than on convention, as in 'Latha Earraich' ['Gairm', No. 24(1958)]:

"leac reothaidh mar gloinne
 air bathais an fhuarain,
 an saoghal mar canach
 'na laighe le snuaidh ghil;
 thuit bleideagan tana
 as na flaitheas anuas air,
 'ga chòmhdach gu dreachmhor
 mar a' chailc gum b' e tuar dha,
 air latha Earraich bha faicheil
 's a bha cho geal ris an uachdar."

'An Saor aig Fois' ['Gairm', No. 55(1966)] illustrates Morrison's rather erratic touch and his undistinguished use of vers libre:

"Shiolaidh fiaclan an t-sàibh anns a fiodh,
 sguir e dha tarraing, tha e 'na thàmh;
 thuit e marbh--'s chan eil an ceann-uidhe deanta;
 nì fear eil' i."

This, instead of simulating the rhythms of speech or of thought, achieves only a flat monotony. Morrison is clearly copying the mere trappings of the modern method. Again, the short crisp sentences used in this poem contribute only a sense of breathlessness, because they lack the underlying economy in the thought process which their use reflects in the case of modern poets like Thomson and MacAulay.

Eòghain Gilios, though his poetry is "modern" in several respects, has resisted the development towards succinctness in expression that has characterised new

poetry in almost all languages in recent years. In 'Sliabh na h-Airde' ['Gairm', No. 47 (1964)], for example, though the ideas discussed are of topical relevance and though the metre is not a traditional one, Gilios is closer to the discursive eloquence of the bards rather than to the compactness of Hay or MacLean:

"'S truagh nach robh 'n gaol a tha eadrainn
 A' lìonadh inneal an léirsgrios
 'S e air a spreadhadh
 Gun fhoighneachd;
 Cha bhiodh an saoghal
 Mar thà e
 Làn diol-déirc agus eucoir,
 Cha bhiodh daoine 'falach an cinn
 Bho chuid mhìstath
 'S bho 'cheusadh,
 Cha bhiodh eagal no iomagain
 Air a' chinne daonna roimh 'n éibhil."

One of the main reasons for the movement in the direction of a cryptic verbal economy in Gaelic poetry was the understandable reaction to the despotism of musicality in much earlier bardic and Romantic poetry, for this had produced a great number of poems distinguished by a vapid semantic sterility, a multiplicity of words and a dearth of ideas. For that reason, the development represented by Gilios's poetry--towards the expression of sound philosophical ideas in the traditional bardic styles--is obviously of

significance, especially with regard to communication with as large a section as possible of the poet's potential audience. But, if the attitudes expressed have been no better assimilated into the poet's sensibility than in the example quoted above; if, that is, the poet expresses a point of view rather than an experience, then the exercise will have been futile: our final assessment must be akin to that of Donald Sinclair on the bards--"Chan eil an sin ach bruidheann".

One also--though this is a somewhat different consideration--has to beware of calling a poem "modern" just because the subject happens to be modern politics or inventions, the A-bomb, or modern values. This is often the case with the bards, whose attitude in their poems to these subjects is usually a reactionary and provincial, in fact, a non-20th century one. Again, this is true of Gilios's 'An Duine Math' ['Gairm', No. 51(1965)], but not of 'Sliabh na h-Airde', in which what is preferred to the modern values are not the values of the era before but the timeless values of human love.

Despite his discursive tendency, many of Gilios's poems are, in fact, analyses of his own experience. 'Cuantan an-eòlais' ['Gairm', No. 37(1961)], which describes a chance meeting of strangers' eyes, has great immediacy and perception:

"Ghlac ar sùilean a chéile
 Agus phòs iad san amharc

Ann an doimhneachd cùmhraidh
 Rùirtean ar cridhe mar sgrìob beithreach
 A' losgadh làrach air clàr na cuimhne."

Both 'An Duine Math' and 'An Dall' ('Criosda 'nam Sgìreachd')' ['Gairm', No. 51 (1965)]. rather than discussing the Christian precepts for behaviour in conceptual terms, describe the poet's fruitful friendship with a man whose life has been based on them. Even 'Sliabh na h-Airde', from which a very discursive verse paragraph was quoted above, was inspired by a very personal matter--a love affair of the poet, described in the first part of the poem, whose synthesising power is compared, in the second part, to the divisiveness of the atom:

"Calg dìreach an aghaidh an atom
 Craoslach sgrìosail
 Dearg-theinnteach
 A' claonadh 's a' sgaradh
 Anam dhaoine às a chéile
 Gan tionndadh gu duslach".

'Beum 'na mo Chridhe' ['Gairm', No. 38(1961)] is a courageous and intelligent examination of an incident in the poet's youth, synthesised into a true poetic experience by his emotion of remorse: this is a fine poem. Although Gilios's poetry has been little influenced by the developement of Symbolism, he has published at least one Symbolist poem: 'An Iobairt', a rather successful exercise in the style.

In one respect, at least, Gilios is the converse

of D.R. Morrison. If Gilios can consistently imitate the trappings of the bardic style without copying also their process of thought--that is, their discursiveness, their over extended "aesthetic distance"--his achievement will have been a considerable one. He has made much progress in this direction already but is, as illustrated by 'Sliabh na h-Airde', prone to regrettable lapses.

Colin MacKenzie's poetry is distinguished by accurate observation of the external world, a rich and intelligently used vocabulary and--in poems like 'A' Cheist' ['Gairm', No. 28(1959)]--an original philosophical strain for which the occasion is the poet's contemplation of nature. In 'A' Cheist', the scene is described imaginatively:

"Na fogharadh cur dreach na meirg
Air pòr, is rudhadh ann an gruaidh
Gach meas air géig. . .",

and stimulates the poet's reflections on "aobhar mo bhith". Rarlon Seixias has published little original Gaelic poetry, but his allegorical 'Aois is Ailleachd' and 'Fàgail Uibhist', which appeared in 'Gairm' in 1959, are of considerable interest.

James MacKenzie, composer of the popular love song, 'Eilidh', and of several humorous bardic songs, has had at least one attempt at a more serious type of poem: this is 'Beachd, Smuainn is Teagamh' ['An Gaidheal' (Dec. 1963)], for which MacKenzie was awarded the Bardic Crown of An Comunn Gaidhealach in 1962. The poem deals with world hunger, the colour problem in the U.S., the Clearances, and the Bomb,

concluding:

"'Ne crìoch nan uile galair bàis,
 No 'n cuirear as-a-chéil'
 An saoghal so le teine pàight';
 No 'n searg sinn mar am feur
 Le lasair oillteill dol 'nar smàl,
 'N e luatha, rà ar cré;
 Mar long mi nis a' fàgail tràigh,
 Gun stiùir 's a h-eàrrlainn breun."

Despite the rather violent drafting of the statement on the poet's emotions to round off the poem, MacKenzie's style is here almost exclusively discursive: the subject of the poem is modern, stridently so, but the underlying sensibility is not.

This last pronouncement is less true of John Alick MacPherson, the youngest of the group, than it is of any of the other poets who, like him, have tried to combine the best of the bardic style with the best of the new. In 'An Dé 's an Diugh' ['Gairm', No. 50 (1965)], for example, the poet's attitude to this traditional subject ("Scotland") is a radical and complex one, an even more realistic attitude, in fact, than even Hay's:

"Chunnaic mi 'n dé thu 's leugan òir
 An crochadh ris gach ball dhiot. . .

"Chunnaic mi 'n diugh thu air an t-sràid,
 Nad thràill am fàsghadh clobhsa. . .

"Alba, 'n do reic thu meud do chliù,
 An léir dhomh siùrsachd d' anama
 Sgaoileadh do masladh ris a' ghaoth
 Thig bho gach taobh gus falbh leis?"

MacPherson's 'An t-Slabhraidh' (pub. in 'An Gaidheal'), for which he was crowned Bard of An Comunn Gaidhealach in 1964, uses a consistently Symbolist technique. Its inspiration was the discovery by the poet, while digging his garden, of an old chain, which becomes a complex symbol of the ethnic identity of his people. The chain was once strong and polished; it is now so decayed that he has to handle it delicately, but he is not over pessimistic:

"Fo smal na meirg' bha dul is dul gun ghaoid,
 Drithleannach uair, an tuar a nis air falbh,
 Ach iarmad ann de 'n neart 's de 'n treis' a dh' aom
 Fuidheal air nach do bhuaidhaich lobhadh marbh."

In the introductory first part of this poem, MacPherson, interestingly, reflects on the distinctive quality of the traditional bardic poetry:

"Nam bithinn fileanta mar bhàrd nan rann,
 Na briathran faisg dhomh, 's brìgh mo smuain d' a réir,
 Lùiginn a chur an céill an cainnt neo-ghann
 A liuthad bann nach fhuasglar dhomh fo 'n ghréin."

The majority of this group of poets have deliberately rooted themselves in the bardic tradition, thus making themselves heirs, in many instances, to its discursive tendency and even its garrulity. Sorley MacLean, writing on the social and intellectual issues of his

day in the 1930's was deeply rooted--especially in 'Dàin do Èimhir'--in a literary tradition that is just as native to the Gaeltachd, the lyric one. This "middle group" of poets--some at least of whom are reacting consciously against the way in which the new style pioneered by MacLean has been developed--would be more consistently effective if they also were to look to the Gaelic lyric tradition for inspiration. The most distinctive difference between the bardic poetry and the traditional lyric poetry is, of course, the relative degree to which the latter is based on personal experience.

Concurrent with this developement, two young Gaelic poets arrived on the scene who were fully committed to experiment: Iain Crichton Smith and Donald MacAulay. Smith's Gaelic poems began to appear in 'An Gaidheal' from the later 'forties and later in 'Gairm'; 'Bùrn is Aran' (1960) contained poems as well as short stories, but 'Bìobuill is Sanasan-Reice' (1965) was the first significant collection of Smith's Gaelic poetry.⁷⁷ Smith has established a firm reputation as an English poet of great promise: his collections of English poetry have been--'Long River' (1955), 'Thistles and Roses' (1961), and 'The Law and the Grace' (1965).

As the title implies, 'Bìobuill is Sanasan-Reice' is very much concerned with the inter-relations between the poet's two "worlds"--his native Gaelic culture (symbolised by the Bible) and the cosmopolitan culture he has access to through English ("Advertisements").

Many of the poems consciously analyse the nature of this ethnic duality; almost all the rest reflect its existence. 'An t-Amadan' is a very fine expression of the situation. The fool's motley has two colours-- "Beurl' is Gàidhlig, dubh is dearg"--which are being synthesised by his sensibility, the fine rain from his mind which runs the two colours together producing "aon dath a tha cho neònach/'s nach tuig an Rìgh fhéin mo chòmhradh". In 'Do mo Mhàthair', Smith consciously attempts a synthesis of the "fishergirl" facet of the Island tradition with his own academic career by expressing the latter in terms of the former:

" . . .gach aon sgadan thug an làn dhomh
a' plogartaich gu 'n dèan mi dàn,
's an àite cùbair tha mo chànan
cruaidh is teann orm a ghnàth."

The poem achieves a large degree of artistic synthesis, though, on a psychological level, it is doubtful if this has lessened the sense of guilt which motivated the poem:

"Tha cionta 'ga mo léireadh
mar a dh' éirich 's mar a thà.
Cha bu chaomh leam a bhith 'g éirigh
ann an doilleireachd an là,
bhith a' sgoltadh 's a bhith reubadh
iasg na maidne air an tràigh".

In the case of one other important poem, 'Do Sheana-Bhoireannach', Smith has been confronted with this cultural fragmentation in the person of an old

woman who has not heard of Darwin, Freud, Marx, Einstein--symbols that evoke Smith's new world just as "sgadan", "salainn", "gaoth gheur" evoke hers-- but her life, lived strictly within the bounds of the native culture, has nevertheless provided her with:

" . . . spiorad còrdail

nach do chuir saoghal riamh an òrdugh
ach a chumas tu, tha mi 'n dòchas,
slan 'nad neochiontas mar chòta".

It is, however, in connection with literary ethics that Smith most often reminds us, directly and indirectly, of the disparity between these two worlds. In 'Ochd Orain airson Céilidh Uir', for example, he states his own literary credo thus:

"Is . . . ann a Hiroshima
chaidh an coire thairis air ar ceòl
's am Belsen chunnacas eisimpleir
eas-onoir 'g ithe gaol is feòil

"'s air an aobhar sin 's air sgàth na fìrinn'
's na chaidh de dh' Oic a dheanamh òirnn
's na rinn sinn fhìn (am measg ar gearain)
cha chuir mi peann a chaidh 'nam dhòrn

"airson bòidhchid no 'son eanchainn".

What Smith says here of love poetry he repeats in other poems ('Tilleadh Dhachaidh', 'Oran') in connection with nature poetry, another staple of the Gaelic tradition. A characteristic method of Smith for highlighting the irrelevance to the modern situation

of many of the traditional Gaelic literary styles and attitudes is by incongruously juxtaposing statements on the A-bomb or the world of "advertisements" with lines either from Gaelic Romantic poetry or lines of his own that mimic a Romantic tone. For instance, 'Ochd Orain airson Ceilidh Ur (8)' begins:

"Am falbh thu leam, a rìbhinn òg,
a null gu Japan far bheil ar ciall
a' caitheamh anns a' bhoma mhór
a thuit air baile is air sliabh".

Again, in 'Amhran', 'Oran Gaoil', and 'Nochdadh ri Beanntan na Hearadh', the conjugation has not been so violently enforced but is still startling enough to make Smith's point:

"Nochdadh ri beanntan na Hearadh
chunna mi nìon air gach sràid,
Eventide air cùl a' ghàrraidh
's na seòladairean òir a' snàmh
air cuan buidhe nan cafés.
Sanasan-reice air gach làimh.

' 'So beanntan na Hearadh,
so deireadh mo ghràidh.'"

Clearly this latter group of poems, unlike 'Do mo Mhàthair', do not try to synthesise--artistically and/or personally--disparate facets of the poet's total intellectual background. They are intended to illustrate the inimical nature of these polarities. To some extent, all these poems try to evaluate the two worlds. In 'Do Sheana-Bhoireannach' it is the old

Gaelic world that receives the palm; in 'Ochd Orain airson Céilidh Uir' it is the new world-view: in 'Do mo Mhàthair', Smith "tries to get the best of both worlds".

The other distinctive preoccupation of Smith in 'Bìobull is Sanasan-Reice' is a self-analysis that is oriented strongly towards examination of the subconscious, conducted often a little selfconsciously in terms of theoretical Freudianism, and featuring the use of a symbol-complex which includes, in particular instances, the colour green, rain falling, the depth of the sea or permutations of these. The connotational provenance of this symbolism is clearest in the poem 'Freud'.

Smith says Freud was:

"Duine mòr á Vienna
 a dh' fhaosgail an inntinn
 le sgian geur le solus
 goirt éifeachdach sunndach
 's a chunnaic na cuantan
 a'braonadh le taibhsean
 gorm-uaine a' ghalair
 is beartas gun chunntais.

". . . 'se thusa thug dhuinn
 na suailichean ùr ud--
 tha do chàrn air a' ghrunn
 'se na cuantan do chùbainn."

It is equally clear in 'Tha thu air Aigeann m'Inntinn', a retrospective poem on a love affair--

"Gun fhios dhomh tha thu air aigeann m'irintinn. . .
 an déidh cóig bliadhna shiantan/tìme dòrtadh eadar
 mise 's tù. . .Chaidh thu air chall/am measg lusan
 diomhair a' ghrunna/anns an leth-sholus uaine gun
 ghràdh. . .'s mise slaodadh 's a' slaodadh air
 uachdar cuairn."

Clearly, the sea represents the subconscious--this is a traditional symbol--and the falling water the poet's restless synthesising experience, the "stream of consciousness", which covers incidents and objects and produces the living sea. The falling-rain symbol is used in 'Uisge'--"An t-uisge dòrtadh air an t-sràid./An t-uisge dòrtadh air mo chridhe"-- in 'An t-Amadan' and in 'Tilleadh Dhachaidh'--". . .bùrn a' ruith/troimh shaoghal shamhlaidhean mo thùir." The colour green is used enigmatically in 'Nochdadh ri Beanntan na Hearadh'--"is uaine nach e uain' na mara/air aodann seòladair a' snàmh"; its designation is clearer in 'An Solus'--"Ann an uinneag tigh a' ghlinne/chunna mi solus diomhair uaine./Chuir e gaoir orm is mi rànaill/leis an t-solus ud 'nam chnàmhan. . .lean mi orm an lasair aodainn/mar fhear a thadhlas aigeann chuantan. . .is cha b' e buaidh a bh' aig an deireadh/cha b' e ach saothair ùr a' breith orm/cha b' e ach ospadal na duilghe,/cha b' e ach mi fhìn 'nam laighe/air bòrd dóraineach ar latha/'s an Dotair Adhamh 'ga mo ghearradh/sios gu onoir lom ar n-sarraich." In 'Dàn', which uses none of this symbolism, the self-analysis is again conducted--

here perhaps too rigidly--in terms of certain philosophical theories (Calvin's doctrine of Original Sin and Freud's theories on familial relationships).

Apart from these two groups, the collection contains some other very interesting poems. 'A' Chailleach' is one of the most successful. On a purely formal level, it is well unified, beginning,

"Tha i nochd 'na suidhe ri uinneig
's a t-sràid 'na Bhìobull fo a sùilean",

and concluding the development of the theme effectively with an echo of this beginning,

"Tha a sùil a' sguabadh nan sràidean,
tha tìm 'na chrùban anns an uinneig".

The old woman's orderly room becomes, for the watching poet, a symbol (as well as a symptom) of the mental compartmentalisation which has reduced to a sterile system a world that was at one time:

". . .gun chruth,
fir is mnathan mar fhiabhras dearg
a' falbh air feadh feòla 's inntinn,
cuinnlean a' blasadh gaol is fearg."

The use of symbolism in 'An Eala Bhàn' is equally distinguished:

"Le a h-amhaich fhada fhuair,
le a h-iognadh ag iasgairachd
am meadhon nan canaistearan
airson bùrn glan

"anns am bi tigh a' fàs
's a' chlann bheag a' ruith

's an uiseag ghlas ag éirigh
os cionn simileirean fad as".

This poem, detached and clinical in its observation, is characteristic of Smith's style. Few of the many poems on the subject in Gaelic have its sensitivity and realism, though very many of them, of course, have much more emotional intensity.

Smith's 'A' Chlach' is a very interesting poem. The stone lacks hindsight, foresight, and perspective and is thoroughly introverted. It is illumined by the lightning flashes of poetry but will, in time, have a real splendour of its own. One cannot help remembering 'The Rock' by Wallace Stevens (1879-1955): "The rock is the gray particular of man's life,/The stone from which he rises up"--and his poem may well have, in fact, inspired Smith's 'A' Chlach'.

Similarly, Smith's 'An t-Oban'--"Dh' fhalbh an sarcas dhachaidh. . . Dh' fhalbh deabhan nam biasdan"--may have been inspired by Yeats's 'The Circus Animals' Desertion'--"Players and painted stage took all my love". We could take this literary witch-hunt even further and find Smith's sea image in Stevens's 'Tea at the Plaza of Hoon'--

"What was the sea whose tide swept through me there?

"Out of my mind the golden ointment rained,
And my ears made the blowing hymns they heard.
I was myself the compass of that sea".

I think, however, that this exercise is, in most

cases, a misguided and useless one. Certainly if a poet takes over a motif or image or expression from another and uses it in an unassimilated way, he is liable to (aesthetic not moral) censure, but it is perfectly feasible that two writers of similar temperament with broadly similar social and cultural backgrounds,⁷⁸ will choose, independently of each other, the same symbol for the expression of their experience--certainly, the actuality of stylistic polygenesis on a broader basis is widely accepted. Again, a writer can be so impressed emotionally by a particular symbol in his reading that it can come, quite unconsciously, to pattern his observations of life. Symbols and other literary motifs must be judged on the effectiveness with which they are applied, not on their literary history.

Gaelic poems by Smith have continued to appear regularly in 'Gairm' (some few appearing in 'An Gaidheal' and 'Sruth' also). These include: 'Eadar a' Ghaidhealtachd 's a' Ghalltachd' ['Gairm', No. 48 (1964)], which has a characteristic emphasis--"dh' iarrainn. . .na féidh a' falbh air Sauchiehall/Is sreathan thramaichean 'nam dhàin"; 'Seachd Orain airson nam Fògarrach', a modern and radical consideration of facets of an old theme; and the nightmarish 'Na Cait', with its horrifically detailed vision-- "Air oidhche fhuair chuala mi na cait a' mialaich/ Còisir chat a' mialaich anns an reothadh. . .Bha am fìaclan fosgailt is an cinn rag/leis an reothadh

a bha gam bualadh mar òrd. . .bha na luchain air chrith/
am preasan am broinn bhallachan, no an casan/a' sàs
anns an talamh chruaidh--'s iad ag éisdeachd."

All Smith's poetry is characterised by the
symbolistic or free-associational tendency which marks
most serious poetry composed in the past half-century
and which can make for much complexity and even for
obscurity if the symbolism is too private. It is marked
also by a very clear vision and a hard, keen intelligence
which is reflected in a lithe athletic language⁷⁹
shorn of extrinsic ornament. Many of his poems,
however, have considerable musicality and his metres
are basically traditional. He is differentiated from
the earlier Gaelic "new" poets by his relative lack
of lyricism. In the main, he is clinically reflective
rather than subjectively introspective but his emotional
detachment from the object or incident discussed
and his philosophic perspective on it often
superficially conceal a very real emotional involvement
in the discussion itself, in the mental process
involved. He is, on occasion, however, too strictly
guided by particular philosophical theories.

It is helpful to compare Smith's Gaelic with his
English poetry. In his English poetry--though he
writes on the Highlands past and present, on Highland
religion and Highland old women--he is markedly less
preoccupied with themes of exclusively Highland
provenance. He has several poems on incidents in

his everyday life (many set in the school environment), philosophical studies of a wide range of themes (including, particularly, death), and studies of, among others, John Knox, Soren Kierkegaard, the singer Ray Charles, Lenin, the Covenanters, Elizabethans, Puritans, and First World War generals. In his English poetry, he is in general much less selfconscious in his application of his philosophical and psychological reading. After all, his English readership take for granted a knowledge of the work of Freud, Einstein, etc. as the majority of his Gaelic readership do not. More importantly, he is able in English to make use of the terminology of philosophy, psychology, and science; some of his best English lines are impossible to repeat in Gaelic because, on a practical level, Gaelic lacks an adequately developed vocabulary. Examples of such lines are--"the true dialectic is to turn/in the infinitely complex"('Lenin'), "a classical sanity considers Skye"('Johnson in the Highlands'), "their mineral laughter" (of waves in 'At Tiumpán Head, Lewis'), "its paradigm of straining forces harmonised sincerely"(of poetry in 'Studies in Power'). Again, the free-associational tendency that is prevalent in both has arrived at a greater complexity in his English poetry. "Ròsan a' fosgladh samhraidh/mar ùr-Bhìobull 'na do chuimhne"('Do Sheana-Bhoireannach') is very beautiful, but does not express so many complementary layers of meaning as "The world was new/and sparked with a gay Renaissance

wit, // But now the Reformation has set in. / A narrow
 Luther hedges the red blood / and bellows from his
 pulpit like a pain" ('Preparation for a Death').
 On the other hand, the conciseness of "The fool
 sparkled his wit that she might hear / new diamonds
 turning on her naked finger" ('By Ferry to the Island')
 is matched by "a' bràthair 's e ri briseadh / talamh
 trioblaideach a' ghràin" ('Am MacStròdhail'). The
 degree of complexity, limited as it is, which Smith
 has achieved by his negation of the will in the use
 of symbolism and his consequently complex fusion of
 image and idea has been an important and influential
 contribution to the development of Gaelic poetry.

A concluding quotation of the first half of 'Luss
 Village' ('Thistles and Roses', 1961) and of the Gaelic
 poem 'Luss' ('Bìobuill is Snasan-Reice', 1965)--while
 the latter is admittedly not an exceptionally good
 Gaelic poem--does demonstrate the relatively more
 complex symbolism and thought of his English poetry
 but also its tendency towards glibness and cleverness.
 The English poem begins:

"Such walls, like honey, and the old are happy
 in morphean air like gold-fish in a bowl.
 Ripe roses trail their margins down a sleepy
 mediaeval treatise on the slumbering soul.

"And even the water, fabulously silent,
 has no salt tales to tell us, nor make jokes
 about the yokel mountains, huge and patient,
 that will not court her but read shadowy books";

and the Gaelic one:

"Ròsan a' slugadh na cloich',
iomhaigh baile an àite baile fìor.
Ri taobh a' chlaidh chrùbte, tha aon each
a' togail a chinn aosd' a mach á tìm,
mar ghràbhaladh de stàilinn stòlda ghlais."

Statements made privately by Smith and his recently begun series in 'Gairm' of Gaelic translations of poetry from many foreign languages indicate that he is eager to develop his technique in Gaelic poetry and to, at least, attain the standard he has achieved in English. He seems quite likely to do this, although the lack of a developed conceptual vocabulary in Gaelic will continue, despite practice, to be a large stumbling-block.

Donald MacAulay has attempted to overcome this stumbling-block in two distinct ways. First, he has attempted to avoid the ratiocinative use of the language altogether on occasion by developing the distinctive brand of symbolism worked out by Derick Thomson in the 'Bangor' group of poems in 'An Dealbh Briste'. Only a small minority of MacAulay's poems are in this style and they seem to belong almost exclusively to an early phase⁸⁰ in his poetic development, but they are an important group. 'Briseadh' is a typical example: the poet ostensibly describes the laying of peats on a dying fire in order to keep it alight till morning, the rain's dousing it, and the poet's consequent dependence on a flint. Only the title indicates that the picture

has a symbolic extension and no clue is given as to its interpretation except its being placed among a group of poems about poetry in MacAulay's collection, 'Seobhrach as a' Chlaich'(1967). The treatment of the three poems, 'Tha thu a' fasnadh an aghaidh na gaoithe', 'A beart seargaidh', and 'Thainig am foghar le miaran caola', indicates that MacAulay does not intend that the symbolism of these poems and poems like them be interpreted in only one way. The first of the three describes a man winnowing against a strong wind and storing the seed; the other two depict a mild invigilant autumn that is followed by an unexpected winter: they were published in 'Gairm' in Spring 1959 as the first three parts of a five-poem group that also included an elegy ('Do J.S.') and a comment on religions. When they appeared in 1959, the three obviously referred to the state of Gaelic culture and the poet's responsibility and, in fact, the first poem (now captioned, 'Do Phasternak, mar eiseamplair') appeared in the 1967 collection in a group of poems on that theme. The other two poems, however, appeared in 'Seobhrach as a' Chlaich' as parts of the elegy, 'Do J.S.', the autumn-winter image now symbolising the illness and death of his friend rather than the decay of Gaelic culture. These poems--including, besides the four mentioned, 'Reiteach a' Chòmhraidh', 'Do Fear-sgrìobhaidh Ainmeil', 'Feitheamh Fàs', 'A' Ghiblein troimh thrì sùilean', and others--are clearly an attempt to code sub-structures or paradigms of experience, to express, using multi-referential

symbolism, archetypes that underlie as many superficially different patterns of experience and behaviour as possible. Each individual reader will interpret a particular poem in a unique way and will judge the poem's success on its accuracy to his experience, a final evaluation of it being adduceable only from a concensus of such judgements. In his attempt to express several layers of experience concurrently, MacAulay is, in these poems, akin to James Joyce, whose monumental works, 'Ulysses' and 'Finnegan's Wake', do this more effectively than any other literary work of this century.

MacAulay's second method of countering the lack of a philosophical and scientific terminology in Gaelic is to extend the designation of what conceptual vocabulary there is. This is quite successful in some cases--for example, "tha 'n tuigse air claoadh/nach aithnich an t-aonfhillteach/bhòn an fhear ionraic"('Eadar an Caol is Inbhir-Nis'), "feall-chruth"(superficiality), and "nach eil fiar-ghradh is fìor-gradh/mar thionndadh an t-sìoda"('Penny for the guy, mister. . .')--but occasionally the Gaelic words are stretched beyond the bounds of comprehension, as in the following lines from 'N.A.T.O. 1960', which are given below along with the poet's own translation:

" . . .a spreadhadh altachadh, modha,
comharra. . .

"(le a riadh)

'An e sud an comharra

ris a bheil am modh. . .";

"exploding articulation, convention,
symbol. . .

"(carrying its interest)

'is this the symbol

that commands respect. . .".

In general, however, MacAulay's control of the language is such that he can give clear expression to very complex and sophisticated concepts; in this respect he is considerably in advance of Iain Smith.

MacAulay's poems first appeared in 'Gairm' in the Spring of 1956. During the first few years, his published poems deal almost exclusively with literary and cultural themes or with love. In the 1960's, he began to publish more poems that deal with philosophical or psychological themes; in 'Gairm' for Winter 1963 he published a simple poem describing an apparently insignificant incident on a bus ('Bha tuataidh a' raoir air a' bhus')-- 'Seobhrach as a' Chlaich' contains several poems in this distinctive style. Almost all the poems that were published in 'Gairm' appear in the first half of 'Seobhrach as a' Chlaich', which argues at least some degree of chronological arrangement; the most obvious order in this collection, however, is a thematic one. The book begins with a large group of poems on poetry, follows with poems on religion, elegies, poems on exile, about Turkey, love, people, war, seasons, and, finally, poems of remembrance

(the sections are by no means as neatly defined, however, as this resume might imply).

Most of the poems republished in 'Seobhrach as a' Chlaich' show the results of careful and sometimes trenchant revision. Sometimes only the spelling or format has been changed; in other cases, (deliberately) ambiguous poems have been given a different thematic context (e.g. 'A beart seargaidh'); words are changed as in, for example, the poem 'Spreadhadh', "bha mi bacte (gearrte)⁸¹ bho tuigsinn/a roinnean. . .do chruth/a tha deibht (dearbhte) ann am meadhon mo rian". More significantly, whole statements have been changed in some poems giving a quite different tone to the whole: two examples of this are 'A' Cheiste' ('Gairm', 1956) and 'Ceumannan' ('Gairm', 1961). The most significantly changed part of the former is the last half, which has been changed from:

"ghion mi faillean
 Agus chuir mi romham
 Gu fàsadh e dìreach,
 A chum casg a chur air fiaradh"

to the more impersonal:

"Ghineadh dhomh faillean
 a' spàirn dhiomhair;
 dh' fhàs e tromham craobhach;
 chuir mi romham gu fàsadh e dìreach

"gus buil thoirt air slatan fiara".

The change in 'Ceumannan' has been a somewhat similar one. The ending of the poem in 'Gairm':

" . . . ach 's ann a chaidh an cadal ceàrr
orm, (a leannan),
's e an fhirinn as fheàrr"

has become:

" . . . ach 's ann a chaidh an cadal
ceàrr orm
(a leannan)
--ma's e an fhirinn as feàrr".

The direct emotional statements of the first version (not without their irony) have been rationalised and now have a more noncommittal quality, the change from a simple to a compound sentence structure reflecting the mental process involved.

This passion for accuracy is the salient characteristic of MacAulay's poetry. His aim is precise definition of situations and emotions:

"mur bi ar cùis againn
coimhlionta 'nar facail;
mur bi facail againn
a ghabhas brìgh ar cùise,
cha tuig sinn i. . ."

('Penny for the guy, mister. . .')

and trenchant selfanalysis:

" . . . gu sìr fheannadh
sgrath air muin sgratha
de 'n t-sult meallaidh a chuir mi orm
gus a' bheatha a dheanamh miath".

To achieve these aims, he carefully assesses the value of the conventional tools:

"Tha d' fhalt dubh camlubach,
 tha do shùil mar an guirmean,
 co chneas mar an t-aol,
 do bheul dearg, do chalpanan
 is do chiochan a' gealltainn toraidh:

"tha thu gu dearbha
 'nad fhìor leannan nam fear dòn,
 tha gach aobhar-seirce a dh' iarras iad
 ort.

"Ach dè am math a tha an sin?"

('Seasgachd').

Where the conventions, as here, are a hindrance, he wilfully dispenses with them:

"Le cleachdadh a bhith a' coimhead
 an deilbh buailt ann an céis cleachdaidh
 bha mi bachte bho thuigsinn
 a roinnean
 agus m' ionad shuidhichte
 dhealaicht:
 Spreadh mi as e. . ."

MacAulay's originality is seen nowhere more clearly than in his treatment of the traditional subjects of love and the homeland. In love poetry, his range covers the sensitivity and realism of 'Ceumannan', a record of a fading love affair; the intellectual keenness of 'Geal agus Glas'; the complexly symbolic expression of 'Iargan'; and the delicate lyric beauty of 'Ceithir Dàin':.

"Bha na làithean ud luaineach
 an tùs ar caidreamh:
 maduinnean ròsach
 le tuar dà-brìgheach
 is feasgair dhall, gun fhois;
 mas do bhuannaich
 thu as a' chath mi
 le do lann-bhilean seobhraich
 's a stòl a' ghrian, 'na coron
 air do chaoine
 --'na bogh' air mo fhrois."

His homeland poetry is radical and realistic in its attitudes. 'Comharra Stiùiridh' is a complex statement of his relationship to the island that he is leaving:

". . .chan e siud m' eilean-s';
 chaidh esan fodha o chionn fhada,
 a' chuid mhór dheth,
 fo dheireas is ainneart;
 's na chaidh fodha annam fhìn dheth,
 'na ghrianan 's cnoc eighre
 tha e seòladh na mara anns am bi mi
 'na phrìomh chomarr stiùiridh
 cunnartach, do-seachaint, gun fhaochadh."

Of the poems in a more conventional symbolist style, 'Tuar na Nollaige' is an excellent example. The main symbolism is based on colours--"Tha 'm baile nochd fo thuar na Nollaig. . .Tha 'm baile gleusd 'na chòta Nollaig:/tha l'ith dearg is fionnadh bàn air--/'s cha dean an dubh a th' air mo dhaoine/riutha aonadh, 'nan

trì dathan àluinn"; but this is interlocked with another layer of seasonal imagery--". . .dealbh na cruinne/cruinn ann an Asal agus Slainte. . .Is sinne/anns an triamh barail--chan uilear dhan an Asal cluasan àrda" and "sinne fo chuithe dual-chainnt. . .Tha iadsan⁸² glaist ann am meadhan sanais/a reothadh thairis/orra an geimhilean a' chràbhaidh."

'Suaicheantas' is distinguished by an even finer formal craftsmanship. MacAulay carefully sustains his symbols for the companions' education ('àiteach"), enjoyment ("dh' òl sinn bloigh an aon drama") and interests ("bòidhcheadh blàth nan caileag"), the most important image ("àiteach" and flowers) being also a significant referent as the subject of the poem is now dead, "Dh'aitich sinn uair an aon feannag. . .Mas d'ainig ìre air an fhochann. . .ag àiteachadh goirtean caol. . . O bòidhcheadh blàthan na claise,/ 's am fàs tha troimh a chearcaill dhèireach;/ a shuaicheantas gléidht' ann am maise/eala-bhith is nèinean".

'Seobhrach as a' Chlaich' contains a group of poems that describe incidents or people in a simple and very sensitive way--this very distinctive style may have been influenced by the theories of the early Imagists.⁸³

'Ceangal', for example, describes an incident on a bus in which a tramp, "fear sgacilte gun chuims' gun shnas", tries to draw the attention of his neighbour, "athair--gu ciallach a' laughadh paipeir". It sensitively and concisely describes the reaction--". . .nuair thug am fear eile bloigh-shùil air,/le barrantas cruaidhe, is ceangal gun sgaoileadh,/chuir ait a bhraighdeanais

praoisg air". 'Crionadh' and 'An t-Sean-bhean' (the latter containing no comment on the situation described) are also very fine examples of this style. Probably the best, however, is 'Frionas', a description of a cruelly misunderstood villager--"Dh' fhuiling thu fanaid/ agus tàmailt. . .Bha thu 'na do chulaidh lobairt/air na rinn do luchd-baile/(saoilidh/mi) an luchd peacaidh fnagail. . .bha m' eòlas-s' ort eadar-dhealaicht/dh' fhiosraich mi taobh chaoin do nàduir:/b' e sin bàigh is/ teang' ealant"--who, however, finally triumphs, though this triumph is an ironic one:

" . . .A-bhòin-dé fhuair thu bàs;
leig iad a-mach thu air an uinneig;
ceannruisgte
thog iad thu an àirde--
modh is àit agad mu dheireadh."

Though MacAulay writes mostly in vers libre, his poetry is often richly, almost sensuously assonantal, and he makes effective, if unobtrusive use of rhyme. In 'Latha Féille', one of his Turkish-period poems, not only the sounds of the words but also their visual impression on the page contributes to the desired effect. The first three verse paragraphs are very similar in form. In the first, the short a-vowels and weak sibilants of the rhymes on either side of it, along with its own position, dramatically highlights the crucial adjective, "crùibte":

" . . .tuathanach air asal
's triùir nighean

crùibte

fo chliabh is yaemak".

In the second, the main end-rhymes are again on short a-vowels and the important adjective (symbolising their poverty), is again, visually, well placed, being all the more effective for echoing the "crùibte" of the first verse:

"Bidh luchd a' bhaile
ris an cum iad connadh is measan
a' sìr fhanaid air a fasan
's iad air an casan
rùisgte".

In the third verse, its loneliness draws attention to "slaodach", the emphasis being corroborated by its echoing the one broad end-vowel of the verse:

"'S thig feadhainn a-nuas a Ankara
a chaitheamh làithean saora
a chuireas air luchd a'. bhaile
g' eil iad salach, sean-fhasant,
slaodach."

The rest of the poem, discussing, in perspective, the repetitive gradations of social prejudice, uses a freer versification, more akin to speech rhythms. MacAulay's 'An t-Sean-bhean' also makes very effective use of sounds, visual effects, and changing rhythms. The poem describes a short walk taken by an old woman. In the following quotation, the long third line mimics, visually and even aurally, the particular type of movement described:

"Is thionndaidh thu an uair sin
do chasan
gun ghaoth a' dol eadar iad 's an talamh".

The next few lines--very brief and jagged and packed with short-vowel rhymes and dentals (in rhyming words) that fragment the rhythmic flow--mimic the short, halting steps:

"is thill thu rag iad
 a-steach
 le do bhata
 's do lámh anns a' bhalla
 do 'n aitreabh. . ."

The penultimate line of this verse paragraph again recalls the inability to lift the feet, leading on to the cacophonous and obtrusively placed "arrasbacan" (obstacle):

"far an robh am maide-buinn air fàs 'na
 arrasbacan".

MacAulay is a structural linguist by training and this has helped him not only to develop his very impressive control of Gaelic but also to become one of the ablest practitioners of vers libre in any language. Though his achievement is based on the existence of a sizable literate public in Gaelic, he has also been influenced by the oral nature of the earlier Gaelic tradition, using assonantal rhyme to back up his rhythmic and visual effects.

The often non-logical connection between idea and image and between image and image, the denotative congruity and, in particular, the multi-layered complexity of his poems indicate that, despite his being a skilled and careful craftsman, much of the creative process that produced MacAulay's poem is operative in the subconscious,

it has a somewhat inspirational quality. Bardic (including Romantic) poetry has been largely "poetry of the will", evolving the theme step by step according to the principles of sequential logic, denotatively incoherent and, usually, concentrating on one idea extracted from the poet's amorphous sensation-environment, on one level of experience, rather than attempting to describe all the levels as they inter-relate at some one point of time. Marshall MacLuhan's dictum that this rationalising, compartmentalising detachment developed with the spread of literacy, guides us to a pre-lettered Gaelic community, the heroic society' of the 16th and 17th century, to look for parallels to MacAulay's style.

In fact, in the lyrics that can be dated safely to that period, the role of the subconscious is clearly an important one. In the Skye song, "Tha na féidh am Èràigh Uige",⁸⁴ for example, the deer and their young, the cattle and their calves described in the first verses are not symbols of familial happiness and stability that contrasts with the poetess' widowed unhappiness-- she is not selfconscious enough an artist for that to be the case. What she does is to describe her environment, but the unconscious selection of items for description reveals more about her state of mind than conscious selfanalysis would have done. In the song "'S toigh leam Ailean Dubh a Lòchaidh", the poetess again, instead of consciously analysing her apparently very complex feelings, describes its external referents, so revealing a very tortured mental state:

"Mharbh thu m' athair is m' fhear pòsda
 Is toigh leam Ailean Dubh a Lòchaidh,
 Mharbh thu mo thriùir bhràithean òga
 Is toigh leam Ailean Dubh a Lòchaidh."

In William Ross's 'Oran Eile', one of the best known love lyrics of the 18th century, the verse in which Ross answers the aspersions cast on his father's status with a gibe against the artistic talent of the accusers seems--but only superficially--to have little connection with the rest of the poem. 'Oran Eile' is unified, not on the level of sequential logic, but on the level of experience; it does not expound on an idea but describes the poet's multi-faceted emotion at a particular time, his feelings about the aspersions cast on his poetry and status being as relevant to that description as his feelings about Mor Ross's marriage.

In the 19th century, the period of literacy and of the creation--by the Presbyterian sermons--of a popular philosophy of life, poets began to consciously examine their experience and to set it--again for its therapeutic effect--in the cosmic perspective of a fatalistic philosophy. This philosophy--e.g. "tha cuibhl' an fhortain ag cur nan car dhith", ". . .mar a tha gaol nan gruagaichean--Mar shruthan bras. . .", "ach tha h-uile nì cho caochlaideach 's an t-saoghal bho chd a th' ann", etc.--is seldom very original or penetrative. The important thing is that it is, in each case, based on a personal experience of its truth, that the poet has earned the right to express it. Again, in this period, the Romantic literary tendency

began to take over the lyric tradition, placing--in love poetry--the emphasis on a first-person expression ("Tha mi sgìth, tinn, fo bhròn, fo leòn"; etc.) rather than, as earlier, on description of the objective referents of the emotion--first-person expression implies an appreciable degree of conscious analysis. Though the old lyric tradition lingered on in this century in an attenuated form, generally speaking, it is true to say that conscious, logical, "philosophical" exposition of one theme has been the characteristic approach of Gaelic poetry in the 19th and 20th centuries until the beginning of the New Poetry tradition, starting with Sorley MacLean in the 1930's and approaching a culmination in the poetry of MacAulay. The Surrealistic tendency that characterises this new literary movement was given a theoretical foundation by French pictorial artists (in particular, Duchamp) in the 1920's and is indubitably the approach that is most relevant to the twentieth century experience: in MacLuhan's terms, "Ours is a brand-new world of allatocness. 'Time' has ceased, 'space' has vanished. We now live in a global village. . . a simultaneous happening". Science and philosophy depend on linear or sequential thought: so poetry can, in seeking knowledge of human life, operate in a unique and valuable way (the way has been seen to be more valuable since the demonstrations by Freud and his followers of the important part which the subconscious plays in all everyday decisions and reactions--in a way Surrealism is a development out of Freudianism).

But the majority of people "confront this new situation with an enormous backlog of outdated mental and psychological responses"; they still expect a poem to proceed logically by induction from stated premises and are often, though possessed of considerable mental acumen, bewildered by poems which proceed by emotional, free-associational progression. Many modern poems must be allowed to make an unhindered general impression on the reader, who will then "close read" the poem, correlating its detail with this impression. Because of this difficulty and because also of their very considerable intellectual ability and training and of the ignorance of the majority of their potential audience of the English literary tradition in which also they have a footing--the Gaelic modern poets have been met with a serious communication problem. This has provoked a reaction--from, for the most part, persons who are highly literate and intellectually trained themselves but who do not have the modern "global-village" mentality. One group--Eoghan Gilios, James MacKenzie, etc.--have looked for inspiration to the bardic tradition, claiming this as a move back to "grass roots"--a strange claim considering that the poetry they are reacting against, in particular that of MacAulay, is rooted firmly in an even older tradition (that of 'Tha na féidh am bràigh Uige'). A second group--consisting of two young Edinburgh writers, John Murray⁸⁵ and Norman Campbell⁸⁶--began by parodying the new styles but, in later practise, they (Murray in particular) have, of late, been developing even further several tendencies that were latent in the New Movement.

Campbell's parodies of a poem by MacAulay and one by Smith, which appeared in 'Gairm' in Spring 1966, are revealing. The poem of MacAulay's chosen was 'Iain a-measg nan reultan. . .', a statement on the 'Absurd' and the triumph of the surreal approach over the logical and scientific ones. The toy blocks which the poet's young son throws against the table legs symbolise the theories of Euclid, Newton, and Einstein and the poem concludes:

"Cha mheata an rian a sheasa s
ris an fhuamhair a tha seo--
a' streap ri dà bhliadhna dh' aois."

Campbell's parody, like MacAulay's original, lacks a sequential thematic development but it also lacks the organic development of MacAulay's poem: the items described have no connection with each other on a logical or an emotional plane. One feels quite strongly that Campbell has not understood the technique MacAulay is using, in that he seems to imply that 'Iain a-measg nan Reultan' is a string of quite unconnected images. Some of Campbell's own poems employ a surrealistic technique but seem to do so almost solely for the incongruous effect produced; the images are, in fact, largely unconnected. Several of them, such as 'Mi-fhìn agus a' Revolution agus mo bhata-daraich' ['Gairm', no. 60(1967)] are dramatisations of memories of a drunken spree. Campbell's other parody was of Iain Smith's 'Do Seana-Bhoireannach' and is mainly a reaction to the too overt intellectuality of that and other modern poems:

"cha chual' thusa
mu Freud, no mu Euclid

no fiù
 mu Archimedes.
 's cha chluinn
 gu bràth.

"agus 's mi-fhìn
 's tu-fhéin
 a tha coma."

A reaction to Smith's rather selfconscious references to and application of modern theories of knowledge was inevitable as more and more of the potential readership in Gaelic became conversant with them: it is a reaction that is almost certain to work to the benefit of Gaelic writing, for example, of Smith's own.

Campbell and Murray have also frequently parodied more traditional poetry. Campbell's 'Oran Nuadh' ['Gairm', No. 53 (1965)] is excellent:

"Latha dhomh 's mi siubhal nan gleann
 (San d' fhuair mi m' àrach òg)
 'S mi leam-fhìn am fasgadh nam beann
 (San d' fhuair mi m' àrach òg)

". . . agus a-nochd
 Mac Iain nan Cnoc.
 Agus rinn e dragh mór dhomh
 gun d' fhuair esan m' àrach òg
 ann an so cuideachd. . ."

This poem's statement on the homeland is as serious and personally felt as those of Thomson, Smith, and MacAulay, if more entertaining.

In general, however, Murray's poetry has more seriousness underlying the fun and a less extravagant, more considered quality than that of Campbell. The poem 'S Tu' ['Gairm', No. 60(1967)] by Murray is very eloquent, parodying both the new and the old tradition:

"Tart dubh gam sheacadh as
Is lasair na gréine
A' sàthadh mar shaighead am shùil
Fàsach buairte luaisgeanach fo 'm chas
Le iarrtas gam thàladh, 's cha dhùisg. . .",

and:

"Ged bhithinn tinn 's mi gu bhith iuchear
Le diabites aig deocadh siùcar
Mo chaolan fada a' sior bhrùchdail
Sgàile liath-ghlas air mo shùilean
Air oidhche gailleanach ga stiùireadh. . .

"Le tinneas an rìgh 's an orc gam mùchadh
--Ach feumaidh mise nis ce-dhùnadh--. . ."

When Murray is not parodying other writers, his poetry is often very penetrative, entertaining, and distinctive in tone. 'An t-Acras' ['Gairm', No. 55(1966)] makes brilliant use of two photographs as part of the poem. This is a technique which has a tremendous potential for development. 'Piano, Piano' ['Gairm', No. 57(1966)] is far more incisively radical in its comments on Gaelic culture and literature than are Campbell's parodies:

"S nam biodh facal 'na mo chualchas
airson nithean mar 'thermonuclear fission is pre-emptive
strike is second-strike capability'

"neo 'can'
 's ann 'an uair sin
 bheirinn buaidh ort
 agus air an t-saoghal
 eadar an Caol
 is Pakistan
 le rann ro-fhuathach, ro-uamharr,
 blian.
 Anns a' Ghàidhlig.
 Ai. . ."

'Ar n-Airgead 's ar n-Or' ['Gairm', No. 54 (1966)]
 is a very clever satire on aspects of the Gaelic Language
 Movement, reminiscent in its ebullience and trenchancy
 of the plays of Finlay MacLeod. 'Séid! Séid! A Phìob'
 and 'Oran an duine, salach, sìmplidh, seimh, suigeartach'
 ['Gairm', No. 56(1966)] are both excellent poems, extremely
 humorous but again making a very serious comment on
 aspects of life while entertaining. The latter poem
 comments on aspects of the world at present:

"Fìr na feusagan a' miaranaich
 Seòladairean seòlta 'nan tàmh
 Curracagan a' cagair sa' choille
 'S am fear maireannach, buidhe, slàn. . ."

"Seilcheag a' sliobadh slighe slungaideach
 Miallan meirgeach fo cheilg sa' chlàimh
 Paipeir a' bhòindé fo sgiath
 Seana bhròg is gaisnean liath
 O nach math a bhith gun chiall."

Dà mhìle millean mionach falamh
 'S na cnuimhean a' brùchdadh, làn.

"Itealan a' dol troimh mheadhon sgòth
 Nach math, nach math, gu bheil sinn beò
 A' cumail gach uile nì air dòigh."

'Séid! Séid! A Phìob' takes the racial intolerance of a type of Scottish Nationalist to a logical and therefore satirically humorous extreme: the English are to be decimated, then the Communists, then (in Ku Klux Klan fashion) atheists, Roman Catholics, whores, intellectuals, until finally nobody is left--

"Ach thu-fhéin

'S mi-fhìn.

agus an dara uair, nuair a sheallas mi riut fhéin a charaid
 saoilidh mi nach eil thu cho snoc no cho bàigheil

'S a b' àbhaist

A nàbaidh."

The Gaelic bards looked to the field of current affairs deliberately to find material for humour; Murray, on the other hand, clearly starts --in most cases--with a serious concern over some social anomaly or cultural problem and decides to express that seriousness in a humorous fashion. This was an inevitable development in the modern movement: many modern writers in other languages, such as the playwright and novelist Samuel Beckett, use humour to forestall the inevitable initial

reaction to radical, probing, often pessimistic statements about life; McLuhan, prophet of the Modern Age, writes, in 'The Medium is the Massage', "Our learning by means of humor--a perceptive or incisive joke can be more meaningful than platitudes lying between two covers." The American "Beat" poets (Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Allen Ginsberg) are the nearest phenomenon, in modern English poetry, to this new young generation of Gaelic poets. Their work--in particular that of Murray--represents a fruitful path for the development of Gaelic poetry in the next few decades: this is a path significantly similar to that being pursued by Finlay MacLeod in 'Seachdamh Gealach' and 'An Comedy'. In fact, some of the features,⁸⁷ in prose and verse, in 'Crann' (1968), a magazine written by Aberdeen University Highland students, are reminiscent in style of both MacLeod's plays and Murray's poems and were almost certainly, in fact, composed by Finlay MacLeod, though they were published anonymously.

Calum Graham, Roderick MacLeod, Margaret MacAskill and an anonymous poetess⁸⁸ whose work appeared in 'Crann' (1968) are interesting young poets who have all as yet published very little, but who show a grasp of modern techniques and a questioning mind. The appearance of women among the new Gaelic poets is of particular interest, there having been strong sociological reasons for their silence before now. Margaret MacAskill's 'Dùbhlachd' is very sensitive and well composed:

"Roimh aghaidh m' intinn
thainig geamhradh fuar mo bheatha

a' reothadh, 's e ri sruthadh
air a' ghaoith.

"An àite mealbhaid sleamhainn do làmhnan
dh' fhairich mi thairis air mo bhroilleach
fuachd nam meanglan corrach, glas
gun duilleach. . ."

The poetry in 'Crann' is also very intelligent and
beautiful, e.g.:

"Tha mi 'gad
ionndrainn
An dràs'd'
Mar a bha mi 'gad ionndrainn
Mus do choinnich
Mi
Riamh
 thu";

and:

"'S tha mise d'igheil
Oir
A dh' aindheoin
cho fada,
 no cho goirid
'S a tha an t-slighe
'S an turus
tha thusa
mo dhuine
'nam chorp-sa
Is
'Nam cheann."

Finally, a brief comment will be made on recent translations of poetry into Gaelic. Iain Smith has translated from the work of the most influential poets of this century--including French, German, Italian, and even Japanese poems ['Gairm' (1966 ff.)]; these poems read well and, as far as one is equipped to judge, are passably faithful to the original experience underlying the poems. The translations of Hugh Laing ('Gu Tir mo Luaidh', 1964), however, though they read very fluently, have in the main ironed out the idiosyncratic tendencies in the originals that were consequent on the poet's personality or his cultural background: the poems have often been "Gaelicised" in spirit also. The translations of Shakespeare's sonnets and, in particular, of Walter Savage Landor's 'I Strove with None', are examples of this treatment. The translations of Classical literature by John MacLean of Oban have appeared in 'Gairm' quite frequently and he is at present engaged on a translation of Homer's 'Iliad'.

SUMMARY

The bardic tradition was distinguished by topicality, vigorous humour, great eloquence, and a creative rapport between performer and audience; on the debit side, however, there was the too rigid prescription of appropriate subjects and a tendency to discursiveness, even to garrulity. Bardic poems were "poetry of the will", logically--but often episodically--evolving a particular idea or description and very slightly unified⁸⁹ as poems--either formally or organically. Gaelic Romantic poetry is, historically and stylistically, an off-shoot of the village bardic tradition. As the entertainment patterns of the cities--concerts, films, and television--began to spread into the Gaelic rural areas, the bardic tradition has decayed: there are now very few practising village bards left. Romantic songs are very popular, but it is disturbing how very few of the popular songs of the present day have been composed in the past few decades.

The traditional lyric is often quite well unified organically, though showing little conscious artistic craftsmanship.

The development of Gaelic poetry by conscious experiment begins in this century with Donald Sinclair-- though the fortuitous similarity, in the case chiefly of one poem, of Father Allan MacDonald's mysticism and Continental literary Symbolism is of much interest, especially as Sinclair would certainly have known MacDonald's poem.⁹⁰ It has been a slow but gradual process, but received a tremendous forward boost with the very seminal publication of Sorley MacLean's lyrics--distinguished from the traditional lyric by their greater intellectual depth, stylistic craftsmanship, and cosmopolitanism.

There have been three fairly distinct generations of Gaelic experimental poets, the first comprising George Hay, Sorley MacLean, and Derick Thomson; the second, Thomson again, Iain Smith, and Donald MacAulay; and the third, Norman Campbell and John Murray, along with others. The new poets are characterised by their degree of formal education (virtually all have been University graduates), by their wide range of interests, and their knowledge of literary experiments in other languages. Their poems, at their best, show very considerable craftsmanship and also a high degree of organic unity: they are records of "experiences" rather than of "things", "poetry of the imagination" rather than "of the will". Gaelic poetry has, in this century, achieved a very high level of sophistication. Recent attempts to blend the new and the bardic conventions have met with some success.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSIONS

For most of the 19th century, Gaelic literature-- with the particular exceptions of Norman MacLeod's periodicals and William Livingstone's epic poetry--was largely a peasant one, comprising sgeulachdan¹ and bardic poetry in the main. When, in the mid-19th century, Gaels began to move into the Southern Scottish cities and to form a new organised community within the large industrial one, recreational and cultural requirements began to differ substantially in nature from the old; the old culture was transferred into the new environment and necessarily adapted in the process--in addition, new ideas were borrowed from, in particular, the Glaswegian cultural scene. An Comunn Gaidhealach was founded in 1891 as a Language Revival movement, motivated by Nationalism, and its branches brought to the Gaeltachd these new fashions from the emigre communities--formal concerts, dialogues, readings, comedians and comedies. Only the formal concerts and some few of the comedians

have survived: this developement extinguished the native village bardic tradition.

Native and initially oral forms like the sgeulachd and, in particular, the traditional historical tale were frequently published in books and magazines and read at public meetings in the Glasgow Gaelic community from the late 19th century till the late 'twenties; by the beginning of this century, original stories, in imitation of these were appearing in print. Under the stimulus of the Hon. Roderick Erskine of Mar (especially), three novels were published, which are elaborations of the traditional historical tale, and more sophisticated forms, like the detective and science fiction story, were developed.

The only native dramatic forms were some verse dialogues (usually between the poet and an inanimate object) and the còmhradh. The writers in the city communities began early in this century to copy the Scots popular Community Plays and these were frequently performed--usually at concerts. Mar again encouraged writers to aim higher than this, to be influenced by Ibsen, Shaw, and Yeats rather than the Variety theatre: this produced serious plays like those of Donald Sinclair but these were not performed until at least the 1940's.

With regard to both drama and the short story, the early part of this century is distinguished by the quantity of these produced rather than the quality: this is not surprising considering the newness of both forms. In the 'fifties and 'sixties both have achieved a contemporary

sophistication, though lacking in volume.

In poetry, there were at least two native traditions--the village bardic one and the lyric one, both oral traditions.

When the village bards moved into the Lowlands, Gaelic Romantic poetry developed. A Romanticism closer to that of Wordsworth is apparent in the case of Donald Sinclair, in the second and third decades of this century: Sinclair's pantheism is, interestingly, rooted in Roman Catholic mysticism as was Fr Allan MacDonald's nascent Symbolism--Wordsworthian Romanticism and French Symbolism are closely akin and both have strongly mystical overtones.² Sorley MacLean, writing very experimental lyric poetry in the 'thirties, is deeply rooted in the native lyric tradition, but his cosmopolitan reading and interests, his profound intellectual insights, and the stimulation of the Scottish Literary Renaissance are obvious and distinguish his work ('Dàin do Eimhir', 1943) from the Gaelic poetry before it. George Hay and Derick Thomson, from the early 'forties, consolidated this breakthrough. Modern Gaelic poetry is extremely sophisticated and vital, at its best.

Modern Gaelic drama (in particular, MacLeod's 'Ceann Cropic'), short stories (especially those of Smith), and poetry are distinguished by a very effective use--for economy, obliqueness and, in the case of Smith's stories, for formal unity--of symbolism. This symptomises an underlying surrealist (or absurdist) artistic basis: usually a total experience is simultaneously investigated

rather than a consciously abstracted theme pursued, resulting in multi-faceted complexity, conciseness, and development by intuitive or imaginative steps rather than by inductive logic. A consequence of this is that many people--though very well equipped intellectually--find modern Gaelic literature very difficult to understand. The bardic poetry was "poetry of the will", abstracted a theme from the poet's amorphous experience-complex and developed it logically and fully consciously, with, always, a discursive tendency. Present day writers who have reacted to the difficulty of, in particular, modern poetry, have attempted to discuss modern problems using the bardic techniques. Personally, I do not feel that these techniques--especially the discursiveness--are so relevant to the mid-twentieth century experience as are those employed by writers like Finlay MacLeod and Donald MacAulay. Iain Murray and Norman Campbell, because they initially reacted to the "Establishment" aura surrounding the work of Smith and MacAulay by parodying them, have sometimes been mistakenly grouped with those who are seeking new inspiration in the bardic tradition: in fact, these two young writers, with Finlay MacLeod, are taking the surrealist tendency further in Gaelic than it has come so far.

NOTES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

¹That is, pertaining to the trained or otherwise official clan bards: elsewhere in this thesis, "bard" is equivalent to the unofficial village bard.

²Angus Robertson notes, in the booklet issued in 1947 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Ceilidh nan Gaidheal in Glasgow, "Ach dh' fhàg a' chéilidh an clachan sin a bha ann le imrich cuain nan nàisir, god a dh' fhuirich fuigheall am bailtean móra far an do thog i ceann a rithist, gu h-àraidh an Glaschu, agus air a' mhòd so."

³Though probably only in Argyllshire.

⁴2,145 in Edinburgh.

⁵These figures are for people who are capable of speaking Gaelic though they may not habitually do so.

⁶This figure is higher than that for Argyll, Sutherland, or Perth.

⁷'A' Chòisir Chiùil, the St Columba Song Book' was

issued in the 1880's by the choir's then conductor, Archibald Ferguson, and is still a standard work.

⁸The first such was given in 1875 in Glasgow City Hall by the St Columba Choir, according to Angus MacIntyre's introduction to Fionn's 'Ceòl nan Gaidheal' (1905): this is corroborated by Mr Hugh MacPhee.

⁹To the Ossianic Society, Winter, 1968.

¹⁰Fionn's 'Celtic Garland', Caraid nan Gaidheal's books, John MacFadyen's 'Sgeulaiche nan Caol', etc.

¹¹Excluding those already mentioned.

¹²Gaelic music was also the subject of study by non-native scholars in the 19th century (e.g. Joseph Mainzer, a German). Besides this, more academic musicologist, there was a group in the early 20th century--including Sir Harold Boulton, Sir Hugh Robertson, and Marjory Kennedy-Fraser--who took greater liberties with the Gaelic tunes: these--in particular, Marjory Kennedy-Fraser and her collaborator, Kenneth MacLeod--were "Celtic Twilightists", a local emanation of the general European fin de siècle mentality, others being William Sharpe (Fiona MacLeod) and Patrick Geddes. This phenomenon--also found at this period in Ireland, where the leaders were Yeats and Lady Gregory--is of significance to the development of Gaelic Romantic poetry in this period.

¹³Prof. Donald MacLean, in his article in Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, XXII(1929) to E.C. Carmicheal, referred to the revival at the turn of the century in the following terms--"There was then a perceptible Gaelic renaissance throughout the country. It was chiefly the product of the enlightened study of Gaelic and its literature in the University of Edinburgh, which was gradually expelling Gaelic illiteracy from the Highland pulpits."

¹⁴Aberdeen, 1918.

¹⁵Inverness publishes Transactions almost annually;

the Glasgow Society have published four volumes. Their interests are mainly antiquarian but occasional talks on contemporary Gaelic literature have been published.

¹⁶See below, under Periodicals.

¹⁷This patriotism appears in an inverted form in the romanticising and patronising of the Gaelic peasantry and their song-culture by, in Ireland, Yeats and Lady Gregory, in Scotland in the early 20th century by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser et al. (see above, n. 12): the people involved in this development were not usually Celtic as to their own ethnic background. The movement did not attract many native Gaels, the Rev. Kenneth MacLeod being a notable exception.

¹⁸Vice-President of the Scottish National League, the precursor of the Scottish Nationalist Party.

¹⁹Born 1869.

²⁰See, for example, Angus Henderson's tribute in 'Celtic Annual', 1918.

²¹See section on periodicals below.

²²Witness Angus Robertson's references to Mar in the introduction to 'Cnoc an Fhradhairc' (1940).

²³Donald Sinclair's 'Crois Tàra', 'Fearann a' Shinnsir', 'Long nan Oig', etc.--all published in Mar's 'Guth na Bliadhna'; and Mar's own 'Ar-a-mach'.

²⁴Born 1866. A native of Ardnamurchan, he lived mostly in Stirling. A journalist.

²⁵An electrician. Born in Barra in 1885, he worked in Edinburgh and in various cities and towns of the South of Scotland. A sensitive poet and playwright.

²⁶Born in Mull 1860. Educated at Glasgow University, he taught for a short time in Uist, was associated for a time

with the Iona Press and eventually settled in Glasgow. MacCormick was a prolific writer of plays, short stories, and novels. He was a shy and sensitive man, as is clear from his decision to burn all his manuscripts as a reaction to the preferment by Mod adjudicators of traditional tales to his short stories (reported by Malcolm MacFarlane in 'An Sgeulaiche' in 1909--MacFarlane dissuaded him from this). He was at first associated with Henry Whyte and the ceilidh culture in Glasgow, but he was temperamentally ill suited for success in this field. His friend, Coll MacDonald, writing MacCormick's obituary in 'Life and Work: Na Duilleagan Gaidhlig' in 1947, remarked--"Bha fàiteas ann am MacCormaig. Chan fhàca agus cha chuala mi riamh e air clàr-uachdar ùrlair."

²⁷Born 1853. Spent most of his working life in Elderslie in Renfrewshire. He was a land surveyor by trade. MacFarlane did much scholarly work, including an edition of the Fernaig MS, school textbooks, and a Gaelic dictionary--published a large number of song books and prepared most of John MacCormick's work for the press. He composed several popular songs (e.g. 'Mo Dhachaidh') and was an especially close friend of MacCormick.

²⁸Born 1864. A native of Glenelg. Lived in various parts of Scotland and England. A fine poet. Like MacFarlane, he was originally an enthusiastic supporter of An Comunn Gaidhealach but later got disaffected with its policies.

²⁹I am aware that length, in itself, is no valid criterion of worth.

³⁰Containing a chapter on Gaelic writings by Douglas Young.

³¹Containing Gaelic poems by Donald Sinclair, Sorley MacLean, Derick Thomson, and George Hay.

³²Gaelic poems by Thomson, MacLean, and Donald MacAulay.

³³Gaelic poems by MacLean and Thomson.

³⁴Gaelic poems by MacLean and Thomson.

³⁵Witness the attempts, in public lectures in recent years, by Finlay MacLeod and Donald MacAulay to establish that their own work and that of their contemporaries is, contrary to superficial impressions, rooted in the native tradition. See also, Donald MacAulay's review of Iain Crichton Smith's poems in 'Scottish Gaelic Studies' XI(1960), in which he discusses this theme.

³⁶Collected Essays.

³⁷In his review in 'Scottish Gaelic Studies', XI, mentioned above, MacAulay talks of the disparity between the "rural and basic" society of the Gaeltachd and the "urban" Gaelic community of the Lowland cities with its "artificial structure"--this disparity is very real, but I am not sure that is very much different in nature or degree from that between rural and urban communities elsewhere.

³⁸Print has been a great dividing factor in all communities.

³⁹Of Edinburgh, Inverness, and Glasgow.

⁴⁰The contribution of the latter two associations was considerably more substantial.

⁴¹For example, John MacKenzie's 'Bliadhna Theàrlaich' (1944).

⁴²The most important being Norman MacLeod's 'Co' chruineachadh son na Sgoilean'(1828) and his 'Leabhar nan Cnoc'(1834).

⁴³There were a few publications that could be described by this term in the latter years of the 19th century.

⁴⁴'Gu'n Tug i Spéis do 'n Armun'(1903), 'Dun Aluinn'(1912): both later reissued by MacLaren's.

⁴⁵'A' Chùirt', 'An Coileach'.

⁴⁶In the press.

⁴⁷'Teine Ceann Fòid', a translation by Paul MacInnes of a novel by Allan C. MacLean.

⁴⁸Except for 'Sradag'(1960-1962).

⁴⁹An exception is the work of Colin MacKenzie, now in the press.

⁵⁰A considerable number of other papers--Canadian and Scots--have also run Gaelic columns, of course: this is a selection of the most significant.

⁵¹On average, about 240 per annual volume: ca. 20 pp. of Gaelic. A monthly.

⁵²For example, 'Keir Hardie' by Angus Henderson (1936) and W.J. Watson's series 'Cor na Gaidhealtachd' (1939).

⁵³For example, Lamont's own study of Karl Barth (1935), 'Pacifism gun Ghaol'(1936), and of modern psychology(1939), etc.

⁵⁴On secular as well as religious publications; the obits also in the Supplement included scholars, writers, and singers (Roderick MacLeod), as well as divines.

⁵⁵This had a regular Gaelic page edited by Alexander Nicolson.

⁵⁶Several of them, as of the stories, being reprints of the work of Caraid nan Gaidheal.

⁵⁷I.e., Vol. II:3.

⁵⁸Angus Henderson, 'Celtic Annual'(1915), p. 5.

⁵⁹Chiefly, as far as the Gaelic articles are concerned, Angus Henderson, J.N. MacLeod, Malcolm MacFarlane, and

Donald Sinclair.

⁶⁰Ed. by M.C. MacLeod of Dundee.

⁶¹In collaboration with Alex. N. Nicolson of Greenock.

⁶²'An Sgeulaiche' is modeled on Sharpe's 'London Magazine' and 'Argosy'.

⁶³Poems and plays appeared in it also from time to time.

⁶⁴Three chapters of Angus Robertson's novel, 'An t-Ogha Mór' (1913) were published in it in 1909-1910.

⁶⁵The name changed in 1923 when, for a few issues, the magazine was known as 'Gàilig'.

⁶⁶Instances are Neil Ross's article on drama in the 1920's and--in the last two decades--articles on 18th century poets by Derick Thomson and on 20th century poets by Iain Smith.

⁶⁷There has been a detectable change of orientation in this field over the years. In the earlier years of 'Gairm', conscious cosmopolitanism was mainly represented by a series of "travellers' accounts" from abroad--Spain, Switzerland, Bavaria, Sweden, India, etc.--but more recently the output of these has almost ceased and, lately, political discussions, often quite radical and controversial, have begun to appear, including articles on youth services in the Isles, the Highland Development Board, Ecumenicism, Scottish Nationalism, and Vietnam. In this respect, 'Gairm' is becoming more like 'Guth na Bliadhna'. A Youth Section has also started in the past few years--discussing cosmetics, records, motorcycles, etc.

⁶⁸Strictly speaking, radio broadcasts are not "periodicals", but, in the Gaelic context, their style and effects are indistinguishable.

⁶⁹For example, MacLeod's very experimental 'Ceann Cropic' was the first Gaelic play performed on television.

CHAPTER II: PROSE

¹J.F. Campbell's very important 'West Highland Tales', vols. I and II, were first published in this year.

²For example, 'Conall Gulbann'.

³For example, 'Cath nan Eùn'.

⁴E.g., the Irish Annals, the early history and saints' lives and the 16th and 17th century histories of the Clan Donald contained in the Books of Clanranald.

⁵This later point is of particular import in the 20th century, when a body of instructive Gaelic prose virtually ceased to appear.

⁶The largest and best known being 'Màiri a' Ghlinne'.

⁷Review of Hawthorne's stories in 'Graham's Magazine', May 1842: ". . . he, i.e. the author, then invents such incidents--he then combines such events as may best aid him in establishing this preconceived effect."

⁸E.g., 'Peanuts', 'The Gambols', etc.

⁹ He also shares their taste for pathos: compare 'Màiri a' Ghlinne' and other deathbed stories to, for example, Dickens's death of Little Paul in 'Dombey and Son', etc.

¹⁰ His son.

¹¹ This is a favourite subject for Gaelic sketch-writers also, which illustrates the generally parallel history of the two in Gaelic.

¹² As with the contemporary melodramas, q.v.

¹³ A series of true anecdotes illustrating MacLennan's own songs.

¹⁴ Donald MacDonald.

¹⁵ Trans. by Rev. John MacRury.

¹⁶ Erskine of Mar reversed this process in 'The Old Tribute' (1924), a book of translations from Gaelic into English, which included a chapter from MacCormick's novel, an adventure tale by MacCormick, and a part of the play 'Crois Tàra' and of the long story 'Lughain Lir', both by Donald Sinclair.

¹⁷ Compare the contemporary melodramas, e.g. 'Mairead', 'Rath-Innis', etc.

¹⁸ 'Treasure Island' (1883) and 'Master of Ballantrae' (1888).

¹⁹ In the stories of Poe, for example, details of setting, character, or action are ruthlessly excised unless they contribute to the general effect aimed at. In many instances, MacCormick is clearly aiming at a particular effect, but there is much in even the best of these stories that is irrelevant to this aim.

²⁰ MacCormick was bitterly disappointed at the preferment of traditional sgeulachdan to his short stories, by An Comunn Gaidhealach adjudicators, and had

threatened to burn all his manuscripts. See Introduction.

²¹'John Splendid'(1898), 'Gillian the Dreamer'(1899), 'The New Road'(1914).

²²Pub. in English, 1896.

²³MacCormick translated 'Measure for Measure' and 'Macbeth' into Gaelic: the Gaelic translation of 'Julius Caesar' was published in 1911.

²⁴This connection is through the character of the girl, Margaret Cunningham, whose exaltation to high estate from the nurse's hovel makes great demands on the reader's credulity.

²⁵In the preface to 'Cnoc an Fhradhairc'(1940), Robertson writes--"I am. . .happy to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Hon. Ruadri Erskine of Mar for having first pressed me to write Gaelic fiction in a serious way. As a result, three sections of 'An t-Ogha Mor' appeared about 1909 in his Sgeulaiche". He adds, "A quasi original of this tale in English entitled 'Black Alpin' was published as a serial in St Mungo, an illustrated weekly I started in Glasgow in 1907."

²⁶Hugh MacPhee states that Robertson; Munro; Hugh Munro, the artist; William Power, the famous journalist; and James Bridie frequently met at the Art Club in Glasgow. Robertson praises Munro highly in 'Children of the Fore-World'(1933) and Munro wrote a laudatory introduction to the English translation of 'An t-Ogha Mor' that was published in 1924; significantly, he singles out the episodes at Court for special praise.

²⁷MacLeod expressed great admiration for Neil Munro in the introduction to 'A Highland Waif'(1929) and Munro wrote in 'The Evening News' of 'Cailinn Sgiathanach', "Mr MacLeod is a distinctly competent story-teller, with really artistic intuitions and a dignified conception of the novel as something more than a pastime for young people."

²⁸W.J. Watson 'TGSJ', XXXV(1939) : "In periodic

Gaelic writings, the Rev. Donald Lamont continues to make the Gaelic supplement of 'Life and Work' the canon of contemporary Gaelic prose."

²⁹T.M. Murchison's Foreword to 'The Prose Writings of Donald Lamont' (1960).

³⁰The first three appeared in 'An Ròsarnach'.

³¹For perspective, one ought to remember that 1921 is the publication date of James Joyce's very experimental 'Ulysses'.

³²With the exception of Ceilidh nan Gaidheal, the Glasgow High School Gaelic Class Ceilidh and learned societies, such as the Gaelic Societies of Glasgow and Inverness.

³³Rev. Neil MacFarlane, B.D., Bean a' Bhancair, Seònaid Eachuinn, etc.

³⁴MacLeod's 'Litrichean Fhionnlaigh Piobaire gu Mhnaoi'; Lamont uses letters from Seònaid Eachuinn, though he often merely mentions her as a source of the story.

³⁵The all-Gaelic magazine of the Portree Feachd of Comunn na h-Oigridh. First published 1944 (ed. Finlay J. MacDonaid), it has appeared in 1945, 1950, and 1962.

³⁶Much closer than Caraid nan Gaidheal's, for example.

³⁷Compare the use of Lallans by Lewis Grassie Gibbon in his novels and of dialects of English by Mark Twain, T.F. Powys, and Thomas Hardy.

³⁸See Introduction, J.N. MacLeod, 'Litrichean Alasdair Mhóir' (1932).

³⁹Trans. J.G. MacKinnon of Canada (1938, 1939), 33 pp.

³⁷'The Three Strangers'. Trans. MacKinnon (1944).

³⁸The B.B.C. has broadcast Gaelic since the 1930's, but very few short stories--except for history, legendary or personal adventure stories or humorous anecdotes--were broadcast till the 1950's.

³⁹A spokesman of the Gaelic Society of Inverness in 1924 protested that few Gaelic speakers were able or willing to read and appreciate the type of erudite article that 'Guth na Bliadhna' printed: Erskine of Mar angrily refuted this claim, but the magazine had to close down soon afterwards. There is a larger audience now equipped to appreciate this type of article.

⁴⁰Both translated by Roderick Morrison and serialised (with illustrations) in the 'Stornoway Gazette'; pub. separately ca. 1966.

⁴¹Serialised in 'Gairm'; pub. separately 1967, trans. Paul MacInnes.

⁴²These stories appeared mostly in 'Gairm'.

⁴³Including articles on Norwegian, English, Irish, and Russian writers and on thinkers such as Soren Kierkegaard and Mao Tse-Tung.

⁴⁴Including 'Is toigh leam', 'Or is Airgead', 'Gu dé tha mi leughadh/As mo leabhraichean'(reviews of recent publications), and an important recent series of talks by Derick Thomson on aspects of Gaelic literature.

⁴⁵Broadcast 28/5/58.

⁴⁶The work of these two is reviewed below.

⁴⁷Compare Iain Smith's fictional study of the mind of the psychopathic murderer, 'Mac an t-Srònaich', discussed below.

⁴⁸The most significant thing about Gaelic prosewriters is their lack of stamina. Talented young writers like Martin MacDonald, Finlayson, and Murray have produced only an average of two stories each. None of the writers in the 1950's has produced a novel (though perhaps lack

of hope for the future of Gaelic may discourage the contemplation of as heavy a task as this); when English novelists--Wells, Huxley, Orwell, and, earlier, Conan Doyle--have influenced Gaelic writers, the latter have produced only short stories.

⁴⁹ One is at once reminded by this statement of the comments of Chekhov and Turgenev, who stressed that stories must not aim at having a beginning and end, but rather at portraying a "moment" in the life of a character.

⁵⁰ His stories are the ones, along with those of Chekhov, that are most accurately termed "openended".

⁵¹ See the discussion of "poetry of the will", below.

⁵² Smith contributed a laudatory article on Kierkegaard to 'Gairm'.

⁵³ This type of story has been popular with Irish writers also: e.g. Edna O'Brien's 'I Was Happy Here', etc.

⁵⁴ Some of Smith's story-motifs recur often: e.g. the postman's approach with a war-death telegramme up to and past the last house in the village, the emigration of a brother despite his relatives, and the strong-willed old woman who is a preoccupation of his poems, stories, English novel, and plays. This suggests that these details are from his own history.

⁵⁵ Although the characters dealt with here are obviously based on people he has known well, the technique--of telling the same story through the memory of several people--was probably borrowed, either from Durrell's 'Alexandria Quartet' or from William Faulkner's 'The Sound and the Fury', which also confines itself to one family.

⁵⁶ James MacLeod's diatribes against the Clearances and his pleas for Gaelic in 'An Cailinn Sgiathanach'.

⁵⁷ Cf. the use of colours in Thomas Mann's 'Death in Venice'.

⁵⁸E.g., the series of Paterson's 'Popular Readings' and Robert Ford's 'Popular English Readings', 'Popular Scotch Readings', and 'Popular Irish Readings' (advertised in John MacCormick's 'Oiteagan o 'n Iar', a collection of Gaelic essays and stories published in 1908), and 'Murdoch's Humorous Scottish Readings' (advertised by Alexander MacLaren, the Gaelic booksellers, in 'Guth na Bliadhna' in 1912).

⁵⁹For example, 'Brave New World' and 'Mr Universe'; H.G. Wells and Colin MacKenzie.

CHAPTER III: DRAMA

¹This is the probable order in which the fashion spread.

²Many of these plays are still extant.

³Modern Welsh drama originated in the early 20th century as a conscious imitation of the Irish Theatre movement of the time.

⁴The language in the prose sections is usually later than that of the verse, but this is, of course, by no means conclusive evidence.

⁵The Greek and Morality/Miracle plays were almost always in vaise--as were the plays of Shakespeare, Molière, etc.

⁶Sent on 26th March 1764. Quoted in the 'Report of the Highland Society as to the Poetry of Ossian', 1805, Appendix, p. 29.

⁷"Fiursiri", used for this in tales, glosses "histriones" or "comic actors" in the early St Gall manuscripts.

⁸It is also--and significantly--the basic form of Church

catechisms: the Gaelic translation of the Presbyterian 'Shorter Catechism' was frequently reprinted in the 18th century and later.

⁹The dialogues printed in periodicals usually were 2-4pp. in length (500-1000 words):: the 19th century dialogue pamphlets were usually much longer.

¹⁰The traditional comhradh, however, could, from earliest times, use more than two characters, though two is by far the commonest number and, even when there are more, there are usually two principal characters.

¹¹Quoted from a contemporary review of 'Ceithir Còmhraidhean' (1931).

¹²Those of Caraid nan Gaidheal were performed at more informal gatherings. The performances of comhradh by MacLeod and others at Ceilidh nan Gaidhaal and the High School Ceilidh in the early years of the century were usually given by one man, who read the dialogue from a book [Hugh MacPhee].

¹³Several references have been seen to a translation of 'Macbeth' by MacCormick, but I have been unable to trace a copy. It was not published.

¹⁴MacLeod himself states in the introduction to 'Reiteach Móraig' (1911) that his aim was to preserve a memory of this and other disappearing old customs.

¹⁵On the analogy, presumably, of traditional dialogue poems, which are, however, usually reflective poems.

¹⁶Hector MacIver, who composed this feature, was one of the most successful at producing theatrically vital dramatisations.

¹⁷This gives the author the opportunity--as did the dialogues--to air his own views on a wide spectrum of current affairs. The conversation, however, is quite naturalistic. The central idea was probably suggested by William Golding's 'Lord of the Flies'.

¹⁸ Abridged. The translation was made by Lachlan MacKinnon and the broadcast production directed by Finlay J. MacDonald.

¹⁹ This, of course, excludes Mar and Sinclair and, in some respects, John MacCormick.

²⁰ Compare the use of omens of disaster in Gaelic adventure plays.

²¹ It is interesting that the hero/author part in this play, as in 'Oidhche na Bliadh Uir' and 'Shoni', have been played by the author himself in the stage and radio presentations.

²² She is the same character-type as the old woman in MacCormick's 'An Reitheachadh Rathail' (1908).

²³ Though I would stress that 'Ceann Cropic' is absurdist only as to its presentation: it does have a "theme".

²⁴ The main prizewinners were John MacCormick, Hector MacDougall, and Archibald MacCulloch.

²⁵ The main winners have been J. MacKenzie, Mrs K. Douglas, and J.A. MacLeod and, earlier, Iain M. Moffat-Pender, the only one to have had most of his plays published.

²⁶ This was a propagandist play and so understandably popular with An Comunn's branches.

²⁷ Schools and universities, for example, still do not teach Gaelic drama as part of their Gaelic courses: but this stage is much nearer than it was.

²⁸ Secretary Calum Robertson, President Farquhar Macrae.

²⁹ Finlay J. MacDonald was one of the important forces behind the institution of the Festival.

³⁰ I use this to define the standard of the drama, not to describe whether it is humorous or nonhumorous.

³¹In 1968, for example, the presentation was a Variety show, incorporating burlesque sketches, songs, dancing, etc.; the influence of the 'Lex MacLean' and other similar Glasgow vaudeville shows being obvious.

³²Na Lorganaich's audience in Aberdeen have often been less than a dozen, even though a survey in 'Crann' (1967) reveals that there are 90 Island students in Aberdeen.

³³The Glasgow Lewis and Harris Association's annual 'Oidhche Challuinn'--a loosely knit and largely improvisational play framework which incorporates songs and farce--is an excellent example of Variety at its most creative, audience-involving, and vital.

³⁴Two of Sinclair's plays approach the requirements of Mar and of MacIver; and concerts then regularly featured the odd dialogue or debate. By 1948, there were only light comedies being written and performed--with the exception of 'Crois Tàra' in Glasgow in 1947--and the most popular entertainers were "amateurs trying to win their spurs with the most sentimental weapons".

³⁵There is frequent overlapping--i.e., many of the reissues are also translations.

CHAPTER IV: POETRY

¹These conventions are usually only implicit: at certain times, however, such as the Augustan Period of English literature, they have been systematically codified into principles of "literary decorum".

²Throughout this chapter, the term "bard" will be used for a practitioner of traditional "non-personal" poetry in Gaelic--his poetic output is extrinsically oriented.

³Cameron, 'Na Bàird Thirisdeach' (1932), p. 142 ff. He is not to be confused with John MacLean, Bard Thighearna Chola.

⁴Village bards from the 18th century onwards became increasingly less interested in polemic--very few of those 20th century bards, who remained in the Highland communities, wrote polemical verse.

⁵Anecdotes illustrating the impromptu wit of poets such as John MacCodrom, Duncan MacIntyre--and even John

Morrison (Iain Gobha), the 19th century religious poet-- are still told.

⁶ His songs, writings, and letters were collected and published by Iain M. Moffatt-Pender in 1926. At this time, the poet was still living but a very old man.

⁷ He was born in 1825 and died in 1903. His poems have been published as 'Orain Chaluum' by Alick Morrison (ca. 1950).

⁸ 'Orain Ghàidhlig le Seonaidh Caimbeul', ed. John L. Campbell, 1936.

⁹ In an introductory memoir in John Lorne Campbell's edition, John MacInnes, a friend of the bard, states-- "Iomad rud nach saoilleadh feodhainn eile cus dheth dheanadh Seònaidh oran dha".

¹⁰ Compare the more recent Lewis song, 'Oran an A.I.'

¹¹ 'Bàrd Bharabhais, Dain, Orain is Sgeulachdan', 1920.

¹² For example, the Harris song, "Chì mi tìr 'san robh mi 'nam bhalach', which is enjoying a vogue at present, has name-lists such as this: "Chì mi Mànaidh/Is Ceann-an-t-Sàile/Caolas Bheàrntraidh/Is tràighean Phabaidh."

¹³ His work and that of his brother Duncan was issued in 1936, edited by Hector MacDougall, under the title 'Bàird Chill-Chomain'.

¹⁴ This type of poem was very popular with the Lowland Scots balladeers and broadsheet writers in the 18th and 19th centuries--the most famous of whom was, of course, William MacGonagle. These versifiers served a purpose similar to that served by the popular press now. The village bard did not develop this function, though many of these bards wrote poems about incidents far from home which had a potential for humour (e.g. the song on the vegetetarian long distance walker, Dr Barbara Moore). There is at present a fashion in many of the Gaelic islands of composing English verse (usually mere doggerel) about sea-disasters in the neighbourhood--a favourite, and predictable, subject for melodramas also.

¹⁵A late example of the publication of humorous songs in a narrative setting is John MacLennan's 'Duanagan is Sgeulachdan Beaga'(1937).

¹⁶'Moladh Beinn Dóbhrainn' is an excellent example of this.

¹⁷Neither MacFadyen nor MacLeod, of course, was himself a sailor.

¹⁸We can imagine his recital being interrupted by loud applause at this point.

¹⁹Of the four 'Dàin' by MacFadyen discussed here, three utilise this verse form.

²⁰In the poem under discussion, in fact, Burns's 'To a Mouse' is referred to. Burns's epistles and satires are full of compassion for the poor and of contempt for the pomp, pageantry, and cruelty of the rich. The emphasis on his love lyrics has tended to obscure this facet of his poetry.

²¹His 'Clàrsach an Doire, Dàin, Orain is Sgeulachdan' was first published in 1883; further editions were issued up to the fifth in 1924.

²²By this, I do not, of course, mean that village bards did not write strictly within the terms of a literary convention: all I want to imply is that their vision of the object that was conventionally praised was not obscured either by distance from it or by nostalgia for its supposedly idyllic past.

²³This may not be a very chivalrous epithet to use in this context!

²⁴See the discussion of Donald MacDonald, Bàrd Bharabhais, and of Charles MacNiven above.

²⁵There have been many Gaelic "holiday" songs, e.g. 'O, nach Agmhor', 'Eirich is Cuir umad', 'Tiugainn do Scalpaich', etc.

²⁶Because of his general lack of humour and of an instinct for what is topical (if trivial), I do not think Morrison would have made a good village bard if he had remained at home in Lewis. It was his ability to articulate his exile-audience's nostalgia, rather than the more traditional bardic virtues, which made him popular and an effective poet laureate.

²⁷'An Ribheid Chiùil', e. Alick Morrison (1961).

²⁸Pub. with music as 'Cuairtear nan Gleann'(1949).

²⁹Both Whyte and MacFadyen were from Argyllshire.

³⁰This is in obvious contrast to what happened in the quite different socio-economic setting of the Lowland cities.

³¹In so far, of course, as either is adequately determinable.

³²In particular, writers of popular, ephemeral literature such as romances, detective, spy, war stories, pornography: I think this is what J.L. Campbell meant by "pàipearan-naidheachd Beurla" in the quotation with which this section began.

³³The Romantic songs of city-dwellers early became the most popular type of entertainment even in the Highland area; and now more and more the Glasgow and Edinburgh-based entertainers--the Edin Singers, the MacDonald Sisters, Donald MacRae, Calum Kennedy, Alasdair Gillies, etc.--are featured nearly exclusively on TV and radio programmes and, in the Island villages, are fast acquiring the mantle of popularity, even among the old, that the local bards had at one stage in the past. This tendency, of course, began in earnest when An Comunn Gaidhealach in particular began to set up branches throughout the Gaeltachd itself--bringing singers like Neil MacLean and Roderick MacLeod to wide popularity.

³⁴See J.K. Wimsatt, 'The Intentional Fallacy', in 'The Verbal Icon'(1954).

³⁵ There is ample precedent in Gaelic--in the work of the village bards--for naturalistic description of a natural or otherwise tangible object: this poem is an example of the application of this approach to the exposition of a psychological phenomenon; it is objective description but the selection of the objects to be described is not objective, in fact, is probably not a fully conscious process.

³⁶ 'Nan ceadaicheadh an tìde dhomh' has some exceptions to this general statement.

³⁷ For example, Murdo MacLeod (Murchadh a' Cheisteir) and Christina MacLeod (see below).

³⁸ For example, Allan MacLeod: 'Cliù agus Cuimhneachadh air Cuid de na Crìosdaidhean a Chaidh Dhachaidh' (1931) and 'Marbhrann do Dòmhnall MacIomhair le a Phiuthar Màiri A. NicIomhair' (1968), 8 pp.

³⁹ See Martin M. Whittat, 'Highland and Island Psychiatric Reflexions', 'British Journal of Medical Psychology', XL(1967).

⁴⁰ 'Bàrdachd Mhgr Ailein', ed. J.L. Campbell (1965). Father Allan died in 1905.

⁴¹ The poem's theoretical basis is more likely to be Catholic mysticism rather than literary Symbolism. Symbolism had, of course, a strongly mystical colour in the case of several writers, for example, Yeats.

⁴² The title of an essay by Allen Tate, contained in 'Reason in Madness' (1941), reprinted in 'Collected Essays'.

⁴³ See Hew Morrison, 'Against Sycophantic Praise' (1899), p. 94.

⁴⁴ E.g., he describes the poetic vision as "mullach nam Beanntan Sìorruidh ud air a bheil Soillse na Dearbh. Fhìrinn a' deàlbradh gu bràth.

⁴⁵Vindicating his own criticism of 'Moladh Beinn Dóbhrainn' that MacIntyre's subject has not been transmuted into poetry by the exercise of the imagination.

⁴⁶Pub. in James Thomson, 'An Dìleab' (1932; 2nd ed. 1936).

⁴⁷MacDonald's 'Dàin Eadar-theangaichte' (1903) contains mainly translations from Burns, but also poems by Aytoun, Hogg, Scott, Lady Nairne, and Ramsay, most of which share a Highland setting.

⁴⁸It is over naturalistic in the same sense and in approximately the same degree as 'Moladh Beinn Dóbhrainn'.

⁴⁹In 'The Company I've Kept' (1966), MacDiarmid cites Hay and MacLean, along with Sydney Goodsir Smith and Norman MacCaig, as his closest associates among Scottish poets.

⁵⁰The numbers reach LX: the following numbers (poems?) are missing: V, VI, VII, XII, XV, XVI, XXVI, XXXVI, XL, XLI, XLVI, XLVII.

⁵¹In a retrospective note in 'Dàin Eile: XVII' ('An Dun-Eideann 1939'), he mentions two:

"Am bliadhna roghainn na h-Albann,
An nighean ruadh, clar na gréine;
'S a bhòn-uiridh an nighean bhàn,
Roghainn àlainn na h-Eireann."

The former was Elizabeth Milne, a violinist in an orchestra; the latter was Nessa O'Shea, who, as a postgraduate research student in Celtic, was working in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh during 1938.

⁵²I.e., like the English Metaphysical School of the 17th century--John Donne, George Herbert, et al.

⁵³See XXIII--on the creation of beauty out of suffering on the part of Beethoven and Padraig Mór MacCriomainn.

⁵⁴"La nature est un temple où de vivants piliers
Laissent parfois sortir de confuses paroles;

L'homme y passe à travers des forêts de symboles
Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers.

"Comme de longs échos qui de loix se confondent
Dans une ténébreuse et profonde unité,
Vaste comme la nuit et comme la clarté,
Les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se répondent."

⁵⁵ Defined in the 'Imagist Manifesto' (1913)--the best known early adherent was Ezra Pound.

⁵⁶ This also contained Gaelic poems by Derick Thomson.

⁵⁷ George Campbell Hay and Derick Thomson appear in the second ed. (1956).

⁵⁸ The snow on the Cuilinn.

⁵⁹ The allusion is presumably to 'The Hammer of the Scots', Edward I of England.

⁶⁰ An excellent example of Hay's original and concise use of language.

⁶¹ For example, 'Is e Criche Araidh' in 'Fuaran Sléibh' is dated 18.2.45, while 'Bisearta' in 'O na Ceithir Airdean' is ascribed to 1943.

⁶² Born 1921; MacLean was born in 1911, Hay in 1915.

⁶³ Compare Hay's remarks in the preface to 'Fuaran Sléibh' and his dedication of 'O na Ceithir Airdean' to MacLean.

⁶⁴ Some were also published in 'Poetry Scotland' (1944-1947).

⁶⁵ See 'Bàrdachd Mhurchaidh a' Cheisteir', ed. Angus Duncan (1962).

⁶⁶ My brackets.

⁶⁷ In speech, the emphasis is on immediacy, rather than

full accuracy, of communication,

⁶⁸ Compare George Hay's 'Tiomnadh' in 'Fuaran Sléibh'.

⁶⁹ 'Dol am meud' contrasts with the 'Laighe sios' of the previous line.

⁷⁰ 'Bàird a' Chomuinn', ed. L. MacKinnon (1952); 'Fasgnadh', p. 14.

⁷¹ 'Fasgnadh', Preface, p. 5: "Most of the poems included in this volume were composed quite recently."

⁷² This, of course, has a religious as well as a literary pedigree.

⁷³ 'Bàrdachd Leódhuis', ed. J.N. MacLeod (1916), p. 161ff.

⁷⁴ 'Griogal Cridhe', 'Ailean Duinn', 'Na Féidh am Bràigh Uige', etc.

⁷⁵ South Africa, where the poet spent most of his adult life. He was a native of Mull.

⁷⁶ It is notable that not many of the fully experimental Gaelic poets often do.

⁷⁷ It republished most of the poems in 'Bùrn is Aran' and several previously published in 'Gairm'.

⁷⁸ Smith and Stevens, for example, are part of the British-American cultural area.

⁷⁹ These are the characteristics also of Samuel Beckett and Franz Kafka and, to some extent, George Hay, who have all been successful as writers in a consciously acquired language.

⁸⁰ The style is represented in the groups of poems published in 'Gairm' between 1956 (when MacAulay first published) and 1960.

⁸¹The word used when the poem appeared in 'Gairm' in Autumn 1956.

⁸²"no dhaoine".

⁸³The nearest thing to it in English poetry that I know is the poetry of the American, William Carlos Williams (I am not arguing a connection).

⁸⁴Sorley MacLean, 'Realism in Gaelic Poetry', 'Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness', XXXVIII, 1946.

⁸⁵A schoolteacher in Edinburgh, at present reading for an extramural Honours B.A. in English literature from London University.

⁸⁶A student at Edinburgh University.

⁸⁷For example, the very entertaining and skilfully constructed poem 'Beart' and the satirical prose feature, 'Eil cail anns a' Ghazette an t-seachdain-s?'

⁸⁸Probably Norma (MacIver) MacLeod, wife of Finlay MacLeod.

⁸⁹This and, in particular, their discursiveness is a consequence of their "oral" nature.

⁹⁰Sinclair was a Barra man. MacDonald was priest in the neighbouring Eriskay and South Uist: Sinclair was 20 years old when Fr. Allan died.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

¹In most cases, the sgeulachd is not creative in the context of this period.

²Sinclair would certainly have known most of MacDonald's work; MacLean knew and admired Sinclair's poetry.

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PART 2

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF TWENTIETH CENTURY PUBLICATIONS IN SCOTTISH GAELIC

ABBREVIATIONS

WORKS CONSULTED

- Esdaile Arundel Esdaile. 'A Student's Manual of Bibliography'. London, 1954.
- LC 'Rules for Descriptive Cataloging in the Library of Congress'. Washington, 1949.
- McK Ronald B. MacKerrow. 'An Introduction to Bibliography'. Oxford, 1927.
- * * *
- BM British Museum. 'General Catalogue of Printed Books'. London, 1960--.
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* Indicates British 'publications' not seen, not traceable by the Scottish Central Library, and not recorded in BM, 'The English Catalogue of Books', the Library of Congress catalogs, 'The Reference Catalogue of Current Literature' ('British Books in Print'), the 'Scottish Union Catalogue' [card-index of the holdings of most of the Scottish libraries], T S-G, or 'Whitaker's Cumulative Book List'. In the case of all such items, information has also been sought unsuccessfully through the Highland Press.

LIBRARIES CITED

- AU Aberdeen University Library.
- AU:CL Aberdeen University Celtic Class Library.
- BM The British Museum, London.
- CoS The Church of Scotland New College Library, Edinburgh.
- EPL Edinburgh Public Library.
- EU Edinburgh University Library.
- EU:CL Edinburgh University Celtic Class Library.
- FC The Free Church College Library, Edinburgh.
- GU Glasgow University Library.
- GU:CL Glasgow University Celtic Class Library.
- Harv. Harvard University Library.
- Mit. The Mitchell Library (Glasgow Corporation), Glasgow.
- NBS The National Bible Society Private Collection, Edinburgh.
- PC Private collections.
- SS The School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh.
- Xavier St Francis Xavier University Library, Antigonish, N.S., Canada.

TERMINOLOGY

Ads.	advertisements
Add.	advertised in
[c. . .]	copyrighted in. . .
ca.	approximately
ed.	edition
edd.	edited by
ff	unnumbered pages
Ill.	illustration
pp	pages

INTRODUCTION

This bibliography aims at providing an exhaustive account of all Gaelic books and editions published from 1900 till 1968, a publication being defined as Gaelic if it contains a substantial proportion (approx. 3 0/o or over) of Gaelic material. Serials as well as monographs are covered. A book, when bound with others, is regarded as a separate publication if it has a separate and full title-page and/or separate pagination. Offprints from journals are included except in cases where the journal is itself described in the bibliography. Sheet music and commercial ephemera-- cards, calendars, programmes etc.-- are not included.

For the purposes of this work, a systematic investigation was undertaken of all significant public and private libraries in Scotland and of the holdings and records of publishers such as Alexander MacLaren and Son, An Comunn Gaidhealach, The National Bible Society and others; Canadian and American collections (public and private) were very kindly examined for me;

also publishers' and sale catalogues, advertisements, book reviews and all relevant book-lists (from brief reference lists in scholarly works to the British Museum Catalogue) were sought out and scrutinised. The details of this work are contained in the list of libraries and bibliographies immediately preceding this preface and in the acknowledgements contained in the main Foreword(p.2).

The bibliography is conceived as an overlapping continuation of Donald MacLean's 'Typographia Scoto-Gadelica'(1915) and, therefore, adheres, as far as was considered practicable, to the principles of description adopted by MacLean. MacLean used a restricted form of Full Standard Description (see Esdaile, pp263ff; McK, pp146ff). He gives a transcript of the title-page of books and editions, detailed pagination and a note, in the traditional terminology(octavo, quarto etc.), of the number of folds made in the original sheet of paper (size unspecified). His main departures from the standard procedure are lack of detail in his description of serials and some aspects of collation--for example, he does not compute signatures or the height and width of the type-surface. The present work differs from T S-G chiefly in giving the measurements of the books' covers (see LC, 3:140) in place of the number of paper folds. This course was chosen because the widespread modern practice of using off-sizes for printing makes terms such as quarto and octavo quite irrelevant, even if they are qualified by the sheet size(i.e. Crown, Demy etc.).

The style of this bibliography is, briefly, as follows. Each separately published monograph is described by an exact transcript of the title-page and colophon (if bibliographically significant), detailed pagination, size (on the metric scale), a note of any other points of interest, and a reference, in the case of rare and out-of-print books, to the most important locations of copies of the item in question (BM holdings, because of the accessibility of its Catalogue, are mentioned only in cases where the item in question has not been located in any other public library). Where books have more than one title-page, these are recorded in order of appearance as separate paragraphs within the main entry; transcriptions of colophon are given as separate paragraphs after the main entry. In the case of serials--journals, newspapers, periodicals, transactions and other regularly recurring publications--the first issue is described in detail and subsequent differences from it are recorded as such, this being a deliberate departure from the LC procedure of treating the last issue as the standard. As with T S-G, no attempt has been made to reproduce the variety of type used in the originals; capitalisation, frequently absent from title-page typography, has been restored in conformity with standard usage.

Entries are arranged in alphabetical order, the following principles obtaining in that connection. Initial definite and indefinite articles are ignored. A hyphen is regarded as a space; a space takes precedence over a letter and over an elision mark; an elision mark is regarded as a space except in the latter connection. In

the case of more than one author of the same name, names without preceding titles always come first; otherwise, alphabetisation is carried out purely on the basis of the appended description of the author (e.g. trade, nickname, place of residence). Notes in round brackets showing the relationship of an author to the work in question--e.g. MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor)--are ignored. Main entries always precede crossreferences.

Each entry is headed by a caption which gives (a) the name of the author (surname first), (b) the title of the work (in short-entry form), and (c) the place and (d) date of publication. As this heading is used for purposes of alphabetisation, its form is of much importance.

(a) The original author's name takes precedence over that of translator and editor. Books whose author is unknown are entered under the name of editor, translator, sponsoring body, or the title of the work--in that order of preference. In the case of publications of traditional lore, the name of the latest editor takes precedence over that of collector, compiler, and folk-source. In a case where the parts of a work were prepared by various editors under the supervision of one general editor, all the parts are entered under the name of the latter. Serials are entered under their earliest title rather than under the editor's name: however, a serial which is the official organ of a particular organisation will be given under the name of that organisation. Gaelic chapters and articles in otherwise non-Gaelic publications are entered under the name

of the Gaelic author. A virtually comprehensive system of crossreferences is supplied; musical editors and contributors and authors of forewords and of translations into English are not included, but these are referred to in the body of the main entries.

As in T S-G, the author's name is given in English even if it is recorded only in Gaelic in the volume being described: the main reason for this is the lack of standardisation in the orthography of Gaelic surnames (e.g. Morrison=Moireasdan, Mac Ghille Mhoire, Mac 'Ille Mhoire). In general, the author's first name and surname are given in full: exceptions are made to this ruling where the author is popularly known by his initials or by his second christian name (e.g. T.D. MacDonald, A. MacLean Sinclair). With female authors who have published books under both married and maiden surnames, all main entries are made under the latter; main entries are given under the author's real name (if known) in the case of pseudonymous publications: in both these cases crossreferencing is full. Titles, degrees, and other distinctions are given in headings only where they are desirable or necessary for purposes of recognition; place of residence, trade, and nicknames are also used to distinguish between more than one author of the same name.

(b) In recording titles, the style adopted for personal names has been abandoned in the interests of clarity and utility. Titles are given in the short-entry captions in the language of the title-page, the Gaelic version being chosen where there is a clearcut choice (exception: the

Bible). In T S-G titles are always given in English: because Gaelic titles can often be translated into English in a variety of ways, this procedure can give rise to much confusion.

(c) The place of publication is regarded as being the town in which the publishing firm or, where relevant, the principal publishing firm had its head office at the time of publication. If the name of the publisher is not known, the address of the sponsoring body (preferably) or of the printer is used. In instances involving a complicated transaction between sponsoring organisation and publishing firm (e.g. that between An Comunn Gaidhealach and Blackie and Son over 'Leabhraichean Sgoile Gàidhlig'), the sponsor's address is used in the heading. (See LC, 3:108&C and 3:11).

(d) The date of publication is given equal validity with the rest of the heading only if it is reliably recorded on the title-page, in the colophon or in some other imprint. Hypothetical publication dates deduced from a dated foreword or introduction are noted thus in the caption--[Fore.,1900], [Intro,1900]; dates deduced from copyright imprints are recorded thus--[c.1900]. An attempt has been made to approximately date all publications, using the evidence of advertisements, book catalogues, reviews, library acquisition dates, publishers' records and internal or biographical information: deductions from such evidence, however, are recorded only in parenthetical notes following the main entry. Where the run of a particular periodical is not determinable beyond doubt, this is stated: in this connection, BUCOP has been useful.

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circumscribed by the legend,—An Eaglais
Shaor Aonaichte: An Eaglais Shaor: Eaglais
na h-Alba.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd,
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[This is a translation of Dr Aird's
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A list of the Gaelic names of British
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Pp 145-153. 22x14.

Mit.

[Offprint from 'The Scottish Naturalist',
No. 19, July 1913.]

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ignored in alphabetisation]

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Paris mar a dh'iarr An Comunn Gaidhealach.

24pp. 19x15.

[Published 1967. Illustrated in colour.]

ANDERSON, HUGH. MEASAN MILIS AS AN LIOS.
Glasgow, 1925.

Measan Milis as an Lios. Orain le Caiptean Eoghan Anderson, nach maireann. [Here an illustration] Glascho: Gilleasbaig Mac-na-Ceardadh, 47 Sràid Waterloo. 1925.

1 f Ill.; 31pp. 19x12. Mit., PC, SS.

[A frontispiece photograph of the author is not included in the pagination.
Contains music, in solfa notation.]

ANDERSON, JONATHAN RANKEN. A' CHUIRM BHAINNSE. *
Glasgow, [1902].

"A' Chuir Bhainnse". Leis an Urramach Eòin MacRaing Mac Ghille-Anndrais nach maireann. Translation of John Knox Tracts (No. 15), "The Marriage Feast". John MacNeillage, 85 Great Western Road, Glasgow. 12pp. Lapost 8vo.

[Not seen. Described in MacLaren. Not in T S-G.]

A' CHUIRM BHAINNSE.
Glasgow, 1944.

John Knox Tracts, No. 15. 3d. Duilleagan Leughaidh Iain a' Chnuic. A' Chuir Bhainnse. Leis an Urramach, Eòin MacRaing Mac Ghille-Anndrais nach maireann. Air a thionndadh gu Gàidhlig. Mata XXII.4 "A ta na h-uile nithe ullamh; thigibh chum na Bainnse". The Marriage Feast. Sermon by the late Rev. Jonathan Ranken Anderson. Translated into Gaelic. An dara clo-bhualadh. Glascho: Alasdair MacIabhrainn 's a Mhic, 268 Sràid Earraghaidheal, C.2. 1944. 16pp. 19x12. PC.

ANDERSSON, OTTO. GAELIC FOLK MUSIC FROM THE
ISLE OF LEWIS.

Abo, 1952.

On Gaelic Folk Music from the Isle of
Lewis. A collection of tunes with comparative
notes on waulking customs and waulking
songs. By Otto Andersson.

Pp 1-68. 23x16.

Mit.

[In 'Budlaven, organ for brages sektion
for folklivsforskning och institutet
for Nordisk etnologi vid Abo Akademi',
1952. Contains verses of Gaelic songs,
and music, in staff notation.]

AP SIENCYN, IOAN (co-editor). See IRISLEABHAR
CEILTEACH.

ARASCAIN IS MHAIRR, RUARaidH. See ERSKINE,
RUARaidH, OF MARR.

ATH-GHEARRADH AN TEAGSAG[sic] CHRIOSD. See
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BAHA'I. See NATIONAL SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLY OF
BAHA'IS OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

BAN-ALTRUMACHD AIG AN TIGH. See CLANN AN
FHRAOICH.

BANNERMAN, JOHN R. (co-author). CEITHIR
COMHRAIDHEAN.

Glasgow, 1931.

Ceithir Còmhraidhean. Ceist nan Ceist, le
Donnchadh MacIain, Ile. An Ealdhain Ur, le
Coinneach mac Dhòmhnaill, Cunndain. Gaol
agus/

agus Dùthchas, le Iain R. MacGille na Brataich. Coinneach Beag agus Dòmhnall Bàn, le Donnchadh MacDhòmhnuaill, Leódhas. A' phrìs, sè sgillinn. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 212 Sràid West George, Glascho. 1931.
39pp. 19x13. Mit.

BAPTIE, CHARLES R. ORAIN GHÀIDHLIG.
Paisley, n.d.

Part 1. Orain Ghàidhlig. Gaelic songs with pianoforte accompaniments by Charles R. Baptie. J. and R. Parlane, Paisley. John Menzies and Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow. Houlston and Sons, London. One shilling net.

27pp, 1 f Ads. 31x25. AU, Mit.
[Add. 1905. Music in both notations. No more parts appear to have been published. Noticed T.G.S.I., 1902.]

BARD, AM.

Edinburgh, 1901-02.

Am Bàrd. Ar Tìr agus ar Teanga. Leabhar 1. - Aireamh 1.] A' Bhuidh Mhios, 1901.
[Prìs, sgillinn. (Edition de luxe, sia sgillinnean).

. . . Leabhar II. An t-Iuchar, 1902.
Aireamh III. [Last seen.]
80pp in Leabhar I [5 numbers]; 34pp in
Leabhar II:1, 36pp each in Leabhar II:II
and II:III. 31x25. Mit.

[Leabhar I comprises 5 numbers, issued monthly between July and November, 1901; Leabhar II commenced with the issue for May, 1902. A literary monthly, in Gaelic and English; distinguished by the publication in it of the cantata, 'Iseabail'. Published by Norman MacLeod, Edinburgh, for Ruairidh Erskine of Marr.]

BARACHD NA FEINNE.

N.p., n.d.

Bàrdachd na Féinne.

48pp. 19x13.

PC.

[Reprint from 'Mac-Talla'.]

BARTLETT, SAMUEL. BRAID AIR A' BHRAID.

Glasgow, [c.1935].

Braid air a' Bhraid. Leis an Lighiche Somhairle Bartlett. Eadar-theangaichte gu Gàidhlig le Anna Nic Iain. Price, 1/- net. From the Secretary, An Comunn Gaidhealach, Castlebay, Isle of Barra. Copyright, 1935.

Published for An Comunn Gaidhealach, Castlebay Branch, by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2. Printed in Scotland.

16pp. 19x13.

EPL, Mit.

BASSIN, ROSE E. THE TOLMIE MANUSCRIPTS.

London, 1951.

The Tolmie Manuscripts. By Rose Ethel Bassin.

Pp 61-68. 20x17.

GU.

[In 'Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society', Volume VI, No. 3, December 1951. Several Gaelic verses. Music.]

BAXTER, RICHARD. FOIS SHIORRUIDH NAN NAOMH.

Edinburgh, 1908.

The Saint's Everlasting Rest. A treatise on the blessed state of the saints in their enjoyment of God in Heaven. Rev. Richard Baxter. Translated by the Rev. John Forbes, minister of Sleat. Edinburgh, John Grant, 1908.

Fois/

Fois Shiorruidh nan Naomh. Solus air staid bheannaichte nan naomh a' mealtainn Dhé air Neamh. Le Mr Richard Bacster. Eadar-theangaichte le Iain Foirbeis, ministear Shléit. Edinburgh: John Grant. 1908. xiv, 375pp. 18x12. AU.
[First ed. 1862, of which this is a reprint.]

BAYNE, RONALD (co-author). DIOGHLUIM O THEAGASG NAN AITHRICHEAN. See MACADAM, ALEXANDER.

BEAN TORRA DHAMH. See MACPHERSON, MARY.

BEATON, D. BIBLIOGRAPHY. Wick, 1923.

Bibliography of Gaelic Books, Pamphlets, and Magazine Articles, for the Counties of Caithness and Sutherland, with biographical notes. Compiled by Rev. D. Beaton, author of "Ecclesiastical History of Caithness", Etc. Wick: Peter Reid & Coy., Ltd., John O' Groat Journal Office, 1923. 75pp. 22x14. NLS.

BELL, J. J. AN SNAITHNEAN SGARLAID. Glasgow, n.d.

An Snàithnean Sgarlaid. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh. Gaelic translation of the one-act play, Thread o' Scarlet, by J. J. Bell. Air eadar-theangachadh le Iain MacFhionghuin. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow. 15pp. 22x14.
[Ca. 1950. Printed Caledonian Press, Glasgow.]

[BELL, JOHN H.] See GATHAN GREINE.

BELLAHOUSTON ACADEMY. See SCHOOL MAGAZINES.

BHEAN NIGHE, A'. Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh. Aireamh 38. A' Bhean Nighe, Luideag-an-Uillt. [Ill.] A' phrìs sè sgillinnean. 6d. Alasdair MacLabhrunn agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sràid Earraghaidheal, Glascho. Pp 195-222, 334-366. 22x14. PC.
[From 'Guth na Bliadhna', LIX:2/3, 1912.]

BHRATACH, AM.

Glasgow, n.d.

Am Bhratach. Leabhar-meudachaidh do chummanacht na h-Alba. Uimhir 1. An t-Samhuinn. Prìs 2d.

. . . Uimhir 2. An Gearran. Prìs 2d.

. . . Uimhir 3. Prìs 2d. [Last seen.]
 4pp per issue. 38x26. NLS.
 [Ca. 1940. Approx. one-third Gaelic.
 Published by J. H. Miller. Printed
 by Unity Press, 65 Burnside St.,
 Glasgow, C.4.]

BIBLE. [Note. For remarks on the layout and a summary of the publication dates of the Bible, see the 'Summary' note at the end of the entry.]

BIBLE. NEW TESTAMENT.

Leabhraichean Tiomnaidh Nuaidh ar Tighearn agus ar Slanuighir Iosa Crìosd, air an eadar-theangachadh o'n Ghreugais chum Gaidhlig Albannaich. Air iarrtas agus air costus na cuideachd urramaich a ta chum eolas Crìosdaidh a sgaoileadh air feadh Gaidhealtachd agus eileana na h-Alba. Duneideann. 1902.

2 ff, 292pp. 29x22. GU, NLS.

[The Revised Edition: see Note at end of Bible entry. Bound with the revised Old Testament (has separate title page and pagination). Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.]

. . . na h-Alba. An Comunn-Bhiobull Dùthchail na h-Alba. Na h-ard-aitreabhan: 5 Cearnan Naoimh Aindreas, Dun-éideann; 224 Iar-Shràid Dheòrsa, Glaschu.

247pp. 15x9.

NBS.

[Bound with the 1904 ed. of the Old Testament.]

BIBLE. NEW TESTAMENT. (cont.)

Tiomnadh Nuadh ar Tighearna agus ar
 Slanuirghir Iosa Criosd, air a tharruing
 o'n Ghreigis chum Gàidhlig Albannaich.
 [Here a crest] Comunn-Bhìobull Dùthchail
 na h-Alba. Na h-ard-aitreabhan: 5 Cearnan
 Naoimh Aindreas, Dun-éideann; 224 Iar-
 Shràid Dheòrsa, Glaschu. 1916. Gaelic 32mo.
 451pp. 11.6x7.3. NBS.
 [Printed by Turnbull & Spears, Edinburgh.]

Ibid. Reprinted 1918, 1922, 1938, n.d.

Ibid.
 2 ff, 220pp. 18x11. NBS.
 [Bound with 1908 edition of Old
 Testament. Printed by Morrison
 and Gibb, Edinburgh.]

Ibid.
 4 ff, 448pp. 18x11. NBS.
 [1915. Printed by Morrison and Gibb.]

. . . Albannaich, agus air a chur a mach le h-ughdarras
 Ard-sheanaidh Eaglais na h-Alba. An Comunn-
 Bhìobull Dùthchail na h-Alba. Na h-ard-
 aitreabhan: 5 Cearnan Naoimh Aindreas,
 Dun-éideann; 224 Iar-Shràid Dheòrsa, Glaschu.
 1901. Gaelic 8vo New Testament.
 4 ff, 498pp. 23x15. NBS.
 [Printed by Neill & Co., Edinburgh.]

Ibid. Reprinted 1906, 1922, 1952. NBS.

. . . Eaglais na h-Alba. The National Bible
 Society of Scotland. Head Offices: 5 St
 Andrew Square, Edinburgh; and 224 West
 George Street, Glasgow. 1907. Gaelic 32mo.
 315pp. 11.9x7.4. NBS.

. . . Glasgow. 1909. Gaelic Bourgeois
 8vo Bible.
 264pp. 23x15. NBS.
 [Printed by Lorimer & Chalmers, Edinburgh.]

BIBLE. NEW TESTAMENT. (cont.)

. . .Glasgow. 1910. Gaelic 32mo.
316pp. 11.6x6.9. NBS.

Tiomnadh Nuadh ar Tighearna agus ar Slanuighir
Iosa Criosd eadar-theangaichte o'n Ghreugais
chum Gaelic Albannaich. Comunn-Bhìobull
Dùthchail na h-Alba; Na h-ard-aitreabhan--
5 Ceàrnan Naoimh Aindreas, Dun-éideann,
agus 224 Iar-Shràid Dheòrsa, Glaschu. 1900.
Gaelic 24mo Testament.
4 ff, 498pp. 15x9. GU:CL.

Ibid. Reprinted 1909, 1925. PC.

Tiomnadh Nuadh ar Tighearna agus ar Slanuighir
Iosa Criosd air a tharruing o'n Ghreigis chum
Gaidhlig Albannaich. Comunn-Bhìobull
Dùthchail na h-Alba. Na h-ard-aitreabhan,
Duneideann agus Glaschu.
The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour
Jesus Christ translated out of the original
Greek and with the former translations
diligently compared and revised by His
Majesty's special command appointed to be
read in churches. Printed by Authority.
[Here crest] The National Bible Society
of Scotland. 5 St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.
224 West George Street, Glasgow. Brevier
Octavo.

717pp. 19x13. NBS, PC.

[The Gaelic and English texts are in
parallel columns. Referred to as
"a new parallel Gaelic and English
edition" in the 1938 catalogue of
Alexander MacLaren & Son, Glasgow.]

Ibid. Reprinted 1965.

[The metrical Psalms are bound with all
the above editions of the New Testament.]

BIBLE. OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

Leabhraichean an t-Seann Tiomnaidh agus an Tiomnaidh Nuaidh; air an tarruing o na ceud chanainibh chum Gaidhlig Albannaich. Comunn-Bhìobull Dùthchail na h-Alba; Na h-ard-aitreabhan: 5 Cearnan Naoimh Aindreas, Duneideann; 224 Iar-Shràid Dheòrsa, Glaschu. 1911. Gaelic 24mo Bible. 992pp. 15x11. NLS, PC.

Ibid. Reprinted 1914, 1921, 1927, 1934, 1951.

. . .Glaschu. 1939. Gaelic Bourgeois 8vo Bible. 789, 264pp. 23x15. PC. [Printed Geo. C. MacKay, Edinburgh.]

Ibid. Reprinted 1950. [MacLaren refers to a 1924 edition of this version but I have not seen this.]

BIBLE. OLD TESTAMENT.

Leabhraichean an t-Seann Tiomnaidh, air an eadar-theangachadh o'n Eabhra chum Gaidhlig Albannaich. Air iarrtas agus air costus na cuideachd urramach, a ta chum eolas Criosdaidh a sgaoileadh air feadh Gaidhealtachd agus eileana na h-Alba. Duneideann. 1902. 2 ff, iv, 904pp. 29x22. GU, Mit., NLS. [Printed Morrison & Gibb Ltd. Revised Edition.]

Leabhraichean an t-Seann Tiomnaidh, air an tarruing o'n cheud chanain chum Gaelic Albannaich. An Comunn-Bhìobull Dùthchail na h-Alba; Ard-Aitreabh: 5 Cearnan Naoimh Aindreas, Dun-Eidin; Agus 224 Iar-Shràid Dheòrsa, Glaschu. 1905. Gaelic 12mo Bible. 4 ff, 681pp. 18x11. NBS.

BIBLE. OLD TESTAMENT. (cont.)

Ibid. Reprinted 1908.

[Both printed by Morrison & Gibb.]

. . . Albannaich; agus air an cur a mach le h-ughdarras Ard-Sheanaidh Eaglais na h-Alba. An Comunn-Bhìobull Dùthchail na h-Alba; Ard-Aitreabh: 5 Ceàrnan Naoimh Aindreas, Dun-Eidin; Agus 224 Iar-Shràid Dheòrsa, Glaschu. 1904. Gaelic 24mo Bible. 4 ff, 748pp. 15x9. NBS.

. . . Eaglais na h-Alba. The National Bible Society of Scotland; Head Offices: 5 St Andrew Square, Edinburgh; and 224 West George Street, Glasgow. 1902. Gaelic Bourgeois 8vo Bible. 789pp. 23x15. AU, EU:CL, NBS.

Ibid. Reprinted 1909.

[Each of the above editions of the O.T. was bound with an edition of the New Testament, but the latter had a separate title page and pagination in every case.]

BIBLE. PSALMODY.

Sailm Dhaibhidh, agus laoidhean air an tarruing o na Sgriobtuiribh Naomha: maille ri fonnaibh iomchuidh. Air an cur a mach le h-ughdarras Ard-Sheanaidh Eaglais na h-Alba. [Here crest of burning bush, bearing the legend, Nec Tamen Consumebatur.] London: T. Nelson & Sons, Paternoster Row; Edinburgh and New York.

No pagination. 17x13. EU:CL, Mit.

[Ca. 1906. Contains 16 introductory pp; the 218 ff of music are approx. half the height of the volume and are above and independent of the 239 ff of text, which are of equal height. Printed A. Sinclair.]

BIBLE. PSALMODY. (cont.) See also:

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. FUINN NAN SALM
GHAIHLIG.

HATELY, T. L. SEANN FHUINN NAN SALM.

MACBEAN, LACHLAN. FUINN NAN SALM.

BIBLE. PSALMS.

The Gaelic Psalms 1694, being a reprint of
the edition issued by the Synod of Argyll
in that year with an historical introduction
by Duncan C. Mactavish. Lochgilphead:
James M. S. Annan. 1934.
xxiv, 6 ff, 282pp. 19x12. EU:CL, GU:CL, NLS.

Sailm Dhaibhidh ann an Dan Gaidhealach: do
reir na h-Eabhra, agus an eadar-theangachaidh
a's fearr an Laidin, an Gaidhlic, 's an Gall
bheurla. Do thionnsgnadh in Seanadh Earra
Ghaidheal sa' bhliadhna 1659, agus do chrìochnaicheadh
san 1694, r'an reic ann an eaglaisibh 's ann an
teaghlaichibh Gaidhealach. Air an glanadh a nis
o mhearachdaibh lionmhor a' chlodh-bhualaidh,
agus air an atharrachadh, le ro bheag caochladh
air na briathraibh, do reir gnè sgrìobhaidh
an t-Seann Tiomnaidh agus an Tiomnaidh Nuaidh.
Le Tomas Ros, LL.D., Ministear an t-Soisgeil
ann an Lochbhraoin. The National Bible Society
of Scotland: Head Offices--5 St. Andrew Square,
Edinburgh, and 224 West George, Glasgow.
iv, 396pp. 15x10. NBS.

[Has 1824 Preface, but is clearly a much
later reprint; bound with 1900 ed. of the
Shorter Catechism. Printed by Ballantyne,
Hanson & Co., Edinburgh.]

BIBLE. PSALMS. (cont.)

Sailm Dhaibhidh ann an Dan Gaidhealach.
 Dun-Eidin: clò-bhuailt air son An Comunn-
 Bhìobull Dùthchail na h-Alba.
 97pp. 23x15. NBS.
 [Printed by Neill & Co., Edinburgh.
 Bound with 1901 ed. of N.T.]

Ibid. Reprinted, bound with 1902 Bible,
 1906 N.T., 1909 O.T.

Sailm Dhaibhidh maille ri Laoidhibh air an
 tarruing o na Scrioptuiribh Naomha, chum
 bhi air an seinn ann an aoradh Dhe. Comunn-
 Bhìobull Dùthchail na h-Alba; Na h-ard-
 aitreabhan--5 Ceàrnan Naoimh Aindreaais,
 Duneideann; 224 Iar-Shràid Dheòrsa, Glaschu.
 93pp. 11.7x7.4. NBS.
 [Bound with 1916 ed. of N.T.]

Ibid. Bound also with 1918 ed. of N.T.

Ibid.
 86pp. 15x10. NBS.
 [Bound with 1921, 1927, 1951 eds. of
 O.&N.T., and with 1925 ed. of N.T.]

Ibid.
 97pp. 23x15. NBS, PC.
 [Bound with 1922, 1939, 1952 eds. of
 N.T., and with 1950 ed. of O.T. & N.T.]

Ibid.
 93pp. 11.3x7.4. NBS.
 [Bound with 1938 and n.d. eds. of N.T.]

. . .Dhe. Air an leasachadh, agus air an
 cur a mach le h-ughdarras Ard-sheanaidh
 Eaglais na h-Alba. An Comunn-Bhìobull
 Dùthchail na h-Alba: Ard-aitreabh--5
 Ceàrnan Naoimh Aindreaais, Dun-Eidin, agus
 224 Iar-Shràid Dheòrsa, Glaschu.
 86pp. 15x9.
 [Bound with 1900 ed. of N.T.]

BIBLE. PSALMS. (cont.)

Ibid. Reprinted, bound with 1905 ed. of O.T., and with 1909 ed. of N.T.

Ibid.
92pp. 18x11. NBS.
[Bound with 1905 ed. of O.&N.T.,
with 1908 of O.T., and with n.d. ed.
of N.T.]

Ibid.
95pp. 11.9x7.4. NBS.
[Bound with 1907, 1910 eds. of N.T.]

Ibid.
86pp. 15x11. PC, NLS.
[Bound with O. & N.T. eds. of 1911,
1914, 1934.]

Sailm Dhaibhidh, maille ri Laoidhean o'n
Scriptur Naomha, chum bhi air an seinn
ann an aoradh Dhia. Air an leasachadh,
agus air an cuir a mach reir seoladh,
iarrtuis, agus ughdarrais Seanaidh
Earra-ghaeil. Le I. Smith, D.D.

The National Bible Society of Scotland:
Head Offices: 5 St. Andrew Square,
Edinburgh, and 224 West George Street,
Glasgow. 1904. Gaelic Psalms.
iv, 5-396pp. 15x10. EU:CL, NBS.
[Printed Darien Press.]

Ibid. Reprinted 1908, 1921, 1939.

Sailm Dhaibhidh maille ri laoidhibh air an
tarruing o na scriptuiribh naomha chum bhi
air an seinn ann an aoradh Dhe. Comunn-
Bhìobull Dùthchail na h-Alba. Na h-ard-
aitreabhan Duneideann agus Glaschu.

Gaelic English.

The Psalms of David in metre according to
the version approved by The Church of
Scotland/

BIBLE. PSALMS. (cont.)

Scotland and appointed to be used in worship. The National Bible Society of Scotland. 5 St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh. 224 West George Street, Glasgow.

Brevier Octavo.

240pp, 1 f Passages of Scripture Paraphrased.
19x12. PC.

[Bound with n.d. ed. of the parallel English and Gaelic N.T. Printed by Turnbull & Spears, Edinburgh.]

Ibid. Reprinted, bound with 1965 ed. of N.T., parallel English and Gaelic version.

BIBLE. REFERENCE BIBLE.

Leabhraichean an t-Seann Tiomnaidh agus an Tiomnaidh Nuaidh. Air an tarruing o na ceud chanainibh chum Gaelig Albannaich. Revised Edition. The National Bible Society of Scotland: Head Offices: 5 St Andrew Square, Edinburgh, and 224 West George Street, Glasgow. Gaelic 8vo Ref. Bible. 1953.

1155pp. 20x15. NBS, PC.

[The first edition was in 1880, of which this is a reprint. The imprint, 'Revised Edition' derives from the 1880 edition, the text being a revision by Dr Thomas MacLauchlan and Dr Archibald Clerk of the edition of 1826. Informative notes, references, variant readings; the 1953 ed. does not have the maps of the earlier ed. The Old Testament and Psalms have separate title pages but the pagination is continuous throughout. Printed Neill & Co., Edinburgh.]

BIBLE. Summary. The parts of the Bible are regarded as separate publications if they have separate title pages and pagination. The various editions are arranged above in alphabetical order, based on the title page transcription. As reprints of particular editions are grouped together, some confusion, inevitably, arises: the following is a summary of the publication dates of the various parts.

New Testament: 1900, 1901, 1902(Revised), 1904, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1915, 1916, 1918, 1922, [ca.1938], 1965, n.d.

Old and New Testaments: 1911, 1914, 1921, 1924, 1927, 1934, 1939, 1950, 1951.

Old Testament: 1902, 1902(Revised), 1904, 1905, 1909.

Psalmody: [ca. 1906].

Psalms: 1900, 1901, 1904, 1905[2], 1906, 1907, 1908[2], 1909, 1910, 1911, 1914, 1916, 1918, 1921, 1922[2], 1925, 1927, 1934[2], 1938, 1939[2], 1950, 1951, 1952, 1965, n.d.

Reference Bible: 1953.

BIBLE. [Note. That of 1902 (OT. & NT.) is the only revised edition in this century. The principal editors were Revs. Dr John Maclean, Neil Dewar, Robert Blair and Norman Macleod. It has not proved popular. The most important publisher has been The National Bible Society of Scotland: its present Secretary, James Alexander, has been most helpful to me. Donald MacKinnon's 'The Gaelic Bible and Psalter' (1930) is very useful.]

BLAIR, D[UNCAN] B. COINNEACH ODHAR.
Sydney, C.B., 1900.

Coinneach Odhar, am Fiosaiche. Leis an Urr. D. B. Blair, D.D., nach maireann. Sydney, C.B.:

"Mac-Talla" Office, 1900.

4 ff, 29pp. 16x11.

AU, Mit.

[T S-G has 1901 for 1900, erroneously.]

BLAR NA SAORSA.

Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh.
Aireamh 32. Blar na Saorsa. Allt-a'-Bhan-Chnuic.
[Crest.] Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic,
360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
Pp 131-162. 22x14. NLS.
[Reprinted from "Guth na Bliadhna", Leabhar
XI, Aireamh 2, An Samhradh, 1914.]

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES. See BORD
TUATHANACHAIS 'S IASGAICH.

BOLG SOLAIR, AM. See STORY, ELMA.

BONN-STEIDH AGUS RIAGHAILTEAN. See AN COMUNN
GAIDHEALACH.

BORD TUATHANACHAIS 'S IASGAICH. CLOIMH CHAORACH.
London, 1910.

Leaflet No. 61 (Gaelic). Bord Tuathanachais
's Iasgaich. Cloimh Chaorach. (Sheep-Scab). . .
. . . [colophon] 4, Whitehall Place, London, S.W.
Chaidh so a sgrìobadh[sic] anns a bhliadhna
1899. An dara-sgrìobadh 1910.
7pp. 22x14. PC.

BORGSTRØM, CARL HJ. THE DIALECT OF BARRA.
Oslo, 1935.

The Dialect of Barra in the Outer Hebrides.
By Carl Hj. Borgstrøm.

Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Bind VIII.
1935. Saertrykk[offprint].
2 ff, pp 71-242. 25x17. Mit.
[The complete Bind VIII was published 1937.]

BORGSTRØM, CARL HJ. THE DIALECTS OF SKYE AND
ROSS-SHIRE.

Oslo, 1941.

A Linguistic Survey of The Gaelic Dialects
of/

of Scotland. Vol. II. Carl Hj. Borgstrøm.
The Dialects of Skye and Ross-Shire. Oslo
1941. H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard).
168pp[including map]. 25x17. AU.
[Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap,
Suppl. Bind II, Oslo 1941.]

. . . Ross-Shire. Norwegian Universities
Press. [Oslo 1941, in colophon.] GU:CL.
[Hard-cover edition, issued and
distributed by N.U.P. Otherwise
identical to the above.]

BORGSTRØM, CARL HJ. THE DIALECTS OF THE
OUTER HEBRIDES.

Oslo, 1940.

A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects
of Scotland. Vol. I. Carl Hj. Borgstrøm.
The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides. Oslo
1940. H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard).
280pp[including map]. 25x18. AU.
[Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap,
Suppl. Bind I, 1940.]

. . . Hebrides. Norwegian Universities
Press. [Oslo 1940, in colophon.] GU:CL.
[Hard-cover edition. During the period
of the above three publications, the
periodical, N.T.S., was edited by
Carl J. S. Marstrander.]

BOTTOMLEY, GORDON. DEIRDIRE.

Inverness, 1944.

Deirdire. Dealbh-chluich an ceithir
earrannan an Gàidhlig is am Beurla. Am
briathran na sgeulachd agus an dàin a fhuair
Alasdair MacGhille-Mhìcheil am Barraidh. Le
Gordon Bottomley. Le earrannan leasachaidh
air an cur am Beurla le Caitriona F. agus
Daibhidh/

Daibhidh Urchadan. Inbhir Nis: aig oifis
 "The Northern Chronicle". 1944. Còirichean
 gu h-iomlan air an dion.

Deirdire. Drama in four acts in Gaelic
 and English. Adapted from Alexander
 Carmichael's Barra story and lay by
 Gordon Bottomley with the additional
 passages translated into Gaelic by
 Catherine F. and David Urquhart. Inverness:
 at "The Northern Chronicle" Office. 1944.
 All rights reserved.

8 ff, 159pp. 19x13. AU, GU, Mit.

[English and Gaelic texts on facing
 pages. Bottomley dramatised an
 English translation of the Deirdre
 story, his play being translated
 back into Gaelic.]

BOULTON, HAROLD (co-editor). OUR NATIONAL
 SONGS, VOLUME II.

London, [c.1924].

Our National Songs. Collected and arranged
 by Sir Harold Boulton, Bart., C.V.O. and
 Arthur Somervell. Volume II. Copyright
 MCMXXIV by J. B. Cramer & Co. Ltd. for all
 countries. Price 4/- nett. J. B. Cramer
 & Co. Ltd: 139, New Bond Street, London,
 W.1. New York: Chappell-Harms (inc), 185,
 Madison Avenue. Printed in England.

4 ff, 77pp, 3 ff of Ads. 31x25. NLS.

[Contains 3 Gaelic songs, with trans-
 lations by Neil Shaw. Staff music,
 piano accompaniment.]

BOULTON, HAROLD (co-editor). OUR NATIONAL
 SONGS, VOLUME III.

London, [c.1925].

Our National Songs. Collected and arranged
 by/

by Sir Harold Boulton, Bart., C.V.O., and Arthur Somervell. Volume III. Copyright MCMXXV by J. B. Cramer & Co. Ltd. for all countries. Price 4/- nett. J. B. Cramer & Co. Ltd. 139, New Bond Street, London, W.1. New York: Edward Schuberth & Co. i f, 75pp, 3 ff. 31x25. NLS.

[2 Gaelic songs, with English translation. Volume I of this series contained no Gaelic.]

BOULTON, HAROLD. SONGS OF THE NORTH,
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY VOLUME.

London, [Pref.1935].

Fiftieth anniversary volume. Songs of the North, gathered together from the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland. Edited by Harold Boulton. Music composed and arranged by Malcolm Louson, Evelyn Sharpe, Robert Macleod, Granville Bantock, Arthur Somervell, J. Michael Diack. Illustration by J. H. Lorimer, A.R.W.S., Corr. Mem. Institute of France. Price 15/-. London: J. B. Cramer & Co. Ltd., 139, New Bond Street, W.; Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Ltd. New York: Edward Schuberth & Co.

i f Ill., 12 ff, 230pp, 2 ff Ads. 32x25. Mit.

[Some original Gaelic songs, and translations of English and Scots songs into Gaelic, Neil Shaw and Rev. Alex. MacKinnon being the translators. Mainly English and Scots words, however. Preface signed, "Harold Boulton. Inch Kenneth, May 26th, 1935." The songs in the collection were also published separately by Cramer.]

BOULTON, HAROLD. SONGS OF THE NORTH, VOL. III.
London, n.d.

Vol. III. Songs of the North, gathered together from the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland. Edited by Harold Boulton. Music arranged by Robert Macleod. The Gaelic text edited by Neil Shaw. Illustrated by J. H. Lorimer, A.R.W.S., Corr. Mem. Institute of France. Price 21/- nett. London: J. B. Cramer & Co. Ltd., 139, New Bond Street, W.; Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Limited. New York: Edward Schuberth & Co. (Printed in England.).

11 ff, 157pp, 1 f Ad. 32x25. NLS.

[Contains 14 Gaelic songs out of a total of 53. Of the former, four are original, nine are Gaelic translations of English lyrics by Boulton, and one a trans. of a song by Mrs M. Lauson; the translations were by Duncan Johnston (1), Rev. Alex. MacKinnon (2), John MacMillan (2), and Neil Shaw (5). Music in staff, with piano accompaniment. All Gaelic texts have versified English translations on the facing page.]

BOULTON, HAROLD. MIORBHUIL NEO-SGRIOBHTE
LE CALUM CILLE..

London, [c.1930].

An Unrecorded Miracle of St. Columba. By Harold Boulton. With a Gaelic translation by Archibald McDonald and a drawing by Avild Rosenkrantz. London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd., Quality House, Great Russell Street, W.C.1.

[On p 21] Miorbhuil Neo-sgriobhte le Calum Cille/

Cille. Le H. Boulton. Eadar-theangaichte
le Gilleasbuig MacDhomhnuill.

2 ff, 1 f Ill., 41pp. [Gaelic text pp 23-
41]. 22x18. AU.

[Bears the imprint, 'All rights reserved
1930! Printed The Camelot Press
Limited, London and Southampton.]

BRANDANE, JOHN. RUAIRIDH ROIMH-AINMICHTE.
Glasgow, 1937.

Ruairidh Roimh-Ainmichte. Cluich-abhachd ann
an aon carrainn le John Brandane. Air
eadar-theangachadh gu Gaidhlig le Aonghas
Mac Mhaoilein. Glascho: Alasdair
MacLabhrunn agus a Mhic, 268 Sraid
Earra Ghaidheal, C.2. 1937.
29pp, 3 ff Ads. 19x13. EPL, GU:CL, Mit.

BRANDANE, JOHN. 'S LEAM FHIN AN GLEANN.
Glasgow, 1935.

'S Leam Fhin an Gleann. Cluich aighearach
ann an tri earrannan le John Brandane. Air
eadar theangachadh gu Gaidhlig le T. S.
Mac-a-Phearsain, Ceannloch. A' cheud
duais, Mod, 1932. An Comunn Gaidhealach,
212 Iar Shràid Sheòrais, Glaschu, C.2.
1935.

123pp. 19x13. EPL, GU:CL.
[Printed Alex. Learmonth, Stirling.]

BRANDANE, JOHN. AN TIGH-OSDA.
Glasgow, 1950.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gaidhlig. An Tigh-
Osda. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh.
Gaelic translation of the one-act play,
The Change-House, by John Brandane. Air
eadar-theangachadh le Domhnall Mac Dhomhnaill
(Eirisgeidh)/

(Eirisgeidh). An Comunn Gaidhealach,
131 West Regent Street, Glasgow. 1950.
28pp. 19x13.

[Part of a series of translated plays
issued by An Comunn Gaidhealach.
Printed by Alex. Learmonth, Stirling.]

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION, THE.
LEARNING GAELIC. [First Series]
Wembley, 1949.

British Broadcasting Corporation. Learning
Gaelic. Ten elementary broadcast lessons.
Scottish Home Service (391.1 metres).
Mondays: 6.45p.m.-7.00p.m. 17 October-
19 December 1949.

[End page] Published by the British
Broadcasting Corporation, The Grammar
School, Scarle Road, Wembley. Printed
by R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Edinburgh.
No. 2430.
23pp. 22x14. EPL, Mit.

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION, THE.
LEARNING GAELIC. [Second Series]
Wembley, 1950.

British Broadcasting Corporation. Learning
Gaelic. The second series of broadcast
lessons. Scottish Home Service (391.1
metres). Mondays: 6.45p.m.-7.05p.m.
16 January-10 April 1950. Repeated Fridays
10.15p.m.-10.35p.m.

[End page] Published by the British
Broadcasting Corporation, The Grammar
School, Scarle Road, Wembley. Printed
by R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Edinburgh. No. 2472.
31pp. 21x14. NLS, PC.

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION, THE.
 LEARNING GAELIC. [Third Series]
 London, 1950.

British Broadcasting Corporation. Learning Gaelic. The third series of broadcast lessons. Scottish Home Service (371.1 metres). Wednesdays: 6.50p.m.-7.10p.m. Repeated Fridays 10.15-10.35p.m.

[Cover] B.B.C. Scottish Home Service.
 18 Oct. to 27 Dec. 1950.

[End page] Published by the British Broadcasting Corporation, 35 Marylebone High Street, London, W.1. Printed by R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Edinburgh. No. 2611. 31pp. 21x14. NLS, PC.

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION, THE.
 LEARNING GAELIC. [Fourth Series]
 London, 1951.

British Broadcasting Corporation. Learning Gaelic. The fourth series of broadcast lessons. Scottish Home Service (371.1 metres). Wednesdays. Repeated Fridays.

[Cover] B.B.C. Scottish Home Service.
 3 January to 21 March 1951.

[End page] Published by the British Broadcasting Corporation, 35 Marylebone High Street, London, W.1. Printed by R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Edinburgh. No. 2649. 31pp. 21x14. PC.

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION, THE.
 LEARNING GAELIC. [Fifth Series]
 [London], 1956.

British Broadcasting Corporation. Learning
 Gaelic. Ten elementary broadcast lessons.
 Scottish Home Service, 371m. 809Kc/s;
 93.1Mc/s VHF. Tuesdays, 10 to 10.15p.m.
 9 October-11 December 1956.

[End page] Printed by R. & R. Clark,
 Edinburgh.

23pp. 21x14. PC.

[The fifth series of lessons was a repeat
 of the first, and the 1956 booklet
 therefore a reprint of that of 1949.
 All 5 booklets are liberally illustrated
 with photos and line drawings.
 The lessons were devised by Edward
 Pursell, of Campbeltown, and Hugh
 Macphee; John Bannerman and the late
 Archie Hendry were the narrators, and
 the broadcasts were produced by Hugh
 Macphee. This information was obtained
 from Miss Mary MacPherson of the B.B.C.]

BROADWOOD, LUCY E. GAELIC FOLK SONGS.
 London, 1931-34.

Gaelic Folk Songs.
 Pp 280-303; pp 42-51, 89-96, 138-146. 21x17.
 [A numbered series of 52 Gaelic folk
 songs, with music and some translations,
 contained in 'Journal of the Folk-Song
 Society', Volume VIII, 1931, and in
 3 consecutive numbers of 'Journal of
 the English Folk Dance and Song
 Society', Volume I, 1932-34, the
 latter periodical being the continuation
 of the former. The songs were recorded
 from Kate MacLean of Arisaig and edd.
 by Lucy Broadwood from the transcripts
 of Frances Tolmie.]

BROSNACHADH. See CLANN NA H-ALBA.

BRUCE, GEORGE. THE SCOTTISH LITERARY REVIVAL.
London, 1968.

The Scottish Literary Revival. An anthology of twentieth-century poetry edited by George Bruce. Collier-Macmillan Limited, London. The Macmillan Company, New York.

First printing 1968.

xi, 130pp. 22x15.

[Contains Gaelic poems by Sorley Maclean and Derick Thomson. Printed Morrison & Gibb Ltd, Edinburgh and London.]

BRUCE, GEORGE (co-editor). SCOTTISH POETRY,
NUMBER ONE.

Edinburgh, n.d.

Number One. Scottish Poetry. Edited by George Bruce, Maurice Lindsay and Edwin Morgan for the University Press, Edinburgh.

x, 96pp. 19x11.

[Ca. 1965. Gaelic poems by Derick Thomson.]

BRUCE, GEORGE (co-editor). SCOTTISH POETRY,
NUMBER THREE.

Edinburgh, [c.1968].

Number Three. Scottish Poetry. Edited by George Bruce, Maurice Lindsay and Edwin Morgan for the University Press, Edinburgh.

125pp. 19x11.

[Copyright imprint, 'c. Edinburgh University Press, 1968.' American distributors, Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago. Printed T. & A. Constable, Edinburgh. Gaelic poems by Maclean and Thomson. Number Two had no Gaelic.]

BRUCE, GEORGE J. DO LUCHD-TAGHAIDH
SHIORRAMACHD INBHIR-NIS.

Inverness, n.d.

Do Luchd-taghaidh Shiorramachd Inbhir-
nis. . . [Text]

[Sub-signed] Deorsa Seumas Brus (George
James Bruce), Author-Journalist, 161A
Strand, Lunnain.

4pp[1½ in Gaelic]. 35x22. NLS.

[An election leaflet of 1918. Printed
the 'Highland News' Printing and
Publishing Works, Inverness.]

BUCHANAN, DUGALD. BEATHA AGUS IOMPACHADH.

Glasgow, 1928.

Beatha agus Iompachadh Dhughail Bochannain
a dh'eug ann an Ranach sa' bliadhna[sic]
1768 (air a sgrìobhadh leis fhèin). Glascho:
Alasdair Mac Labhrainn 's a Mhic, 360-364
Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2. 1928.

185pp. 17x12.

AU.

[First ed. 1844, of which this is a
reprint.]

BUCHANAN, DUGALD. BEATHA AGUS IOMPACHADH
MAILLE R'A LAOIDHEAN.

Edinburgh, 1908.

The Life and Conversion of Dugald Buchanan
who died at Rannach in 1768 (written by
himself) to which is annexed his spiritual
hymns. "The righteous shall be in
everlasting remembrance"--Ps. CXII.6.
"He being dead yet speaketh."--Heb. XI.4.
Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge.
1908.

Beatha agus Iompachadh Dhùg. Bochannain
a dh'eug ann an Ranach sa' bhliadhna
1768/

1768, (air a sgrìobhadh leis fhéin) maille
 r'a laoidhean spioradail. "Air chuimhne
 gu bràth bithidh am fìrean".-Salm CXII.6.
 "Air dha bhi marbh, tha e fathast a' labhairt".-
 Eabh. XI.4. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31
 George IV. Bridge. 1908.
 vi, 185pp, pp 1-47 [The latter section has the
 fly-title, -'Laoidhean Spioradail le Dughall
 Bochannan".] 17x12. PC.

[The hymns have separate pagination, but
 are covered by the volume's main title
 page. This ed. is identical to that of
 1844, which also included both the
 autobiography and hymns. The editor was
 John MacKenzie.]

BUCHANAN, DUGALD. SPIRITUAL SONGS.
 Edinburgh, 1913.

The Spiritual Songs of Dugald Buchanan.
 Edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary
 by Rev. Donald Maclean, author of "The
 Highlands before the Reformation", "Duthil:
 Past and Present", "The Literature of the
 Scottish Gael", etc. New edition. Edinburgh:
 John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1913.
 xii, 114pp. 21x15. AU, EU:CL, Mit.
 [Printed Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh.]

DAIN SPIORADAIL.
 Glasgow, 1946.

Dàin Spioradail le Dughall Bochannan. The
 Spiritual Songs of Dugald Buchanan. Glasgow:
 Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

First published 1767. Second edition 1773.
 Reprinted perhaps forty times. MacLaren's
 new edition 1946.
 2 ff, 59pp, 3 ff Ads. 19x13. PC.

[BUNYAN, JOHN]. AN COGADH NAOMH.
Edinburgh, n.d.

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. An Cogadh Naomh.
Part One. [Here crest of burning bush,
circumscribed by the legend,-Eaglais
na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte,
An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver
and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church of
Scotland, The United Free Church of
Scotland, and The Free Church of Scotland.
iv, 63pp. 14x10. NLS.

. . .Part Two. [Otherwise title page as
above.]
xii, pp 64-135. 14x10. NLS.
[Issued during World War One.]

[_____]. AN COGADH NAOMH.
Edinburgh, n.d.

Cogadh na Saorsa. An Cogadh Naomh. A
Cheud Earrann. [Here crest of burning
bush, circumscribed by the legend,-Eaglais
na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed
by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The
Church of Scotland, The Free Church of
Scotland.
iv, 63pp. 14x10. NLS.

. . .Earrann II. [Otherwise title page as
above.]
vii, pp 64-135. 14x10. NLS.
[A reprint of the above--Cogadh mór
na h-Eòrpa--edition; it was
distributed to soldiers during
World War Two. A Gaelic translation
of Bunyan's Holy War was first published
in 1840.]

BUNYAN, JOHN. GRAS AM PAILTEAS.
Edinburgh, 1902.

Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners.
By John Bunyan. "This is a faithful
saying, and worthy of all acceptation,
that Jesus Christ came into the world
to save sinners, of whom I am the chief"--
I Tim. 1.15. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31
George IV. Bridge. 1902.

Gràs am Pailteas do Cheann-feadhna nam
Peacach. Le Iain Buinian. "Is fìor an
ràdh so, agus is airidh e air gach aon chor
air gabhail ris, gu'n tàinig Iosa Crìosd
do'n t-saoghal a theàrnadh pheacach d'am
mise an ceud-fhear"--I Tim. 1.15.
Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge.
1902.

xii, 1 f, pp 14-223. 16x12. AU, Mit.

[Contains editorial note, signed--
'J. M'K, Edinburgh, 14th June 1847!
The editor was John Mackenzie. The
1902 ed. was printed by Oliver & Boyd,
Edinburgh.]

BUNYAN, JOHN. AN SAOGHAL A TA RI TEACHD.
Edinburgh, 1903.

The World to Come; or, Visions of Heaven
and Hell. By John Bunyan. "And Jesus
said into him, Verily I say unto thee,
Today shalt thou be with me in paradise"--
Luke XXIII.43. "For God shall bring
every work into judgement, with every
secret thing, whether it be good, or
whether it be evil"--Eccles. XII.14.
Edinburgh: John Grant, George IV. Bridge.
1903.

An Saoghal a ta ri teachd; no Seallaidhean
Néimh agus Ifrinn. Le Iain Buinian. "Agus
thubhairt/

thubhairt Iosa ris, Gu deimhin tha mi
 'g ràdh riut gu'm bi thu maille riumsa
 an diugh ann am Pàrras"--Luc. XXIII.43.
 "Oir bheir Dia gach obair chum breitheanais,
 maille ris gach ni diomhair ma's math, no
 ma's olc e"--Eccles. XII.14. Edinburgh:
 John Grant, George IV. Bridge. 1903.
 4 ff, 172pp. 14x10. AU, Mit.
 [First ed. 1844, of which this is a
 reprint. Translated by John Mackenzie.]

BUNYAN, JOHN. TURAS A' CHRIOSDAIDH.
 Edinburgh, 1912.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to
 the world to come under the similitude of
 a dream, in three parts, by John Bunyan.
 "I have used similitudes."--Hos. XII.10.
 Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge.
 1912.

Cuairt an Eilthirich, no Turas a' Chrìosdaidh
 o'n t-saoghal so chum an t-saoghail a ta
 ri teachd fo shamhla bruadair, ann an tri
 earrannan, le Iain Buinian. "Ghnàthaich mi
 cosamhlachdan".--Hos. XII.10. Edinburgh:
 John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1912.
 vi, 413pp. 18x12. AU, GU.
 [The first Gaelic ed. was in 1812;
 the present ed. was printed from
 the strectype plates made by Maclachlan
 and Stewart, Edinburgh, in 1845. The
 editor was John Mackenzie.]

TURUS A' CHRIOSDUIDH.
 London, 1929.

Turus a' Chrìosduidh o'n t-saoghal so
 chum an t-saoghail ri teachd air a chur
 an riochd aisling le Iain Buinian. Ghnàthaich
 mi cosamhlachdan--Hosea XII.10. Air a chur an
 Gaidhlig/

Gaidhlig Albannaich le Calum MacGhillinnein,
D.D., an Dun-eideann. (Pilgrim's Progress
in Scottish Gaelic). Comunn nan
Trachdanna Diadhaidh an Lunnainn. 1929.
221pp; 16 ff Ills.[in text]. 18x13. AU, PC.
[Printed Darien Press, Edinburgh.]

TURUS A' CHRIOSDUIDH.

London, 1953.

. . .Lunnainn. 1953.
221pp; 16 ff Ills.[in text]. 18x13. PC.
[Foreword by T. M. Murchison. Printed
Lowe and Brydone, London.]

BURNS, ROBERT. DAIN IS LUINNEAGAN.

Glasgow, n.d.

Dain, is luinneagan, Robert Burns, eadar-
theangaichte do'n Ghaidhlig Albannach.
Songs and poems of Robert Burns. Translated
into Scottish Gaelic by Charles MacPhater,
Glasgow. Glasgow: Alex. M'Laren & Son,
360-362 Argyle Street. Dumfries: R. G.
Mann, Courier and Herald Offices.
iv, 1 f, viii, 355pp; 15 ff Ills.[in text].
20x14. AU, GU, Mit., NLS.
[Ad. in 'An Deo-Greine', May 1909, as
"now in press"; add. for sale by MacLaren's
in 'An Deo-Greine', Nov. 1911. The Ills.
comprise photos and line drawings.]

CABAIRNEACH, AN. See COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH,
FEACHD PHORTRIGH'.

CAINNT AGUS FACAIL IOMCHUIDH AIR SON COINNIMH.
See CLANN AN FHRAOICH.

CALDER, GEORGE (editor). FOLK TALES AND FAIRY
LORE.

Edinburgh, 1910.

Folk Tales and Fairy Lore in Gaelic and English. Collected from oral tradition by Rev. James MacDougall, sometime Minister of Duror, author of "Craignish Tales", and "Folk and Hero Tales". Edited with introduction and notes by Rev. George Calder, B.D., Minister of Strathfillan, author of "The Irish Aeneid", Honorary Member of the Caledonian Medical Society. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1910. xv, 328pp; 1 f Ill. [frontispiece].

23x16.

GU, Mit., NLS.

[Ill. is photo of MacDougall. The English and Gaelic are on facing pages. Printed Archibald Sinclair, Glasgow.]

CALDER, GEORGE. GAELIC GRAMMAR.

Glasgow, [Intro.1923].

A Gaelic Grammar, containing the parts of speech and the general principles of phonology and etymology, with a chapter on proper and place names. By George Calder, B.D., D.Litt., Lecturer in Celtic, University of Glasgow. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street.

xiv, 1 f Abbrev., 352pp. 20x13. AU, GU:CL, Mit.

[Introduction subscribed-Glasgow, May 1923.]

CALDER, GEORGE (editor). See MACINTYRE,
DUNCAN BAN. ORAIN GHAIÐHEALACH.

CALDER, GEORGE (editor). See ROSS, WILLIAM.
ORAIN GHAIÐHEALACH.

CALVIN, JOHN. ADTIOMCHIAL AN CHREIDIMH.
Edinburgh, 1962.

Adtiomchial an Chreidimh. The Gaelic Version of John Calvin's Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis. A facsimile reprint, including the prefixed poems and the Shorter Catechism of 1659, with Notes and Glossary, and an Introduction. Edited by R. L. Thomson, Lecturer in the Department of English Language and Medieval Literature, University of Leeds. Published by Oliver & Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh. 1962.

Scottish Gaelic Texts. Volume Seven.
xlviii, 264pp. 23x16.

[No English translation, but comprehensive glossary. Printed Robert Cunningham & Son Ltd, Alva.]

CAMERON, Mrs. M'ANNSACHD.
Edinburgh, 1916.

M'annsachd agus Rannan Eile le Mrs Camaran a bha uair-éiginn am Monar. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1916.

37pp. 18x12. FC.
[Printed Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh.]

CAMERON, ALEXANDER. ORAIN, SGRIOBHAIDHEAN
AGUS LITRICHEAN.
Edinburgh, 1926.

Am Bard. Orain, Sgriobhaidhean agus Litrichean Bard Thurnaig (Alasdair Camshron). Air an deasachadh agus air an cur a mach le Iain MacAlasdair Moffat-Pender. Roimh-radh le Uilleam I. MacBhatair/

MacBhatair, M.A., LL.D., Ard-Ollamh na
Gaidhlig an Oil-thigh Dhun-Eideann.
Dun-Eideann. U. M. Urchardainn agus a
Mhac. 1926.
232pp; 7 ff Ills.[in text]. 23x15. AU,
EU, GU.

[Contains 1 photo of Bard and editor,
1 photo of Bard and friends, 5
watercolour scenes on boards: not
included in pagination. Printed A.
Sinclair, Glasgow.]

CAMERON, HECTOR. NA BAIRD THIRISDEACH.
[Glasgow], 1932.

Na Baird Thirisdeach. Saothair ar
co-luchd-duthcha aig an tigh 's bho'n tigh.
Agus[sic] air a dheasachadh leis an Urr.
Eachann Camshron. 1932. Air a chur a mach
leis A' Chomunn Thirisdeach.

The Tیره Bards. Being the original
compositions of natives of Tیره at home
and abroad. Edited by the Rev. Hector
Cameron. 1932. Published by The Tیره
Association.
xxlv, 438pp. 23x15. AU, EU, GU, Mit.
[Printed Eneas Mackay, Stirling.]

CAMERON, JOHN, of Sunderland. THE GAELIC
NAMES OF PLANTS.
Glasgow, 1900.

The Gaelic Names of Plants (Scottish, Irish,
and Manx), collected and arranged in
scientific order, with notes on their
etymology, uses, plant superstitions, etc.,
among the Celts, with copious Gaelic,
English, and scientific indices, by John
Cameron, Sunderland. "What's in a
name? That which we call a rose / By any other
name would smell as sweet."--Shakespeare.
New/

New and revised edition. Glasgow: John Mackay, "Celtic Monthly" Office, 1 Blythswood Drive. 1900. xv, 160pp; 1 f Ill. [frontispiece photo of Cameron]. 23x15. AU, GU, Mit.
[Printed Sinclair, Glasgow. First ed. 1883.]

CAMERON, JOHN, of Ullapool (translator).
See MARSHALL, ALEXANDER. SLAINTE ANN AN RATHAD DHE.

CAMERON, NEIL. SERMONS.
Inverness, 1932.

Memoir, Biographical Sketches, Letters, Lectures and Sermons (English and Gaelic) of the Rev. Neil Cameron, Glasgow. Edited by the Rev. D. Beaton, Oban. Inverness: printed by the Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, Limited. 1932. 1 f Ill., vii, 304pp; [pp 271-304 Gaelic]. 19x13. PC.

CAMERON LEES, JAMES. BEATHA AGUS CAITHEAMH-BEATHA.
Edinburgh, [Intro.1916].

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Beatha agus Caitheamh-Beatha. Camaran Lees. [Crest of burning bush, - Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church of Scotland, The United Free Church of Scotland, The Free Church of Scotland. xi, 72pp. 14x10. NLS.
[Introduction by N. MacLean, dated 1916.]

CAMPBELL, Mrs. A. See MACKINNON, MARY A.

CAMPBELL, ANGUS. ORAIN GHÀIDHLIG.
Glasgow, 1943.

Orain Ghàidhlig le Aonghas Caimbeal, Nis, Leódhas. Gaelic Songs by Angus Campbell, Ness, Lewis. Glasgow: printed by John Thomlison, Ltd., Stanley Works. 1943. 32pp. 19x13. PC.

CAMPBELL, CALUM. LAOIDHEAN.
Stornoway, n.d.

Laoidhean le Calum Caimbeul, a Bhradhagair.
(Air an sgrìobhadh leis an Urr. Murchadh Caimbeul.)
Printed at the Gazette Office, Stornoway.
8pp. 22x14. FC.
[Fairly recent.]

CAMPBELL, CATHERINE. LAOIDHEAN GHAIIDLIG.
Stornoway, n.d.

Laoidhean Ghaidhlig le Catriona Caimbel. Prìs 3/-.

[Back cover] Published by A. McLeod, Marybank,
Stornoway, and printed by Stornoway Gazette Limited,
10 Francis Street, Stornoway.
36pp; 3 ff Ills. [in text]. 22x14. PC.
[A few tunes in staff and solfa. Preface
by 'A.M.L.'. 3 photos. Fairly recent.]

CAMPBELL, DUGALD J. A PHIÒB-MHOR.
N.p., n.d.

An ceol a bu bhinne a chula[sic] Sassunnach
riabh, a phiob-mhor.
4pp. 18x13. PC.
[Around the turn of the century.]

CAMPBELL, G. MURRAY. EDWARD VII, KING OF SCOTS.
N.p., [1910].

Edward VII, King of Scots. 7-5-1910. By G.
Murray Campbell. English translation by Norman
Grieve.
19pp. 15x12. EU.
[English and Gaelic on facing pages.
1 quatrain per page only.]

CAMPBELL, HILDA M. ORAIN NA CLARSAICH.
London, [c.1933].

Orain na Clarsaich (Songs of the Harp).
Arranged by Hilda M. Campbell (Airds).
English words by Harold Boulton. With
Forewords/

Forewords by Hilda Mary Campbell and Harold Boulton. Copyright. Price 3/6. Paterson's Publications Ltd; London: 36-40 Wigmore Street, W.1.; Edinburgh: 27 George Street. New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 62 Cooper Square. Canada: Anglo-Canadian Music Co., 144 Victoria Street, Toronto. New Zealand: C. Begg & Co., Ltd., Manners Street, Wellington.

24pp. 31x25. Mit., NLS.

[The songs were individually copyrighted in 1933; the vol. was acquired in Mit. in 1933. Text in Gaelic and English. Music in both notations, harp accomps. Contains 8 songs. Cover design by Anna MacBride.]

CAMPBELL, JAMES (editor). See MACKENZIE, LACHLAN. LECTURES, SERMONS AND WRITINGS.

CAMPBELL, JOHN, of Glasgow (compiler). See COMUNN SOISGEULACH GAIDHEALACH GHLASCHO. LAOIDHEAN SOISGEULACH.

CAMPBELL, JOHN, of Sydney. MARBHRANN AGUS LOIDHEAN[sic] SPIORADAIL. Sydney, N.S., 1947.

Marbhrann agus Loidhean[sic] Spioradail eadartheangaichte o'n Bheurla le Iain Caimbeul. Sydney, N.S. 1947. 16pp. 16x12. PC, Xavier.

CAMPBELL, JOHN, of Sydney. MARBHRANN. N.p., n.d.

Marbhrann le Iain Caimbeul Sidini - Air son a bh'ean[sic] a caochail 'sa bhliana 1939.

[Referred to in Clare and Dunn.]

CAMPBELL, JOHN, Seonaidh mac Dhomhnaill 'ic
Iain Bhàin. ORAIN GHÀIDHLIG.
Dunfermline, 1936.

Orain Ghaidhlig le Seonaidh Caimbeul (Seonaidh
mac Dhomhnaill 'ic Iain Bhàin). Air an toirt
sìos le Iain Mac Aonghuis. Air an deasachadh
le Iain Lathrna Caimbeul (fear-deasachaidh
"Duain Ghàidhealach mu Bhliadhna Thearlaich").
Chaidh an leabhar so chlà-bhualadh ann an
Alba le I. B. Mac Aoidh agus a Chuideachd,
ann an Dun Pharlain, Fìobha, gu feum an
Ughdair, anns a' bhliadhna 1936.
xvii, 130pp. 19x13. NLS.

[Frontispiece photo, 'Seonaidh agus a'
chas-chrom aige', included in the pagination.
Privately published by Campbell(J. L.).]

ORAIN GHÀIDHLIG.
Dunfermline, 1937.

Ibid. [Title page as above.]

A' Chiad Chlà-Bhualadh. . .1936. An Darna
Clà-bhualadh. . .Am Màrt, 1937.
1 f Ill., xvii, 130pp. 19x13. GU, Mit., PC.
[Reprint. Difference in pagination due
to fly-title page in this edition.]

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. BLAR TRAIGH TRAIGH GHRUINNEAIRD.
Edinburgh, 1950.

Ian Og Ile Ms. VII, Ian Deoir. Earrann I.
Blar Traigh Ghruinneaird. John Grant,
Booksellers Ltd., 31 George IV Bridge, Edinburgh.
1950.

6 ff, 22pp. 22x14. PC.
[Contains also the stories, Na Domhnullaich
agus na Leathanaich, and Raonall Arrunnach
's Seumas MacDhomhnaill.]

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. THE CELTIC DRAGON MYTH.
Edinburgh, 1911.

The Celtic Dragon Myth by J. F. Campbell
with the Geste of Fraoch and the Dragon.
Translated with introduction by George
Henderson, Ph.D.(Vienna), B.Litt.(Oxon.),
M.A.(Edin.), Lecturer in Celtic Languages
and Literature, University of Glasgow.
Illustrations in colour by Rachel Ainslie
Grant Duff. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31
George IV. Bridge. 1911.
1i, 172pp; 5 ff Ills.[in text]. 25x18.
AU, GU, Mit.

[Contains also--Na Tri Rathaidean
Móra, and An t-Iasgair. Printed Oliver
and Boyd, Edinburgh.]

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. CLANN AN RIGH FO GHEASAIBH.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan
Ceilidh. Aireamh 21. Clann an Righ fo
Gheasaibh. Seann sgeul le I. F. Campbell,
'Iain Og Ile'. [Here crest] A' phrìs,
tri sgillinnean, 3d. Alasdair Mac Labhrainn
agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal,
Glascho.

Pp 65-84, 2 ff Ads. 21x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'An Sgeulaiche',
Leabhar III, Aireamh 2, An Samhradh,
1911.]

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. FEAR A' BHRATAIN UAINE.
Glasgow, 1930.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan
Ceilidh. Aireamh 23. Fear a' Bhratain
Uaine. Seann sgeul le I. F. Caimbeul,
'Iain Og Ile'. [Here crest] A' phrìs,
tri sgillinnean, 3d. Alasdair Mac
Labhrainn/

Labhruinn agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid
Earraghaidheal. 1930.
Pp 502-520. 21x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'Guth na Bliadhna',
Leabhar IX.4, Am Foghar, 1912.]

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. MOGAN DEARG MAC IACHAIR.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan
Ceilidh. Aireamh 20. Mogan Dearg Mac
Iachair. Seann sgeul le I. F. Caimbeul,
'Iain Og Ile'. [Here crest] A' phrìs,
tri sgillinnean, 3d. Alasdair Mac Labhruinn
agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal,
Glascho.
Pp 48-70. 22x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'Guth na Bliadhna',
Leabhar LX.1, An Geamhradh 1913.]

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. (folklore collector). See
CRAIG, K. C. GILLE NAN COCHALL CHRAICEANN.

CAMPBELL, JOHN F (folklore collector). See
CRAIG, K. C. LEIGHEAS CAS O CEIN.

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. (folklore collector). See
MACKAY, JOHN G. GILLE A' BHUIDSEIR.

CAMPBELL, JOHN F (folklore collector). See
MACKAY, JOHN G. NA SE BONNAICH BHEAGA.

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. (folklore collector). See
MACLEAN, Rev. Prof. DONALD. MORE
WEST HIGHLAND TALES, VOLUME ONE.

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. (folklore collector). See
MATHESON, ANGUS. MORE WEST HIGHLAND
TALES, VOLUME TWO.

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. DUAIN GHÀIDHEALACH MU
BHLIADHNA THEARLAICH.
Edinburgh, 1933.

Duain Ghàidhealach mu Bhliadhna Theàrlaich
a dheasaich agus dh'eadar-theangaich Iain
Latharna Caimbeul, a chuir Focloir agus
Sanasan r'a cheile. Iain Grannd, 31
Drochaid a' Cheathraimh Rìgh Deòrsa,
Dùn-Eideann. 1933.

Highland Songs of the Forty-Five. Edited
and translated with Glossary and Notes. By
John Lorne Campbell. John Grant, 31 George
IV. Bridge, Edinburgh. 1933.
xxxvi, 327pp, i f Map. 24x16. AU, EU, GU, MIT.
[English translation on right facing
page. Some tunes, in staff. Printed by
Oliver and Boyd.]

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. (co-editor). EDWARD LHUYD
IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS.
Oxford, 1963.

Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands,
1699-1700. By J. L. Campbell, M.A.(Oxon.),
LL.D.(Antigonish), and Derick Thomson,
M.A.(Aberdeen), B.A.(Cantab.), Reader in
Celtic at Aberdeen University. Oxford,
at the Clarendon Press. 1963.
xxxii, 319pp, 23 ff Ills. 23x15. GU.
[The most important Gaelic contents
are a Scottish Gaelic Vocabulary, and
a transcript of the Rev. John Beaton's
pronunciation of the first two chapters
of Genesis from Kirk's Gaelic Bible.
Printed "at the University Press, Oxford
by Vivian Ridler, Printer to the University"]

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. FR ALLAN McDONALD OF
ERISKAY, PRIEST, POET, AND FOLKLORIST.
Edinburgh, 1954.

Fr Allan McDonald of Eriskay, 1859-1905,
priest, poet, and folklorist, by John L.
Campbell, based upon a broadcast talk
recorded at Antigonish, Nova Scotia, in
May 1953, and printed to mark the fiftieth
anniversary of the consecration of Eriskay
Church, built by Fr Allan. The profits on
the sale of this pamphlet are to be devoted
towards the upkeep of Eriskay Church. The
copyright is the property of the author.
31pp; 4 ff Ills. 22x14

[Mainly in English; some Gaelic quotations.]

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. GAELIC FOLKSONGS FROM
THE ISLE OF BARRA.

London, n.d.

Gaelic Folksongs from the Isle of Barra.
Recorded by J. L. Campbell, President of
the Folklore Institute of Scotland. Edited
by J. L. Campbell with the collaboration
of Annie Johnston and John MacLean, M.A.
Published by The Linguaphone Institute
for The Folklore Institute of Scotland.
55pp, 1 f. 21x15. AU, NLS, PC.

[Ca. 1950. 5 records were issued with
the booklet. Photo of 'Ruairi Iain
Bhàin' is on p. 4. English translation
on right facing pages. Printed "for
International Catalogues Ltd., 207-209
Regent Street, London, W.1. by W.&J.
Mackay & Co. Ltd., Chatham."]

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. SIA SGIALACHDAN.
Edinburgh, 1939.

Sia sgialachdan a chruinnich 's a dheasaich
Iain/

Iain Latharna Caimbeul ann am Barraidh 'S an Uidhist a Deas. Six Gaelic stories from Barra and South Uist collected and edited by John Lorne Campbell, with Introduction, English Summary and Glossary. Privately printed by T. and A. Constable, Limited, Edinburgh. 1939.
50pp[pp 19-50 in Gaelic]. 22x15. CoS, Mit.

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. (editor). TALES OF BARRA
TOLD BY THE CODDY.
Edinburgh, 1960.

Tales of Barra told by the Cuddy (John MacPherson, Northbay, Barra, 1876-1955).
With Foreword by Compton MacKenzie and
Introduction and Notes by J. L. Campbell.
1960. Printed for the Editor by W. & A. K.
Johnston & G. W. Bacon Ltd. Edinburgh.
214pp. 19x13. PC.
[Mainly in English; 2 songs and 1 story
in Gaelic.]

TALES OF BARRA
TOLD BY THE CODDY.
Edinburgh, 1961.

. . . Campbell. 1961. Printed for the
Editor by W. & A. K. Johnston & G. W.
Bacon Ltd. Edinburgh.
227pp; 2 f. 19x13. PC.
[2 songs and 3 stories in Gaelic. One
of the two unnumbered pages is a
frontispiece photo of the Cuddy, the
other a table of sources.]

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. (editor). See CAMPBELL,
JOHN, Seonaidh mac Dhomhnaill 'ic Iain
Bhàin. ORAIN GHÀIDHLIG.

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. (editor). See HARDY, THOMAS.
AN TRIUIR CHOIGREACH.

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. (editor). See MACDONALD,
FR. ALLAN. BARDACHD MHGR AILEIN.

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. (editor). See MACDONALD,
FR. ALLAN. GAELIC WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS
FROM SOUTH UIST.

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. (folklore-collector). See
MATHESON, ANGUS (co-editor). FEAR NA H-
EABAID.

CAMPBELL, JOHN L. (editor). See VAN DYKE,
HENRY. SGEUL AN DRAOIDH EILE.

CAMPBELL, MALCOLM. See CAMPBELL, CALUM.

CAMPBELL, MARGARET SHAW. See SHAW, MARGARET F.

CAMPBELL, Mrs. MARY A. See MACKINNON, MARY A.

CAMPBELL, MURDOCH (editor). See CAMPBELL,
CALUM. LAOIDHEAN.

CAMPBELL, PETER. BARDACHD GHAIHDLIG.
Inverness, n.d.

Bardachd Ghaidhlig le Paruig Caimbel.
35pp. 19x13. PC.
[Imprint--Duncan Grant, Printer, 47
High Street, Inverness'.]

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER. CARMINA GADELICA,
VOLUME I.
Edinburgh, 1900.

Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and incantations
with illustrative notes on words, rites,
and customs, dying and obsolete: orally
collected in the Highlands and Islands
of Scotland and translated into English
by Alexander Carmichael. Volume I.
Edinburgh: printed for the author by
T. and A. Constable, printers to her
Majesty, and sold by Norman Macleod,
25 George IV. Bridge. 1900.

1 f, xxxii, 339pp. 26x21. AU, GU, Mit.
[Frontispiece photo of Carmichael:
English translations on right facing
page. T S-G has xxii for xxxii.]

CARMINA GADELICA,
VOLUME I.
Edinburgh, 1928.

. . . Volume I. Oliver and Boyd; Edinburgh:
Tweeddale Court; London: 33 Paternoster
Row, E.C.4. 1928.
1 f [photo], xxxvi, 335pp. 24x17. GU,
Mit., SS.
[Special 2nd ed. preface signed by
'E. C. W.', i.e. Ella Carmichael
Watson.]

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER. CARMINA GADELICA,
VOLUME II.

Edinburgh, 1900.

Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and incantations with illustrative notes on words, rites, and customs, dying and obsolete: orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and translated into English, by Alexander Carmichael. Volume II. Edinburgh: printed for the author by T. and A. Constable, printers to her Majesty, and sold by Norman Macleod, 25 George IV. Bridge. 1900.

2 ff, xi, 350pp. 26x21. AU, GU, Mit.

[Translation in English on right facing page. Fly-title page not included in the pagination.]

CARMINA GADELICA,
VOLUME II.

Edinburgh, 1928.

. . .Volume II. Oliver and Boyd; Edinburgh: Tweeddale; London: 33 Paternoster Row, E.C.4. 1928.

xv, 381pp, 1 f 'Soiridh'. 24x17. GU, Mit.

[See also MATHESON, ANGUS & WATSON, JAMES C.]

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER. DEIRDIRE.

Edinburgh, 1905.

Deirdire and the Lay of the Children of Uisne. Orally collected in the Island of Barra, and literally translated by Alexander Carmichael. Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod. London: David Nutt. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1905.

10 ff[10 leaves], 146pp. 20x14. GU.

[1 Ill. Translation on right facing page. Contains notes. Printed T. & A. Constable, Edinburgh.]

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER. DEIRDIRE. (cont.)
Edinburgh, 1914.

Deirdire and the Lay of the Children of Uisne.
Orally collected in the Island of Barra, and
literally translated by Alexander Carmichael,
LL.D. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. London
(Kensington): Kenneth Mackenzie. Dublin: Hodges,
Figgis & Co. 1914. Second Edition.
10 ff[leaves], 155pp. 20x14. GU.
[Printed Constable.]

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER (folklore-collector).
See BOTTONLEY, GORDON. DEIRDIRE.

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER (folklore-collector).
See MATHESON, ANGUS. CARMINA GADELICA, VOLUME V.

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER (folklore-collector).
See WATSON, JAMES C. CARMINA GADELICA.

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER (folklore-collector).
See [WATSON, JAMES C.]. CARMINA GADELICA,
VOLUME III.

CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER (folklore-collector). See
[WATSON, JAMES C.]. CARMINA GADELICA, VOLUME IV.

CARMICHAEL, E[LLA] C. (acting editor). See
CELTIC REVIEW.

CARMODY, FRANCIS J. THE INTERROGATIVE SYSTEM IN
MODERN SCOTTISH GAELIC.
Berkeley, 1945.

The Interrogative System in Modern Scottish
Gaelic. By Francis J. Carmody. University of
California Publications in Linguistics Volume 1,
No. 6, pp.215-226. University of California Press,
Berkeley and Los Angeles. 1945.
Pp 215-226. 26x17. PC.

CASSIE, R. L. A COMPARATIVE GAELIC-SCOTS
VOCABULARY.

Stirling, 1930.

A Comparative Gaelic-Scots Vocabulary. By
R. L. Cassie, author of "Byth Ballads", "Doric
Ditties", "Heid or Hert", "The Gangrel Muse",
Etc. Eneas Mackay, Stirling.

First published 1930.

1 f Ill., 95pp. 20x19. AU, GU, Mit.

CATECHISM. See:

LEABHAR AIDEACHAIDH A' CHREIDIMH [for 'dà
Leabhar a' Cheasnachaidh'.]

MACDONALD, Rev. Dr. JOHN, of Ferintosh. LEABHAR
AITHGHEARR NAN CEIST.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. AITHGHEARRADH TEAGASG
CHRIOSTA.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. LEABHAR CHEIST NA
CLOINNE BIGE.

WILLISON, JOHN. LEABHAR CHEIST NA MATHAR.

CATRIONA THANGAIDH. See THANGAIDH[?], CATRIONA.

CATTANACH, DONALD. BARDACHD.

Edinburgh, n.d.

Bardachd Dhomhnail Chatanaich, Cinn-Ghiuthsaich.
15pp. 17x11. PC.

[This copy bears note, in ink, that it
is a reprint from the 'Free Church Record'
and that the editor is Rev. Donald
MacKinnon. Printed Turnbull & Spears,
Edinburgh.]

CATTANACH, DONALD. EACHDRAIDH AIR BAIL'-AN-RIGH.
Edinburgh, n.d.

Eachdraidh air Bail'-an-Righ a bha fo
riaghladh nan ceard a bhi air a ghlanadh.
Le Domhnall Catanach a bh'air an t-Sliabh
am Bàideanach (1813-1891).

16pp. 17x11.

NLS.

[Century uncertain.]

CEATHRAMH LEABHAR, AN, AIR SON NAN SGOILEAN
GAE'LACH. See CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, GENERAL
ASSEMBLY.

CEILIDH BOOKS, THE. See LEABHRAICHEAN NAN
CEILIDH [for list of titles in this series].

CEILIDH NAN GAIDHEAL. LEABHAR NA H-ARD-FHEISE.
Glasgow, 1947.

Leabhar na h-Ard-Fheise. Ceilidh nan Gaidheal,
Glaschu, 1896- - -1946. A' phris - 2/6.

Air a chur am mach fo ughdarras na Comhairle,
le Alasdair MacLabhrainn agus a Mhic, 268,
Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal, Glaschu. 1947.

Printed in Scotland. Air a chlobhualadh an
Albainn.

51pp. 19x13.

PC.

[Foreword by Hector MacDougall, Ceann
Suidhe. Reports, reminiscences, poems
about the Ceilidh; contains also the
script of the play, ' 'S e rud a their
a mathair a bhios deanta' by Archibald
MacCulloch. 2 group photos.]

CEILIDH SONG-BOOK, THE. See DIONNASG GAIDHLIG
NA H-ALBA. CEOL NAM BEANN.

CEIST NAN CEIST. See HENDERSON, ANGUS.
SPEALGADH NAN GLASAN.

CELTIA.

Dublin, 1901-08.

[Issue masthead] Celtia. A Pan-Celtic
Monthly Magazine.
[Volume title page] Vol. I. No. I, January
1901---Vol. I. No. 12, December 1901.

. . . Vol. VIII, May 1908, No. V. [Last seen].
Ca. 190pp per full yearly volume.
28x22.

AU, Mit.

[Published from 97 Stephen's Green,
Dublin. Edd. by S-R.
John, Wimbleton, S.W., England. A
monthly of a somewhat scholarly (popular)
bent, containing fairly regular features
in Scottish Gaelic, including a
fragment of a comparative Celtic
dictionary. Appeared irregularly;
both the AU and Mit. holdings have
only 9, 6, 1, 8, and 5 numbers
respectively of Volumes III, IV, V,
VII, and VIII; neither library has
any numbers of Vol. VI. BUCOP records no VI.]

CELTIC ANNUAL, THE. See DUNDEE HIGHLAND SOCIETY.

CELTIC FORUM.

Toronto, 1934-35.

Toronto Centennial Number. 25c. Celtic
Forum. A Journal of Celtic Opinion.
Vol. I, No. I St. Andrews Day, November
30, 1934.

St. Patrick's Number. [Crest] 25c.
Celtic/

CELTIC FORUM. (cont.)

Celtic Forum. A Journal of Celtic Opinion.
Vol. I, No. 2 March 1935. . .Published at
71 Welland Avenue, Toronto.

Summer Number. 25c. Celtic Forum. A
Journal of Celtic Opinion. Vol. I, No. 3.
June, 1935. . .Published at 71 Welland Avenue,
Toronto.

Science Number. 50c. Celtic Forum.
A Journal of Celtic Opinion.
Vol. I, No. 4 October, 1935. . .Published
at 71 Welland Avenue, Toronto. [Last seen.]
128pp[32pp per issue]. 28x22. NLS.
[Edd. by W. J. Edmondston Scott.]

CELTIC MONTHLY, THE.

Glasgow, [1893]-1917.

The Celtic Monthly: A Magazine for Highlanders.
Edited by John Mackay, Kingston, Glasgow.
Vol. I. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, Celtic
Press, 10 Bothwell St., John Menzies & Co.,
and William Love. Edinburgh: Norman Macleod
and John Grant. Inverness: William Mackay
and John Noble. Oban: Thomas Boyd and Hugh
MacDonald. 1893.

The Celtic Monthly: A Magazine for Highlanders.
Edited by John Mackay, 9 Blythswood Drive,
Glasgow. Vol. VIII. Glasgow: Archibald
Sinclair, 47 Waterloo Street, John Menzies
& Co., William Love, and W. & R. Holmes.
Edinburgh: Norman Macleod and John Grant.
Inverness: William Mackay and John Noble.
Oban: Thomas Boyd and Hugh MacDonald. 1900.

The Celtic Monthly: A Magazine for Highlanders.
Edited by John Mackay, 1 Blythswood Drive,
Glasgow. Vol. XI. John Mackay, Celtic Monthly
Office, 1 Blythswood Drive, Glasgow. 1903.

CELTIC MONTHLY, THE. (cont.)

The Celtic Monthly: A Magazine for Highlanders.
 Edited by John Mackay, 10 Bute Mansions,
 Glasgow. Vol. XIII. John Mackay, "Celtic
 Monthly" Office, 10 Bute Mansions, Glasgow.
 1905.

. . . Edited by John Mackay, Glasgow. Vol.
 XIV. John Mackay, 10 Bute Mansions, Hillhead,
 Glasgow. 1906.

The Celtic Monthly: A Magazine for Highlanders.
 Vol. XIX. A. M. Mackay, 10 Bute Mansions,
 Hillhead, Glasgow. 1911.

. . . Vol. XXV. A. M. Mackay, 10 Bute
 Mansions, Hillhead, Glasgow. 1917. [End]
 4 ff, 240pp per yearly volume; ca. 8 - 16 ff
 of Ills. per volume. 26x20[volume binding],
 24x18[individual issues]. Mit., NLS.

[A 'Society' magazine, liberally ill. with
 photos of prominent Gaels; contained
 Gaelic material regularly, including
 a serialisation of the novel, 'Dun
 Aluinn', and stories and poems. For
 further details of the Gaelic content
 of this periodical, see Chpt. I (Periodicals
 section) of Part I of the thesis.]

CELTIC REVIEW, THE.

Edinburgh, 1904-16.

The Celtic Review. Published quarterly.
 Consulting Editor: Professor MacKinnon.
 Acting Editor: Miss E. C. Carmichael.
 Volume I. July 1904 to April 1905. Edinburgh:
 Norman MacLeod, 25 George IV. Bridge. London:
 David Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre, W.C. Dublin:
 Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd., 104 Grafton St.

CELTIC REVIEW, THE. (cont.)

The Celtic Review. Published quarterly.
 Consulting Editor: Professor MacKinnon.
 Editor: Mrs. W. J. Watson (Miss E. C.
 Carmichael). Volume VII. February 1911
 to January 1912. Edinburgh: William Hodge
 & Coy., 12 Bank Street. London: David
 Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre, W.C. Dublin: Hodges,
 Figgis & Co., Ltd., 104 Grafton Street.

. . . Volume VIII. May 1912 to May 1913.
 Edinburgh: William Hodge & Coy., 12 Bank
 Street. London: David Nutt, 17 Grape St.,
 New Oxford St. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis
 & Co., Ltd., 104 Grafton Street.

The Celtic Review. Published quarterly.
 Editor: Mrs. W. J. Watson (Miss E. C.
 Carmichael). Volume X. December 1914
 to June 1916. Edinburgh: William Hodge
 & Co., 12 Bank Street. London: David
 Nutt, 17 Grape Street, New Oxford Street.
 Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd.,
 104 Grafton Street. [Last volume.]

vii, ca. 384pp per yearly volume.
 26x18.

GU[up to Vol. VII], Mit.[all].

[Very occasionally contained potraits, not
 included in the pagination. A serious
 scholarly periodical of considerable
 importance. Printed by T. and A.
 Constable, Edinburgh.]

CELTIC VOICE.

London, 1961.

Celtic Voice. [Here crest with legend, —
 Guth Cheilteach] Number One. Summer,
 1961. Quarterly. Price One Shilling.
 Published by Graham Bros., 5. The St.,
 Didmarton, Badminton, Glos. All
 correspondence to: A. Graham, Flat 3,
 9, Clydesdale Rd., London W.11.
 12pp/

CELTIC VOICE. (cont.)

12pp. 35x12. PC.
 [Contains 2pp of Gaelic, being 'Am Feall-ghlacadh', a translation of part of Stevenson's 'Kidnapped'. Ills. (photos). I have seen no more numbers.]

CENTRAL GAELIC COMMITTEE, E. I. S. See THOMSON, DONALD. GAELIC POEMS FOR INTERPRETATION.

CEOL NAM BEANN. See DIONNASG GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA..

CEUD-FHUASGLADH DO NA DAOINE LEOINTE. See CLANN AN FHRAOICH.

CEUM, AN. See DIONNASG GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA.

CHAPBOOK.

Glasgow, 1946

Chapbook. [Ill.] Number Two. Sixpence.
 [1st March, 1946.]

Chapbook. [Ill.] Number Eight. Sixpence.
 [14th January, 1947.]

Ca. 18pp per issue. 25x19. Mit.
 [12 numbers were issued between Jan., 1946 and July, 1947; the editor was Alec Donaldson and the publishers Scroop Books Ltd (latterly known as A. and J. Donaldson), 69 Ingram Street, Glasgow. Numbers Two to Eight contained An Duilleag Ghàidhlig, edd. by Alexander Nicholson. This contained a regular political article and a Gaelic lesson.]

CHOISIR-CHIUIL, A'. [In parts.]

Paisley, n.d.

Part I. A' Choisir-chiuil. The St. Columba Collection of Gaelic Songs Arranged for Part-Singings. J. and R. Parlane, Paisley. J. Menzies and Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow. Houlston and Sons, London. Price Sixpence - Staff or Sol-fa. When ordering, say staff or solfa.

16pp. 25x16. NLS.

[Pub. 1892. The first of six parts of this, the first significant collection of Gaelic choral music, edited by Archibald Ferguson, the then conductor of the St. Columba Church Gaelic Choir, Glasgow. Continues to be the basis for Gaelic part singing.]

Part II. . . .
Pp 17-32. 25x16. NLS.

Part III. . . .
Pp 33-48. 25x16. NLS.

Part IV. . . .
Pp 49-64. 25x16. NLS.

Part V. A' Choisir-chiuil. The St. Columba Collection of Gaelic Songs Arranged for Part-Singings. J. and R. Parlane, Paisley. J. Menzies and Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow. Houlston and Sons, London. Norman MacLeod, 3 Geo. IV. Bridge, Edinburgh. Price Sixpence - Staff or Sol-fa. When ordering, say staff or solfa.

Pp 65-80. 25x16. NLS.

Part VI. . . .
Pp 81-96. 25x16. NLS.

[The original plan was for 4 parts, this being completed by 1900. According to MacLaren, Part V was pub. in 1913, and VI shortly thereafter. Bound volumes were issued as detailed below.]

CHOISIR-CHIUIL, A'. (cont.)

Paisley, n.d.

A' Choisir-chiuil. The St. Columba
Collection of Gaelic Songs, Arranged for
Part-Singing. J. and R. Parlane, Paisley.
J. Menzies and Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow.
Houlston and Sons, London.

4 ff, 64pp. 25x16.

Mit.

[The first bound volume, issued pre-1900.]

Paisley, n.d.

A' Choisir-chiuil. The St. Columba
Collection of Gaelic Songs, Arranged for Part-
Singing. J. and R. Parlane, Paisley. John
Menzies and Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow.
Madgwick Houlston and Co., Ltd., London.

Norman MacLeod, 25 Geo. IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.

4 ff, 80pp. 25x16.

AU, Mit.

[Containing Parts I-V. MacLaren informs
Part V was issued by Parlane in 1913.]

Paisley, n.d.

Ibid.

4 ff, 96pp. 25x16.

[Parts I-VI.]

London, n.d.

A' Choisir-chiuil. The St. Columba Collection
of Gaelic Songs, Arranged for Part-Singing.
London: Bayley & Ferguson, 2 Great Marlborough
St., W.; Glasgow: 54 Queen Street.

4 ff, 100pp. 25x16.

Mit.

[Parts I-VI + 4 other songs, Still in
print.]

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, THE. See ROMAN CATHOLIC
CHURCH. AITHGHEARRADH TEAGASG CHRIOSTA.

CHRUIT OIR, A'

Edinburgh, [Intro.1919].

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. A' Chruit Oir.
[Here crest of burning bush circumscribed
by the legend,- Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais
Shaor Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed
by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The
Church of Scotland, The United Free Church
of Scotland, and The Free Church of Scotland.
xii, 148pp. 14x10. NLS.

[Introduction dated 1919. This was the
19th and last in the series of religious
booklets issued by the Joint Committee
of the three Churches for soldiers
in the First World War. The above
contains religious verse.]

[CHURCH OF SCOTLAND]. A CUIR AIR LETH CEISDEIR.
N.p., n.d.

Cumadh agus ordugh na seirbhis airson
a bhi a cuir air leth ceisdeir. . . PC.
8pp. 17x12.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. LAOIDHEADAIR GAIDHLIG.
Glasgow, [1902].

Laoidheadair Gaidhlig. Comh-chruinneachadh do Laoidhean Spioradail, a reir an Laoidheadair Beurla a chuireadh a mach le ughdarras Eaglais na h-Alba. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, Printer, Celtic Press, 47 Waterloo Street.

170pp. 17x11.

T S-G.

[1902 Proof Copy. The first draft, containing 46pp, was issued in 1899.]

LAOIDHEADAIR GAIDHLIG.
Glasgow, [1904].

Ibid.

96pp. 17x11.

FC, Mit., NLS.

[The cover of the Mit. copy has the information,--1904 Proof Copy.]

AN LAOIDHEADAIR GAIDHLIG.
Glasgow, 1905.

An Laoidheadair Gaidhlig. [Here a crest, with the legend,--Celtic Press, Glasgow, Estd. 1848.] Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, Printer, 'Celtic Press', 47 Waterloo Street.

133pp. 17x11.

Mit.

[Cover informs,--Proof Copy 1905.]

LAOIDHEAN GAIDHLIG.
Glasgow, 1907.

Laoidhean Gaidhlig. [Here crest with legend, Nec Tamen Consumeatur.] Air an cur a mach le ughdarras Eaglais na h'Alba. Glaschu: Gilleasbuig Mac-na-Ceardadh, 47 Sraid Waterloo. 1907.

xii, 130pp. 19x13.

CoS, NLS.

[Preface signed--Norman MacLeod, Cl: Eccl: Scot. 131 hymns; no music. Translations from English and some original Gaelic poems.]

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. AN LAOIDHEADAIR.
Edinburgh, 1935.

An Laoidheadair. [Here crest, 'Nec Tamen Consumebatur'.] Air a chur a mach le ùghdarras Eaglais na h-Alba. Church of Scotland Committee on Publications: 121 George Street, Edinburgh; 232 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow. 1935.

xiv, 1 f, 175pp. 19x13. Mit., NLS.
[Roimh-Radh signed--Calum Mac Leoid, Eaglais Iain Knox, Glaschu. Musical Editor's Preface signed--R. M'Leod, 16 Hallhead Road, Edinburgh 9. 120 hymns, including translations from English; music in both notations.]

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. LIFE AND WORK; GAELIC SUPPLEMENT.

Edinburgh, [1880]--.

Aireamh 1. [Here crest, Nec Tamen Consumebatur] 1900.
[Latterly] Na Duilleagan Gàidhlig.

[Continuing.]

4pp per monthly issue up to 1929, 8pp per issue from January 1930. 26/24x19/18. PC.

[Gaelic supplement of 'Life and Work, A Parish Magazine' (latterly subtitled 'The Church of Scotland Magazine and Monthly Record', and 'The Record of the Church of Scotland'). 'Life and Work' was first published in 1879 (Gaelic from 1880); new series initiated in 1930, on the amalgamation of the CoS and United Free Church magazines which was consequent on union of the two churches in 1929. The most important editors of the supplement have been Donald Lamont (1907-50) and T. M. Murchison (1950-68). It has made an exceptional contribution to Gaelic prose-writing.]

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. See ACHD EAGLAIS NA H-ALBA.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND (sponsors). See BIBLE.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND (co-sponsors). See COGADH MOR NA H-EORPA. [For cross-references to individual titles in this series.]

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND (co-sponsors). See COGADH NA SAORSA. [For cross-references to individual titles in this series.]

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, GENERAL ASSEMBLY. AN CEATHRAMH LEABHAR.

Edinburgh, 1901.

An Ceathramh Leabhar air son nan Sgoilean Gae'lach a ta air an cumail suas le Comunn Ard-Sheanaidh Eaglais na h-Alba. An dara clodh-bhualadh. Duneidin: air a chlàdh-bhualadh le Uilleam Blackwood agus a Mhic. 1901.
144pp. 15x10. Mit.

AN CEATHRAMH LEABHAR.
Edinburgh, 1907.

. . . agus a Mhic. 1907.
144pp. 15x10. PC.
[First ed. 1826, of which these are reprints.]

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, HOME BOARD. See TRACTS.

CLACHAN, AN. See [HIGHLAND VILLAGE ASSOCIATION].

CLANN AN FHRAOICH. BAN-ALTRUMACHD AIG AN TIGH.
Glasgow, 1939

Ban-altrumachd aig an Tigh. Air a dheasachadh le Comhairle Clann an Fhraoich airson Comunn na h-Oigridh. Glaschu: An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 Sraid West Regent. 1939.
59pp. 22x15. GU:CL, NLS.

CLANN AN FHRAOICH. CAinnt AGUS FACAIL
IOMCHUIDH AIR SON COINNIMH.
[Glasgow], 1954.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Clann an Fhraoich.
Cainnt agus facail iomchuidh air son coinnimh.
Niall Mac Ille Sheathanaich, F.S.A., Scot.,
Ceann-suidhe a' Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich.
Dòmhnall MacPhàil, J.P., Fear-gairme na
Comhairle. Domhnall Grand, M.A., B.A.,
Ed.B. I. M. Moffat-Pender, M.A. 1954.
8pp. 21x12. PC.
[Clann an Fhraoich was an all-Gaelic
circle within An Comunn Gaidhealach.]

CLANN AN FHRAOICH. CEUD-FHUASGLADH DO NA
DAOINE LEOINTE.
Glasgow, 1939.

Ceud-Fhuasgladh do na Daoine Leointe. Air
a dheasachadh le Comhairle Clann an Fhraoich
airson Comunn na h-Oigridh. Glaschu: An
Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 Sraid West Regent.
1939.
62pp. 22x15. GU:CL, NLS, PC.
[Liberally ill. with photos and sketches.
Foreword in English by Dr Atholl Robertson,
Oban, of whose English booklet this is a
translation.]

CLANN AN FHRAOICH. CLEASAN GAIDHEALACH.
Glasgow, 1936.

Cleasan Gaidhealach airson Comunn na h-Oigridh.
Le Comhairle Clann an Fhraoich. An Comunn
Gaidhealach, 131 Sraid West Regent, Glaschu.
1936.
24pp. 22x18. PC.
[Printed Alex. Learmonth, Stirling.]

CLANN AN FHRAOICH. See also COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH.

CLANN NA H-ALBA. BROSACHADH.
London, n.d.

Clann na h-Alba Pamphlets, No. 1.
Brosnachadh.
2pp. 22x14. NLS.
[$\frac{1}{2}$ p. in Gaelic. A polemic. Printed
by the Malvina Press, London, W., for
Clann na h-Alba, a London-based society.]

CLANRANALD, BOOK OF: THE MACDONALD HISTORY.
N.p., n.d.

The Book of Clanranald. The MacDonald
History.
Pp 1-44. 22x14. PC.
[A reprint of the text published in
Alexander Cameron's Reliquiae Celticae,
Vol. II, 1894. Not an off-print: the
text has not been changed, but the
type has been reset and the pagination
changed. I do not know the date or
circumstances of this publication, but the
condition of the copies I have seen
suggests they were issued about the turn
of the century. The copies seen are the
property of Glasgow University Celtic
Department, and have (possibly 'foreign')
covers, which are inscribed: 'Lectures
on. . . John Smith & Son, (Glasgow),
Ltd., University Booksellers, 26-30
Gibson Street, Hillhead, Glasgow'.]

CLANRANALD, BOOK OF. See LLOYD, JOSEPH.
ALASDAIR MAC COLLA.

CLAR-EAGAIR OBAIR NAM FEACHD. See COMUNN
NA H-OIGRIDH.

CLARK, ARCHIBALD. See CLERK, ARCHIBALD.

CLARK, Mrs. M. See MACPHERSON, MARY.

CLEASAN GAIDHEALACH AIRSON COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH.
See CLANN AN FHRAOICH.

CLERK, ARCHIBALD (translator). AN SEANN,
SEANN SGEUL.

N.p., n.d.

The Old, Old Story. An Seann, Seann Sgeul,
ann an da earrainn. Air eadartheangachadh
gu Gaidhlig le G. Cleireach, LL.D.,
ministear Chill-mhailidh. An treas
clo-bhualadh.

16pp. 16x10. PC.

[First ed. 1883, of which this is a
reprint. MacLaren gives May 1915 as
the publication date. Gaelic and English
texts on facing pages.]

CLERK, ARCHIBALD (editor). See MACLEOD,
Dr. NORMAN, Minister of St. Columba's
Church, Glasgow. CARAID NAN GAIDHEAL.

CLO-BHUALAIDHEAN GAIRM. [Editor Derick Thomson] See:

MACAULAY, DONALD. SEOBHRÀCH AS A' CHLAICH.

MACDONALD, JOHN A. CRIOCHAN URA.

MACLEAN, ALLAN C. TEINE CEANN FOID.

MACLEOD, MURDO. SEUMAS BEAG.

SMITH, IAIN. BIOBUILL IS SANASAN-REICE.

SMITH, IAIN. BURN IS ARAN.

THOMSON, DERICK S. EADAR SAMHRADH IS FOGHAR.
[See also Appendix on p.953.]

CLOIMH CHAORACH. See BORD TUATHANACHAIS
'S IASGAICH.

COCKER, W. D. SUIRGHE A' MHUILLEIR.
Glasgow, n.d.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gaidhlig. [Here
crest of An Comunn Gaidhealach.] Dealbh-
chluich an aon sealladh. Gaelic translation
of the one-act pley, The Miller's Wooing,
by W. D. Cocker. Air eadar-theangachadh le
Iain Walker. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 65
Sraid West Regent, Glaschu.

20pp. 21x14.

[Ca. 1950. Printed A. Sinclair, Glasgow.]

CODDY, THE. See CAMPBELL, JOHN L. (editor).
TALES OF BARRA TOLD BY THE CODDY.

COGADH MOR NA H-EORPA [A series of religious booklets issued 1916-19 by a joint committee of the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland for soldiers in World War I.]. See:

AIRD, Dr. [GUSTAVUS]. DAORSA AGUS SAORSA.

[BUNYAN, JOHN]. AN COGADH NAOMH.

CAMERON LEES, JAMES. BEATHA AGUS CAITHEAMH-BEATHA.

CHRUIT OIR, A'.

FAIRE AGUS URNUIGH.

KENNEDY, Dr. [JOHN]. SEARMON AGUS ORAID.

HODGE, ARCHIBALD A. AN REITE.

McCHEYNE, R. M. GUTH MO GHRAIDH.

MACKENZIE, LACHLAN. ROS O SHARON.

MACLAURIN, [JOHN]. CRANN-CEUSAIDH CHRIOSD.

MARSHALL, WALTER. NAOMHACHADH.

MARTIN, DONALD J. TEAGASG NAM MIORBHUILEAN.

MARTIN, HUGH. SGAIL CHALBHARI.

MIL NAN DAN.

OWEN, JOHN. OB AIR AN SPIORAID NAOIMH.

OWEN, JOHN. OIRDHEIRCEAS CHRIOSD.

SPURGEON, C. H. DEAGH MHSNEACHD DO NA DIOBARRAICH.

TEAGASG NAN AITHRICHEAN.

[The series was edd. for the sponsors by Revs. Malcolm MacLennan and Donald MacLean.]

COGADH NA SAORSA [A series of religious booklets issued by the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland for soldiers in World War II.] :

[BUNYAN, JOHN]. AN COGADH NAOMH.

EILEAN MO GHAOIL.

FAIRE AGUS URNUIGH.

MARTIN, DONALD J. TEAGASG NAM MIOREBHUILEAN.

MARTIN, HUGH. SGAIL CHALBHARI.

MIL NAN DAN.

SGUABAN O ACHADHEAN NAN AITHRICHEAN.

SOLUS LATHAIL.

TEAGASG NAN AITHRICHEAN.

[6 are reprints of the 1st War series.
Various editors.]

COISIR A' MHOID. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

COISIR NA CLOINNE. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

COMHRAIDHEAN GAIDHLIG.

Glasgow, n.d.

Comhraidhean Gaidhlig. Gaelic Dialogues.
Book I. 1. Am Maighstir-Sgoile agus Calum
Posta. 2. Fionnlagh Piobaire, agus Para Mor,
an oidhche mu'n d'fhag iad Glascho. 3. Eadar
Cuairtear nan Gleann agus Eachann Tiristeach.
4. Tormod Mac Uisdein is Seonaid, bantrach an t-
Saoir. Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrainn is a
Mhic/

Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.
 32pp. 19x13. AU, GU:CL, NLS.
 [3 from Caraid nan Gaidheal's Magazines, the
 last by Hector MacDougall. First add. 1925.]

COMUNN-BHIOBULL DUTHCHAIL NA H-ALBA.
 N.p., n.d.

Comunn-Bhiobull Dùthchail na h-Alba. Ciod e
 Comunn-Bhiobull Dùthchail na h-Alba agus de
 tha e a deanamh.
 4 ff. 18x11. PC.
 ['1928' inked on title page.]

COMUNN-BHIOBULL DUTHCHAIL NA H-ALBA. See BIBLE.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. AIRGIOD AN RIGH.
 Glasgow, 1942.

Airgiod an Righ. [Crest of An Comunn Gaidhealach].
 Ar tìr 'sar teanga; lean gu dlùth ri cliù do
 shinnsir; guma fada beò ar Righ. An Comunn
 Gaidhealach, 131 Sràid Iar Regent, Glaschu, C.2.
 1942.
 176pp. 14x11. Mit., NLS.
 [An Gaidheal'reprints: for soldiers.
 Printed Alex. Learmonth, Stirling.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. AM MEASG NAM BODACH.
 Glasgow, 1938.

Am measg nam Bodach. Co-chruinneachadh de
 sgeulachdan is beul-aithris a chaidh a chraobh-
 sgaoileadh air an fhritheud eadar Samhuinn, 1936,
 agus An Gearran, 1937. An Comunn Gaidhealach,
 131 Sraid Iar Regent, Glaschu, C.2. 1938.
 148pp. 19x13. GU:CL, NLS.
 [Preface by Hugh MacPhee for the B.B.C.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. BONN-STEIDH AGUS
 RIAGHAILTEAN.
 [Glasgow], 1938.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Bonn-steidh
 agus/

agus Riaghailtean. Constitution and Rules.
Frith-laghannan. Bye-laws. An t-Sultuin,
1938.

39pp. 19x13. Mit., PC.
[Gaelic and English on facing pages.
Printed Archibald Sinclair, Glasgow.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. CLANN AN FHRAOICH.
See under CLANN AN FHRAOICH.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. COISIR A' MHOID [First
Issue].

Paisley, n.d.

Coisir a' Mhòid. The Mòd Collection of
Gaelic Part Songs. 1896-1910. Published
for An Comunn Gaidhealach by J. and R.
Parlane, Paisley. John Menzies and Co.,
Ltd., Edinburgh and Glasgow. T. D.
MacDonald, Secretary of An Comunn
Gaidhealach, 108 Hope Street, Glasgow.
A. M'Laren and Son, 360 and 362 Argyle
Street, Glasgow.

4 ff, 56pp. 25x16. Mit., NLS, SS.
[Preface signed-M. N. Munro, Convener,
Mod and Music Committee! Probably
issued in staff and solfa, though only
the former seen.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. COISIR A' MHOID I.
Glasgow, n.d.

Coisir a' Mhòid I. The Mòd Collection of
Gaelic Part Songs. 1896-1912 (First Book).
An Comunn Gaidhealach; Secy.: Neil Shaw.
Printed and published for An Comunn
Gaidhealach by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Argyle
Street, Glasgow.

2 ff, 62pp. 25x16. AU, Mit., NLS, SS.
[This is the solfa version; that with
staff had Shaw and MacLaren's addresses on
the title page, and 6 unnumbered pp. at front.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. COISIR A' MHOID II.
Glasgow, n.d.

Coisir a' Mhòid II. The Mod Collection of Gaelic part songs (Second Book). 1913-1925. Clar-amais. . . Printed and published for An Comunn Gaidhealach by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Gaelic Printers and Booksellers, 360-362 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2.

2 ff, 66pp. 25x16. AU, SS.
[Issued in both notations.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. COISIR A' MHOID 3.
Glasgow, 1935.

Coisir a' Mhòid 3. The Mod Collection of Gaelic part songs. Third Book. 1925-31. Clar-amais. . . Printed and published for An Comunn Gaidhealach by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Printers and Booksellers, 268 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2. 1935.

63pp. 25x16. Mit.
[In staff and solfa.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. COISIR A' MHOID 4.
Glasgow, 1940.

Coisir a' Mhòid 4. The Mod Collection of Gaelic part songs. Fourth Book. 1932-1937. Clar-amais. . . Printed and published for An Comunn Gaidhealach by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Printers and Booksellers, 268 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2. 1940.

71pp, 1 f Ads. 25x16. Mit.
[In both notations, i.e. 2 separate vols.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. COISIR A' MHOID 5.
Glasgow, 1953.

Coisir a' Mhòid 5. The Mod Collection of Gaelic part songs. Fifth Book. 1938-1947. Clar-amais. . . Printed and published for An Comunn Gaidhealach by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Printers and Booksellers, 268 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2. 1953.
2 ff, 60pp, 2 ff Ads. 25x16. PC.
[A staff and a solfa version issued, as with the previous numbers.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. COISIR NA CLOINNE.
Glasgow, n.d.

Coisir na Cloinne. Forty Gaelic Songs with solfa. Special musical arrangements by well-known composers for Rural and Juvenile Gaelic Choirs. 1/-. Published for An Comunn Gaidhealach by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Argyle Street, Glasgow.
24pp. 21x17. PC.
[Solfa.]

COISIR NA CLOINNE.
Glasgow, 1949.

. . .1/6. Published for An Comunn Gaidhealach by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 19 Wellington Street, Glasgow.
24pp. 21x17. PC.
[Printers imprint at end of vol.--
'Reprinted 1949! The title page alterations have been stamped on top of the previous entries.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH.
See under COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. CROGA AN OIR.
[Glasgow], n.d.

Croga an Oir. Adapted from Próca an Oir.
(With grateful acknowledgments to The
McCaig Trust and to Browne & Nolan, Limited).
Printed in the Republic of Ireland.

An Comunn Gaidhealach.

32pp. 19x13.

[Ill. in colour. An elementary school
text-book. Ca. 1958. Prepared by
Donald Grant; translated from Irish.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. AN CUAIRTEAR.
Glasgow, 1934.

An Cuairtear. [Here crest with legend, Ar
Cànain 's ar Ceòl.] A' phris, tri sgillinn.
An Comunn Gaidhealach, 212 West George
Street, Glasgow. 1934.

24pp. 19x13.

PC.

[Readings in verse and prose for schools
and night-classes. Printed Arch.
Sinclair, Glasgow.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. DAIN THAGHTE.
Glasgow, 1906.

Dàin Thaghte, a chum feum an sgoilean na
Gaidhealtachd. Fo ughdarras A' Chomuinn
Ghaidhealaich. [Ill.] Air a chur am mach
le Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 43 Murray Place,
Struibhle. 1906. 3d.

47pp, 1 f Clàr-innsidh. 19x13. AU.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. AN DEO-GHREINE.
Glasgow, 1905-67.

An Deo-Ghréine. The Monthly Magazine of An Comunn Gaidhealach. Volume I. Oct., 1905, to Sept., 1906, inclusive. Eneas MacKay, 43 Murray Place, Stirling.

An Deo-Gréine. The Monthly Magazine of An Comunn Gaidhealach. Volume II. Oct., 1906, to Sept., 1907, inclusive. Eneas MacKay, 43 Murray Place Stirling.

. . .Volume V. Oct., 1909, to Sept., 1910, inclusive. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 108 Hope Street, Glasgow.

. . .Volume XVIII. Oct., 1922, to Sept., 1923, inclusive. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 114 West Campbell Street, Glasgow.

An Gaidheal. (Formerly An Deo-Gréine). The Monthly Magazine of An Comunn Gaidhealach. Volume XIX. Oct., 1923, to Sept., 1924, inclusive. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 114 West Campbell Street, Glasgow.

['Gailig' was the title of numbers XVIII, 4 to XIX.1; Jan., 1923 to Oct., 1923.]

. . .Volume XXX. Oct., 1934, to Sept., 1935, inclusive. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow.

. . .Volume XLIV. October, 1948, [to December, 1948]. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow.

. . .Volume XLIV (New Series). January, 1949, to December, 1949, inclusive. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. AN DEO-GHREINE. (cont.)

. . . Volume XLV. January, 1950, to December, 1950, inclusive. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 65 West Regent Street, Glasgow.

. . . Volume LXII. [January, 1967, to March, 1967.] An Comunn Gaidhealach, 65 West Regent Street, Glasgow. [Last Issue] The Official Magazine of An Comunn Gaidhealach. An Gaidheal. The Gael. March 1967. One Shilling.

[Pagination] Ca. 200pp per yearly vol., 1905-13; 192pp per vol., 1913-39; ca. 100pp per vol., 1939-62; 148pp per vol., 1963-66; 40pp in last vol. (3 numbers).

[Size] 26x20 (volume bindings). Mit.

[General. Monthly. Official organ of An Comunn Gaidhealach; half house-magazine, half literary journal (for further details of contents see Part I of thesis, Chapter 1, Periodicals). Replaced in April 1967 by Sruth, a fortnightly newspaper.

Editors. Malcolm MacFarlane (1905-06); Rev. Malcolm MacLennan for Gaelic and Rev. D. MacGillivray for English (1906-08); Duncan Reid (1908-1912); Donald MacPhie (1912-22); Neil Shaw (1922); Rev. Neil Ross (1923-36); Rev. Malcolm MacLeod (1936-46); Rev. T. M. Murchison (1846-58); James Thomson (1958-62); Donald Grant (1962-64); Roderick MacKinnon (1964-67).

Printers. Arch. Sinclair, Glasgow (1905--); Scott, Allan & Learmonth, Stirling (1921); Scott & Learmonth (1921--); Alex. Learmonth, Stirling (1924--); Caledonian Press (1950--).

See also COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH. AN GAIDHEAL OG.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. EARAIL.
[Glasgow], n.d.

[Crest] Earail do Bhuill a' Chomuinn.
7pp. 18x12. PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. FACAL DO NA GAIDHEIL.
[Glasgow], n.d.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Facal do na Gaidheil.
A word to the Gaidheal from An Comunn
Gaidhealach.
2pp. 27x21. NLS.
[Gaelic and English.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. AM FEACHD GAIDHEALACH.
Glasgow, 1944.

Am Feachd Gaidhealach. [Here crest with
legend,—Ar Cànan 's ar Ceòl.] Ar tir
'sar teanga; lean gu dlùth ri cliù do shinnsir;
guma fada beò ar Rìgh. An Comunn Gaidhealach,
131 Sraid Iar Regent, Glaschu, C.2. 1944.
320pp. 18x11. EPL, NLS.
[Foreword by Calum MacLeod, President.
For soldiers. Comprises the extracts
of prose and verse--mostly reprints
from 'An Gaidheal'--which were previously
published as Airgid an Rìgh, Seirbhis
a' Chrùin, and 'duilleagan air leth' (see
AN' COMUNN GAIDHEALACH. [WAR LITERATURE] for
list of the last.). Chosen by MacLeod.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. FEILL A' CHOMUINN
GHaidhealaich, BUTH NAN EADLAIN[sic].
[Glasgow, n.d.]

Feill a' Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich, Buth nan
Eadlain. Leabhar Bhuth nan Eadlain (The
Industry Stall Book), being information
relating/

**PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL**

relating to Home Industries, collected from the districts represented at the Stall. An rud a tha feumail tha e priseil. (What is useful is valuable.)

iv, pp 5-73, i f. 10.8x14.9. Mit.
 [1 song in Gaelic, very little else.
 Ill. with photos.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. THE FEILL COOKERY BOOK.
 Glasgow, 1907.

The Feill Cookery Book. [Crest.] Glasgow:
 M'Naughton & Sinclair, 29 Cadogan Street.

1907.

248pp. 19x12.

PC.

[Recipes in Gaelic on pages 225-228.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. GAELIC ORTHOGRAPHY.
 Glasgow, 1954.

[Crest.] Gaelic Orthography. Recommended
 Forms. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 65 West
 Regent Street, Glasgow, C.2. 1954.

4 ff. 26x19.

PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. AN GAIDHEAL. See
 COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. AN DEO-GHREINE.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. GAILIG. See
 COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. AN DEO-GHREINE.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. [The following
 are booklets of set pieces issued for the
 competitions in the National Mod of An
 Comunn Gaidhealach. As they are, in most
 instances, regularly recurring publications,
 they are treated as serials. Publications
 for an individual competition are grouped
 together as one serial, the first issue being
 used as the standard--e.g. for alphabetisation.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. CHORAL MUSIC
FOR CHILDREN'S COMPETITIONS.

Glasgow, 1923--.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Inverness Mod.
1923. Choral Music for Children's Competitions.
Printed and published for An Comunn Gaidhealach
by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Gaelic Printers and
Booksellers, 360-362 Argyle Street, Glasgow.
Price fourpence each.

Music for Children's Competitions. Mod of
1924. Choral Songs. Printed and published
for. . .

[Issues with identical title page (except
for date) appeared, 1926, 1929, 1930,
1931, 1934, 1935.]

Music for Children's Competitions. Mod of
1936. Printed and published for. . .

[Issues with identical title page (ex.
date) appeared, 1936-40.]

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Mod, 1947. Earrann
na h-Oigridh.

[Issues with similar title page appeared,
1947-52.]

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Jubilee Mod 1953.
Coisearan Oigridh.

[Issues with similar title page (ex.
date) appeared, 1953-68.]

4pp per issue up to 1940; 4-8pp (1947-52);
8pp (1953-63); av. 12pp (1964-68).

32/22x19/15 cms.

PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. EARRANN NA
H-EALDHAIN.

[Glasgow], 1912-14.

Earrann na h-Ealdhain agus na Lamh-Oibre.
Riaghailtean nan Comh-fharpais agus a' Mhargaidh
Bhliadhnail, 1912.

7pp. 23x18.

PC.

[1912-1914 only seen.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. EARRANN NA H-OIGRIDH [non-musical].

[Glasgow], 1928--.

[Crest] An Comunn Gaidhealach. Mod Inbhirnis, 1928. Earrann na h-Oigridh. . . [Contents].

[Issues with similar title page (except for date) appeared, 1928, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936-39, 1946-48, 1952-68.]

7-8pp. 19x13.

PC.

[Passages in verse and prose for oral performance.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. ORAIN A' MHOID.

Glasgow, 1924-40.

Orain a' Mhoid. 1924. Gaelic Songs for Solo Singing; Poem and Prose for Recitation. Leabhar I. Book One. Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrunn 's a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal.

[There appeared, Vol. I-XVII, 1924-1940; most issued without date, except that of the copyright imprint.]

16pp per issue. 21x17.

PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. ORAIN-AON-NEACH.

Glasgow, 1948--.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Orain-aon-neach. Mod, 1948. Copyright reserved. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 Sraid West Regent, Glaschu, C.2.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Orain-aon-neach. Mod, 1949. Leabhar 2. Copyright. . .

[Issues with similar title page (except for date and number) appeared, 1949, 1950.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. ORAIN-AON-NEACH. (cont.)

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Orain-aon-
neach. Mod, 1951. Leabhar 4. Copyright
reserved. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 65 Sraid
West Regent, Glaschu, C.2.
[1952 similar.]

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Orain-aon-
neach. Leabhar VI. Mod an Iubili, 1953, anns
an Oban. Copyright. . . .
[Issues with similar title page (except
for date and number) appeared, 1953-68.]
8-31pp; average 16pp per issue. 25x19. PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. ORAIN NA H-
OIGRIDH.

Glasgow, 1947--..

Orain na h-Oigridh. [Crest.] Mod 1947. . .

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Orain
aon neach, rosg is bàrdachd (Earrann na h-
Oigridh). Mod 1949. (Copyright Reserved.)
An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 Sraid West Regent,
Glaschu, C.2.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Orain na h-
Oigridh. Le rosg is bàrdachd. Mod 1950.
(Copyright Reserved.) An Comunn Gaidhealach,
131 Sraid West Regent, Glaschu C.2.

. . .65 Sraid West Regent, Glaschu, C.2.
[Mod 1951 and following.]

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Orain na
Cloinne. Mod an Iubili, 1953, anns an
Oban. Copyright Reserved. An Comunn Gaidheal-
ach, 65 Sraid West Regent, Glaschu, C.2.

[Issues with similar title page (except
for date and location of Mod) appeared,
1953-68.]
6-16pp; average 9 per issue. 21x17. PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. SENIOR CHORAL
COMPETITION, PUIRT-A-BEUL.

Glasgow, 1952.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Forty-Ninth Mod.
Rothesay 1952. Senior Choral Competition,
Puirt-a-Beul. . . [Contents]. Price 3/-.
Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach. Printed
in Gt. Britain by Mozart Allan, 84 Carlton
Place, Glasgow, C.5. Copyright 1952. Staff.
7pp. 25x16. PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. SONGS FOR
CHORAL COMPETITIONS.

Glasgow, 1938--..

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Forty-Second Mod.
Glasgow, 1938. Songs for Choral Competitions.
Price 1/- each. Printed and published for
An Comunn Gaidhealach by Alex. Maclaren &
Sons, Gaelic Printers and Booksellers,
268 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2. Printed
in Scotland. Staff.

[Issues with similar title page (ex.
date) appeared 1938, 1939, 1947, 1949.]

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Forty-Seventh Mod.
Dunoon 1950. Songs for Choral Competitions.
Price 2/- net. Published by An Comunn
Gaidhealach. Printed in Gt. Britain.
Copyright 1950.

[Printed Doogan, Glasgow.]

. . . Forty-Eighth Mod. Edinburgh 1951.
Songs for Choral Competitions. Price
2/6 net. Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach.
Printed in Gt. Britain by Wm. A. Doogan
& Co., Ltd., 37 Miller Street, Glasgow, C.1.
Copyright 1951.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. SONGS FOR CHORAL
COMPETITIONS. (cont.)

. . .Forty-Ninth Mod. Rothesay 1952. Songs
for Choral Competitions. Price 2/6 net.
Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach. Printed
in Gt. Britain by Mozart Allan, 84 Carlton
Place, Glasgow, C.5. Copyright 1952.
[Issues in 1952, 1953, 1954, 1956.]

. . .Fifty-Fifth Mod. Glasgow 1958. Songs
for Choral Competitions. Price 4/-. Published
by An Comunn Gaidhealach, 65, West Regent Street,
Glasgow, C.2. Printed in Gt. Britain by Mozart
Allan, 84 Carlton Place, Glasgow, C.5. Staff
and sol-fa. Copyright 1957.
[Issues with similar title page (ex.
date and location) appeared, 1957, 1959-
66. That for 1964 was published in 3
separate parts, and for 1965 in 2
parts.]

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Songs for Choral
Competitions. . .[Contents]. Printed and
published for An Comunn Gaidhealach by
Alexander MacLaren & Sons, Glasgow, C.2.
Printed in Gt. Britain. Copyright 1949-
1966.

12-30pp; average 20pp per issue. 24x16. PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. SONGS FOR RURAL
CHOIRS' COMPETITIONS.

[Glasgow], 1951--..

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Forty-Eighth Mod.
Edinburgh 1951. Songs for Rural Choirs'
Competitions. . .[Contents]. Price 3/6 net.
Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach. Printed
in Gt. Britain. Copyright 1951. Staff.
[Similar issues in 1951, 1952, 1953, 1957.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. SONGS FOR RURAL
CHOIRS' COMPETITIONS. (cont.)

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Fifty-Ninth Mod.
Oban 1962. Rural Choirs. Co-fharpais 58.
Oran do Reisimeid Earra-Ghaidheal. Price
3/6. Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach,
65 West Regent Street, Glasgow, C.2. Printed
in Gt. Britain by Mozart Allan, 84 Carlton
Place, Glasgow, C. £. Copyright 1962.
Staff and sol-fa.
12, 11, 4, 4, 8 pp respectively per issue.
24x16. PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. SYLLABUS AND
PRIZE-LIST.

[Glasgow], 1910-57.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Syllabus and Prize-
List of The Nineteenth Mod, to be held in the
Music Hall, Edinburgh, on the 5th, 6th, and
7th, October, 1910. An Comunn Gaidhealach.
Clar-Innsidh agus Duaisean an Naoidheamh-
Moid-Dheug, a' tha ri chumail ann an Talla-
a'-Chiuil, an Dun-eideann, air a' choigeamh,
an t-seathamh, agus an t-seachdamh la de
Mhios October, 1910.

[Gaelic and English. This is the first
which contained much Gaelic. Similar
issues, 1910-40, 1946-56 (not all seen).]

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Patron H.M. The Queen.
Syllabus, Prize List and Rules of The National
Mod. Price, 1/3. N.B.- Particulars of all
prescribed pieces are published annually in a
supplement. An Comunn Gaidhealach. Clar-iomairt,
duaisean agus riaghailtean A' Mhoid Naiseanta.
A' phris, 1/3. N.B.- Tha fiosrachadh mu gach
earrann a thaghadh air a chlo-bhualadh gach
bliadhna an leabhran fa leth.

[Published 1957. Reprinted as required.]

1910-56: 27-36pp, average 32pp per issue;
1957: 40pp.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. SYLLABUS AND
PRIZE-LIST. (supplement.)
[Glasgow], 1957--..

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Ainmean gach earrann de Rosg is Bardachd agus na h-Orain a thaghadh air son an leth-cheudamh Mod 's a ceithir a tha ri chumail an Inbhirnis bho'n 30mh latha de'n t-Sultainn gus an 4mh latha de'n Damhar, 1957. Gabhar ri ainmean gu ruig a' cheud latha de'n Og-mhios. A' phris sia sgillinn. Faic clar-iomairt a' Mhoid air son fiosrachadh mu na co-fharpaisean, na duaisean agus na riaghailtean. (A' phris, 1/3).

The Highland Association. Names of prescribed Prose, Poetry and Songs selected for The Fifty-fourth Mod to be held in Inverness from 30th September until 4th October, 1957. Mod entries close on 1st June. Price sixpence. For particulars of competitions, prizes and rules refer to Mod Syllabus, price 1/3, including postage.

[Gaelic and English. Similar issues, 1957-68.]

4-7pp (mostly 7pp) per issue. 25x16. PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. VARIA.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Song for Choral Competition. Tuireadh Iain Ruaidh. For conditions of competition see Syllabus from the Secretary of An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow, C.2. Price 9d 7pp. 25x16. PC.

[Copyright 1949.]

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Twenty-Eighth Mod to be held at Perth, 1924. Cumha Mhic Criomainn. Choral Test Song. For conditions of competition see Syllabus 1924 Mod, from the Secretary of An Comunn Gaidhealach, 114 West Campbell Street, Glasgow/

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. MOD. VARIA. (cont.)

Glasgow. Price 6d. Printed and published for
An Comunn Gaidhealach by Alex. Maclaren & Sons,
Gaelic Printers and Booksellers, 360-362
Argyle Street, Glasgow.
7pp. 24x16. PC.

Cruachan Beann.

[Music arranged by T. S. Drummond. Add. in
1930. Not seen. Referred to as 'Mod
choral song'.]

[Miscellaneous sheet music (mostly modern)
issued for individual competitions of the Mod
when existing publications inadequate.]

Song for Choral Competition. Muile nam
Fuar-Bheann Mor. An t-òran agus fonn le Iain
Mac Dhomhnuill (Liosach). For conditions of
competition see Syllabus from the Secretary
of An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent
Street, Glasgow, C.2. Price 6d. Printed
and published for An Comunn Gaidhealach by
Alex. Maclaren & Sons, Gaelic Printers and
Booksellers, 268 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2.
Copyright 1947.
4 ff. 27x18. PC.

Test Song for Mod of 1915. Tog Orm mo Phiob.
(Hand me my Pipes). Lament for Sir Roderick
M'Leod of Dunvegan. Air composed by his piper,
Para Mor M'Crimmon, A.D. 1626. A Gaelic
melody arranged for mixed voices (unaccompanied).
English text by Rev. M. N. Munro, M.A. Arranged
by Julian H. W. Nesbitt. Price 2d nett, postage
extra. Printed by J. and R. Parlane, Paisley.
8 ff. 25x16. PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. ORAIN CARAID.
Glasgow, [c.1938].

Orain-càraid. [Crest.] Price 2/6.
An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 Sraid Iar Regent,
Glaschu, C.2. Copyright, 1938. Printed in
Scotland.
2 ff, 30pp. 25x16. PC.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. REPORTS.
[Inverness], 1967--..

Annual Report 1966-67. An Comunn
Gaidhealach.
49pp. 24x19. PC.
[Printed Eccles, Inverness.]

Annual Report 1967-68. An Comunn
Gaidhealach.
56pp. 24x19. PC.
[1 photo. Both are equally in Gaelic
and English. Previous Reports had
little Gaelic.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. SCOTTISH GAELIC AS
A SPECIFIC SUBJECT.

Glasgow, 1907.

Scottish Gaelic as a specific subject. Stage
1. Compiled by a Committee of The Highland
Association. "Dùisg suas, a Ghàidhlig, 's tog
do ghuth."-N. Mac Leòid. Third edition.
Published for The Highland Association by
Archibald Sinclair, 47 Waterloo Street,
Glasgow. Norman MacLeod, Edinburgh. Hugh
MacDonald, Esplanade, Oban. 1907. [Copyright.]
128pp. 19x13. EPL, GU:CL, Mit.
[Reprint of the 1st ed. of 1893, whose
Preface is retained. Printed Sinclair.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. SEIRBHIS A' CHRUIIN.
Glasgow, 1943.

Seirbhis a' Chruin. [Crest.] Ar tìr 's ar
teanga; lean gu dlùth ri cliù do shinnsir;
guma fada beò ar Rìgh. An Comunn Gaidhealach,
131 Sràid Iar Regent. Glaschu, C.2. 1943.
176pp. 14x10. NLS, PC.

[Reprints from An Gaidheal; for soldiers.
'Failte' signed--Calum MacLeod, Ceann
Suidhe. 'Laoidh na Rìoghachd' on inside
back cover. Printed Learmonth, Stirling.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. SRUTH.
Inverness, 1967--

Sruth. Scotland's Bi-lingual Newspaper.
Newspaper of current events in the Highlands,
the Islands, and in Scotland. Published by
An Comunn Gaidhealach-The Highland Association.
Di-ardaoin 6 Giblean 1967. Thursday 6 April
1967. No. 1. 6d.

[Continuing.]

8pp per issue for the 1st 6 issues, 12pp per
issue thereafter. 39x28.

[Issued by the Inverness Office of the
Association; editorial offices at
92 Academy Street, Inverness; edd. by a
group, including principally Frank
G. Thompson (General Editor) and Iain
MacLeod (Gaelic Editor). Printed by 'The
Highland Herald', Inverness. Fortnightly.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. TÌR NA MEALA.
[Glasgow], n.d.

Tìr na Meala. Adapted from Tìr na Meala.
With grateful acknowledgement to the McCaig
Trust and to Browne and Nolan, Limited.
Printed for An Comunn Gaidhealach in the Republic
of Ireland.

72pp. 19x13.

[Ill. in colour. An elem. school book; trans.
from Irish by Donald Grant. Ca. 1958.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. TIR NAM BLATH.
[Glasgow], n.d.

Tìr nam Blàth. Adapted from Tír na mBláth.
With grateful acknowledgements to the McCaig
Trust and to Browne and Nolan, Limited.
An Comunn Gaidhealach. Printed in the
Republic of Ireland.

72pp. 19x13.

[Elementary school book; ill. in colour.
Translated from Irish by Donald Grant.
Ca. 1958.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. TIR NAN OG.
[Glasgow], n.d.

Tìr nan Og. Adapted from Tír na nOg. (With
grateful acknowledgements to the McCaig
Trust and to Browne and Nolan, Limited.)
Printed in the Republic of Ireland.
An Comunn Gaidhealach.

48pp. 19x13.

[Elem. school book; ill. in colour.
Translated from Irish by Donald Grant.
Ca. 1958.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. TÍR NAN SEUD.
[Glasgow], n.d.

Tìr nan Seud. Adapted from Tír na Seod.
With grateful acknowledgements to the McCaig
Trust and to Browne & Nolan Ltd. [Ill.]
An Comunn Gaidhealach. Printed in the
Republic of Ireland.

56pp. 19x13.

[Elem. school book; ill. in colour.
Trans. from Irish by Donald Grant. Ca.
1958. The whole series (see also Croga
an Oir) was printed by Browne & Nolan,
Dublin, with the original illustrations.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. UIRSGEULAN GAIDHEALACH.
Stirling, 1905.

Uirsgeulan Gaidhealach leis an do choisneadh
duaisean aig Mòid A' Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich.
Air an cur a mach fo ùghdarras a' chomuinn
cheudna. Struibhle: Aonghas Mac Aoidh,
43 Murray Place. 1905.
62pp. 20x14 (boards). Mit., SS.

UIRSGEULAN GAIDHEALACH.
Stirling, 1912.

Uirsgeulan Gaidhealach leis an do choisneadh
duaisean aig Mòid A' Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich.
An dara clo-bhualadh, fo laimh Chalum Mhic
Phàrlain. Struibhle: Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 43
Murray Place. 1912.
64pp. 19x13 (paper covers). AU, GU:CL, NLS.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. [WAR LITERATURE].
[Glasgow], n.d.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Le deagh
dhùrachd dhaibh-san a tha a' dìon ar dùthcha
cho curanta. Combaiste a' Mharaiche.

- . . .curanta. Spioradalachd nan Gaidheal.
 - . . .curanta. Seasmhachd nan Gaidheal.
 - . . .curanta. An Impireachd agus na Gaidheil.
 - . . .curanta. Cogadh mor na Saorsa.
 - . . .curanta. Litir o'n Tigh.
- 4 ff per leaflet. 26x20. NLS.

[Reprints from 'An Gaidheal'; issued to
soldiers; re-issued in Am Feachd Gaidhealach.
Mentioned in 'An Gaidheal' in 1942.]

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, AN. SRADAG. Sec under SRADAG.

COMUNN GAIDHEALACH LEODHAIS. EILEAN FRAOICH.
Stornoway, 1938.

Eilean Fraoich. Lewis Gaelic Songs and
Melodies. Comunn Gaidhealach Leódhais.
Price- - -3/6.

[Printer's imprint.] Stornoway: printed at
the "Gazette" Office. 1938.

8 ff, 111pp. 22x15. NLS, PC.

[Preface signed by James Thomson and
Duncan MacDonal. Music in solfa.
In 4 parts: Published Songs, Unpublished
Songs, Orain Luaidh, Puirt-a-Beul.]

COMUNN GAIDHLIG GHLASCHU. See GAELIC SOCIETY OF
GLASGOW.

COMUNN GAIDHLIG INBHIRNIS. See GAELIC SOCIETY
OF INVERNESS.

COMUNN GAIDHLIG OIL-THIGH OBAR-DHEADHAIN. CRANN.
Aberdeen, [1967].

Crann. Iris 1. 2/-. Comunn Gaidhlig
Oil-thigh Obar-dheadhain.

20 ff [leaves]. 33x21.

[Reproduced by a photographic process;
print on one side of paper only; ill.
with fine line drawings. A lively and
irreverend students' magazine.]

COMUNN NA GAIDHLIG AN LUNNAINN. ANNUAL REPORT.
London, 1907, etc.

Comunn na Gaidhlig an Lunnainn. The Gaelic
Society of London (founded 1777). 130th
Annual Report and List of members. December, 1907.

36pp. 18x13. Mit.

[Little Gaelic, 1933 Report also seen; contains very
little Gaelic. Presumably reports pub. per year]

COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH. CLAR-EAGAIR.
[Glasgow], n.d.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Comunn na h-Oigridh.
Clar-eagair obair nam feachd.
7pp. 19x13. PC.

[Comunn na h-Oigridh was (and is) a Gaelic youth organisation initiated by Clann an Fhraoich (now defunct), the all-Gaelic section of An Comunn Gaidhealach. Leaders have been George Marjoribanks, Hector MacDougall and Kay Matheson (present Leader).]

COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH. AN GAIDHEAL OG.
[Glasgow], 1949-60.

An Gaidheal Og. Miosachan Comunn na h-Oigridh.
Leabhar I. Am Faoilleach, 1949. Aireamh 1.

. . .Leabhar XII Am Faoilleach, 1960. Aireamh 1. [Last issue seen.]
1949-54: 44-48pp per yearly volume; 24-26pp per volume thereafter. 26x20. Mit.
[Issued monthly as a supplement to 'An Gaidheal'.]

COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH. OB AIR AGUS RIAGHAILTEAN-EARALACHAIDH.
[Glasgow], 1935.

Gearr-Iomradh air Obair agus Riaghailtean-earalachaidh Comunn na h-Oigridh. A brief preliminary note on the new Youth Movement in the Gaidhealtachd.

[Colophon] S. E. Marjoribanks, Am Faoilleach, 1935. G. E. Marjoribanks, January, 1935.
11pp. 22x14. PC.
[Gaelic and English on facing pages.]

COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH. RIAGHAILTEAN AGUS CLAR-
OBRACH.

[Glasgow], 1955.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Comunn na h-Oigridh.
Riaghailtean agus Clar-obrach. A. Learmonth
& Son, Printers, 9 King Street, Stirling.

1955.

14pp. 22x14.

PC.

[Ill. with 3 photos. Gaelic and English
on facing pages.]

COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH, FEACHD PHORTRIGH'. AN
CABAIRNEACH.

Portree, 1944, -45, -50, -62.

Comunn na h-Oigridh. Feachd Phortrigh'.
An Cabairneach. A' phris - Tasdan (co-dhiubh).

"An Eachdraidh Thuathach", Inbhir Nis.

[Editorial Page] An Cabairneach. An t-Og
Mhios, 1944.

25pp, 3 ff Ads. 25x19. NLS, PC.

[Editor Finlay J. MacDonald.]

Comunn na h-Oigridh. Feachd Phortrigh'. An
Cabairneach. A' phris - Tasdan. "An Eachdraidh
Thuathach", Inbhirnis.

[Editorial Page] An Cabairneach. An t-Og
Mhios, 1945. II. Bean-Deasachaidh - Ceit
Nic Dhòmhnuille.

25pp, 3 ff Ads. 25x19. NLS, PC.

Comunn na h-Oigridh. Feachd Phortrigh'.
An Cabairneach. A' phris - Tasdan (co-dhiubh,
co-dhiubh). "An Eachdraidh Thuathach",
Inbhir Nis.

[Editorial Page] An Cabairneach. An Ceitean,
1950. Fir-Deasachaidh -- Murchadh A. Mac-an-
Tuairneir, Niall Moireasdan. Comhairle
Dheasachaidh - Calum Caimbeul, Alasdair M.
MacDhomhnuille/

COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH, FEACHD PHORTRIGH'. AN
CABAIRNEACH. (cont.)

MacDhomhnuill, Niall MacDhomhnuill, Domhnull
Mac 'Ill 'Eathain, Róda NicDhomhnuill, Mórág
Mhoireasdan.

27pp, 5 ff Ads. 25x19. NLS.

Comunn na h-Oigrídh. Feachd Phortrigh'.
An Cabairneach. A' phris - leth-chrun (co-
dhiubh, co-dhiubh).
[Editorial Page] An Cabairneach. An Ceitean,
1962. IV. Fir-Deasachaidh: Iain MacDhùghaill,
Domhnull Mac 'Ill Fhinnein, Dòmhnall Iain
MacLeòid.

23pp, 5 ff Ads. 25x19. PC.

[All illustrated; edd. under the guidance
of John Steele, Gaelic Master in Portree
High School. Noted for their use of
a pithy, highly colloquial Gaelic.]

COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH, FEACHD THOBARMHOIRE.
NA H-UIBHEAN PRISEIL.

Glasgow, n.d.

"Na h-Uibhean Priseil" le Feachd Thobarmhoire
de Chomunn na h-Oigrídh. An dara duais, 1937.
[Crest.] An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 Sraid Iar
Regent, Glaschu. A' phris - da sgillinn.

7pp. 22x15. Mit.

[Add. in 'An Gaidheal', Feb. 1939.]

COMUNN NAN ALBANNACH. BROSACHADH.

London, n.d.

(Na h-Albannaich). Comunn nan Albannach
(The Scots National League), Lunnainn.
Headquarters: The Reform Hall, 4 Fumival
Hall, London. Earrann I: Brosnachadh do
na Gàidheil. Part II: A manifesto to the
Scots people. Kensington: Kenneth MacKenzie,
The Booklovers' Resort. Price twopence.

16pp. 16x11. GU:CL, SS.

COMUNN NAN GAIDHEAL. DEAS-GHNATH.
Sydney, C.B., 1928.

Deas-ghnàth Comunn nan Gaidheal, Sidni, C.B.
Clo-bhuailte fo ughdarras an Ard Chomuinn.
1928.
28pp. 19x13. Xavier.

COMUNN SOISGEULACH GAIDHEALACH GHLASCHO.
LAOIDHEAN SOISGEULACH.
Glasgow, 1913.

Laoidhean Soisgeulach air an tional le Iain
Caimbeul agus air an cur a mach le Donnachadh
MacColla, Ceann Suidhe Comunn Soisgeulach
Gaidhealach Ghlascho. Glasgow: Archibald
Sinclair, Celtic Press, 47 Waterloo Street;
Alex. MacLaren & Son, Gaelic Booksellers,
360 Argyle St. 1913.
xi, 1 f [blank], pp 13-128. 14x12. GU, Mit.
[First ed. 1899 (viii, pp 7-126). No music.]

— LAOIDHEAN SOISGEULACH.
Glasgow, 1922.

. . .1922.
xi, 1 f [blank], pp 13-128. 14x11. Mit.

— LAOIDHEAN SOISGEULACH.
Glasgow, 1957.

. . .Ghlascho. Reprinted 1957. Glasgow:
Alex. MacLaren & Son, Gaelic Booksellers,
268 Argyle Street, 1922.
xi, 1 f [blank], pp 13-128. 14x11. PC.

CONFESSION OF FAITH. See LEABHAR AIDEACHAIDH
A' CHREIDIMH.

CONNOR, R. D. GAELIC POEMS.

Stirling, [Pref.1928].

Gaelic Poems by R. D. Connor, with some English translations. Published by friends. 61pp [English in pp 45-61]. 19x13. PC.
[Preface by Connor; Editor's Note by D. A. M'P.
Printed at The Observer Press, Stirling.]

COOK, ARCHIBALD. SEARMOINEAN GAELIG.

Inverness, 1916.

Searmoinean Gaelig leis an Urr. Arch. Cook, a bha an Deimhidh. Inverness: printed by the Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, Limited. 1916. Price Three Shillings.

vi, 352pp. 20x13. 'AU, CoS, NLS.
[Preface signed by the editor, John R. MacKay.]

SEARMOIN GHAIIDLIG.

Glasgow, 1946.

Searmoin Ghaidhlig Leis an Urr Gilleasbuig MacCuaig, a bha an Deimhidh. Gaelic Sermons by the Rev. Archibald Cook. Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrunn 's a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.

First published - 1916. Second edition - 1946.
vii, 352pp. 19x13. Stornoway Public Library.

COOK, ARCHIBALD. SEARMON.

Inverness, 1916.

Searmon leis An Urr. Arch. Cook, a bha an Deimhidh. Inbhirnis. 1916.
1 f, 23pp. 18x12. FC.

COOK, ARCHIBALD. SERMONS (GAELIC AND ENGLISH).

Glasgow, 1907.

Sermons (Gaelic and English). By the late Rev. Archibald Cook, Daviot. Edited, with an introduction by Rev. John R. MacKay, M.A., Inverness. Glasgow: John M'Neilage, 65 Great Western Road. 1907.
1 f Ill. [photo of Cook], xxxii, 315pp [English on pp 235-315]. 19x13. Mit., PC.

COOK, ARCHIBALD. AN TIODHLAC DO-LABHAIRT.
Inverness, 1915.

An Tiodhlac Do-labhairt. A Gaelic Sermon
preached by the late Rev. Archibald Cook,
Free Church, Daviot. Inverness: printed
by Robt. Carruthers & Sons. 1915. Price
threepence.

16pp. 18x12. FC.
[First ed, 1868, of which this is a
reprint.]

CRAIG, K. C. GILLE NAN COCHALL CHRAICEANN.
Stirling, 1955.

Gille nan Cochall Chraiceann, and other tales.
K. C. Craig, M.A., B.Litt. Eneas MacKay,
Stirling.

Sgialachdan Gailig a chruinnich Iain Og Ile,
air an taghadh le K. C. Craig, M.A., B.Litt.

First published 1955. [colophon]
54pp. 19x13. NLS, SS.

CRAIG, K. C. LEIGHEAS CAS O CEIN.
Stirling, 1950.

Leigheas Cas O Céin. Sgialachd air a gabhail
am Paislig an 1870 le Lachlainn Mac Néill,
griasaiche a Ile, agus air a cur sìos air son
Iain Oig Ile le Eachann Mac 'Ill 'Eathainn,
maighstir sgoileadh Ileach (Mss. Iain Oig
Ile Vol. 17). Air a deasachadh le K. C. Craig.
Published for K. C. Craig by Eneas MacKay,
Stirling. 1950.

4 ff, 84pp. 20x13. EU, GU.
[Printed Jamieson & Munro, Ltd., Stirling.]

CRAIG, K. C. ORAIN LUaidh.

Glasgow, [Intro.1949].

Orain Luaidh Màiri Nighean Alasdair. Air an cruinneachadh le K. C. Craig. Published for K. C. Craig by Alasdair Matheson & Co., Ltd., 37 Miller Street, Glasgow, C.1.

4 ff, 124pp. 19x12. EU, GU, PC.
[Intro. signed--K. C. Craig, Snaoisbheal, An Samhradh 1949.]

CRAIG, K. C. SGIALACHDAN EILE O UIBHIST.

[Dublin, 1949.]

Sgialachdan Eile ó Uibhist.

Pp 134-151. 22x14. NLS.

[Editorial Note--'Duncan MacDonald, aged 65, crofter and mason of Peighinn nan Aoghairean, South Uist, is the narrator of these (and other) tales which I wrote down in his hospitable home several years ago: K. C. Craig'. Offprint from 'Bealoideas/The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society', Iml. XIX, 1949 (1950).]

CRAIG, K. C. SGIALACHDAN O UIBHIST.

[Dublin, 1947.]

Sgialachdan ó Uibhist.

Pp 231-250. 22x15. NLS.

[Editorial Note--'The two tales in Scottish Gaelic here published were recorded by Mr. K. C. Craig in April 1946 from the recital of Duncan MacDonald, mason, of Peighinn nan Aoghairean, South Uist, in the Hebrides.' Offprint from 'Bealoideas/The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society', Iml. XVII, 1947 (1949).]

CRAIG, K. C. SGIALACHDAN DHUNNCHaidH.
Glasgow, [1944].

Sgialachdan Dhunnchaidh. Seann sgialachdan air an gabhail le Dunnchaidh Mac Dhomhnaill ac Dhunnchaidh, Uibhist a Deas, mar a chual e aig athair fhein iad. 1944. Air an sgrìobhadh le K. C. Craig. Printed and published for K. C. Craig by Alasdair Matheson & Co. Ltd., Glasgow.

6 ff, 72pp. 22x14. EPL, EU, GU.
[No intro. or notes.]

CRANN. See COMUNN GAIDHLIG OIL-THIGH
OBAR-DHEADHAIN.

CREIDEAMH NA BAHA'I. See NATIONAL SPIRITUAL
ASSEMBLY OF THE BAHA'IS OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

CREIGHTON, HELEN (co-editor). GAELIC SONGS IN
NOVA SCOTIA.

[Ottawa], 1964.

National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 198.
Anthropological Series No. 66. Gaelic Songs
in Nova Scotia. By Helen Creighton and
Calum MacLeod. Issued under the authority
of The Honourable Maurice Lamontagne, P.C.,
M.P., Secretary of State. Department of
the Secretary of State, Canada. 1964.

xii, 308pp, 6 ff [blank]. 25x17. Mit.
[Liberally illustrated with photos. Music
in staff notation.]

CROGA AN OIR. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

CROIS TARA. See DIONNASG GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA.

CUAIRTEAR, AN. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

CUMADH AGUS ORDUGH.

N.p., n.d.

Cumadh agus ordugh na seirbhis airson a bhi a cuir air leth ceisdeir.

8pp. 17x12.

PC.

[Recent. Entered also under [CHURCH OF SCOTLAND]] - - -A CUIR AIR LETH CEISDEIR.

CUMHA BARRAICH.

Glasgow, 1923.

Cumha Barraich. 1923.

[Printer's imprint] A. MacLean & Sons, Printers, 360 Argyle St.

1p. 27x21.

PC.

[9 verses. No music.]

DAIN THAGHTE GHÀIDHLIG.

Glasgow, n.d.

Dàin Thaghte Ghàidhlig. Selected Gaelic Poetry for reading and recitation. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Argyle Street, C.2. Sixpence.

32pp. 18x12.

BM, PC.

DAIN THAGHTE, A CHUM FEUM AN SGOILEAN NA GAIDHEALTACHD. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

DANA OISEIN MHIC FHINN.

Edinburgh, 1902.

Dàna Oisein Mhic Fhinn, air an cur amach airson/

airson math coitcheannta muinntir na Gaeltachd.
 The Poems of Ossian. Dun-Eidin: John Grant,
 31 George IV. Bridge. 1902.
 xvi, 344pp. 16x11. AU.
 [First ed. 1818, same pagination as this.]

DEALBH-CHLUICH-CIUIL CHLOINNE [Prize-winning
 plays at the 1925 Mod]. See:

MacCORMICK, JOHN. AN CEOL-SITHE.

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. AM MOSGLADH MOR.

MACLEOD, CHRISTINA. NA RAITHEAN.

DEALBH-CHLUICHEAN AN GAIDHLIG [Series of plays,
 mostly translations, sponsored by An Comunn
 Gaidhealach ca. 1950]. See:

BRANDANE, JOHN. AN TIGH-OSDA.

COCKER, W. D. SUIRGHE A' MHUILLEIR.

FERGUSON, J. A. AM BODACH-ROCAIS.

FRANCIS, J. O. AM POIDSEAR.

GREGORY, Lady [AUGUSTA]. AN T-AIRGIOD-CINN.

MACPHAIL, M. S. SPUIR NA H-IOLAIRE.

MALLOCH, G. R. AM BATA-LUATH.

MILTON, J. C. GAOTHAN RI'N REIC.

MORRISON, DONALD (translator). SIOS CHUN NA
 MARA.

STEWART, KENNETH. DOMHNALL DEARG.

SYNGE, JOHN. MUINNTIR A' CHUAIN.

DEAN OF LISMORE (anthologist). See FRASER,
JOHN. POEMS FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAN OF
LISMORE.

DEAN OF LISMORE (anthologist). See ROSS,
NEIL. HEROIC POETRY FROM THE BOOK OF THE
DEAN OF LISMORE.

DEAN OF LISMORE (anthologist). See WATSON,
W. J. SCOTTISH VERSE FROM THE BOOK OF THE
DEAN OF LISMORE.

DEAS-GHNATH COMUNN NAN GAIDHEAL. See COMUNN
NAN GAIDHEAL.

DEO-GHREINE, AN. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

DEO-GREINE, AN. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.
AN DEO-GHREINE.

DEWAR, DANIEL (co-editor). A DICTIONARY OF
THE GAELIC LANGUAGE.
Edinburgh, 1901.

A Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, in two parts, I. Gaelic and English, II. English and Gaelic. First part comprising a comprehensive vocabulary of Gaelic words, with their different significations in English; and the second part comprising a vocabulary of English words, with their various meanings in Gaelic. By the Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod, minister of Campsie, and the Rev. Dr. Daniel Dewar, one of the ministers of Glasgow. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1901.
vii, 1 f, 1005pp, 2 ff Proper Names. 25x17. GU.

DEWAR, DANIEL (co-editor). A DICTIONARY OF
THE GAELIC LANGUAGE. (cont.)
Edinburgh, 1909.

Dictionary of the Gaelic Language. I.-Gaelic
and English. II.-English and Gaelic. First
part comprising a comprehensive vocabulary
of Gaelic words with their different significations
in English, and the second part comprising
a vocabulary of English words with their various
meanings in Gaelic. By the Rev. Dr. Norman
MacLeod and the Rev. Dr. Daniel Dewar.

Edinburgh: John Grant. 1909.

vii, 1 f, 1005pp, 2 ff Proper Names. 25x16. AU.

[First ed. 1831, of which those of 1901 and
1909 are virtual reprints (pagination of
1831 ed., 4 ff, 1005, 1 f Names).]

DEWAR, JOHN (folkore-collector). See CAMPBELL,
JOHN F. BLAR TRAIGH GHRUINNEAIRD.

DEWAR, Rev. JOHN. A REMINISCENCE OF THE WAR
IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Edinburgh, n.d.

A Reminiscence of the War in South Africa.
Sermon preached in Kilmartin Parish Church
after the funeral of Queen Victoria by Rev.
John Dewar, B.D.

24pp [Gaelic version, pp 13-24]. 19x13. Mit.

DICK, LACHLAN (co-editor). LEASAIN GHAIHHLIG.
Inverness, n.d.

[Cover] Leasain Ghaidhlig. Gaelic Lessons.

Learn Gaelic. Fichead leasan Gaidhlig.
Twenty Gaelic lessons. Edited by Lachlan
F. Dick, M.A. [and] Murdo MacLeod, M.A., B.A.
Published for An Comunn Gaidhealach by
Toradh/

Toradh, An Comunn Productions, Abertarff House,
Inverness. Printed by John G. Eccles, 28 High
Street, Inverness.

100pp. 24x19.

[1966. 10 L.P. records were issued with
the booklet: these are now out of print.
Foreword by D. J. MacKay. Illustrated.]

DIECKHOFF, HENRY C. A PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY
OF SCOTTISH GAELIC.

Edinburgh, 1932.

A Pronouncing Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic,
based on the Glengarry dialect according to
oral information obtained from natives born
before the middle of last century. By Henry
Cyril Dieckhoff, O.S.B. [Crest] W. & A. K.
Johnston, Limited, Edinburgh and London. 1932.
xxxiii, 1 f, 186pp. 23x15. GU, Mit.
[Examples in phonetic script.]

DINGWALL ACADEMY. See SCHOOL MAGAZINES.

DIONNASG GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA. CEOL NAM BEANN.
[Glasgow], n.d.

6d. Ceol nam Beann. [Crest] Dionnasg Gaidhlig
na h-Alba. The Ceilidh Song-Sheet. 42 of the
best songs in Gaelic.

4 ff. 36x27.

PC.

[These are the 44 small pages of the
subsequent booklet (see below) printed on
4 large sheets.]

CEOL NAM BEANN.
Glasgow, n.d.

Ceol nam Beann. [Crest with legend, Cha n-fhois
gu buaidh.] The Ceilidh Song-book. 42 of the
best/

best songs in Gaelic. Price, 6d.
44 ff. 13x11. GU:CL.

[The Gaelic League's address given as
27 Elmbank Street, Glasgow. Printed by
North-West Printing Co., Glasgow.]

DIONNASG GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA. CEOL NAM BEANN. (cont.)
Glasgow, n.d.

Ceol nam Beann. [Crest] The Ceilidh Song-
book. 60 of the best songs in Gaelic.
Revised edition. Price, 1/-.
62pp, 1 f Ads. 13x11.

[A very popular song-book; fairly representative
but Romantic songs are in the majority.
The latest ed. was printed by Learmonth,
Stirling.]

DIONNASG GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA. AN CEUM.
Glasgow, 1946-49.

An Ceum. The official organ of Dionnasg
Gaidhlig na h-Alba, (The Gaelic League of
Scotland). Uimhir 1. Leabhar 1. An
Damhair, 1946. Pris gach mios 2 sgillinn.

. . .Leabhar 2. Uimhir 9. An t-Og-mhios,
1949. Pris gach mios 3 sgillinnean. [Last seen.]
8pp. 22/18x14. NLS [incomplete].

[Uimhir 7 is the last seen of Leabhar 1, but,
as Leabhar 2 began in September 1947, it
appears that 12 monthly nos. were issued
of 1. Nos. of Leabhar 2 appeared approx.
quarterly; Uimhir 9 is the last seen.
Information difficult to acquire on this.]

DIONNASG GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA. CROIS TARA.
Glasgow, 1938-39.

Crois Tara. Tir agus Canain. Uimhir 1.
An t-Iuchar/

DIONNASG GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA. CROIS TARA. (cont.)

An t-Iuchar, 1938. Gach mios 2 sgillinn.
 [Colophon] Air a chur a mach le Dionnasg
 Gaidhlig na h-Alba aig 183 Sràid Dheòrsa,
 Glaschu. Clo-bhuailte le MacSheumais agus
 Rothach, Struibhle.

. . . Leabhar 2. Uimhir 3. An Sultuine,
 1939. Gach mios 2 sgillinn. [Last Issue.]
 4pp per monthly issue. 38x25. Mit.
 [Both this and 'An Ceum' were in Gaelic and
 English and of miscellaneous content.]

DIONNASG GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA. GAELIC COMMUNITY
SONG SHEET.

[Glasgow], n.d.

Cha n-fhois gu buaidh. Dionnasg Gaidhlig
 na h-Alba (The Gaelic League of Scotland).
 ['Objects of The League: . . .'] Price 3d.
 Gaelic Community Song Sheet. . . [songs begin].
 4 ff. 29x23. PC.

DO'N OLLA SHASGUNNACH.*

Oban, 1907.

[Oran connsachaidh no riasanachaidh. Ratiocinating
 song with the English Doctor.]

2pp.

[T S-G.]

[A reprint of part of 'Da Oran Oirdheirc,
 Do'n Olla Shasgunnach; agus Aon Oran
 do Mhinisdeir Liosmor, Mr. Domhnul
 Mcneacail' of 1781. Not seen.]

DOMHNULL CAM MACDHUGHAILL., See SGOIL BHALTOIS.

DORLACH SIL. See MACLEAN, Rev. Prof. DONALD.

DRUMMOND, PETER. GAE LIC SERIES, BY BISHOP RYLE.
Stirling, n.d.

Naigheachd Mhaith Do'n Chiontach;
C'aite am bheil Do Pheacaidhean?;
Am Bheil Thu 'n ad Chadal?;
Comasach air Tearnach;
Dealbh no Cridhe?;
An Duine Iosa Criosa;
Am bheil Thu Saor?;
An Dachaidh.
1p each.

[8 translated tracts published by Drummond's
Tract Depot, Stirling. Add. in 'An Deo-
Greine' 1906.]

DRUMMOND, PETER. MAR SO DEIR AN TIGHEARNA.
Stirling, n.d.

Mar so deir an Tighearna. Creid agus bithidh
tu beo. Gaelic Series, No. 1. Peter Drummond,
Stirling. 4d. per 100.

Mar so deir an Tighearna. Beannaichidh mi thu.
Gaelic Series, No. 12. . . .
1p each. 19x12. NLS.
[A series of 12.]

DRUMMOND, PETER. FLORAL SCRIPTURE LEAFLETS.
Stirling, n.d.

50 Floral Scripture Leaflets in Gaelic, for
distribution in Sabbath Schools and general
circulation. Price Sixpence. Stirling:
John MacFarlane, Manager, Drummond's Tract
Depot.

1p each. 9.2x12.3. NLS.
[Floral patterns and Scripture quotations
on each.]

DUILLEAGAN GAIDHLIG, NA. [Gaelic Supplement of
Life and Work.] See CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.
LIFE AND WORK.

DUNCAN, ANGUS (editor). See MACLEOD, MURDO,
Murchadh a' Cheisdeir. LAOIDHEAN AGUS ORAIN.

DUNDEE HIGHLAND SOCIETY. THE CELTIC ANNUAL
[begins as YEAR BOOK].
Dundee, 19[10]-1918.

Dundee Highland Society (Branch of An Comunn
Gaidhealach) Year Book. Session 1910-1911.
[Ill.] Compiled and edited by Malcolm C.
MacLeod, Hon. Treasurer of the Society.
Dundee: printed by Campbell & Meldrum Ltd.,
Fairmuir Press.
39pp, 9 ff Ads. 21x17. AU.
[Little Gaelic. Illustrated with photos
& line drawings.]

Second Year of Issue. The Celtic Annual.
Year Book of Dundee Highland Society (Branch
of An Comunn Gaidhealach). [Ill.] Edited
by Malcolm C. MacLeod. Dundee: printed by
John Leng & Co., Bank Street. Published by
Dundee Highland Society. 1911.
64pp [pp 47-64 Ads]. 25x18. AU, NLS.
[Ill, More Gaelic.]

Third Year of Issue. The Celtic Annual.
Year Book of Dundee Highland Society (Branch
of An Comunn Gaidhealach). [Ill.] Edited
by Malcolm C. MacLeod. Dundee: printed by
John Leng & Co., Ltd., Bank Street. Published
by Dundee Highland Society. 1913.
62pp. 25x16. AU.
[Possibly contained more pages than 62, as
all the vols. in AU are minus the pages of
Ads. Ill. Nearly half Gaelic.]

DUNDEE HIGHLAND SOCIETY. THE CELTIC ANNUAL. (cont.)

Fourth Year of Issue. The Celtic Annual.
Year Book of Dundee Highland Society (Branch
of An Comunn Gaidhealach). [Ill.] Edited by
Malcolm C. MacLeod. Dundee: printed by
Dundee Highland Society. Glasgow: Alex.
MacLaren & Son, Argyle Street. 1914.
96pp [pp 79-96 Ads]. 25x16. AU, EPL.
[Ill. Approx. half Gaelic.]

Fifth Year of Issue. The Celtic Annual.
Year Book of Dundee Highland Society (Branch
of An Comunn Gaidhealach). [Ill.] Edited by
Malcolm C. MacLeod. Dundee: printed by John
Leng & Co., Ltd., Bank Street. Published by
Dundee Highland Society. Glasgow: Alex.
MacLaren & Son, Argyle Street. 1915.
ii, 138pp [pp 79-112 Gaelic Supplement,
pp 113-138 Ads]. 25x16. AU, NLS.
[Ill.]

Sixth Year of Issue. The Celtic Annual.
Year Book of Dundee Highland Society (Branch
of An Comunn Gaidhealach). [Ill.] Edited
by Malcolm C. MacLeod. Dundee: Malcolm
C. MacLeod, 188 Blackness Road. Glasgow:
Alex. MacLaren & Son, 360-362 Argyle Street.
1918. [Last issue.]
iv Ads., 60pp [pp 49-60 Ads.]. 25x16. NLS.
[Ill. The Gaelic content of these periodicals
was of a general literary nature.]

DWELLY, EDWARD. COINNEAMH GHÀIDHLIG.
Herne Bay, 1905.

Coinneamh Ghàidhlig. A Gaelic Meeting.
(Reprinted from Faclair Gàidhlig le Dealbhan).
Camus a' Chorra (Herne Bay): E. MacDonald
& Co., "The Gaelic Press". 1905.
16pp. 10.5x6.5. GU:CL.

[DWELLY, EDWARD.] COINNEAMH GHÀIDHLIG. (cont.)
Glasgow, 1914.

Coinneamh Ghaidhlig. A Gaelic Meeting.
A number of phrases and expressions grouped
together for the first time. They will be
useful as an aid in the conducting of all
routine business at all Gaelic meetings.
A' phrìs - 3 sgillinnean. Alasdair MacLabhrainn
agus a Mhac, 360 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.

Second edition 1914.
16pp. 9.7x6.3.

PC.

[DWELLY, EDWARD.] FACLAIR GAIDHLIG. [In 33 parts]
Lyminge/Herne Bay, n.d.

Earrann 1. Faclair Gaidhlig, le dealbhan,
anns am bheil na facail Ghaidhlig uile 's na
leabhraichean a leanas: Faclair Armstrong,
Faclair a' Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich, Faclair
MhicAilpein, Faclair MhicBheathainn, Faclair
MhicEachairn, Faclair MhicLeòid & Deòir,
Ainmean Gàidhlig Eoin (MacFhearghais), Ainmean
Gàidhlig Ghalair (MacGhill'Ios'), Ainmean
Gàidhlig Lusan (Camshron), agus iomadh leabhar
eile. [Ill.] Sraid-na-cloiche: air a chur a
mach le E. Domhnullach 's a Chuideachd, aig
a' Chlòdh-Chlàr Ghàidhlig, Ardmor. Lyminge:
(Kent) Published by E. MacDonald & Co., at
the Gaelic Press, Ardmór.

[Earrann 1 was issued in 2 sizes--20x13 and
23x15. Only the one number was issued
in the former size.]

[Earrann 1-7 have identical title pages to
the above (except for No.).]

Earrann 8. . . agus iomadh leabhar eile. [Ill.]
Herne Bay (Camus a' Chorra): published by
E. MacDonald & Co., "The Gaelic Press".
Temporary address.

[Continued overleaf.]

[Earrann 8-32 have identical title pages to Earrann 8 (except for No.): 'Temporary Address' dropped after Earrann 13.]

Earrann 33. This is the concluding part of Faclair Gaidhlig.

xv, 1037pp, 1 f 'The Unfortunate Compiler'.
23x15. Mit., PC.

[The Mit. series has the Herne Bay address from Earrann 1: as the title imprint is on the covers of the parts, this means merely that the Mit. copies were bound by the publisher later than those in PC. Pages of Ads. are bound with several of the parts. The 33 parts were published between 1902 and 1911; volume title pages were issued along with some of the parts and these were used by libraries when binding the parts into volumes: see immediately below. Ewen MacDonald was the pseudonym of Edward Dwelly.]

[DWELLY, EDWARD]. FACLAIR GAIDHLIG. (cont.)
Herne Bay, 1902-[11].

Faclair Gàidhlig air son nan sgoiltean, le dealbhan, agus a h-uile facal anns na faclairian Gàidhlig eile, le iomadh ceud nach fhaighear an gin dhiubh, ach a chaidh a thional bho luchd-bruidhinn agus sgoilearan na Gàidhlig anns gach cearn. Camus-a'-Chorra: air a chur a mach le E. Domhnullach 's a chd., aig a' Chlòdh-Chlàr Ghàidhlig. 1902-- (Rinneadh am paipear so an Albainn.)

A Gaelic Dictionary specially designed for beginners and for use in schools. Profusely illustrated, and contains every Gaelic word in all the Dictionaries hitherto published, besides many hundreds collected from Gaelic-speakers and scholars all over the world, and now printed for the first time. Herne Bay: published by E. MacDonald & Co., at the Gaelic Press. 1902-- (This paper was made in Scotland.)

[Continued overleaf.]

. . .time. Vol. 2. Herne Bay: published by
E. MacDonald & Co., at the Gaelic Press. 1902--.
[English title page only for Vols. 1 & 2.]

. . .time. Vol. 3. Herne Bay: published by
E. MacDonald & Co., at the Gaelic Press. 1902--.
4 ff[Vol. title pages], xv, 1037pp, 1 f 'The
Unfortunate Compiler'. 22x15. GU, GU:CL.
[The parts were bound by the libraries
rather than the publisher: for example,
Vols. 1 and 2 in GU end on pp. 409 and
744 respectively, and Vols. 1 and 2 in
GU:CL on pp. 312 and 664. The volume
title pages were supplied by the publisher,
being bound with various of the
individual parts. The last of the parts
appeared in 1911.]

DWELLY, EDWARD. [FACLAIR GAIDHLIG]. (cont.)
Herne Bay, 1911.

The Illustrated Gaelic Dictionary. Specially
designed for beginners and for use in schools.
Including every Gaelic word in all the other
Gaelic dictionaries and printed books, as well
as an immense number never in print before.
By Edward Dwelly, F.S.G. Vol. 1. Revised
Edition. Herne Bay: printed and published
by the author, singlehanded, at his publishing
office in Mill Lane. 1911. Sole Agent -
A. H. Mayhew, 56, Charing Cross Rd., London, W.C.

. . .Dwelly, F.S.G. Vol. 2. Revised Edition.
Herne Bay: printed and published by the author
singlehanded, at his publishing office in
Mill Lane. 1911.

. . .Dwelly, F.S.G. Vol. 3. Revised Edition.
Herne Bay: printed and published by the author,
singlehanded, at his publishing office in
Mill Lane. 1911.

6 ff[1 f photo and 1 f title page in each
volume], xiv, 2 ff[blank], 1037pp, 1 f 'The
Unfortunate Compiler', 8 ff Ads.
22x15. GU:CL.

[In this ed. and hereafter, the title
'Faclair Gaidhlig' is found only on the
cover.]

DWELLY, EDWARD. [FACLAIR GAIDHLIG]. (cont.)
Fleet, 1918.

The Illustrated Gaelic Dictionary. Specially designed for beginners and for use in schools. Including every Gaelic word in all the other Gaelic dictionaries and printed books, as well as an immense number never in print before. By Edward Dwelly. Vol. 1. Revised Edition. Fleet, Hants: printed and published by the author singlehanded, at his Genealogical Office in King's Road. 1918.

. . .Dwelly. Vol. 2. Revised Edition. Fleet, Hants: printed and published by the author singlehanded, at his Genealogical Office in King's Road. 1918.

. . .Dwelly. Vol. 3. Revised Edition. Fleet, Hants: printed and published by the author singlehanded, at his Genealogical Office in King's Road. 1918.

6 ff[1 f photo and 1 f title page in each volume], xiv, 1037pp. 22x15. AU.

[Dated 1920 in the colophon to the MacLaren editions.]

[FACLAIR GAIDHLIG].
Fleet, 1930.

The Illustrated Gaelic Dictionary. Containing every Gaelic word and meaning given in all its predecessors, and a great number never in print before, with 675 illustrations, to which is prefixed a Concise Gaelic Grammar. Compiled by Edward Dwelly, F.S.A.(Scot.), F.S.G., Hon. Life Member of the Gaelic Society of London, Hon. Life Member of An Comunn Gaidhealach. Great Britain: printed and published by the compiler at Kenilworth Road, Fleet, Hants., and sold by-- Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 360 & 362 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2. and Miss J. MacDonald, MacDonald Music Store, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Canada. MCMXXX.

2 ff[TP and 1 Ill.], xiv, 1037pp, 2 ff Ads. 22x15. Moray and Nairn County Library.

[The first 1-volume edition.]

DWELLY, EDWARD. [FACLAIR GAIDHLIG].
Glasgow, 1941.

The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary.
Containing every Gaelic word and meaning
given in all previously published Dictionaries,
and a great number never in print before.
To which is prefixed a Concise Gaelic Grammar.
675 Illustrations. Compiled by Edward Dwelly,
F.S.A.(Scot.), F.S.G., Hon. Life Member of
the Gaelic Society of London, Hon. Life
Member of An Comunn Gaidhealach. Glasgow:
Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

Fourth edition - 1941.
5 ff [including 1 photo], xiv, 1034pp; 2 ff Ills. [in
text]. 22x15. PC.
[Lacks the 'List of Subscribers' of earlier
editions.]

[FACLAIR GAIDHLIG].
Glasgow, 1949.

[Title page as above.]

Fifth edition - 1949.
5 ff [including 1 photo], xiv, 1034pp; 2 ff Ills. [in
text]. 22x15. PC.

[FACLAIR GAIDHLIG].
Glasgow, 1967.

[Title page as above.]

Sixth edition - 1967.
2 ff, xiv, 1034pp. 22x15. PC.

DWELLY, EDWARD. FACLAIR GAIDHLIG. [Note.
Stereotyped in 1911. No revision since, but
Dwelly, in his 1930 Preface, refers to a MS
Appendix of ca. 100pp: this is at present in
the possession of Alex. MacLaren & Sons. Pp ix-xiv
of Grammar in each ed. Dwelly, a Gaelic learner,
spent "the best years of [his] life" and most of
his capital on the mammoth task of compiling, and,
singlehandedly, printing, publishing and illustrating
this excellent dictionary.]

EAGLAIS AONAICHTE CHANADA. See UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA.

EAGLAIS CHALUIM CHILLE. See ST COLUMBA PARISH CHURCH.

EAGLAIS NA H-ALBA. See CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

EAGLAIS SHAOR AGUS AN EAGLAIS UR, AN. See FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

EAGLAIS SHAOR NA H-ALBA. See FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

EAGLAIS SHAOR AONAICHTE NA H-ALBA. See UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

EARAIL DO BHUILL A' CHOMUINN. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH. EARAIL.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY HIGHLAND SOCIETY. YEAR BOOK 1964-65.
Edinburgh, [1964].

Edinburgh University Highland Society Year Book 1964-65. Price 1/6.

44pp. 24x16. PC.

[Editorial signed-- 'Roderick MacLeod, September, 1964! Illustrated with 2 photos. Ca. 11pp of Gaelic: poems, features and a story. Contained several contributions solicited from established writers outside the Society. Printed by Grosvenor Dupli-Type Services, Edinburgh. Tartan cover.]

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCOTLAND, THE. (sponsors).
See THOMSON, DONALD. POEMS FOR INTERPRETATION.

EILEAN FRAOICH. See COMUNN GAIDHEALACH LEODHAIS.

EILEAN MO GHAOIL.

Edinburgh, 1945.

Cogadh na Saorsa. Eilean mo Ghaoil. [Here
crest with legend, Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais
Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh,
for The Church of Scotland, The Free Church of
Scotland. 1945.
88pp. 14x10. PC.
[Gaelic sermons and readings. Issued for
soldiers.]

ERSKINE, RUARAI DH, OF MAR. AIR EACHDRAIDH.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh.
Aireamh 15. Peiteag Ruaidh, Sgeul. Air
Eachdraidh, le Ruaraidh Arascainn is Mhairr.
[Crest] A' phris, tri sgillinnean. 3d.
Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, 360-2
Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
Pp 237-267. 22x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar
XI.2, An Samhradh 1914.]

ERSKINE, RUARAI DH, OF MAR (editor). See GUTH
NA BLIADHNA.

ERSKINE, RUARAI DH, OF MAR (editor). See SCUPOLI,
LORENTZO. AN CATH SPIORADAIL.

ERSKINE, RUARAI DH, OF MAR. [See also Alba (news-
paper), Am Bard, An Rosarnach and An Sgeulaiche;
he was closely associated with all of these. A
figure of major importance in Gaelic literary
history.]

FACAL DO NA GAIDHEIL. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

FAIRE AGUS URNUIGH.

Edinburgh, [Intro.1916].

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Faire agus Urnuigh.
[Here crest of burning bush circumscribed by
the legend,-- Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais
Shaor Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed
by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church
of Scotland, The United Free Church of Scotland,
and The Free Church of Scotland.

xii, 123pp. 14x10.

NLS.

[Foreword dated 1916. Issued for soldiers
in World War I.]

Edinburgh, 1941.

Cogadh na Saorsa. Faire agus Urnuigh.
[Here crest with legend-- Eaglais na h-Alba,
An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd,
Edinburgh, for The Church of Scotland, The Free
Church of Scotland. 1941.

viii, 123pp. 14x10.

PC.

[A reprint.]

FARQUHARSON, ARCHIBALD. LAOIDHEAN SHIOIN.

Glasgow, 1924.

Laoidhean Shioin. Le Gilleasbuig Farcharson.
Glasgow: printed by Archibald Sinclair, 47
Waterloo Street. 1924.

119pp, 2 ff An Clar-Innsidh. 17x11. PC.

[First ed. 1870.]

FEACHD GAIDHEALACH, AM. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

FEAR NA CEILIDH.

[Sydney, C.B.], 1928-30.

Fear na Ceilidh. Miosachan Gàilig. [£1.00
'sa bhliadhna.] Naigheachd, Sgeulachd, Eachdraidh,
Bardachd. "Sgeul ri aithris air am o aois".
Vol. I. March, 1928. No. 1.

. . . Vol. II. June, 1930. No. 9. [Last seen]
100pp in Vol. I; 72pp in Vol. II. 24x16.
AU, NLS (incomplete).

[All Gaelic. Issues of Vol. I were monthly
up to No. 10 (December, 1929), quarterly
thereafter. Vol. II began in August,
1929; numbers were issued monthly until
January, 1930 (No. 6); Nos. 7, 8, and 9
of Vol. II appeared in April, May and June
respectively of 1930. The editor was
Jonathan G. MacKinnon, formerly editor
of 'Mac Talla'. Published in Sydney, Cape
Breton, Canada.]

FEAR-TATHAICH MIOSAIL, AM.

Edinburgh, [1900-ca.31].

[Monthly religious tracts were issued by
the Scottish "Monthly Visitor" Tract Society, of
Edinburgh, for over a hundred years from the
early 19th century; between 1904 and 1931
these were translated into Gaelic regularly
by Rev. Malcolm MacLennan, of Edinburgh, and
were published by the Society. They ceased to
appear in 1931, which was also the year of
MacLennan's death.]

4pp each. 21x13.

FEILL A' CHOMUINN GHÀIDHEALACH, BUTH NAN EADLAIN[sic].
See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

FEILL COOKERY BOOK, THE. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

FEILLIRE, AM [Dwelly's version].

Lyminge/Herne Day, 1901-1908.

Pris 3½ sgillinn. Am Feillire, agus Leabhar Poca Gaidhealach. 1901. [Ill.] Sraid na Cloiche, Ceann, Sasunn: air a chlodh-bhualadh aig a' Chlodh-chlar Ghaidhlig, agus air a reic le E. Domhnullach, Ardmor, Lyminge. 84pp. 9.9x8.2[hard covers]. EU, PC.

A' phris - ceangailt' am paipear 3½ sgillinn, ceangailt' an aodach 7½ sgillinn: saor leis a' phost. Am Feillire, agus Leabhar-Poca Gaidhealach. 1902. Clar-innsidh. . .Lyminge: air a chur a mach le E. Domhnullach 's a Chuideachd, aig a' Chlodh-chlar Ghaidhlig, Ardmor. 80pp. 11x8.2[hard covers]. EU, PC.

1903. [Issued, but not seen.]

A' phris. . .[as above] Am Feillire, agus Leabhar-Poca Gaidhealach, 1904. [Ill.] Lyminge: air a chur a mach le E. Domhnullach 's a Chuideachd, aig a' Chlodh-chlár Ghàidhlig. [Rinneadh am paipear seo an Albainn.] 1 f Ads., 87pp, 2 ff Ads. 11x8.2[hard covers]. EU, PC.

A' phris - ceangailt' am paipear, 3½ sgillinn, saor leis a' phost. Am Feillire, agus Leabhar-Poca Gaidhealach, 1905. [Ill.] Camus a' Chorra (Herne Bay): air a chur a mach le E. Domhnullach 's a Chuideachd, aig a' Chlodh-chlár Ghàidhlig. [Rinneadh am paipear so an Albainn.] 87pp, 1 f Ads. 11x8.2[hard covers]. EU, PC.

A' phris - ceangailt' an aodach, 7½ sgillinn, saor leis a' phost. Am Feillire, agus Leabhar-Poca Gaidhealach, 1906. [Ill.] . . .[as above.] 1 f Ads., 88pp, 1 f Ads. 11x8.2[hard covers]. EU, PC.

An Ochdamh bliadhna. . .1907[otherwise as above]. 1 f, 88pp, 2 ff. 11x8.2.[hard covers]. EU, PC.

An Naoidheamh bliadhna. . .1908[otherwise as above]. 1 f, 96pp, 1 f Ads. 11x8.2[hard covers]. EU, PC.
[E. Domhnullach=Edward Dwelly.]

FEILLIRE, AM [MacLaren's version].
Glasgow, 1938-40.

Am Feillire agus Leabhar-Poca Gaidhlig. 1938.
Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic, 268
Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal, C.2.
96pp. 10.3x6.9. PC.

Ibid. 1939. An Dara Bliadhna.
4 ff, 96pp. 10.3x6.9. PC.

Ibid. 1940. An Treas Bliadhna.
96pp. 10.3x6.9. PC.
[last seen.]

FEILLIRE, AM [Mac-Talla version].
Sydney, C.B., 1900.

Gaelic Almanac, 1900. Price 6c. leis a' phost
gu aite sam bith. Am Feillire agus Leabhar
Poca Gaidhealach, 1900. Le "Creag an Fhithich".
Sydney, Cape Breton: Mac-Talla Printing and
Publishing Co., Ltd., 1900.
32pp. 16x12. AU, BM, Mit.

FERGUSON, FINLAY. ORAIN GHAIHDLIG.
Glasgow, n.d.

Orain Ghaidhlig le Fionngladh Mac Fheargais
(Eilean a' Cheo). Oran do Oigrìdh a' Cheilidh;
Oran na Gruaige (Bobbed Hair); Moladh na
Gruaige (In Praise of the Un-Bobbed). Glasgow:
Alex. MacLaren & Son.
7pp. Mit.

[Add. 1929; MacLaren gives date of publication
as March 1926. The Mit. copy--the only
one seen--is now lost.]

FERGUSON, J. A. AM BODACH-ROCAIS.
Glasgow, 1951.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gaidhlig. Am Bodach-
rocais. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh.
Gaelic translation of the one-act play, The
Scarecrow, by J. A. Ferguson. Air eadar-
theangachadh/

theangachadh le Lachlann MacFhionghuin. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow. 1951.

18pp. 19x13.

[Printed Learmonth, Stirling.]

FERGUSON, J. A. CAIMBEULACH NA CILLE NOIRE.
Glasgow, n.d.

Caimbeulach na Cille Móire. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh. Gaelic translation of the one-act play, "Campbell of Kilmhor", by J.A. Ferguson. Air eadar-theangachadh le Domhnall MacDhomhnaill, Eirisgeidh. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow.

16pp. 22x14.

[Printed by The Caledonian Press, Glasgow.]

FERGUSON, RODERICK. MARBHRANN.
Glasgow, 1957.

Marbhrann do'n Urramach Domhnull Domhnullach, Sioldag na Comraich. [Le Ruairidh Fearghuson.]

Pp 213-215. 19x13.

[Appendix to 'Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Donald MacDonald' by Rev. D. MacFarlane, 1957.]

FHIANUIS [GHAIÐHEALACH], AN. See UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

FILIDH NAM BEANN.

Glasgow, n.d.

Filidh nam Beann: the Mountain Songster. The choicest collection of original and selected Gaelic songs now known. "An t-òranaiche sunndach, ceòlmhor, /Dh'fhògras bròn 's a dhùisgeas fonn". Glasgow; Robert M'Greggor & Co., wholesale and export stationers and publishers, India Buildings, 45 Bridge Street.

iv, 92pp. 17x11.

PC.

[Probably late 19th century. Also a slightly earlier ed. by M'Greggor--same format but different address (22 Glassford Street).]

FILIDH NAM BEANN. (cont.)

Glasgow, n.d.

Filidh nam Beann: the Mountain Songster. The choicest collection of original and collected Gaelic songs now known. "An t-oranaiche sunndach, ceòlmhor, / Dh'fhògras bròn 's a dhùisgeas fonn". Glasgow: Watt & Stewart, 76 Queen Street. (Entered in Stationers' Hall.)

iv, 92pp. 17x11.

GU:CL.

[Around the turn of the century; possibly pre-1900.]

(cont.)

Glasgow, n.d.

Filidh nam Beann. The Mountain Songster. The choicest collection of original and selected Gaelic songs now known. [Crest] Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, Gaelic Printer and Publisher, Celtic Press, 47 Waterloo Street.

iv, 92pp. 17x11.

AU, PC.

[Published first round the turn of the century; possibly reprinted since; still in print. Contains a good selection of Gaelic folk songs. No music.]

FIONN (pseudonym). See WHYTE, HENRY.

FIONN ANN AN TIGH A' BHLAIR-BHUIDHE [Dwelly version].

Herne Bay, n.d.

Uirsgeulan na Feinne. Cuid a h-Aon. Fionn ann an Tigh a' Bhlàir-Bhuidhe gun chomas suidh no eirigh, agus Sealg Bheinn-eidir. Herne Bay, England: published by E. MacDonald & Co., "The Gaelic Press", Mill Lane. Printed on paper made in Scotland.

43pp; 4 ff Ills. [in text]. 19x13. AU.

[Eng. on rt. facing page. Add. in 1908.]

FIONN ANN AN TIGH A' BHLAIR BHUIDHE [MacLaren
version]. See MACLAREN, JAMES.

FIRST COMMUNION CATECHISM. See ROMAN CATHOLIC
CHURCH. LEABHAR CHEIST NA CLOINNE BIGE.

FLETCHER, ALEXANDER. LUIINNEAGAN REOB AIS.
Glasgow, 1929.

Luinneagan Reòbais. Duannagan[sic] Gaoil is
Orain Dùthcha le Alasdair Mac an Fhleisteir
(nach maireann), Cill-Mheanaidh, Ile. Glascho:
Gilleasbaig Mac-na-Ceardadh, 27a Sraid Cadogan,
1929.

27pp. 19x13. Mit.
[Roimh-Radh by Neil Shaw.]

FLETT, J.F. and T.M. SOME HEBRIDEAN FOLK DANCES.
London, 1952.

Some Hebridean Folk Dances. By J. F. and
T. M. Flett.

Pp 112-127. 21x17. GU.
[In 'Journal of the English Folk Dance and
Song Society', Volume VII, 1952. Contains
some words of Gaelic dance-songs.]

FOLKLORE INSTITUTE OF SCOTLAND. See CAMPBELL,
JOHN L. GAELIC FOLKSONGS FROM THE ISLE OF
BARRA.

FORBES, ALEXANDER R. GAELIC NAMES OF BEASTS, ETC.
Edinburgh, 1905.

Gaelic Names of beasts (mammalia), birds,
fishes, insects, reptiles, etc. In two parts.
I.-Gaelic-English. II.- English-Gaelic.
Part I. contains Gaelic names or terms for each
of the above, with English meanings. Part II.
contains/

contains all the English names for which the Gaelic is given in Part I, with Gaelic, other English names, etymology, Celtic lore, prose, poetry, and proverbs referring to each, thereto attached. All now brought together for the first time by Alexander Robert Forbes, Edinburgh (formerly of Sleat, Skye). Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, Tweeddale Court; Norman MacLeod, George IV. Bridge. 1905.
xx, 1 f Ill. [photo], 424pp. 24x16. AU, GU, Mit., NLS.

FORBES, JOHN (translator). See BAXTER,
RICHARD. FOIS SHIORRUIDH NAN NAOMH.

FORBES, MABEL C. (co-editor). SOP AS GACH SEID.
Glasgow, [1907].

"Sop as gach seid". ("A straw from every sheaf".) A collection of favourite quotations in Gaelic, English and other languages, from prose and poetry. "A man's selection from books confesses his selection from life". Cover design by Finlay MacKinnon. Publisher: Archibald Sinclair, "Celtic Press", 47 Waterloo Street, Glasgow.

82pp. 26x19. NLS.

[Editorial note by Winifred Parker and Mabel C. Forbes. A fund-raiser for the Feill of 1907.]

FRANCIS, J. O. BREAC A LINNE.
Glasgow, n.d.

Breac a Linne. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh. Gaelic translation of the one-act comedy, "Birds of a Feather", by J. O. Francis. Air eadar-theangachadh le Ailean Mac Gill-Eathain. An Comunn Gaidhealach, West Regent Street, Glasgow.

19pp. 22x14.
[Ca. 1950.]

FRANCIS, J. O. AM POIDSEAR.

Glasgow, 1951.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gaidhlig. Am Poidsear.
Dealbh-chluich abhachdach an aon sealladh.
Gaelic translation of the one-act comedy,
The Poacher, by J. O. Francis. Air eadar-
theangachadh le Domhnall Mac Gille Mhoire.
An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street,
Glasgow. 1951.

29pp. 19x13.

[Printed Learmonth, Stirling.]

FRASER, ALEXANDER, of Dunvegan, Canada. ORAN.

N.p., n.d.

Oran, le Alasdair Friseal, Dunbheagan,
Gleann-garradh, Canada.

4pp. 8vo.

[Dunn; T S-G.]

FRASER, ALEXANDER, Ontario Archivist. CANAIN.

Toronto, 1901.

Canain agus Cliu ar Sinnsearan. Toronto,
1901.

[Clare; Dunn.]

FRASER, ALEXANDER, Ontario Archivist. THE GAELIC
FOLK SONGS OF CANADA.

Ottawa, 1903.

From the Transactions of the Royal Society of
Canada. Second Series -- 1903-1904. Volume
IX, Section II. English history, literature,
archaeology, etc. The Gaelic Folk Songs of
Canada. By Alexander Fraser, Toronto. For
sale by J. Hope & Sons, Ottawa; The Copp-
Clark Co., Toronto; Bernard Quaritch, London,
England. 1903.

Pp 49-60. 25x17.

NLS.

FRASER, ALEXANDER, Ontario Archivist. AN GAIDHEAL
ANN AN CANADA.

N.p., n.d.

An Gaidheal ann an Canada.
[Clare; Dunn.]

FRASER, ALEXANDER, Ontario Archivist. GATHERING
OF THE CLAN MACDONALD SOCIETY OF CANADA.

Toronto, 1901.

[Note] The following words were spoken at
the first Gathering of the Clan MacDonald
Society of Canada, on Dominion Day (1st July)
1901, at Alexandria, County of Glengarry,
Canada, and are republished from the press
reports of a few friends who believe it to be
the bounden duty of every Highlander to work
unceasingly for the preservation of the
language of the Gael. Alexander Fraser.
Toronto, 15th July, 1901.

16pp. 20x12.

Harv.

[Information from Sister Margaret Macdonell.]

FRASER, ALEXANDER, Ontario Archivist. GEARR-SGEOIL
AIR SIR SEORAS UILLEAM ROS.

Toronto, 1915.

Gear-sgeoil air Sir Seoras Uilleam Ros, agus
air mar a thuinich na Gaidheil ann an Canada
Uachdrach. Leis an Ollamh Alasdair Friseal.
Toronto, 1915.

58pp. 20x14.

NLS.

FRASER, ALEXANDER, Ontario Archivist. LINN
NAN AIGH.

N.p., n.d.

Linn nan Aigh. Oissian is MacMhaighstir
Alasdair.

[Clare; Dunn.]

FRASER, ALEXANDER, Ontario Archivist. ORAIN
DUTHCHA NAN EILEAN.

N.p., n.d.

Orain Duthcha nan Eilean.
[Clare; Dunn.]

FRASER, ALEXANDER, Ontario Archivist. SIR
S. MacCHOINNICH.

N.p., n.d.

Sir S. MacChoinnich, am Fear-Tagraidh
Fuileachdach.
[Clare; Dunn.]

FRASER, JOHN. POEMS FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAN
OF LISMORE.

Cambridge, 1937.

Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore,
with a catalogue of the book and indexes by
E. C. Quiggin, Late Fellow of Granville and
Caius College, Cambridge. Edited by J. Fraser,
Jesus Professor of Celtic in the University
of Oxford. Cambridge: at the University
Press. 1937.

xii, 111pp, 1 f Index of Authors. 25x17.
EU, GU:CL, Mit.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE. AN EAGLAIS
SHAOR AGUS AN EAGLAIS UR.

Edinburgh, 1929.

[Crest, Nec Tamen Consumeatur.] An Eaglais
Shaor agus an Eaglais Ur.

[End page] Air a chur amach le Comunn Clòdh-
bhuailidh Eaglais Shaor na h-Alba. Free Church
Offices, 15 North Bank Street, Edinburgh, 31st
August 1929.

4pp. 27x21.

NLS.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE. AN FHIANUIS.
Glasgow, [1893]-1900.

Air. 101.) Ianuaraidh, 1900. (A' phris, sgillinn. Eaglais Shaor na h-Alba. [Ill.] Deasaiche, An t-Urr. Iain Deorsa MacNeill, Chaladair. Clar-innsidh Gailig. . . Gilleasbuig Mac-na-Ceardadh, Clo-bhuailtear Gallig, Glaschu. [To Air. 104.] 24pp per quarterly issue [ca. 17pp Gaelic]. 26x19. EU. [English section has own title imprint. Original title (from 1875) was 'Iomradh air Craobhsgaoileadh an t-Soisgeil leis an Eaglais Shaoir': renamed in Jan. 1893. For post-1900 continuation, see under UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE. Replaced as Gaelic organ of the Free Church by a Gaelic supplement in The Monthly Record: see below.]

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE. FUINN NAN SALM
GHÀIDHLIG.

Edinburgh, 1932.

[Crest.] Eaglais Shaor na h-Alba. Fuinn nan Salm Ghàidhlig. (Gaelic Psalmody.) Clòdh-bhuailte le h-ùghdarras Ard Sheanadh Eaglais Shaoir na h-Alba. (Published by authority of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.) Edinburgh: H. & J. Pillans & Wilson, 20 Bernard Terrace. 1932. vii, 48pp. 20x15. AU, Mit.

[Music in solfa. MacLaren refers to a later ed. of 36pp, containing only the Long Tunes collected by Whitehead, but I have found no trace of this.]

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE. LITIR AODHAIREAL.
Glasgow, 1901.

Litir Aodhaireal air a cur a mach le Ughdarras Ard-Sheanadh Eaglais Shaor na H-Alba. Glasgow, 1901. [Not seen. Information from T S-G.]

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE. THE MONTHLY RECORD.
Glasgow/Edinburgh, 1900--.

[Masthead] The Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland. . . [Crest] No. 1. Vol. 1. December, 1900. Price one penny.

[Cover: 1st cover seen.] December, 1903.
The Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland.
[Crest.] Printed and published by John M'Neilage, 65 Great Western Road, Glasgow.

The Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland. [Crest.] Contents. . . Published by Authority, under supervision of the Publications Committee, at the Offices of the Church, The Mound, Edinburgh. One penny. 1907. January.

Fivepence. January 1949. The Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland. Contents. . .

[Continuing.]

Ca. 200pp per yearly vol. (1900-26), ca. 300pp (1927-42), ca. 200pp (1943-46), ca. 250pp (1947-68); ca. 20pp of Gaelic in each yearly volume (extremes: ca. 6pp 1905, 48pp in 1915).
Ca. 28x21. Mit.

[Replaced 'The Free Church of Scotland Monthly' which ran till the end of 1900 (the year of the union of a majority of the Free Church congregations with the United Presbyterian Church to form the United Free Church of Scotland); the Gaelic pages replaced An Fhianuis (see above), which continued as a publication of the United Free Church. The Gaelic section has, for short periods, carried a separate title, such as Gaelic Supplement, Na Duilleagan Gaidhlig, and An Earrainn Ghaidhlig; between 1914 and 1917, the Gaelic pages were numbered separately; volume title pages for The Record were issued 1910-29. Contains much Gaelic translation from English of Calvinistic theology. Various editors.]

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE (co-sponsors). See COGADH MOR NA H-EORPA. [For crossreferences to individual titles in this series.]

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE (co-sponsors).
 See COGADH NA SAORSA. [For crossreferences
 to individual titles in this series.]

FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE.
 MAGAZINE AND MONTHLY RECORD.
 Glasgow, [1895]--

The Free Presbyterian Magazine and Monthly
 Record. (Issued by a Committee of the Free
 Presbyterian Synod.) Editor. . .[Varies.]
 "Thou hast given a banner to them that fear
 Thee, that it may be displayed because of the
 truth".-Ps. LX.4. Vol. IV. -- 1899-1900.
 Glasgow: N. Adshead & Son, Printers, 11 &
 92 Union Street.

. . .Vol XXVII. May, 1922 - April, 1923.
 Inverness: printed by Rbt. Carruthers & Sons,
 "Courier" Office.

. . .Vol. XXXVI. May, 1931 - April, 1932.
 Glasgow: printed by N. Adshead & Son, 34 Cadogan
 Street. [Adshead's address changes 2 times.]

. . .Vol. LXVII. May, 1962 - April, 1963.
 Dumbarton: printed by Bennet & Thomson, Church
 Street.

[Continuing.]
 Ca. 250pp per yearly vol. (1941-50), ca. 500pp
 (1900-17; 1923-39), ca. 400pp otherwise; ca. 12-
 24pp of Gaelic in each volume.
 21x14.

[Began in 1895 (the Church was constituted
 in 1893). Gaelic content mainly translations
 of Puritan theology--many being reprints
 from such earlier publications.]

FUINN NAN SALM GHAIHDLIG. See FREE CHURCH OF
 SCOTLAND, THE.

GAELIC COMMUNITY SONG SHEET. See DIONNASG
GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA.

GAELIC KEY, THE.

Glace Bay, N.S., n.d.

Second Edition. The Gaelic Key. Price 50
cents. Monotyped and printed by Brodie
Printing Company, Limited, Glace Bay, N.S.
16pp. 8.8x12. Xavier.

[First ed. not seen.]

GAELIC LEAGUE OF SCOTLAND, THE. See DIONNASG
GAIDHLIG NA H-ALBA.

GAELIC ORTHOGRAPHY, RECOMMENDED FORMS. See
AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

GAELIC SOCIETY OF GLASGOW, THE. LEABHAR AN
ARD-FHEIS.

Glasgow, 1937.

Comunn Gaidhlig Ghlaschu (Gaelic Society of
Glasgow), Headquarters - The Highlanders'
Institute. Leabhar an Ard Fheis. Jubilee
Brochure. 1887-1937. [Verse in English.]
Glasgow: Archd. Sinclair, Celtic Press, 27A
Cadogan Street. 1937.

24pp. 23x15.

PC.

[Ill. with photos.]

GAELIC SOCIETY OF GLASGOW, THE. TRANSACTIONS,
VOLUME III.

Glasgow, 1908.

The Old Highlands. Being papers read before
the Gaelic Society of Glasgow, 1895-1906.
With an introduction by Neil Munro. Glasgow:
Archibald Sinclair. MCMVIII.

xii, 351pp. 22x15.

AU, GU, Mit.

[Vol. III of the Society's Transactions.
2 Gaelic articles.]

GAELIC SOCIETY OF GLASGOW, THE. TRANSACTIONS,
VOLUME IV.

Glasgow, 1934.

The Active Gael. Being papers read before the Gaelic Society of Glasgow. With introduction by Peter MacDougall, M.A., F.E.I.S. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair. MCMXXXIV.
xvi, 253pp; 2 ff Photos [in intro.]. 22x15. AU.
[Volume IV.]

GAELIC SOCIETY OF GLASGOW, THE. TRANSACTIONS,
VOLUME V.

Glasgow, [pref.1958].

Volume V of The Transactions of The Gaelic Society of Glasgow.
222pp. 22x15. GU, Mit.
[1 article and text of 1 poem in Gaelic. Preface dated September, 1958. Printed Learmonth, Stirling.]

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS, THE. REPORT.
Inverness, [1946].

Comunn Gàidhlig Inbhir-nis. Gaelic Society of Inverness (Instituted 1871). Report of the Proceedings at the Dinner on 12th April, 1946, and at the cairn, Culloden, in celebration of the bi-centenary of the Battle of Culloden on 16th April, 1946. Chief: Vice-Admiral Sir R. R. MacGreggor, K.C.B., D.S.O. Honorary Secretary: Professor W. J. Watson, LL.D., D.Litt.Celt., Edinburgh University. Secretary and Treasurer: Alex. N. Nicolson, 28 Queensgate, Inverness. Chronicle, Inverness. 1 f Ill., 44pp, 3 ff Business of the Gaelic Society. 20x14. PC.

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS, THE. TRANSACTIONS.
Inverness, [1872]--.

Transactions of The Gaelic Society of Inverness.
Vol. I. - Year 1871-72. Clann nan Gaidheil ri
Guaillean a' Cheile. Inverness: printed for
the Society by William MacKay, 14 High Street.
1872.

. . . Volume XXII. 1897-98. Clann nan
Gaidheal an Guaillean a' Cheile. Inverness:
The Gaelic Society of Inverness. 1900.

Ibid. Issues with similar title page appeared
in 1902, -04, -07, -10, -15, -18.

Comunn Gaidhlig Inbhir-nis. Transactions of the
Gaelic Society of Inverness. Volume XXIX.
1914-1919. Clann nan Gaidheal ri Guaillean
a' Cheile. Printed for the Society by the
Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and
Publishing Company, Limited, Inverness. 1922.

Ibid. Issues with similar title page appeared
in 1924, -27, -29, -32.

. . . Volume XXXIV. 1927-1928. With indexes
to contents of Volumes I. to XXXIV of the
Transactions of the Society. From 1871 to
1928. Clann nan Gaidheal ri Guaillean a
Chéile. Printed for the Society by the
Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and
Publishing Company, Limited, Inverness. 1935.

. . . Volume XXXV. 1929-1930. With index.
Clann nan Gàidheal ri Guaillean a Cheile.
Printed for the Society by the Northern Counties
Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company,
Limited, Inverness. 1939.

Ibid. Issue with similar title page appeared in
1941, -46.

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS, THE. TRANSACTIONS. (cont.)

Comunn Gaidhlig Inbhir-nis. Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. Volume XXXVIII. 1937-1941. With index. Clann nan Gaidheal ri Guaillean a Chéile. Printed for the Society by The Highland Printers, Limited, Diriebught Road, Inverness. 1962.

. . . Volume XXXIX/XL. 1942-1950. Clann nan Gaidheal ri Guaillean a Chéile. Printed for the Society by A. Learmonth & Son, 9 King Street, Stirling. 1963.

. . . Volume XLI. 1951-1952. Coronation Year Issue. With index. Clann nan Gaidheal ri Guaillean a Chéile. Printed for the Society by the Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, Limited, Inverness. 1953.

[Vol. XXXVIII was ready for the press in 1952, but in that year the then Chief of the Society, Sir Denys Lawson, offered to finance the publication of a volume(XLI) on the stipulation that it contained the talks given in his own year of office (1952). The Transactions for the intervening years (1936-1951) were published--in sequence--as money became available.]

. . . Volume XLII. 1953-1959. Clann nan Gaidheal ri Guaillean a Chéile. Printed for the Society by A. Learmonth & Son, 9 King Street, Stirling. 1965.

Ibid. Issues with similar title page appeared in 1966, -67.

[Few Gaelic articles but much textual material in Gaelic; mainly of an antiquarian bent, but some articles on modern topics also; the introductions to the early volumes, in particular, give much useful information on the Gaelic cultural scene and attitudes.]

[Pagination & Size] Ca. 340-540pp [Av. 400pp]. 22x14.

GAELIC SOCIETY OF LONDON, THE. See COMUNN NA
GAIDHLIG AN LUNNAINN.

GAELIC SUPPLEMENT of LIFE AND WORK. See CHURCH
OF SCOTLAND. LIFE AND WORK: GAELIC SUPPLEMENT.

GAIDHEAL, AN. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH. AN
DEO-GHREINE.

GAIDHEAL OG, AN. See COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH.

GAILIG. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH. AN DEO-
GHREINE.

GAIRM.

Glasgow, 1952--.

[Individual masthead] Gairm. 112 Bath Street,
Glaschu, C.2. Tel. Douglas 6137. Aireamh 1.
Am Foghar, 1952.

[The first 4 nos. were paged individually;
thereafter paged as vols. of 4 (yearly).]

[Title page] Gairm. Aireamh 13. Am Foghar,
1955. 227 Bath Street, Glaschu, C.2. Tel. West
6129. [Tel. changes.]

Gairm 10. Aireamh 40. An Samhradh, 1962.
227 Bath Street, Glaschu, C.2. Tel. Wes.
2389. [Special tenth-anniversary title page.]

Gairm. Aireamh 41. Am Foghar, 1962. 227 Sraid
Bhath, Glaschu, C.2. Fón - Wes. 2389. [Fón changes]

Gairm. Aireamh 45. An Geamhradh, 1963. 227
Sraid Bhath, Glaschu, C.2. [In parallel
column, the following--] Fir-deasachaidh:
Ruaraidh MacThómais agus Fionnlagh I.
MacDhòmhnaill/

GAIRM (cont.)

MacDhòmhnaill. Luchd-urrais: Fionnlagh I.
MacDhòmhnaill agus Ruaraidh MacThómais.
Rùnaire: Dòmhnall Iain MacIlleathain. Sanasan-
reic (Advertisements): R. Ferguson, 227 Bath
Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Gairm. Aireamh 47. An Samhradh, 1964.
227 Sraid Bhath, Glaschu, C.2. [Parallel
column.] Fear-deasachaidh: Ruaraidh MacThómais.
Luchd-urrais: Fionnlagh I. MacDhòmhnaill agus
Ruaraidh MacThómais. Rùnaire: Dòmhnall Iain
MacIlleathain. Sanasan-reic (Advertisements):
R. Ferguson, 227 Bath Street, Glasgow, C.2.
[Various phone nos. in later issues.]

Gairm. Aireamh 57. An Geamhradh, 1966.
227 Sraid Bhath, Glaschu, C.2. Fón:
POL 7573 (Fear-deasachaidh), 221 1971 (Oifis).
[Parallel column.] Fear-deasachaidh: Ruaraidh
MacThómais. Co-fhear-deasachaidh: Dòmhnall
Iain MacLeòid. Rùnaire: Dòmhnall Iain
MacIlleathain. Sanasan-reic (Advertisements):
R. Ferguson, 227 Bath Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Gairm. (Stéidhichte 1951.) Aireamh 65.
An Geamhradh, 1968. 227 Sraid Bhath, Glaschu,
C.2. Fon: 423 7573 (Fear-deasachaidh),
221 1971 (Oifis). [Parallel column.] Fear-
deasachaidh: Ruaraidh MacThómais. Co-fhear-
deasachaidh: Dòmhnall Iain MacLeòid. Rùnaire:
Dòmhnall Iain MacIlleathain. Sanasan-reic
(Advertisements): R. Ferguson, 227 Bath
Street, Glasgow, C.2.

[Continuing.]

94, 94, 92, 94pp respectively in the first
four numbers issued (paged separately);
thereafter 384pp per yearly volume (exceptions:
368pp in Leabhar 8, 440pp in Leabhar 11).

21x14 [individual issues: vols. slightly larger.]

[A very important all-Gaelic literary magazine,
publishing creative and informative, traditional
and experimental writings. Edd. from beginning
by MacDonald and Thomson.]

GAIM. See CLO-BHUALAIDHEAN GAIM. [For crossreferences to individual titles in the series.]

GAIM. See MACDONALD, JOHN A. CRIOCHAN URA.

GATHAN GREINE.

Edinburgh, n.d.

Gathan Gréine air son cridhe dhaoine, air an tarruing bho fhacal Dhe féin. Le ùghdarras Iain H. Bell, 119 Sràid Sheòrais, Duneideann, d'am buin e.

16pp. 14x12.

Mit.

[Add. in 1929 and later. Printed Turnbull & Spears, Edinburgh.]

GEARR-IOMRADH AIR OBAIR AGUS RIAGHAILTEAN-EARALACHAIDH COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH. See COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH. OBAIR AGUS RIAGHAILTEAN-EARALACHAIDH.

GEDDES, ARTHUR. THE SONGS OF CRAIG AND BEN, VOLUME II.

Glasgow, 1961.

The Songs of Craig and Ben. Lays, Laments, Love Songs and Lilts of the Mountaineers and Cragmen of the Highlands and Islands, with their melodies and stories gathered and mainly translated by Arthur Geddes. Volume II. Songs of Farewell, Love and Laughter. Introduction. William Maclellan, 240 Hope Street, Glasgow. 1961.

xxxvi, 2 ff, 90pp. 22x15.

Mit., NLS.

[Some Gaelic originals; mostly English translations. Music in both notations. No Gaelic in Volume I.]

GENERAL ASSEMBLY READING BOOK. See CHURCH OF
SCOTLAND, GENERAL ASSEMBLY. AN CEATHRAMH
LEABHAR.

GILBERT, BERNARD. AN SEANN TARBH.
Glasgow, n.d.

An Seann Tarbh. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh.
Gaelic translation of the one-act play, "The
Old Bull" by Bernard Gilbert. Air eadar-
theangachadh le Seumas MacThomais. An Comunn
Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow.
20pp. 22x14.
[Ca. 1950. Printed the Caledonian Press,
Glasgow.]

GILLIES, H. CAMERON. THE ELEMENTS OF GAELIC
GRAMMAR.

London, 1902.

The Elements of Gaelic Grammar. Based on
the work of the Rev. Alexander Stewart, D.D.
By H. Cameron Gillies, M.D. Second Edition.
With Appendix. London: published by David
Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre. 1902.
2 ff Ads., xiv, 186pp, 4 ff Ads. 19x13.
AU, GU.

[First ed. 1896. First ed. of Stewart's
Grammar was 1801: the last ed. was 1901.
Printed T. & A. Constable, Edinburgh.]

GILLIES, JAMES (translator). See FLAVEL,
JOHN. MINEACHADH AIR SUIPEIR AN TIGHEARNA.

GIVEN, JENNIE. CLARSACH A' GHLINNE.
Glasgow, [1925]

Clàrsach a' Ghlinne. Coig òrain air fhichead le'm
fuinn/

fuinn agus teud-cheol simplidh le Seònaid Given. The Harp of the Glen. Twenty-five Gaelic songs arranged with simple accompaniments by Jennie Given, A.R.C.M. Price 3/-. Cloth 5/-. Paterson's Publications Ltd.; Glasgow: 152 Buchanan St.; London: 95 Wimpole Street, W.1. 36pp. 27x18. Mit.

[Dated 1925 by colophon in 1936 ed. Roimh-Radh signed, - 'C. M'P, Gaelic Editor' (i.e. Malcolm MacFarlane). In both notations, with harp accompaniments.]

GIVEN, JENNIE. CLARSACH A' GHLINNE. (cont.)
Glasgow, 1927.

[A reprint; not seen.]

CLARSACH A' GHLINNE.
Glasgow, 1936.

Clàrsach a' Ghlinne. Coig òrain air fhichead le'm fuinn agus teud-cheol simplidh le Seònaid Given. The Harp of the Glen. Twenty-five Gaelic songs arranged with simple accompaniments by Jennie Given, A.R.C.M. Price 3/6. Alex. MacLaren & Son, Gaelic Printers and Publishers, 268 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2.

First published 1925. Reprinted 1927 and 1936.
36pp. 27x18. PC.

GLASGOW GAELIC SOCIETY. See GAELIC SOCIETY OF
GLASGOW.

GLASGOW HIGHLAND MISSION. See COMUNN SOISGEULACH
GAIDHEALACH GHLASCHO.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY GAELIC PUBLICATIONS. See
LEABHRAICHEAN URA GAIDHLIG OILTHIGH GHLASCHO.
[For crossreferences to individual titles in
the series.]

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY OSSIANIC SOCIETY. OSSIAN.
Glasgow, 1933, n.d., n.d.,
1957, -60, -61, -65, -67, -68.

Ossian. Published by Glasgow University
Ossianic Society. English Section: Alex. J.
Maclean, M.A., Editor; Marion M. Maclean, Sub-
Editor. Gaelic Section: John MacDougall (Muileach),
Editor; Margaret M. Macmillan, Sub-Editor.
Finance Managers: John M. Urquhart and Murdo
MacLeod. Printed by Kirkwood & Co., 127
Stockwell Street, Glasgow.
[English Section Masthead] Ossian. Vol. 1,
No. 1. April, 1933.
[Gaelic Section Masthead] Oisean. Earr. 1,
Air. 1. An Giblean, 1933.
44pp. 27x21. Mit.

Ossian. Published by Glasgow University
Ossianic Society. English Section: Mairi K.
MacKinnon, Isobel Budge, Janette Blair, Peter
W. Macleod. Gaelic Section: Ewen MacDonald,
Lachlan Robertson. Finance Manager: Alex. G.
Matheson. "Stornoway Gazette", Stornoway.
28pp. 29x22. NLS.
[Ca. 1950.]

Ossian. Published by Glasgow University
Ossianic Society. Fifth-centenary edition.
Magazine committee: Betty Todd, Peggy MacFarlane,
Lachlan Robertson, M.A., William MacDougall, B.Sc.,
Tom MacDowall. Printed at the "Northern
Chronicle" Office, Inverness.
32pp; 4 ff Ills. [photos].
[Ca. 1951: reviewed in 'An Gaidheal' Feb. 1952.]

"Leansa dlùth ri cliù do shinnsre". Ossian.
Celtic Chair Inauguration and Ossianic Club
Jubilee Celebration Edition. [Ill.] March,
1957. Published by Glasgow University Ossianic
Society.
47pp, 1 f Ads. 25x19. NLS.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY OSSIANIC SOCIETY. OSSIAN. (cont.)

Aireamh 3. Ossian. The Glasgow Gaelic Review. Am Foghar, 1960. Fear-Deasachaidh: Domhnall T. MacDhomhnaill. Pearce Lodge, An Oilthigh, Glaschu, W.2. Telefon West 8541. 36pp. 21x14. Mit.
[Wrongly numbered. Printed Learmonth, Stirling.]

Aireamh 4. Ossian. The Glasgow University Ossianic Society's Gaelic Review. Am Foghar, 1961. Fir-Deasachaidh: Domhnall T. MacDhomhnaill, D. Niall MacCormaig. Pearce Lodge, An Oilthigh, Glaschu W.2. Telefon West 8541. 32pp. 22x14.
[Learmonth.]

Ossian 1965. Glasgow University Ossianic Society. Editor - Roderick M. MacKinnon. Advertisements - Duncan Macquarrie. 8 South Park Terrace, Glasgow, W.2. . . . 28pp. 22x14.

Ossian 1967. Editor: Ronald I. Black. "Leansa dlùth ri cliù do shinnsre" (Fionn to Oscar, in an Ossianic tale). Published annually in December by Glasgow University Ossianic Society, 8 Southpark Terrace, Glasgow, W.2. 52pp. 22x14.

Ossian, 1968. Editor: Ronald I. Black. Cover drawn by Donald M. Murray. "Leansa dlùth ri cliù do shinnsre" (Fionn to Oscar, in an Ossianic tale). Published annually in December by Glasgow University Ossianic Society, 8 Southpark Terrace, Glasgow W.2. 52pp. 22x14.

[Note. All contain more English than Gaelic. All illustrated--with photos and line drawings. All are quite heavily reliant on established writers, whether village bards or nationally-known personalities.]

- GRANT, DONALD (translator). See ANDERSEN, HANS.
BANRIGH AN T-SNEACHDA.
- GRANT, DONALD (translator). See ANDERSEN, HANS.
LUDAG BHEAG.
- GRANT, DONALD (co-compiler). See CLANN AN FHRAOICH.
CAINNT AGUS FACAIL IOMCHUIDH AIR SON COINNIMH.
- GRANT, DONALD (translator). See GRIMM [JACOB
& WILHEM]. ROSBHAN IS ROSDHONN.
- GRANT, K. W. AIG TIGH NA BEINNE.
Oban, 1911.
- Aig Tigh na Beinne. Le K. W. G. Oban:
Hugh MacDonald, Bookseller, Esplanade. Glasgow:
Alex. McLaren & Son, 360 and 362 Argyle St.
1911.
283pp. 19x14. AU, EU, GU, Mit., NLS.
[Printed by 'The Oban Times'. Stories and
reminiscences.]
- GRANT, K. W. DUSGADH NA FEINNE.
Paisley, 1908.
- Dùsgadh na Féinne. Dealbh-chluich air son na
cloinne. Le K. W. G. J. and R. Parlane, Paisley.
John Menzies and Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow.
Madgwich, Houlston and Co., Ltd., London. 1908.
16pp. 22x14. PC.
[A musical playlet. A proposal to publish
a revised ed. was advertised by Alex.
MacLaren & Son in 1927, but nothing came
of it; MacLaren informs that this new
ed. was in manuscript in 1945: the note,
signed by James MacLaren, records the intention
to publish it, but this does not appear to
have happened.]
- GRANT, K.W. AN PHEADAG.* ['Celtic Who's Who' (1921):
"trans. from 'The Whistle', 1913. Not seen.]

GRANT, K.W. AN SGOIL BHEAG AGUS A' MHAIGHDEAN-
MHARA.*

[?, 1910].

An Sgoil Bheag agus a' Mhaighdean-mhara.
Cluich airson clann-sgoile. Le K. W. G.
[Not seen. Referred to in colophon
to 1927 edition. The play was first
published in 'An Sgeulaiche', An t-
Earrach, 1910 (pp 79-89). The above
is possibly an offprint from 'An
Sgeulaiche'; the publisher was probably
J. Parlane, Paisley, or Archibald
Sinclair, Glasgow.]

AN SGOIL BHEAG AGUS A' MHAIGHDEAN-
MHARA.

Glasgow, 1927.

An Sgoil Bheag agus a' Mhaighdean-mhara.
Cluich airson na clann-sgoile. Le Catriona
Nic Ghille-bhain Ghrannnd (K. W. G.).
Glascho: Alasdair MacIabhrunn 's a Mhic,
360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2. 6d net.

First printed in "An Sgeulaiche" - 1910.
Second edition - 1910. Third edition -
1927.

10pp, 2 ff Ads. 19x13. EPL, Mit., NLS.

[Katherine Whyte Grant was a sister of
Henry Whyte (Fionn). She was one of
the first writers of plays in Gaelic,
but, apart from that, her work is not
of much significance. In 1893 she
published a Gaelic translation of
Schiller's 'William Tell'.]

GRANT, K. W. (translator). See LAOIDH NA
RIOGHACHD.

GRANT, PETER. DAIN SPIORADAIL.

Edinburgh, 1904.

Dain Spioradail le Padruig Grannd, an Strathspey, Sgìreachd Aberneich. "Seinnidh iad ceòl ann an slighibh Iehobhah", Ps 138:5. "Le salmaibh, le òran, a's le laoidh", Eph. 5:19. "'S le beachd air a mhorachd, a's seinn air a throcair", Ps 89:1. "Ni e na smuaintean feolmhor a chlaoidh", Ps 119:113. Twentieth Edition. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1904. viii, 1 f, pp 10-160. 14x11. Mit.

[Grant's poems were first published in 1818. The 1926 ed. refers to the above as the 19th ed. and dates it 1903, as does T S-G (on which the information in the 1926 ed. is probably based); I have rechecked the above entry and find it to be accurate.]

DAIN SPIORADAIL.

Edinburgh, 1912.

Dain Spioradail le Padruig Grannd an Strathspey, Sgìreachd Aberneich. [Bible quotations as above.] Twentieth Edition. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1912. 1 f Ill. [portrait of Grant], viii, 1 f, pp 10-160. 17x11. AU, GU:CL.

DAIN SPIORADAIL.

Glasgow, 1926.

[Title page 1.] Dain Spioradail le Padruig Grannd, an Strath Spe, Sgìreachd Aberneich. Fo laimh Eachainn Mhic Dhùghail. [Bible quotations as above.] Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal.

[Title page 2] Spiritual Songs by Rev. Peter Grant, Strathspey. Edited by Hector MacDougall. Biographical/

Biographical sketch of the Author by Annie Grant Robinson and J. A. Grant Robinson.
Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street, C.2.

New large type edition, revised and corrected, 1926.

1 f Ill. [portrait of Grant], 167pp, 1 f Ads.
20x13. GU:CL, Mit.

[A 23rd ed. was advertised, but no trace has been found of it or a 22nd; it is probably an inaccurate reference to the 1926 ed. Grant's hymns are very ebullient and singable: they continue to be popular.]

GRAVES, ALFRED P. THE CELTIC SONG BOOK.
[London], 1928.

The Celtic Song Book. Being representative folk songs of the six Celtic nations. Chosen by Alfred Preceval Graves, Litt.D., F.R.S.L., author of "The Irish Song Book", "The Irish Fairy Book", "Irish Doric", etc. 1928.
Ernest Benn Limited.

4 ff, xix, 1 f, pp 21-332 [Gaelic on pp 123-135]. 22x18. GU, Mit., NLS.

[Contains Scottish Gaelic originals with translations; the translations by Francis Tolmie and Kenneth MacLeod, from whose collections the songs were drawn. Staff.]

GREGORY, Lady [AUGUSTA]. AN T-AIRGIOD-CINN.
Glasgow, 1950.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gaidhlig. An t-Airgiod-Cinn. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh. Gaelic translation of the one-act play, The Rising of the Moon, by Lady Gregory. Air eadar-theangachadh le Lachlann MacFhionghuin. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow. 1950.
13pp. 19x13.

GRIASAICHE BHEARNARaidH. See TURNER, NEIL.
 GRIASAICHE BHEARNARaidH: A BHARDACHD.

GRIMM, [JACOB & WILHELM]. ROSBHAN IS ROSDHONN.
 Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean a' Chomuinn. Rosbhan is Rosdhonn.
 Air innse le Grimm. Air a chur an Gàidhlig le
 Domhnall Grand. [Ill.] Dealbhan le Françoise
 J. Bertier. Clo-bhuailte le Bias am Paris mar
 a dh'iar An Comunn Gaidhealach.
 24 ff. 19x15.

[1967. An attractively produced elementary
 school-book; ill. in colour.]

GUTH NA BLIADHNA.

[P. varies], 1904-25.

A' phris tasdan. Guth na Bliadhna. The Voice
 of the Year. Leabhar 1. An Geamhradh. Aireamh
 1. Clàr-amais. . . James Thin, 54 and 5 South
 Bridge, Edinburgh.

A' phris tasdan. Price one shilling.
 Guth na Bliadhna. The Voice of the Year.
 Leabhar 1. An t-Earrach, 1904. Aireamh 2.
 Clàr-amais. . . The Aberdeen University Press,
 Limited. [Ads.] Published quarterly. [Details
 of subscription rates.]

[The English title is dropped and 'Published
 quarterly' replaced by 'Air a chur a mach
 uair san raidhe' from Leabhar IV on.]

. . . Guth na Bliadhna. Leabhar V. An t-
 Earrach, 1908. Aireamh 2. Clàr-amais. . .
 Milne, Tannahill & Methven, The Mills, Horse
 Cross, Perth. [List of Principal Agents, which
 varies in detail thereafter.] Air a chur a
 mach uair san raidhe.

GUTH NA BLIADHNA. (cont.)

Aon Tasdan. One Shilling. Guth na Bliadhna. Leabhar XII. An t-Earrach, 1915. Aireamh 1. Clàr-amais. . . Glaschu: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn is a Mhic, 360 Sraid Earraghaidheal.

. . . Guth na Bliadhna. Ràidheachan a tha coisrighthe do shaorsa na h-Albann, agus do na h-uile ceist a tha an crochadh ris a' chuspair sin. Leabhar XIII. An t-Earrach 1916. Aireamh 1. Clàr-amais. . . Glaschu: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn is a Mhic, 360 Sraid Earraghaidheal.

Leabhar XVI. Aireamh 3. Am Foghar, 1919. Tasdan agus sè sgillinn. Guth na Bliadhna. Ràitheachan a tha coisrighthe do shaorsa na h-Albann, agus do na h-uile ceist eile a tha an crochadh ris a' chuspair sin. Giorra-bhrighe. . . Seoladh an fhir-dheasachaidh: 12-14 Sràid a' Mhuilinn, Baile Pheirt, Albainn. Càin-leughaidh: aon bhliadhna, 6/- no \$1.50cents, saor leis a' phost. Foillsichearan: Alasdair MacLabhrainn is a Mhic, 360 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho. Albainn Nodha: luchd-riarachaidh, The MacDonald Music Store, Antigonish.

Tasdan agus sè sgillinn. Guth na Bliadhna. Uimhir 67. An t-Earrach 1921. Glaschu: Alasdair Mac Leabhrainn[sic] agus a Mhic, 360 Sraid Earraghaidheal. Càin-leughaidh Bhliadhnail, 6/- no 1 dollar 50 cents, saor leis a' phost.

[This style of title page until Uimhir 70, An Geamhradh 1921, after which there was a lapse in the publication of Guth na Bliadhna until 1923 (see immediately below).]

Leabhar XIX. Uimhir 1. Clò-bhualadh ùr. Tasdan is sè sgillin. Guth na Bliadhna. An Geamhradh 1923. [Contents.] Glaschu: Alasdair Mac Leabhrainn agus a Mhic, 360 Sraid Earraghaidheal.

GUTH NA BLIADHNA. (cont.)

Leabhar XX. Uimhir 2. Clò-bhualadh ùr.
 Tasdan is sè sgillin. Guth na Bliadhna.
 An t-Earrach 1925. [Contents.] Glaschu:
 Alasdair Mac Labhrainn is a Mhic, 360 Sraid
 Earraghaidheal. [Last Issue.]

[Pagination] Ca. 400pp, 1904-11; ca. 500pp,
 1912-15; ca. 400pp, 1916-21; 112pp in XIX and
 54pp in the 2 nos. of XX. [Figures for yearly vols.]

[Size] 22x14, 1904-21; 31x25, 1923-25.

[Location] Mit. has a full run.

[Quarterly. Edd. Ruaraidh Erskine of Mar.
 Approx. $\frac{1}{2}$ Gaelic/English at beginning; the
 proportion of Gaelic increased, the paper
 becoming all-Gaelic in 1919. A very
 important periodical: for political
 articles (Gaelic and English), seminal
 literary criticism (by Malcolm MacFarlane
 and, esp., Mar), plays (by Donald Sinclair
 and Mar), poems (Sinclair), and short
 stories (John MacCormick, Angus Henderson,
 Mar, etc.). Mar's own creative writings
 are more ambitious than successful, but
 he was an effective literary catalyst (cf., in
 the latter respect, Derick Thomson in the
 50's and 60's, and see the discussion of
 both in Chapter 1 of Part 1 of the thesis.).]

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM. BUANNACHD MHOR A' CHRIOSDUIDH.
 Glasgow, 1924.

Buannachd Mhor a' Chriosduidh le Uilleam
 Guthrie (1620-1665). Glascho: Alasdair
 Mac Labhrainn 's a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid
 Earraghaidheal, C.2. 1924.
 8pp. 11.9x8.8.

FC, PC.

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM. COIR MHOR A' CHRIVOSDAIDH.
Edinburgh, 1912.

The Christian's Great Interest, in two parts,
by William Guthrie, minister of the Gospel.
"Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence
to make your election sure."-2 Pet. 1.10.
Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge.
1912.

Còir Mhór a' Chrivosdaidh, ann an da earrainn,
le Uilleam Guthrie, ministear an t-Soisgeil.
"Uime sin, a bhràithrean, deanaibh tuilleadh
dichill chum bhur taghadh a dheanamh cinnteach."-
2 Pead. 1.10. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31
George IV. Bridge. 1912.
viii, 258pp. 17x11.
[First ed. 1783. The above is probably a
reprint of the 1845 ed.]

HALL, NEWMAN. THIG GU IOSA.
Stirling, n.d.

Thig gu Iosa. Le Numan Hall, LL.B, D.D. Eadar-
theangaichte leis an Urr. I. D. MacNeill,
Chaladair. Drummond's Tract Depot, Stirling.
Price One Penny.
63pp, 1 f Ads. 14x10. FC.
[Ca. 1900. First ed. 1872--trans. by
Angus MacIntyre.]

HARDY, THOMAS. AN TRIUIR CHOIGREACH.
Edinburgh, 1944.

An Triuir Choigreach. Le Tomas Hardy. Air a
thionndadh gu Gàidhlig na h-Alba le Eoin G.
MacFhionghuin (a bha roimhe 'na fhear-deasachaidh
Mac Talla). Fo laimh Iain Latharna Caimbeul.
Chaidh an leabhar so a chlò-bhualadh ann an
Albainn le T. agus A. Constable agus an Cuideachd,
ann an Dun Eideann, gu feum an fhir-deasachaidh,
anns a' bhliadhna 1944. Tha an leabhar so air a
chur amach 'sa Ghaidhlig le cead Churtis Brown
agus an Cuideachd.

The Three Strangers. By Thomas Hardy. Scottish Gaelic translation by J. G. MacKinnon (formerly editor and publisher of the Gaelic weekly, Mac Talla). Prepared for publication in Scotland by John Lorne Campbell. Printed by T. & A. Constable Ltd., Edinburgh, 1944. Gaelic translation published by permission of Messrs. Curtis Brown Ltd., London.

First printed 1944.
31pp. 22x14.

Mit., PC.

HARP OF CALEDONIA, THE.

Glasgow, n.d.

The Harp of Caledonia. A collection of popular Gaelic songs. Clarsach na h-Alba: no, Orana Taghta Gaidhealach. "Bo mhór am beud gu'm bàsaicheadh/A' chànan is feàrr buaidh,/'S is treis' thoirt greis air àbhachd,/'S na h-uile' àit 'n téid a luaidh;/'S i 's feàrr gu aobhar-gàire/'S i 's binne, blàithe fuaim." Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, Celtic Press, 47 Waterloo Street. 63pp, 1 f 'An Clàr'. 13x8. Mit., PC.

[First ed. pre-1876; MacLaren describes the Sinclair ed. as post-1908. No music.]

[HATELY, T. L.] [SEANN FHUINN NAN SALM].
[Edinburgh, 1910.]

The Sutherlandshire version of the six Long Gaelic Psalm Tunes as taken down in 1909 by Mr. F. W. Whitehead, A.R.C.O., A.R.C.M., Inverness, from the singing of Rev. Donald Munro, Ferintosh, a native of Clyne, Sutherlandshire.

Pp 15-24. 20x16. NLS.

[A later addendum to 'Seann Fhuinn na Salm. . . as sung in the congregations of the Free Church of Scotland. . . Taken down by T. L. Hately. . . Issued by Authority of the Committee of Psalmody. 1862.' Bound with 'The Scottish Psalmody. . . Published by authority of. . . The Free Church of Scotland. Edinburgh. . . 1910.']

SEANN FHUINN NAN SALM.

Glasgow, 1931.

Seann Fhuinn na Salm mar a tha iad air an seinn anns/

anns a' Ghaeltachd mu thuath; or, the old Gaelic
psalm tunes as sung in the congregations of the
Free Church of Scotland in the North Highlands.
Taken down by T. L. Hately, precentor to the
General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.
Glasgow: Alex MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle St., C.2.

Reprinted 1931.

2 ff, 21pp, 1 f Ads. 21x17. Mit.
[First ed. 1845 (2 ff, 12pp).]

HAY, GEORGE CAMPBELL. FUARAN SLÉIBH.
Glasgow, [Fore.1947].

Fuaran Sléibh. Rainn Ghaidhlig le Deorsa
Caimbeul Hay. Uilleam Mac Gill' Phaolain,
240 Sraid an Dochais, Glaschu, Alba.
66pp. 25x15. AU, GU, Mit.
[With English translations in prose.
See discussion of Hay in Part 1, Chapter 4.]

HAY, GEORGE CAMPBELL. O NA CEITHIR AIRDEAN.
Edinburgh, 1952.

O Na Ceithir Airdean. Le Deorsa Caimbeul Hay.
Oliver and Boyd: Tweeddale Court, Edinburgh;
98 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.

First published 1952.

viii, 71pp. 23x15. AU, Mit.
[English translations in prose. Much
translation into Gaelic from other languages.
Printed The Central Press, Aberdeen.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS. ACHD AN FHEARAINN.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh.
Aireamh 43. Achd an Fhearainn. Le Aonghas
Mac Eanruig. [Ill.] A' phris, tri sgillinnean.
Alasdair/

Alasdair Mac Labhrunn agus a Mhic, 360-2
 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
 Pp 113-150. 21x14. PC.
 [Reprinted from 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar
 IX.2, An t-Earrach, 1912.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS. AICHEAMHAIL EAGALACH.
 Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh.
 Aireamh 19. Aicheambail Eagalach, no, Mar
 a dh'eirich do mhurtairean na Ceapaich. Le
 Aonghas Mac Eanruig. [Ill.] A' phris, tri
 sgillinnean. 3d. Alasdair Mac Labhrunn agus
 a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
 Pp 401-432. 21x14. PC.
 [Reprinted from 'An Sgeulaiche', Leabhar
 I.5, A' Cheud Mhios, 1910.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS. CEARD IS CAINNT.
 Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh.
 Aireamh 33. Siubhal air Falbh Impireachd.
 Ceard is Cainnt, le Aonghas Mac Eanruig. [Ill.]
 A' phris, tri sgillinnean. 3d. Alasdair Mac
 Labhrunn agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal,
 Glascho.
 Pp 251-300. 22x14. PC.
 [Reprinted from 'An Sgeulaiche', Leabhar X.3,
 An Samhradh, 1913.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS. CEIST NAN TAIGHEAN.
 Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh.
 Aireamh 41. Ceist nan Taighean. Le Aonghas
 Mac Eanruig. [Ill.] A' phris, tri sgillinnean.
 3d. Alasdair Mac Labhrunn agus a Mhic, 360-2
 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
 Pp 269-286 [also a version, pp 269-310]. 22x14.
 [From 'Guth na Bliadhna', XI.3, Am Foghar, 1914.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS. COGADH NO SITH.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh.
Aireamh 46. Cogadh no Sith. Le Aonghas
Mac Eanruig. [Ill.] A' phris, tri sgillinnean.
3d. Alasdair Mac Labhrunn agus a Mhic, 360-2
Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
Pp 389-404. 22x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar IX.4,
Am Foghar, 1912.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS. AM FEARANN AGUS CISEAN.
Glasgow, 1911.

Am fearann agus cisean. Le A. M. E.
(Air ath-chlòdh bho "Ghuth na Bliadhna".)
The Taxation of Land Values. (Reprinted
from "Guth na Bliadhna".) Price One Penny.
Published for the United Committee for the
Taxation of Land Values, Broad Sanctuary
Chambers, 20, Tothill Street, Westminster,
by "Land Values" Publication Department,
67 West Nile Street, Glasgow, and 376-7
Strand, London, W.C. 1911.
22pp. 22x14. FC.
[Appeared in 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar
VIII. 1, An Geamhradh, 1911.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS. MAR A FHUAIR MAC-BHEATHA 'NA
RIGH.

Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh.
Aireamh 17. Mar a fhuair Mac-Bheatha 'na Righ.
Le Aonghas Mac Eanruig. [Ill.] A' phris, tri
sgillinnean. 3d. Alasdair Mac Labhrunn agus
a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
Pp 223-246. 21x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'An Sgeulaiche', Leabhar
II.3, Am Foghar 1910.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS. MAR GU'N EIREADH NEACH O NA MAIRBH.

Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh. Aireamh 25. Mar gu'n eireadh neach o na mairbh. Le Aonghas Mac Eanruig. [Ill.] A' phris, tri sgillinnean. 3d. Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho. Pp 59-101. 22x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'An Sgeulaiche', Leabhar I.1, Sept. 1909.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS. SGOILTEAN AGUS OILEAN.

Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh. Aireamh 42. Sgoiltean agus Oilean. Le Aonghas Mac Eanruig. Cor, Coir agus Coirich. Le Aonghas Mac Dhonnachaidh. [Ill.] A' phris, tri sgillinnean. 3d. Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho. Pp 250-276. 22x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar IX.3, An Samhradh 1912.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS. SPEALGADH NAN GLASAN.

Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh. Aireamh 44. Ceist nan Ceistean. Spealgadh nan Glasan, le Aonghas Mac Eanruig. [Ill.] A' phris, tri sgillinnean. 3d. Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho. Pp 393-424. 22x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar X.4, An Foghar 1913.]

HENDERSON, ANGUS (editor). See ALBA [newspaper].

HENDERSON, ANGUS (co-author). See AN SOLARAICHE.

HENDERSON, ANGUS. [Note. Native of Ardnamurchan. A journalist to trade. An ardent polemicist in Gaelic and English, his intense political commitment mars his attempts at creative writing. A close associate of Ruairidh Erskine of Mar in his various projects.]

HENDERSON, GEORGE. THE GAELIC DIALECTS.
[Halle, a.S., 1903, -05].

The Gaelic Dialects.

[End colophon] George Henderson, Manse of Edderachillis, Scourie, Sutherland.
123pp [i.e. pp 1-123]. 23x16. Mit., PC.
[Reprint from 'Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie', Bind IV & V, 1903 & 1905.]

HENDERSON, GEORGE (editor). See MACLEOD, Dr. NORMAN, Minister of St. Columba's Church, Glasgow. THE HIGHLANDERS' FRIEND: SECOND SERIES.

HIGHLAND ASSOCIATION, THE. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

HIGHLAND VILLAGE ASSOCIATION, THE. LEABHAR A' CHLACHAIN.

Glasgow, 1911.

Leabhar a' Chlachain. Home Life of the Highlanders, 1400-1746. Printed for the Highland Village Association, Limited, Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry, Kelvingrove, Glasgow, by Robert Maclehose & Co., Limited, at the University Press, Glasgow. 1911. viii, 148pp. 22x14. EU:CL.
[In Gaelic, 'An Clachan a bh'ann' by Kenneth MacLeod, pp 135-145.]

HIGHLAND VILLAGE ASSOCIATION, THE. SOUVENIR
AN CLACHAN.

[Glasgow, 1911.]

Souvenir an Clachan (the Highland Village). [Ill.]

[End colophon] Printed by Wm. Ritchie & Sons,
Ltd., Edinburgh, for A. MacLaren & Son, The
Clachan.

12 ff [leaves]. 11.1x17. PC.

[12 loosely bound photos with captions
in Gaelic and English.]

HIGHLAND WITNESS, THE. See UNITED FREE CHURCH
OF SCOTLAND. AN FHIANUIS GHAIÐHEALACH.

HODGE, ARCHIBALD. AN REITE.

Edinburgh, [Intro.1916].

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. An Reite. Hodge.

[Here crest of burning bush, circumscribed
by the legend,-- Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais
Shaor Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed
by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church
of Scotland, The United Free Church of Scotland,
and The Free Church of Scotland.

xii, 99pp. 14x10. NLS.

[Translation of 'The Atonement' by Rev.
Archibald Alexander Hodge. Intro. dated
1916. Issued for soldiers.]

HOGAN, EDMUND (∞-editor). LUIBHLEABHRAN.

Dublin, 1900.

Luibhleabhran: Irish and Scottish Gaelic Names
of herbs, plants, trees, etc. By F. Edmund
Hogan, S.J., F.R.U.I., D.Litt.; John Hogan, B.A.;
John C. Mac erlean, S.J. Dochum Gloire De
agus Onóra na hEireann. Dublin: M. H. Gill
and Son, O' Connel Street. David Nutt, 57-59,
Longacre/

Longacre, London. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.
1900. [All rights reserved.]
xii, 137pp, 2 ff Ads. 19x13. AU, GU:CL, CoS.

HOGAN, JOHN (co-editor). LUIBHLEABHRAN. See
HOGAN, EDMUND (co-editor).

HOLMER, NILS M. THE GAELIC OF ARRAN.
Dublin, 1957.

The Gaelic of Arran. By Nils M. Holmer.
Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced
Studies, 64-5 Merrion Square. 1957.
viii, 211pp. 23x15. GU.
[Printed Alec Tom agus a Chuid., Baile
Atha Cliath (Dublin).]

HOLMER, NILS M. THE GAELIC OF KINTYRE.
Dublin, 1962.

The Gaelic of Kintyre. By Nils M. Holmer.
Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced
Studies, 64-5 Merrion Square. 1962.
6 ff, 160pp. 23x15. GU.
[Printed Tom, Dublin.]

HOLMER, NILS M. STUDIES ON ARGYLLSHIRE GAELIC.
Uppsala, 1938.

Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-
Samfundet i Uppsala. 31:1. Studies on
Argyllshire Gaelic, by Nils M. Holmer. [Crest.]
Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B.
Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.

Uppsala 1938.
231pp, 8 ff Ads. 24x16. GU.

HORAN, ELLAMAY (editor). See ROMAN CATHOLIC
CHURCH. LEABHAR CHEIST NA CLOINNE BIGE.

HYMNARY:

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. LAOIDHEADAIR GAIDHLIG.

MACBEAN, LACHLAN. THE SONGS AND HYMNS OF
THE GAEL.

ST. COLUMBA PARISH CHURCH. LEABHAR LAOIDHEAN.

IAIN (pseudonym). See WHYTE, JOHN.

IAIN BEAG FHIONNLAIGH. ANNS AN TIGHEARNA IOSA
CRIOSD THA AR N-EARBSA.

Glasgow, n.d.

Anns an Tighearna Iosa Criosd tha ar n-Earbsa.
'O! Thalaimh criothnaich fòs le geilt, / Roimh
Ghnùis Iehóbhah mhóir, / O! criothnaich fòs le
geilt roimh Ghnùis, / Dhé Iacoib mar is còir'.
Iain Beag Fhionnlaigh, Bragair, Leodhas.

Glascho:- Alasdair MacLabhrainn agus a Mhic,
268 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.

35pp. 19x13.

PC.

[Reviewed in 'An Gaidheal' 1950. Hymns.]

IAIN OG ILE (pseudonym). See CAMPBELL, JOHN F.

INVERNESS GAELIC SOCIETY. See GAELIC SOCIETY
OF INVERNESS.

INVERNESS ROYAL ACADEMY. See SCHOOL MAGAZINES.

IRISLEABHAR CEILTEACH.

Toronto, 1952-54.

Irisleabhar Ceilteach. Fir Deasachaidh/
Eagarthoirí -- Iain MacAoidh, 343 Belsize
Drive, Toronto 12; Pádraig O Broin, 52 Derwyn
Road, Toronto 6; Iain MacGhilleMhaoil.
Alba Breiz Cymru Eire Eilan Vannin Kernow.
I.1. Deire Fómhair - An Dámhar 1952.

[Iain MacGhilleMhaoil dropped from list
of editors after I.3; Ioan Ap Siencyn
added, II.3. Minor changes in title page
for virtually every issue.]

Brezounek Cymraeg Kernowek Gaelige
Gàidhlig Gailck. Irisleabhar Ceilteach
(Y Goelcert). Iain M. MacAoidh; Padraig
O Broin; Ioan Prys Ap Siencyn: 343 Belsize
Drive, Toronto 12, Canada. Guthan: HU.9-0535.
Ráitheachán - luach bliadhnail (táille bhliana)
\$2.00. Iml. II, uimh. 4. Foghmhar, 1954.

[Last seen.]

112pp in Vol. I; 96pp in Vol. II. 22x14. NLS.

[Quarterly. A Pan-Celtic magazine of
miscellaneous content.]

IUL A' CHRIOSTÁIDH. See ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

JOHN, EVAN. OR CHOIGREACH.

Glasgow, n.d.

Or Choigreach. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh.
Gaelic translation of the one-act play, "Strangers'
Gold", by Evan John. Air eadar-theangachadh le
Lachlann Mac Fhionghuin. Glasgow: Brown, Son
& Ferguson, Ltd., Publishers, 52 to 58 Darnley
Street.

23pp. 19x13.

[Ca. 1950.]

JOHNSON, Dr. SAMUEL. See DO'N OLLA SHASGUNNACH.

JOHNSTON, ANNIE (translator). See BARTLETT,
SAMUEL. BRAID AIR A' BHRAID.

JOHNSTON, ANNIE ('collaborator'). See CAMPBELL,
JOHN L. GAELIC FOLKSONGS FROM THE ISLE OF
BARRA.

JOHNSTON, DUNCAN. CRONAN NAN TONN.
Glasgow, 1938.

Cronan nan Tonn. Le Donnachadh Mac Iain.
(The Croon of the Sea.) By Duncan Johnston.
With Foreword by Dr. Archd. N. Currie, M.A.,
M.B., Ch.B., D.Sc., Medical Inspector of
Factories for Scotland. Glasgow: Archd.
Sinclair, Celtic Press, 27a Cadogan Street.
1938.

64pp. 26x20. Mit.
[Music in staff; piano accompaniment.
English translations.]

JOHNSTON, DUNCAN (co-author). CEITHIR COMHRAIDHEAN.
See BANNERMAN, JOHN (co-author).

KELP INDUSTRY, THE. See OBAIR A' CHELP.

KENNEDY, Dr. [JOHN]. SEARMON AGUS ORAID.
Edinburgh, n.d.

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Searmon agus Oraid.
An Dr Ceanaideach. [Here crest of burning
bush, circumscribed by the legend-- Eaglais
na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte, An
Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd,
Edinburgh, for The Church of Scotland, The United
Free Church of Scotland, and The Free Church
of Scotland.

56pp. 14x10. NLS.
[For soldiers in World War I.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). FOUR
HEBRIDEAN LOVE LILTS.

London, n.d.

Low Voice. Medium Voice. High Voice.
Four Hebridean Love Lilts. Collected and
arranged by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser and Kenneth
MacLeod. Price 3/6 net. Boosey & Co.:
295 Regent Street, London, W.; 9, East 17th
Street, New York; and, 229, Yonge Street,
Toronto. These songs may be sung in public
without fee or licence. The public performance
of any parodied version, however, is strictly
prohibited. Copyright by Boosey & Co.
4 ff, 19pp, 1 f Appreciation. 31x25. Mit.
[With English verse translations. Staff;
piano. Mit. copy acquired 1922.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). FROM THE
HEBRIDES.

Glasgow, [Intro.1925].

From the Hebrides. Further Gleanings of Tale
and Song. By M. Kennedy-Fraser and Kenneth
MacLeod. Paterson's Publications Ltd.:
52 Buchanan Street, Glasgow; 95 Wimpole Street,
London.
1 f Ill. [photo of M. K-F.], xxiii, 131pp, 2 ff.
32x26. AU, Mit.
[Introduction signed,--'Marjorie Kennedy-
Fraser, Edinburgh, 1st October, 1925!'
With English verse trans.; staff; piano.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY. MORE SONGS OF THE
HEBRIDES.

London, n.d.

More Songs of the Hebrides. Collected,
edited, translated and arranged for voice and
pianoforte by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser. Price
7/6 net. Boosey & Co., Ltd., 295, Regent
Street/

Street, London, W.1., and Steinway Hall,
111-113, West 57th Street, New York. Copyright
by Boosey & Co., Ltd. Printed in England.
1 f Ill., viii, 55pp, 1 f Appreciation.
32x26. Mit.
[English verse trans. with Gaelic; staff;
piano.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). SEA TANGLE.
London, [c.1913].

Sea Tangle. Some more Songs of the Hebrides.
Collected, edited, translated, and arranged
for voice and pianoforte by Marjorie Kennedy-
Fraser and Kenneth Macleod. Price 5/- net.
Boosey & Co.: 295 Regent Street, London, W.;
9 East Seventh Street, New York. Copyright
1913 by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser.
44pp. 32x25. AU.
[As above.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). SEVEN
SONGS OF THE HEBRIDES.
[London], n.d.

Seven Songs of the Hebrides by M. Kennedy-
Fraser & Kenneth MacLeod sung by Kenneth
McKellar (on Decca LK.4399). Birlinn of
White Shoulders; An Eriskay Love Lilt; Heart
of Fire Love; Sleeps the Noon in the Deep
Blue Sky; Land of Heart's Desire; Peat Fire
Flame; Bens of Jura. [Ill.] Boosey & Hawkes.
22pp. 31x24. NLS.
[Both notations.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). SONGS OF
THE HEBRIDES, [FIRST VOLUME].
London, [c.1909].

Songs of the Hebrides and Other Celtic Songs
from the Highlands of Scotland. Some collected
and/

and all arranged for voice and pianoforte by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser. Gaelic Editor - Kenneth Macleod. Price One Guinea. Boosey & Co.: 295, Regent Street, London, W.; and 9, East Seventeenth Street, New York. Copyright 1909 by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser.

4 ff, xxix, 5 ff, 163pp. 32x26. AU, GU, Mit.
[Gaelic and English; staff; piano.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). SONGS OF THE HEBRIDES, [FIRST VOLUME]. (cont.)
London, [c.1922].

First Volume, Songs of the Hebrides. Collected and arranged for voice and pianoforte, with Gaelic and English words, by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser and Kenneth Macleod. Boosey & Co.: 295 Regent Street, London, W.; 9 East 17th Street, New York. Copyright 1909, by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser. New Edition, Copyright 1922 by Boosey & Co.

1 f Ill. [photo], xxxviii, 2 ff, 168pp.
32x26. Mit.
[As above.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). SONGS OF THE HEBRIDES, SECOND VOLUME.
London, [c.1917].

Second Volume, Songs of the Hebrides. Collected and arranged for voice and pianoforte, with Gaelic and English words, by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser and Kenneth Macleod. Boosey & Co.: 295, Regent Street, London, W.; and 9, East 17th Street, New York. Copyright 1917 by Boosey & Co.

1 f Title, 4 ff Ills. [photos], xxx, 242pp,
1 f Appreciations. 33x26. GU, Mit.
[As above.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). SONGS OF
THE HEBRIDES, [THIRD VOLUME].
London, [c.1921].

Third Volume, Songs of the Hebrides. Collected
and arranged for voice and pianoforte, with
Gaelic and English words, by Marjory Kennedy-
Fraser and Kenneth Macleod. Boosey & Co.:
295, Regent Street, London, W.; 9, East 17th
Street, New York; and, 384, Yonge Street,
Toronto. Copyright 1921 by Boosey & Co.
1 f Ill. [photo], 1 f Title, xxiv, 185pp,
1 f 'Fare Thee Well'. 32x26. Mit.

[As above, i.e. Gaelic originals and English
verse translation, music in staff notation,
piano accompaniment. Most of the songs
from the three volumes were also sold
individually.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). SONGS OF
THE HEBRIDES FOR SCHOOLS.
[London], n.d.

M. Kennedy-Fraser. Kenneth Macleod. Songs of
the Hebrides for Schools. Vocal Score. Boosey
& Hawkes.
21pp. 27x18. PC.
[Gaelic and English; staff; piano.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY. TEN SELECTED SONGS OF
THE HEBRIDES.
London, n.d.

Ten selected Songs of the Hebrides (from
Vols. I, II and III) for unison singing in
schools. Arranged by M. Kennedy-Fraser.
Edition with words & voice parts (in Old
Notation & Tonic Sol-fa). Boosey & Hawkes,
Ltd., 295, Regent Street, London, W.1.
Printed in England.
23pp, 1 f Ads. 19x13. PC.
[Gaelic and English.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). TWELVE
SELECTED SONGS OF THE HEBRIDES, [from VOLUME
ONE].

London, [Fore.1914].

Twelve Selected Songs of the Hebrides, Collected,
edited, translated and arranged for voice and
pianoforte by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser and Kenneth
Macleod. Price 5/- net. (\$1.50). Boosey & Co.:
295, Regent Street, London, W.; New York, 9,
East Seventeenth Street; and, Toronto, 229,
Yonge Street. These songs may be sung in public
without fee or licence. Copyright by Marjory
Kennedy-Fraser.

1 f Ill. [photo], 6 ff, 50pp, 3 ff Ads.
31x26.

Mit.

[Foreword signed,-- Marjory Kennedy-Fraser,
Edinburgh, 1914'. The songs are from Vol. I.]

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). TWELVE
SELECTED SONGS OF THE HEBRIDES, [from VOLUME
TWO].

London, n.d.

From Volume II, Twelve selected Songs of the
Hebrides. Collected, edited, translated and
arranged for voice and pianoforte by Marjory
Kennedy-Fraser and Kenneth Macleod. Price
7/6 net. Boosey & Co., Limited. Sole Selling
Agents: Boosey & Hawkes, Ltd., 295 Regent Street,
London, W.1.; New York, Los Angeles, Sydney,
Cape Town, Toronto, Paris. All Rights Reserved.
Printed in England.

60pp. 31x26.

PC.

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY (co-editor). TWELVE
SELECTED SONGS OF THE HEBRIDES, [from VOLUME
THREE].

London, n.d.

From Volume III, . . . [as above.]
60pp. 34x26.

PC.

KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY, and MACLEOD, KENNETH. [Note.
Among the best known collectors of Gaelic folksongs.
Their work introduced Gaelic music to a wide
public, but is now almost universally discredited
on account of the romanticising liberties
taken with the words and music.]

LA BHRUINN, AILGHINN. MACHRAICHEAN MORA CHANADA.
Ottawa, 1907.

Machraichean Mora Chanada; Dorus Fosgailte
do'n Ghaidheal. Aithris air mar a dh'aiticheadh
Canada le sluagh na h-Alba; na cothroman a tha,
an diugh, a' feitheamh air daoine na Gaidhealtachd
a thig gu Canada-an-iar: air an cur fa chomhair
an leughadair le Ailghinn La Bhruinn. [Here a
verse.] Air a chur am mach le ughdarras Ard-
Uachdaranachd Chanada, ann an Ottawa. 1907.
56pp, 1 f. 18x13. PC.

LAING, HUGH. GU TIR MO LUaidH.
Stornoway, [Pref.1964].

Gu Tir mo Luaidh (Dàin Eilthireach, Sgeulachdan
agus Eachdraidh). Le Uisdean Laing.
[End colophon] Air a chlà-bhualadh agus air a
chur a mach le:- Paipear-Naigheachd Steòrnabhaigh,
10 Sràid Fhrangain, Steòrnabhagh, Eilean Leòdhuis.
71pp. 23x15.
['Facal bho charaid' signed, - 'Ruaraidh Mac-
Thomais, Oilthigh Ghlaschu, 29:12:64!
Mainly Gaelic translations of poetry from
other languages: these read fluently but
there is a tendency to couthiness.]

LAITHEAN CEISDE ANN AN LEODHAS.
Stornoway, n.d.

Laithean Ceisde ann an Leodhas mu'n a' bhliadhna
1880. Published by Donald M. Campbell and
printed by Stornoway Gazette Ltd., 10 Francis
Street, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis.
48pp. 22x14. PC.
[Photo. Recent. Homilies.]

LAMONT, DONALD. PROSE WRITINGS.
Edinburgh, 1960.

Prose Writings of Donald Lamont (1874-1958).
Edited by Thomas M. Murchison. Published by
Oliver and Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts
Society. Edinburgh. 1960.

Scottish Gaelic Texts. Volume Six.
xxxii, 212pp. 23x15.
[Printed Robert Cunningham & Son, Alva.]

LAMONT, DONALD (editor). See CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.
LIFE AND WORK: GAELIC SUPPLEMENT.

[LANG, ANDREW] (author). See WHYTE, HENRY.
NAIDHEACHDAN FIRINNEACH. [Note.]

[LAOIDH NA RIOGHACHD.]

N.p., n.d.

L. M. Doxology. . . "Gu'm bu fada beò an rìgh".
1p. 13x9. PC.
[A card.]

LAOIDH NA RIOGHACHD.

N.p., n.d.

Laoidh na Rìoghachd. The National Anthem. . .
Ead. le K. W. G.
1p. 20x12. PC.
[By K. Whyte Grant.]

LAOIDH NA RIOGHACHD.

Edinburgh, 1911.

Laoidh na Rìoghachd. The National Anthem, with
music. Translated into Gaelic by The Rev. D.
MacKintosh, M.A., St Kentigern's, Lanark. As
accepted by his late Majesty King Edward VII.
Second edition. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31
George/

George IV. Bridge. 1911. Price 2d.
 3ff. 22x14. PC.
 [First ed. not seen. Both notations.]

LAOIDHEADAIR [GAIDHLIG]. See CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

LEABHAR A' CHLACHAIN. See HIGHLAND VILLAGE ASSOCIATION.

LEABHAR AIDEACHAIDH A' CHREIDIMH.
 Edinburgh, 1960.

Leabhar Aideachaidh a' Chreidimh, le dà
 Leabhar a' Cheasnachaidh, maille ri Suim agus
 Feum an Eòlais Shlàinteil: eadar-theangaichte o'n
 Bheurla chum Gaelic Albannaich, air tus le Seanadh
 Earra-Ghaeil 's a' bhliadhna MDCCXXV; a rìs le
 Gileabart MacDhòmhnuill, 's a' bhliadhn' MDCCCIV;
 agus a nis ath-leasaichte chum na cànan ghnàthaichte
 's a' bhliadhn' MDCCCXXXVIII. Edinburgh: reprinted
 by The Free Church of Scotland Publications
 Committee. 1960.
 viii, 261pp. 17x11. Stornoway Public Library.

LEABHAR AITHGHEARR NAN CEIST. See MACDONALD,
 Rev. Dr. JOHN, of Ferintosh.

LEABHAR CHEIST NA CLOINNE BIGE. See ROMAN
 CATHOLIC CHURCH.

LEABHAR LAOIDHEAN EAGLAIS EAGLAIS CHALUIM CHILLE.
 See ST COLUMBA CHURCH. LEABHAR LAOIDHEAN.

LEABHAR NA H-ARD-FHEISE. See CEILIDH NAN GAIDHEAL.

LEABHAR URNAIGH. See under ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.
 AITHGHEARRADH TEAGASG CHRIOSTA.

LEABHRAICHEAN A' CHOMUINN [Elementary school books
 translated from French by Donald Grant]. See:
 ANDERSEN, HANS. BANRIGH AN T-SNEACHDA.
 ANDERSEN, HANS. LUDAG BHEAG.
 GRIMM, [JAKOB & WILHELM]. ROSBHAN IS ROSDHONN.

LEABHRAICHEAN LEUGHAI DH. See MACKINNON, LACHLAN.

LEABHRAICHEAN NAN CEILIDH [Reprints from Guth na Bliadhna and An Sgeulaiche, published by Alex. MacLaren & Son, Glasgow, ca. 1930.]. See:

BHEAN NIGHE, A'.

BLAR NA SAORSA.

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. CLANN AN RIGH FO GHEASAIBH.

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. FEAR A' BHRATAIN UAINNE.

CAMPBELL, JOHN F. MOGAN DEARG MAC IACHAIR.

CEIST NAN CEISTEAN. [Under HENDERSON, ANGUS.
SPEALGADH NAN GLASAN.]

ERSKINE, RUARAI DH, OF MAR. AIR EACHDRAIDH.

HENDERSON, ANGUS. ACHD AN FHEARAINN.

HENDERSON, ANGUS. AICHEAMHAIL EAGALACH.

HENDERSON, ANGUS. CEARD IS CAINNT.

HENDERSON, ANGUS. CEIST NAN TAIGHEAN.

HENDERSON, ANGUS. COGADH NO SITH.

HENDERSON, ANGUS. MAR A FHUAIR MAC-BHEATHA
'NA RIGH.

HENDERSON, ANGUS. MAR GU'N EIREADH NEACH O
NA MAIRBH.

HENDERSON, ANGUS. SGOILTEAN AGUS OILEAN.

HENDERSON, ANGUS. SPEALGADH NAN GLASAN.

MacCORMICK, JOHN. EILEAN DIDEIL.

LEABHRAICHEAN NAN CEILIDH (cont.):

MacCORMICK, JOHN. THALL 'S A BHOS.

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR. A' BHRAISD LATHURNACH.

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. MAIRI NIGHEAN ALASDAIR
RUAIDH.

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. AN SGEUL GOIRID. [Under
MacCORMICK. THALL 'S A BHOS.]

PEITEAG RUAIDH. [Under ERSKINE, RUARAIIDH, OF
MAR. AIR EACHDRAIDH.]

ROBERTSON, ANGUS. COR, COIR AGUS COIRICH. [Under
HENDERSON, ANGUS. SGOILTEAN AGUS OILEAN.]

SINCLAIR, DONALD. A' MHOR-ROINN AGUS AM
FEARANN.

SIUBHAL AIR FALBH IMPIREACHD. [Under HENDERSON,
ANGUS. CEARD IS CAINNT.]

WHYTE, HENRY. MAR A DH'EIRICH CUID DE NA
SEAN-FHACAIL.

[Note. About 46 of these reprints issued.
Because of the ephemeral nature of these
publications, few were purchased by
libraries: most of those seen were in
private collections. In the strictest
sense, these reprints fall outwith the
remit of this bibliography, but an
exception has been made because of
their interest.]

LEABHRAICHEAN SGOILE GAIDHLIG. See WATSON,
WILLIAM J. (general editor). [Re-published
as LEABHRAICHEAN LEUGHAIIDH; see MACKINNON,
LACHLAN.]

LEABHRAICHEAN URA GAIDHLIG OILTHIGH GHLASCHU
[General Editor: Derick S. Thomson]. See

MACASKILL, ALASDAIR I. ROSG NAN EILEAN.

LEABHRAICHEAN URA GAIDHLIG OILTHIGH OB AIR-
DHEADHAIN [General Editor: Derick S. Thomson].
See:

MACLEOD, MURDO, Gaelic Organiser for Schools.
LAITHEAN GEALA.

SMITH, IAIN. AN DUBH IS AN GORM.

LEASAIN GH AIDHLIG. See DICK, LACHLAN (co-editor).

LEES, JAMES CAMERON. See CAMERON LEES, JAMES.

LEVERHULME, LORD. ADHARTAS AN LATHA 'N DIUGH.
Port Sunlight, [1919].

[1st Title Page] Twentieth Century Developement
in Lewis and Harris. An address by Lord
Leverhulme to the Philosophical Institution,
Edinburgh, November 4th, 1919.

[2nd Title Page] Adhartas an latha 'n diugh
an Leodhas 's na Hearradh. Oraid a chaidh a
thoirt seachad leis a' Mhorair Leverhulme an
Talla nam Feallsanach, Duneideann, an 4mh là
de'n t-Samhuinn, 1919.

[Cover] Port Sunlight: printed by Lever
Brothers Limited.
22pp[English], 22pp[Gaelic]. 20x14. PC.

LHUYD, EDWARD. See CAMPBELL, JOHN L. (co-editor).
EDWARD LHUYD IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS.

LIFE AND WORK: GAELIC SUPPLEMENT. See CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

LINDSAY, MAURICE. MODERN SCOTTISH POETRY.
London, 1946.

Modern Scottish Poetry. An Anthology of the Scottish Renaissance, 1920-1945. Edited by Maurice Lindsay. Faber and Faber Limited, 24 Russel Square, London.

First published in MCMXLVI by Faber & Faber Limited.
145pp. 20x13. Mit.

[Gaelic poems by George Hay, Sorley MacLean, Donald Sinclair and Derick Thomson. An important recognition by the Lowland Scottish literary establishment of the revival in Gaelic poetry.]

MODERN SCOTTISH POETRY.
London, 1966.

Modern Scottish Poetry. An Anthology of the Scottish Renaissance. Edited by Maurice Lindsay. Faber and Faber Ltd., 24 Russel Square, London.

First published in MCMXLVI. Second edition, revised and entirely reset, published in MCMLXVI.

200pp. 21x14. Mit.

[The same poets as in the 1st ed. (i.e. the same Gaelic poets). 9 Gaelic poems in a total of over 150.]

LINDSAY, MAURICE (co-editor). SCOTTISH POETRY, NUMBER ONE and SCOTTISH POETRY, NUMBER THREE. See BRUCE, GEORGE (co-editor).

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE GAELIC DIALECTS OF
SCOTLAND. See:

BØRGSTROM, CARL HJ. THE DIALECTS OF SKYE
AND ROSS-SHIRE.

BØRGSTROM, CARL HJ. THE DIALECTS OF THE OUTER
HEBRIDES.

OFTEDAL, MAGNE. THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST.

LIONEL J.S. SCHOOL. See SCHOOL MAGAZINES.

LLOYD, JOSEPH. ALASDAIR MAC COLLA.
Dublin, 1914.

Alasdair Mac Colla. Sain-eolus ar a
ghniomharthaibh gaisge. Seosamh Laoide do
chuir le chéile. Déantúsai o Eoin Mhac
Néill agus o Niall Mac Mhuireadhaigh sa
leabhar so. [Quotation from Niall Mac
Mhuireadhaigh.] Clódhanna, Teo.: ar n-a
chur amach do Chonradh na Gaedhilge i mBaile
Atha Cliath. 1914.
viii, 76pp. 18x12. PC.

[From the Clanranald ms; the ms. original
is in classical ('bardic') Irish, and
the present editor has excised the most
distinctively Scottish grammatical
features: its inclusion here is probably
an error on the safe side.]

LOCHABER HIGH SCHOOL [Fort William]. See
SCHOOL MAGAZINES.

LOCHRAN AN ANMA. See ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

LON DUBH, AN: PART I.

Paisley, n.d.

Part I. An Lòndubh (The Blackbird). A collection of Twenty Gaelic Songs, with music, in two-part harmony. Intended for use in the schools of the Highlands; but all the songs are suitable for adults. J. and R. Parlane, Paisley; John Menzies and Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow; Houlston and Sons, London. 2d. net.

16pp. 19x13.

PC.

[Gaelic editor, Malcolm MacFarlane; musical arrangements by R. D. Jameson and Neil Orr. Music in solfa. It appears that Part II was not issued in this format. The first ad. seen was in 1905; T S-G suggests ca. 1908.]

Paisley, n.d.

Part I. An Lon Dubh. The Blackbird. [I11.] The Blackbird. A collection of twenty-eight Gaelic songs, with music, in two-part harmony. Intended for use in the schools of the Highlands; but all the songs are suitable for adults. J. and R. Parlane, Paisley; John Menzies and Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow; Madgwick, Houlston and Co., Ltd., London. 2d. net.

24pp. 19x13.

AU.

[II. in same format: add. as "just out" 1908.]

Dundee, n.d.

Part I. An Lon Dubh. The Blackbird. [I11.] The Blackbird. A collection of twenty-eight Gaelic songs, with music, in two-part harmony. Intended for use in the schools of the Highlands; but all the songs are suitable for adults. Malcolm C. Macleod, 183 Blackness Road, Dundee.

24pp. 19x13.

PC.

LON DUBH, AN: PART II.

Paisley, n.d.

Part II. An Lon Dubh. The Blackbird. [I11.]
The Blackbird. A collection of twenty-six
Gaelic songs, with music, in two-part harmony.
Intended for use in the schools of the
Highlands; but all the songs are suitable for
adults. J. and R. Parlane, Paisley; John
Menzies and Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow; Madgwick,
Houlston and Co., Ltd., London. 2d. net.
24pp. 19x13. AU.

Dundee, n.d.

Part II. An Lon Dubh. The Blackbird. [I11.]
The Blackbird. A collection of twenty-six
Gaelic songs, with music, in two-part harmony.
Intended for use in schools; but all the songs
are suitable for adults. Malcolm C. Macleod,
183 Blackness Road, Dundee.
24pp. 19x13. PC.

[The Dundee eds. were issued a few years
after the first. Both parts are still
in print. See under MACFARLANE, MALCOLM
for other song books edd. by him.]

LONDON GAELIC SOCIETY. See COMUNN NA GAIDHLIG
AN LUNNAINN.

LUCAS HEYWOOD.

Edinburgh, n.d.

Lucas Heywood. Edinburgh: Andrew Stevenson.
"Luke Heywood". One penny. 6/- per 100.
31pp. 10.7x8. FC.

LUIÑNEAGAN TAGHTE.

Glasgow, n.d.

An luach, da sgillinn (Price, 2d).
Luinneagan Taghte (Choice Lyrics in Gaelic).

[End colophon] Printed and published by
Archd. Sinclair, Celtic Press, 27a Cadogan
Street, Glasgow, C.2.

4pp. 26x19.

PC.

[29 popular songs, some very fine. No music.]

MACADAM, ALEXANDER (co-author). DIOGHLUIM O
THEAGASG NAN AITHRICHEAN.

Glasgow, n.d.

Dioghlum o Theagasg nan Aithrichean. Earaillean
aig bord communachaidh, & c., leis na h-Urramaich
Alasdair MacAdam, Raoghal Ban, agus Lachlan
MacCoinnich. Air ur chlo-bhualadh. Glasgow:
John M'Neilage, 65 Great Western Road. 1900.
22pp. Mit.

[First ed. 1868. Mit. copy now lost.]

MACADAM, DONALD M. GAELIC SERMON.

N.p., n.d.

"Gaelic Sermon". [In 'Centenary of the first
landing of a Catholic Bishop on the shores of
the Bras d'Or Lakes, Cape Breton, 1815-1915.]

[Clare. Dunn. Not seen.]

MACADAM, DONALD M. TEAGASG CHRIOST.

Antigonish, n.d.

Teagasg Chrìost air son Cloinne Bige.

Antigonish.

[Clare. Dunn. Not seen.]

MACALPINE, NEIL. A PRONOUNCING GAELIC DICTIONARY.

Edinburgh, 1903.

A Pronouncing Gaelic Dictionary, to which is
prefixed a concise but most comprehensive
Gaelic Grammar. By Neil M'Alpine. "Without a
considerable knowledge of Gaelic no person can
make/

make any proficiency whatever in philology."-
 Dr Murray, late Professor of Oriental Languages,
 Edinburgh. Twelfth edition. Edinburgh: John
 Grant. 1903.

iii-lix, 549. 20x13. PC.

[Contains the English-Gaelic section,
 which was edited by John MacKenzie, as
 well as the Gaelic-English part, edited
 by MacAlpine; the latter first appeared
 in 1832, the former in 1845.]

MACALPINE, NEIL. A PRONOUNCING GAELIC DICTIONARY.
 (cont.) Edinburgh, 1906.

[Identical reprint.]

iii-lix, 549pp. 20x13.

[No more reprints seen; revised ed. in
 1929: see immediately below.]

MACALPINE, NEIL. A PRONOUNCING GAELIC-ENGLISH
 DICTIONARY.

Glasgow, 1929.

A Pronouncing Gaelic-English Dictionary.
 By Neil MacAlpine. Glasgow: Alexander
 Maclaren & Son, 360-2 Argyle Street, C.2.

Maclaren's New Edition 1929.

iii-xvi, 281pp, 3 ff Ads. 20x13.

A PRONOUNCING GAELIC-ENGLISH
 DICTIONARY.

[Reprints as below.]

The above was reprinted in the following
 years: 1934, 1936, 1941, 1948, 1955, 1957, 1962.

[The English-Gaelic part was bound with
 the 1962 ed.; for the various separate
 reprints of the English-Gaelic part, see
 under MACKENZIE, JOHN.]

McALPINE, NEIL. A PRONOUNCING GAELIC GRAMMAR.
Edinburgh, 1901.

A Pronouncing Gaelic Grammar. By Neil
McAlpine. Edinburgh: 31 George IV. Bridge.
1901.

1 f Title Page, pp xv-lix. 19x13. AU.
[The introduction to MacAlpine's Dictionary,
offprinted.]

MACARTHUR, BESSY J. CLANN RIGH LOCHLAINN.
Glasgow, n.d.

Clann Rìgh Lochlainn. Dealbh-chluich le
Beitidh Nic Artair. Air eadartheangachadh
o'n Bheurla le Dòmhnall MacDhòmhnuaill.
Choisinn an dealbh-chluich, Clann Rìgh Lochlainn,
an aon duais a bha Comunn Radio Albann
a' tairgsinn ré na bliadhna 1926-1927 air
son comhfharpaisean dhealbh-chluichean.
Chaidh an dealbh-chluich so a chraobh-
sgaoileadh air son a' cheud uair, trìd an
Radio, le Luchd-cluiche Dùthchail Albann,
air a' cheud là ar fhichead de'n Ghiblein
anns a' bhliadhna 1927. [Ill.] Glascho:
Alasdair Mac Labhrainn 's a Mhic, 268 Sraid
Earraghaidheal, C.2.

16pp. 19x12. EPL, Mit.
[Add. as "New Gaelic play" in 'An Gaidheal',
1934; MacLaren's address changed from
360-2 to 268 Argyle Street post-1930.]

MACASKILL, ALASDAIR I. ROSG NAN EILEAN.
Glasgow, 1966.

Rosg nan Eilean. Deasaichte le Alasdair
I. MacAsgaill. Roinn nan Canan Ceilteach,
Oilthigh Ghlaschu. 1966. iii.

Leabhraichean ùra Gàidhlig Oilthigh Ghlaschu.
Fo stiùireadh Ruairidh MhicThomais. Aireamh 3.
Sreath na Sgoile - Leabhar 2.
viii, 250pp. 22x15.

[A wide-ranging and lively prose anthology.]

MACASKILL, IAIN ARCHIE. AN RIBHEID CHIUIL.
Stirling, 1961.

An Ribheid Chiuil. Being the Poems of Iain Archie MacAskill, 1898-1933, Bard of Berneray, Harris. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Alick Morrison, M.A. (Hons.), Principal Teacher of History in Knightswood and Riverside Secondary Schools, Glasgow; Author of "The Clan Morrison"; Editor, "Orain Chaluum". Stirling: printed for the Editor by A. Learmonth & Son, 9 King Street. 1961. 4 ff Ills. [photos], 124pp. 22x14.

MACASKILL, M.. A. (editor). See MO LEABHAR I: LEABHAR-LEUGHAI DH/LEABHAR-OIBREACH; and MO LEABHAR II: LEABHAR-LEUGHAI DH.

MACASKILL, MALCOLM. ORAIN CHALUIM.
N.p., n.d.

Orain Chaluum. Being the poems of Malcolm MacAskill, bard of Berneray, Harris. Edited by Alick Morrison, M.A. (Hons.), Principal Teacher of History in Knightswood Sen. Sec. School and Riverside Sen. Sec. School, Glasgow, Author of "The Clan Morrison".

81pp. 22x14.

[First add. 1965.]

MACAULAY, DONALD. SEOBHRACH AS A' CHLAICH.
Glasgow, 1967.

Seobhrach as a' Chlaich. Ceithir fichead dan 7 eile a sgrìobh Domhnall MacAmhlaigh. Gairm. Glaschu. 1967.

Clo-bhualaidhean Gairm - Leabhar 6.

107pp. 23x15.

[English translations of a large number of the poems. See discussion of MacAulay's poetry in Part 1: Chapter 4.]

MACBAIN, ALEXANDER. AN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY
OF THE GAELIC LANGUAGE.

Stirling, 1911.

An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic
Language. By Alexander MacBain, LL.D.

Stirling: Eneas MacKay. 1911.

1 f Ill. [photo of MacBain], xxxvi, 412pp,
8 ff. 22x16. GU, Mit.

[First ed. 1896; rev. by Malcolm
MacFarlane, who provides an Editorial
Note. Printed by the Northern Counties
Newspaper and Printing and Publishing
Company, Limited, Inverness.]

MACBAIN, ALEXANDER. HIGHER GRADE READINGS.

Inverness, 1905.

Higher Grade Readings with Outlines of Grammar
and all the King's Scholarship Examination
papers in Gaelic (1888 to 1904). For King's
Scholarship and Leaving Certificate Examinations.

Edited by Alexander MacBain, LL.D., author of
"An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic
Language". Inverness: The "Northern Chronicle"
Office. 1905.

xxxvi, 106pp, 1 f Index, 1 f Ads. 19x13. AU,
GU, Mit., NLS.

GAELIC READER.

Inverness, 1919.

Gaelic Reader with Outlines of Grammar for
use in Higher Classes of schools in the
Highlands. Alexander MacBain, LL.D., author
of "An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic
Language", etc. New Edition. Inverness: "The
Northern Chronicle" Office. 1919.

xxxv, 98pp, 2 ff Ads. 18x13. Mit.

[Printed Northern Counties, etc, Inverness.]

MACBAIN, ALEXANDER. GAE LIC READER. (cont.)
Inverness, 1920.

Gaelic Reader with Outlines of Grammar for use in Higher Classes of schools in the Highlands. By Alexander MacBain, LL.D., author of "An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language", etc. Third edition. Inverness: The "Northern Chronicle" Office. 1920.

xxxv, 99pp, 1 f Ads. 18x13. AU.
[Contains the Preface to the 1905 and 1919 eds. Printed by Northern Counties, etc, Inverness.]

MACBAIN, ALEXANDER. (co-author). HOW TO LEARN GAE LIC.
Inverness, 1902.

How to Learn Gaelic. Orthographical instructions, grammar and reading lessons. By Alexander MacBain, LL.D., and John Whyte. Third Edition. Inverness: The "Northern Chronicle" Office. 1902. 8 ff, 76pp. 19x13. AU, Mit.

[First ed. was 'How to Read Gaelic' by John Whyte, 1897. The above ed. has Preface dated 1902. Printed the Northern Counties, etc, Inverness.]

HOW TO LEARN GAE LIC.
Inverness, 1906.

How to Learn Gaelic. Orthographical instructions, grammar and reading lessons. By Alexander MacBain, LL.D., and John Whyte. Fourth Edition. Inverness: The "Northern Chronicle" Office. 1906.

8 ff, 76pp, 20pp Vocabulary. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit
[The Vocabulary was by John Whyte and was also published separately from How to Learn Gaelic in 1906: see WHYTE, JOHN.]

MACBAIN, ALEXANDER. OUTLINES OF GAELIC
ETYMOLOGY.

Stirling, 1909.

Outlines of Gaelic Etymology. By the late
Alexander MacBain, M.A., LL.D. Eneas MacKay:
Stirling, 1909.

1 f Ill. [photo of MacBain], 4 ff, xxxvii,
a-c [1-3] Supplement, 1 f Corrigenda. 23x15.
[Originally bound with the 1st ed. of
MacBain's Etymological Dictionary.]

MACBEAN, JEAN. DUAN MOLLAIDH.

Oban, n.d.

Duan Molaidh air Alasdair MacArtair, a
Bharbhrìc, Taobh Lochodha. Le Sìne Nic
Bheathain, bantrach Dhomhnuill Chaimbeil,
am Barrantuim. Printed by the Oban Times,
Limited, Oban.

7pp. 17x11.

PC.

MACBEAN, LACHLAN. ELEMENTARY LESSONS IN
GAELIC.

Stirling, 1901.

Elementary Lessons in Gaelic. Reading,
Grammar and Construction, with a Vocabulary
and Key. By L. MacBean. Fifth Edition.

Stirling: Eneas MacKay, Murray Place. 1901.

4 ff, 62pp. 19x13.

GU:CL, Mit.

[First ed. 1876.]

ELEMENTARY LESSONS IN
GAELIC.

Stirling, 1908.

. . . MacBean. Sixth Edition. Stirling:
Eneas MacKay, Murray Place. 1908.

68pp. 19x13.

EPL, NLS.

MACBEAN, LACHLAN. GUIDE TO GAELIC CONVERSATION.
 Stirling, 1901.

Guide to Gaelic Conversation and Pronunciation.
With dialogues, phrases, letter forms, and
vocabularies. By L. Macbean, author of
"Elementary Lessons in Gaelic", "Songs and Hymns
of the Gael", &c. Stirling: Eneas Mackay,
43 Murray Place. 1901.

116pp. 18x12.

AU.

[Printed John Noble, Inverness. First
ed. 1884.]

 GUIDE TO GAELIC CONVERSATION.
 Stirling, 1905.

Guide to Gaelic Conversation and Pronunciation.
With vocabularies, dialogues, phrases and
letter forms. By L. Macbean, author of
"Elementary Lessons in Gaelic", "Songs and
Hymns of the Gaels", etc. Second edition.
Stirling: Eneas Mackay, Murray Place. 1905.

116pp. 19x13.

CoS, EPL, Mit.

[Actually the 4th ed.]

MACBEAN, LACHLAN. PSALMODY.
 Stirling, 1910.

Gaelic Psalmody, in staff and sol-fa, with
English translations. By Lachlan Macbean.
Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 43 Murray Place.
1910.

Ff 69-86. 28x22. Mit.

[Bound with the 1900 ed. of Macbean's
Songs and Hymns, of which the Psalmody
is Part III. First pub. late 19th century.]

MACBEAN, LACHLAN. THE SONGS AND HYMNS OF THE
 GAEL.

 Stirling, 1900.

The Songs and Hymns of the Gael. With
translations and music and an introduction.
By/

By L. Macbean. Stirling: Eneas Mackay,
43 Murray Place. 1900.

xvi, 68 ff. 29x23.

AU, Mit.

[The Songs and Hymns were first published
as separate parts in the 1880's, being first
issued as one bound volume in 1888.]

MACBEAN, LACHLAN. SONGS OF THE GAEL.

Stirling, n.d.

Songs of the Gael. Macbean. Eneas Mackay,
Publisher, Stirling.

32 ff. 24x15.

NLS.

[Acquired by NLS and add. in 1921. The 19th
century eds. were by MacLachlan & Stewart,
Edinburgh.]

MacCAIG, NORMAN. HONOUR'D SHADE.

Edinburgh, [c.1959].

Honour'd Shade. An Anthology of New Scottish
Poetry to mark the bi-centenary of the birth of
Robert Burns. Selected and edited by Norman
MacCaig. W. & R. Chambers Ltd, Edinburgh and
London.

1959 (c) The Arts Council of Great Britain.

136pp. 21x14.

[Printed T. & A. Constable, Edinburgh. 8
Gaelic poems, with trans.: by Donald
MacAulay, Sorley MacLean, Derick Thomson.]

McCALLUM, ARCHIBALD (editor). See McCALLUM,
JOHN. IAIN WESLEY.

MacCALLUM, DONALD. DAN CRUNAIDH.

N.p., n.d.

Dan Crunaidh do Righ Imhear. Leis An Urr.

Domhnall MacCalum. . . .

1p [+1p English trans.].

PC.

[Ca. 1902.]

MacCALLUM, DONALD. SEALG NA PAIRCE. [Not seen.
Referred to in 'The Celtic Who's Who' (1921;
edited L. MacBean): dated 1907.]

MacCALLUM, DONALD. DOMHNULLAN.
Glasgow, 1925.

Domhnullan. Dan Ceithir Earrannan. Leis an Urr. Domhnall Mac Chalum, ministear aosda Sgìre na Loch an Leodhas. Le dealbh an Ughdair. Glascho: Alasdair Mac-Labhrainn 's a Mhic, 360 Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal. 1925. xiv, 59pp, 1 f Ads; 2 ff Ills. [drawings of the author between ii/ii, viii/ix]. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit. [Intro. by J. N. MacLeod. An 'epic' poem. English verse translation of the first 'Canto' published 1927.]

McCALLUM, JOHN. IAIN WESLEY.
Glasgow, 1911.

Cunntas Aithghearr air Iain Wesley agus sgrìobhaidhean eile, leis an Urr. Iain Mac Calum nach maireann. Glaschu: Gilleasbuig Mac-na-Ceardadh, 47 Sraid Waterloo. 1911.

Memorial Papers of the Rev. John McCallum, Ardeonaig. Edited by the Rev. Archibald McCallum, North Knapdale. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, 47 Waterloo Street. 1911. 1 f Ill. [photo of Ardeonaig], xii, 115pp. 17x11. AU, GU:CL, Mit.

MacCALMAIN. See MURCHISON.

McCHEYNE, R. M. BEATHA AGUS SEARMOINEAN.
Glasgow, 1939.

Beatha agus Searmoinean an Urramaich R. M. McCheyne, maille ri litrichean agus laoidhean. Ead. le Ailean Mac na Ceardaich, Ceanmhor. Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2. 1939. viii, 364pp. 20x13. Mit., PC. [Foreword by Donald Matheson. First ed. 1865, of which this is a reprint.]

McCHEYNE, [R. M.]. GUTH MO GHRAIDH.
Edinburgh, n.d.

Co. gadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Guth mo Ghràidh,
(agus searmoinean eile). McCheyne. [Here
crest of burning bush circumscribed by the legend,--
Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte,
An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd,
Edinburgh, for The Church of Scotland, The
United Free Church of Scotland, and The Free
Church of Scotland.

61pp. 14x10. NLS.
[Translated by Rev. A. Sinclair. For
soldiers in World War I.]

MacCODROM, JOHN. SONGS.
Edinburgh, 1938.

The Songs of John MacCodrom, Bard to Sir
James MacDonald of Sleat. Edited by William
Matheson. Published by Oliver & Boyd for
the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh.
1938.

Scottish Gaelic Texts. Volume Two.
lii, 382pp, 1 f Ads. 23x15. AU, GU, Mit.
[Translation on rt. facing page.]

ORAIN IAIN MHIC FHEARCHAIR.
Edinburgh, 1939.

Orain Iain Mhic Fhearchair, a bha 'na bhàrd
aig Sir Seumas Mac Dhomhnaill. Air an
deasachadh le Uilleam MacMhathain. Oliver
& Boyd. Dùn-éideann. 1939.

xxiii, 108pp. 22x15. GU:CL
[A paper-covered ed., without English
translations, issued for the use of
schools; Gaelic introduction. Still
in print: the 1938 ed. is not.]

MacCOLL, DUNCAN (editor). See COMUNN
SOISGEULACH GAIDHEALACH GHLASCHO. LAOIDHEAN
SOISGEULACH.

MacCOLL, EVAN. CLARSACH NAM BEANN.
Glasgow, 1937.

Clarsach nam Beann. Le Eoghan Mac Colla.
An ceathramh clo-bhualadh, meudaichte agus
ath-leasaichte. Published by The Evan
MacColl Memorial Committee. Glasgow: Archibald
Sinclair, 27a Cadogan Street. 1937.
vii, 1 f Ill. [photo of author], 171pp.
22x15. Mit., NLS.
[First ed. 1836.]

McCONOCHIE, J. NORMAN. "GHaidhlig A' GAIRM".
Glasgow, n.d.

Gaelic Calling. "Ghaidhlig a' Gairm".
Contents. . . 16 popular Gaelic Songs.
English and Gaelic words. English words and
musical arrangements by J. N. McConochie.
Staff and sol-fa. 2/- net. Mozart Allan,
84 Carlton Place, Glasgow, C.5.
34pp, 2 ff Ads. 28x22. Mit.
[Acquired in Mit. 1952; add., reviewed 1946.]

McCONOCHIE, J. NORMAN. ORAIN IS PUIRT-A-BEUL.
Glasgow, [c.1930].

Something New! Sing a song to your dance.
Orain is Puirt-a-Beul. A' Cho-Sheirm le
I. Tormod Mac Dhonnchaidh, Ceolraidh Ghàidhlig
Glaschu. Gaelic Songs and Dance Tunes.
Arranged for Choral Singing by J. Norman
McConochie, M.A., Conductor of the Glasgow
Gaelic Musical Association. [List of Contents.]
'This booklet is dedicated to the members of
the G.G.M.A., for whom the arrangements were
originally/

originally composed. Two of the numbers were prepared for the Choir's appearances at Annual Gatherings of the Lewis and Harris Association, and all have been given at the Choir's public appearances. The booklet is issued in the sincere hope that it may provide acceptable additions to the repertoires of other Gaelic choirs!-
 J. N. McC. Staff notation - Price 1/6 net.
 Also published in solfa notation, 1/- net.
 Copyright 1930. Printed and published by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 360-364 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2.

13pp. 25x16.

Mit., PC.

[McConochie also published sheet music with Gaelic words.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. AN T-AGH ODHAR.
 Glasgow, 1931.

Dealbh-Chluich Ghaidhlig. An t-Agh Odhar.
 Le Iain Mac Cormaic, F.S.A. The Dun Heifer.
 A Humorous Gaelic Sketch. Glascho: Alasdair
 Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid
 Earraghaidheal, C.2. 1931. 1/-.
 26pp. 19x13. EPL, Mit.

MacCORMICK, JOHN. AN CEOL-SITHE.
 Glasgow, n.d.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. Dealbh-chluich-
 ciuil Cloinne. An Ceol-Sithe. (A' Cheud
 duais, Mod 1925.) Le Iain Mac Cormaic.
 A' phris, se sgillinn. An Comunn Gaidhealach,
 114 Sraid West Campbell, Glascho.
 14pp, 1 f Ceol nan Oran[solfa].
 22x14. Mit.

[Reviewed in 'An Gaidheal', April 1926.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. DONHNULL MOR AGUS CAILEAN
 TAILLEAR. See MacCORMICK, JOHN. PEIGI
 BHEAG.

MacCORMICK, JOHN. DUN-ALUINN.
 Paisley, 1912.

Dunaline, or The Banished Heir. By John
 Mac Cormick. Edited by M. Mac Farlane. [Ill.]
 Paisley: Alexander Gardner, Publisher by
 Appointment to the late Queen Victoria.

Dùn-àluinn, no An t-Oighre 'na Dhiobarach.
 Le Iain Mac Cormaic. Fo laimh Chaluum Mhic
 Phàrlain. [Ill.] Paislig: Alasdair Gardner,
 Clòdh-bhuailtear do'n Bhan-rìgh Victoria nach
 maireann.

[Colophon] London: Simpkin, Marshall,
 Hamilton, Kent & Co., LMD. Alexander Gardner,
 Printer, Paisley. 1912.
 267pp, 8 ff Ads. 19x13. AU, GU:CL, Mit.
 [The first Gaelic novel published.]

DUN-ALUINN.

Glasgow, n.d.

Dun-Aluinn, no An t-Oighre 'na Dhiobarach.
 Le Iain Mac Cormaic, F.S.A. Fo laimh Chaluum
 Mhic Pharlain. Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn
 's a Mhic, 360-364 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.

Dunaline, or The Banished Heir. By John
 Mac Cormick, F.S.A. Edited by Malcolm
 MacFarlane. Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren
 & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street.
 267pp. 20x13. PC.
 [2nd ed. Probably early 1920's.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. EILEAN DIDEIL.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh. Aireamh 10. Eilean Dideil. Le Iain Mac Cormaic. [Ill.] A' phris, tri sgillinnean. 3d. Alasdair Mac Labhrunn agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.

Pp 203-222. 22x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'An Sgeulaiche', Leabhar II.3, Am Foghar 1910.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. AM FEAR A CHAILL A GHÀIDHLIG.
Glasgow, 1925.

Am Fear a Chaill a Ghàidhlig. (Dealbh-Chluich.) Le Iain MacCormaig, Glascho. Calum is Bantrach Tharmaid. (Comhradh.) Le Iain Mac-an-Aba, Cillemhòire. A' phris, se sgillinn. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 114 Sràid West Campbell, Glascho. 1925. 27pp [the Comhradh is on pp 20-27]. 19x13. Mit.

MacCORMICK, JOHN. GAOL AIR A DHEARBHADH.
Glasgow, n.d.

Gaol air a Dhearbhadh. Dealbh-chluich le Iain Mac Cormaic, F.S.A. The Test of Love. A Humorous Gaelic Play. Fo làimh Eachainn Mhic Dhughail. Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrunn agus a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2. 20pp. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit., NLS.
[1st Prize at the 1913 Mod. Add. 1929.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. GU'N D'THUG I SPEIS DO'N ARMUNN.
Stirling, 1908.

Gu'n d'thug i Spéis do'n Armunn. Sgeul le Iain Mac Cormaic. Fo làimh Chalum Mhic Phàrlain/

Phàrlain. Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 43 Murray Place,
Struibhle. 1908.

117pp, 1 f Ads. 20x12. AU, GU:CL.
[One long story, based on traditional
material.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. GU'N D'THUG I SPEIS DO'N
ARMUNN. (cont.) *

Glasgow, 1929.

Gu'n d'thug i Spéis do'n Armunn.

[Not Seen. Described in MacLaren as
"Second Thousand: Alex. Maclaren, 1929".]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. MAOLAGAN MOR. *

N.p., n.d.

Maolagan Mór.

[Not Seen. Add. in the second ed. of
Dun-Aluinn as "Other work by MacCormick. . .
Seann Sgeul. . . Edited by Malcolm
MacFarlane." Possibly did not appear.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. OITEAGAN O'N IAR.

Paisley, 1908.

Breezes from the West. By John Mac Cormick.
Edited by M. Mac Farlane. [Ill.] Paisley:
Alexander Gardner, Publisher by Appointment to
the late Queen Victoria. 1908.

Oiteagan o'n Iar. Le Iain Mac Cormaig.
Fo làimh Chalum Mhic Phàrlain. [Ill.]
Paislig: Alasdair Gardner, Clodh-bhuailtear
do'n Bhan-rìgh Victoria nach maireann. 1908.
149pp, 9 ff Ads. 20x13. AU, GU:CL, Mit.
[Miscellany.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. PEIGI BHEAG.
Glasgow, 1925.

Peigi Bheag. (Dealbh-Chluich.) Le Iain MacCormaig, Glascho. Domhnull Mor agus Cailean Taillear. (Comhradh.) Le Iain MacCormaig, Glascho. A' phris, se sgillinn. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 114 Sraid West Campbell, Glascho. 1925.

31pp. 19x13. AU, EPL, Mit.
[Mod Prize-winning pieces.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. "RATH-INNIS".
Glasgow, 1924.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] "Rath-Innis". Dealbh-chluich Gaidhealach. Le Iain MacCormaig, Glascho. Choisinn a' Chluich so an dara duais (£50) aig Mod Ghlascho, 1921. A' phris, aon tasdan. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 114 Sraid West Campbell, Glascho. 1924.

45pp. 22x14. AU.
[A full-length play of some merit. The prize-money was donated by Duncan MacLeod of Skeabost.]

" RATH-INNIS".

[Crest.] Da Dhealbh-Chluich Gaidhealach. "Mairead", le Gilleasbaig MacCullaich. "Rath-Innis", le Iain MacCormaig. A' phris - da thasdan. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 114 Sraid West Campbell, Glasgow. 1924.

2 ff, 101pp. 22x15. PC.
[MacCulloch was the 1st Prize-winner.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. AN REITEACHADH RATHAIL.*
[?]

An Reiteachadh Rathail.

Pp 51-85. 19x13.

[Not seen. One of a number of plays add. in An Deo-Greine, Leabhar X:3-6 (Dec. 1914-March 1915) by Alex. MacLaren & Sons. First published in MacCormick's 'Oiteagan o'n Iar' (1908), from which the above bibliographical data was derived: almost certainly an offprint, if published at all. MacLaren refers to an edition of 1914 but this entry is demonstrably inaccurate in another detail (describing first publication as in An Sgeulaiche, 1910). See detailed note under SINCLAIR, DONALD. SUIRIDHE RAOGHAIL MHAOIL.]

AN REITEACHADH RATHAIL.

Glasgow, 1929.

Dealbh-Chluich Ghaidhlig. An Reitheachail[sic] Rathail. Mock Trial by Sheriff and Jury. A Humorous Gaelic Sketch by John Mac Cormick, F.S.A. Glasgo: Alasdair Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2. 1929. Pp 51-85. 19x13. PC.

[From MacCormick's 'Oiteagan o'n Iar', 1908.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. SEANCHAIDH NA H-AIRIGH.
Stirling, 1911.

Seanchaidh na h-Airigh. Le Iain Mac Cormaic. Fo Iaimh Chaluum Mhic Pharlain. [Verse by Neil MacLeod.] Struibhle: Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 43 Murray Place. 1911. 61pp, 3 ff Ads. 20x14. AU, GU:CL, Mit., SS.

MacCORMICK, JOHN. SEANCHAIDH NA TRAGHAD.
Stirling, 1911.

Seanchaidh na Traghad. Le Iain Mac Cormaic. Fo Iaimh Chaluum Mhic Pharlain. [Verse.] Struibhle: Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 43 Murray Place. 1911. 64pp. 19x13. AU, GU:CL, Mit., SS.

MacCORMICK, JOHN. THALL 'S A BHOS.

Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh. Aireamh 2. An Sgeul Goirid, le Calum Mac Pharlain. Thall 's a Bhos, le Iain Mac Cormaic. [Ill.] A' phris, se sgillinnean. 6d. Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho. PP 1-64. 22x14. PC.

[Reprinted from 'An Sgeulaiche', Leabhar III.1, An t-Earrach, 1911.]

MacCORMICK, JOHN. [Note. A prolific and significant writer of prose and drama; his work is discussed in detail in Part I of the thesis.]

MacCOWAN, RODERICK. THE MEN OF SKYE.

Glasgow, 1902.

The Men of Skye. By Roderick MacCowan. "Ah! what are saints the better for our praise"-Quarles; "Whose praises having slept in silence long"-Spenser. Glasgow: John Macneilage, 65 Great Western Road. Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, 25 George IV. Bridge. Portree: John MacLaine. 1902.

xix, 230pp. 20x13.

Mit.

[Contains Appendix of Gaelic Poems, pp 213-230.]

MacCUISH, DONALD J. CEIT MHOR AGUS MAIGHSTIR LACHLUNN.

Dundee, 1917.

Ceit Mhór agus Maighstir Lachlunn (Loch-carain); maille ri Trì Naidheachdan Uidhisteach. Le D. I. Mac Cuis/

Mac Cuis. Dundee: Malcolm C. MacLeod,
Bookseller and Publisher, 183 Blackness Road.
1917.
32pp [Ads on pp 28-32]. 17x11. NLS.

MacCUISH, DONALD J. CEIT NHOR AGUS MAIGHSTIR
LACHLUNN. (cont.)*
Glasgow, 1942.

[Not seen. MacLaren informs that an ed. (32pp)
was published by Alex. MacLaren & Son in
1942. Almost certainly a reprint of the above.]

MacCUISH, DONALD J. EACHDRUIDH AIR AONGHAS
MacCUIS.
Inverness, 1911.

Eachdruidh air Aonghas MacCuis, 'An Ceisteir',
agus air na "h-urramaich" ann an Uidhist-a-
Tuath. (Memoir of Angus McCuish, 'Catechist',
and the North Uist Worthies.) By Donald John
McCuish, a native of Sollas, North Uist, now
at Redcastle. "Theirgeadh an uine dhomh ann
an labhairt mu Ghideon, Bharac agus Shampson,
agus Iepthah"-Heb. XI.32. Inverness: Robt.
Carruthers & Sons. 1911.
4 ff, 88pp. 20x13. AU, Mit.

MacCULLOCH, ARCHIBALD. MAIREAD.
Glasgow, n.d.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] "Mairead".
Dealbh Chluich. An ceithir earrannan.
Le Gilleasbaig MacCullaich. A' phris, aon
tasdan. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 114 Sraid
West Campbell, Glascho.
56pp. 22x14. EPL.
[Winner of the £100 First Prize, donated
by Duncan MacLeod of Skeabost, awarded at
the 1921 Mod. Add. 1923.]

MacCULLOCH, ARCHIBALD. MAIREAD.
Glasgow, 1924.

[Crest.] Da Dhealbh-Chluich Gaidhealach.
"Mairead", le Gilleasbaig MacCullaich.
"Rath-Innis", le Iain MacCormaig. A' phris -
da thasdan. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 11⁴ Sraid
West Campbell, Glasgow. 1924.
2 ff, 101pp. 22x15. PC.
[Also entered under MacCORNICK, JOHN. RATH-
INNIS.]

MACDIARMID, ALEXANDER. URNUIGH AN TIGHEARNA.
Oban, 1921.

Urnuigh an Tighearna: Mineachadh Simplidh
leis An Urramach Alasdair MacDhiarmaid,
's a' Mhorairne. [Ill.] An t-Oban: air
a chlodh-bhualadh le Eoghan Domhnullach.
1921.

The Lord's Prayer: A Plain Exposition by
The Reverend Alexander MacDiarmid, Morvern.
[Ill.] Oban: Hugh MacDonald, Bookseller and
Printer. 1921.
108pp. 19x13. EPL, NLS, PC.

MACDIARMID, JAMES. MAC TIGHEARN AIRD-EONAIG.
Inverness, 1901.

Mac Tighearn Aird-Eonaig agus Taibhse Fhionna-
Ghlinn. Le Seumas MacDhiarmaid, Cill-Fhinn.
Inverness: printed at The Highland News
Printing Works. 1901.
12pp. 19x13. PC, SS.

MACDONALD, ALEXANDER, Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir
Alasdair. POEMS.

Inverness, 1924.

The Poems of Alexander MacDonald (Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair). Edited with translations, glossary and notes by Rev. A. MacDonald, Minister of Killearnan, joint author of "The Clan Donald", etc, etc, and Rev. A. MacDonald, D.D., Minister of Kiltarlity, joint author of "The Clan Donald", etc, etc. Inverness: printed by the Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, Limited. 1924.

xliv, 408pp; 1 f [large folio facsimile: in intro.]. 27x18. AU, EU, GU, Mit.
[English verse translation.]

MACDONALD, ALEXANDER, Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir
Alasdair. BIRLINN CHLANN RAGHNAILL. See
MACLEOD, ANGUS. SAR ORAIN.

MACDONALD, ALEXANDER, of Inverness. STORY AND
SONG FROM LOCH NESS-SIDE.

Inverness, 1914.

Story and Song from Loch Ness-side. Being principally sketches of olden-time life in the valley of the Great Glen of Scotland, with particular reference to Glenmoriston and vicinity. By Alexander MacDonald, Inverness. "Mar ghath soluis da m'anam féin/Sgeul air na làithean a dh'fhalbh"-Ossian. Inverness: printed by the Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, Limited. 1914.

v, 1 f, 330; 2 ff Ills. [photos]. 20x14. NLS.
[Some Gaelic.]

McDONALD, Fr ALLAN. BARDACHD MHGR AILEIN.
Edinburgh, 1965.

Bàrdachd Mhgr Ailein. Air a dheasachadh le
Iain L. Caimbeul ("Fear Chanaidh"). The
Gaelic Poems of Fr Allan McDonald of Eriskay
(1859-1905). Prepared for publication,
with some translations, by John Lorne Campbell,
D.Litt., LL.D. Air an clò-bhualadh le T. & A.
Constable, Dùn-Eideann. 1965.
1 f Ill. [photo of Fr Allan], 136pp. 23x15.

McDONALD, Fr ALLAN. CEATHRAMHAN A RINNEADH
DO DH'EIRISGEIDH.

N.p., n.d.

Ceathramhan, a rinneadh do dh' Eirisgeidh. . .
1p. 32x22. NLS.

[A photo-copy. The NLS copy is described--
on the basis of suggestions from J. L.
Campbell to the Library-- as "a photograph
of what appears to have been the first
printing of the poem now called 'Eilean
na h-Oige', either as a broadsheet or as
an offprint". Not a reprint from Am
Bolg Solair (1908).]

McDONALD, Fr ALLAN. EILEAN NA H-OIGE.
N.p., n.d.

Eilean na h-Oige. Leis an Athair Urramach
Ailean Mac Dhomhnaill. . .
8 ff. 23x16. Xavier.
[Canadian in origin.]

McDONALD, Fr. ALLAN. GAELIC WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS
FROM SOUTH UIST AND ERISKAY.

Dublin, 1958.

Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist
and Eriskay collected by Rev. Fr. Allan
McDonald/

McDonald of Eriskay (1859-1905). Edited by
 J. L. Campbell, M.A. (Oxon), Hon. LL.D. (Antigonish).
 Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 64-5,
 Merrion Square. 1958.
 1 f Ill. [photo of Fr. Allan], 4 ff, 301pp.
 23x15. AU, GU, Mit.
 [Printed Colm o Lochlainn, Dublin.]

MACDONALD, ALPHONSE. CAPE BRETON SONGSTER.
 Sydney, N.S., n.d.

'Cape Breton Songster: A Book of Favorite
 English and Gaelic Songs. Sydney,
 ca. 1935.'
 Pp 51-70 [Gaelic songs].
 [This book has not been seen. Information
 from Clare.]

MACDONALD, Rev. A[NGUS] (co-editor). THE
 MACDONALD COLLECTION OF GAELIC POETRY.
 Inverness, 1911.

The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry.
 By the Rev. A. MacDonald, Minister of
 Killearnan, joint author of "The Clan Donald",
 etc, etc, and Rev. A. MacDonald, Minister
 of Kiltarlity, joint author of "The Clan
 Donald", etc, etc. Inverness: The Northern
 Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing
 Company Ltd. 1911.
 xcii, 408pp. 27x18. AU, GU, Mit.
 [Pagination data in T S-G differs.]

MACDONALD, Rev. A[NGUS] (co-editor). See
 MACDONALD, ALEXANDER, Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir
 Alasdair. POEMS.

MACDONALD, ARCHIBALD, of New Boston. LAOIDHEAN.
Sydney, n.d.

'Na Laoidhean Ghilleasbuig 'ic Dhòmhnuille
Oig ann an New Boston. Sydney. ca. 1900?'
[Clare. Dunn. Not seen.]

MACDONALD, Rev. A[ARCHIBALD] (co-editor). THE
MACDONALD COLLECTION OF GAELIC POETRY. See
MACDONALD, Rev. A[ANGUS].

MACDONALD, Rev. ARCHIBALD (translator). See
BOULTON, HAROLD. AN UNRECORDED MIRACLE OF
ST. COLUMBA.

MACDONALD, Rev. A[ARCHIBALD] (co-editor). See
MACDONALD, ALEXANDER, Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir
Alasdair. POEMS.

MACDONALD, Rev. ARCHIBALD (translator). See
MUNRO, NEIL. THE LOST PIBROCH.

MACDONALD, DONALD, of Barvas. DAIN, ORAIN IS
SGEULACHDAN.

Glasgow, 1920.

The Barvas Bard. Songs, Poems, Stories, and
Sketches. By Donald MacDonald, Songsmith of
Barvas, Lewis. Now first published. Glasgow:
Alexander MacLaren & Sons, Gaelic Printers and
Publishers, 360-362 Argyle Street. 1920.

Bard Bharabhais. Dain, Orain is Sgeulachdan.
Le Domhnall MacDhomhnuille, Gobha ann an
Barabhas. Glaschu: Alasdair Mac Labhrunn is
a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal. 1920.
1 f Ill. [photo of the Bard], 6 ff, 87pp, 3 ff.
19x13. AU, Mit., SS.

[Printed Milne, Tannahill & Methven, Perth.]

MACDONALD, DONALD, of Eriskay (translator). See
BRANDANE, JOHN. AN TIGH-OSDA.

MACDONALD, DONALD, of Eriskay (translator). See
FERGUSON, J. A. CAIMBEULACH NA CILLE NOIRE.

MACDONALD, DONALD [of Eriskay?] (translator). See
MACARTHUR, BESSY J. CLANN RIGH LOCHLAINN.

MACDONALD, DONALD, of Eriskay (translator). See
MILTON, J. C. GAOTHAN RI'N REIC.

MACDONALD, DUNCAN, of Stornoway. GAELIC IDIOMS
AND EXPRESSIONS.

Glasgow, 1932.

Gaelic Idioms and Expressions. With free
translations. Compiled by Duncan MacDonald,
Headmaster, Sandwickhill Public School,
Stornoway. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 212 West
George Street, Glasgow. 1932.

8 ff, 124pp. 19x13. AU, Mit., PC.

[Printed Learmonth. Based on MacDonald's
earlier 'Gnàthasan Cainnte Gàidhlig' see
immediately below.]

MACDONALD, DUNCAN, of Stornoway. GNATHASAN
CAINTE GAIDHLIG.

Stornoway, 1927.

Gnàthasan Cainnte Gàidhlig. Gaelic idioms and
expressions. Compiled by Duncan MacDonald,
(President, Lewis Branch of An Comunn Gaidhealach,
1926-27). Published for the Great Feill.
Printed at the "Gazette" Office, Stornoway.
1927.

32pp. 22x14. CoS, Mit., PC.

[This is in effect--though not formally--
the first edition of the above.]

MACDONALD, DUNCAN, of Stornoway (co-author).
TRI COMHRAIDHEAN.

Glasgow, 1930.

[Crest of An Comunn Gaidhealach.] Tri
Comhraidhean. Na Fasain Ura, le Morag
NicDhomhnaill, Tiriodh. Anna Bhàn an Glascho,
le Donnchadh MacDhomhnaill, Leodhas. Na
Foirfich Nodha, le Donnchadh MacDhomhnaill,
Leodhas. A' phris, se sgillinn. An Comunn
Gaidhealach, 212 Sraid West George, Glascho.
1930.

31pp. 19x13.

EPL, Mit.

MACDONALD, DUNCAN, of Stornoway (co-author).
CEITHIR COMHRAIDHEAN. See BANNERMAN, JOHN R.

MACDONALD, DUNCAN, sgeulaiche (folk-source).
See CRAIG, K. C. SGIALACHDAN DHUNNCHAIDH.

MACDONALD, DUNCAN, sgeulaiche (folk-source).
See MATHESON, ANGUS (co-editor). FEAR NA H-EABAID.

MACDONALD, EWEN (pseudonym). See DWELLY, EDWARD.

MACDONALD, FINLAY J. (co-editor). See GAIRM.

MACDONALD, FINLAY J. (translator). See WRIGHT,
GORDON. AN T-SUIRGHE FHADALACH.

MACDONALD, GILBERT (translator). See LEABHAR
AIDEACHAIDH A' CHREIDIMH.

MACDONALD, IAIN LOM. See MACDONALD, JOHN,
Seventeenth Century poet.

MACDONALD, JAMES (translator). See KENNEDY,
Dr. [JOHN]. SEARMON AGUS ORAID.

MACDONALD, JOHN, an Dall. LAOIDHEAN.
Oban, 1902.

Laoidhean agus Dain Spioradail. Le Iain
Dòmhnallach, an Dall. Oban: printed at the
"Oban Times" Office. 1902.
31pp. 19x13. PC.

MACDONALD, JOHN, Lecturer in Celtic in Aberdeen
University (editor). See MACLACHLAN, EWEN.
GAELIC VERSE.

MACDONALD, JOHN, Lecturer in Celtic in Aberdeen
University (editor). See SCOTTISH GAELIC
STUDIES.

MACDONALD, JOHN, Schoolmaster. GUTHAN O NA
BEANTAN.

Glasgow, 1927.

Voices from the Hills. (Guthan o na Beanntaibh.)
A Memento of the Gaelic Rally, 1927. Edited by
John MacDonald, M.A. [Crest.] Published by
An Comunn Gàidhealach (The Highland Association).
1927.

xv, 304pp; 28 ff Ills [in text]. 26x20.

AU, EU, GU. NLS.

[Illustrated with drawings and photos.

A miscellany of poetry and prose in
Gaelic and English: somewhat more English
than Gaelic. Printed Archibald Sinclair,
Glasgow.]

MACDONALD, JOHN, Schoolmaster (editor). See
WATSON, WILLIAM J. (general editor).
LEABHRAICHEAN SGOILE GAIDHLIG, AN CEATHRAMH
LEAHDAR LEUGHAIHD.

MACDONALD, JOHN, Seventeenth Century poet. ORAIN
IAIN LUIM.

Edinburgh, 1964.

Orain Iain Luim. Songs of John MacDonald,
Bard of Keppoch. Edited by Annie M. MacKenzie,
M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in the Department of
Celtic, University of Aberdeen. Published by
Oliver & Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts
Society. Edinburgh. 1964.

Scottish Gaelic Texts. Volume Eight.
xlvii; 1 f Table of Sources [35x42] in Intro.;
439pp. 23x15.

[English translation on rt. facing page;
map on inside covers. Printed Robert
Cunningham and Sons Ltd, Alva. An ed. by
A. Maclean Sinclair was published in 1895.]

ORAIN IAIN LUIM.

Edinburgh, 1964.

Orain Iain Luim. Songs of John MacDonald,
Bard of Keppoch. Abridged edition. Edited
by Annie M. MacKenzie, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer
in the Department of Celtic, University of
Aberdeen. Published by Oliver & Boyd for
the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh.
1964.

xliii, 130pp. 22x14. PC.

[Lacks the English translation; a special
edition for schools.]

MACDONALD, Rev. Dr. JOHN, of Ferintosh. LEABHAR
AITHGHEARR NAN CEIST.

Edinburgh, 1906 etc.

Leabhar Aitghearr nan Ceist. Le Eoin Domhnullach,
Ministeir ann an Sgìre na Tòisidheachd.

Edinburgh: John Grant. 1906.

24pp. 15x10.

NBS.

Other ed. by Grant 1908; eds. by Alex. MacLaren
& Son, Glasgow, in 1914, -21, -24, -27, -34, [-39?], -51.

[First ed 1829.]

MACDONALD, Rev. Dr. JOHN, of Ferintosh. MARBH-
RAINN.

Edinburgh, 1912.

Marbhrainn a rinneadh air Diadhairibh Urramach nach maireann, agus Dana Spioradail eile. Le Dr. Iain Domhnullach, Ministear na h-Eaglais Saoire 's an Toisidheachd. An Seathamh mile. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1912.

iv, pp 5-202. 17x11.

EPL.

[First ed. 1848.]

MARBHRAINN.

Glasgow, n.d.

Marbhrainn a rinneadh air Diadhairibh Urramach nach maireann, agus Dana Spioradail eile. Le Dr. Iain Domhnullach, Ministear na h-Eaglais Saoire 's an Toisidheachd. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

iv, pp 5-202. 18x11.

[Post 1930. Copy in Stornoway Public Library.]

MACDONALD, [Mrs. JOHN]. ORAIN.

N.p., n.d.

Orain le Bean Iain Domhnullaich a Breanish, Uig, Leodhas, a tha 'n diugh an Sgìre Shleite anns an Eilean Sgitheanach. [All Rights Reserved.]

36pp. 18x13.

PC.

[Some music in solfa. Century not certain.]

MACDONALD, JOHN A. CEUM AIR CHEUM.

Inverness, [Pref.1968].

Ceum air Cheum. A New Approach to Gaelic. By John A. MacDonald. Air a chlo-bhualadh le Eccles, Inbhirnis.

2 ff, 28pp. 25x19.

[Preface dated-August, 1968. A reprint of the lessons which appeared in An Gaidheal 1964-65. Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach. Each of the 21 lessons gives a drawing of a scene, a verbal explanation of it, conversation and questions about it (in Gaelic only), and a Gaelic-English vocab.]

MACDONALD, JOHN A. CRIOCHAN URA.
Glasgow, 1958.

Criochan Ura. Trusadh de rosg is de bhàrdachd
o'n ràitheachan Gairm, air a chur ri chéile
le Iain A. MacDhomhnaill. Gairm: 227 Bath
Street, Glaschu, C.2. 1958.

Gairm Publications - Vol. 1.
150pp. 22x14. AU, GU.
[Liberally illustrated with photos and
drawings. Vocabulary. Printed Learmonth,
Stirling.]

MACDONALD, JOHN A. SGUEL[sic] NAM BARD.
Glasgow, [1965].

Sguel [i.e. Sgeul] nam Bard. Le Iain A.
MacDhomhnaill.
Pp 56-62. 22x14. PC.
[In 'The Skye. One Hundred Years. 1865-1965.']

MACDONALD, JULIA. UNPUBLISHED VERSE.
London, 1968.

Kenneth MacDonald. Unpublished Verse by
Silis Nì Mhic Raghnaill Na Ceapaich.
Pp 76-87. 23x15.
[In 'Celtic Studies. Essays in memory
of Angus Matheson, 1912-1962. Edited by
James Carney and David Greene. London:
Routledge & Kegan Paul. . .First published
1968'. Five poems.]

MACDONALD, KEITH NORMAN. IN DEFENSE OF OSSIAN.
[Oban], 1906.

In defense of Ossian. Being a summary of the
evidence in favour of the authenticity of the
poems. By Keith Norman MacDonald, M.D. (Reprinted
from the Oban Times.) 1906.
1 f Ill., 4 ff, 73pp, iv Appendix. 22x18.

MACDONALD, KEITH NORMAN. MACDONALD BARDS FROM
MEDIAEVAL TIMES.

Edinburgh, 1900.

MacDonald Bards from Mediaeval Times. By
Keith Norman MacDonald, M.D. (Reprinted from
the "Oban Times".) Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod,
25 George IV. Bridge. 1900.
6 ff, 126pp. 21x17. Mit.

MACDONALD BARDS FROM
MEDIAEVAL TIMES.

Glasgow, 1929.

MacDonald Bards from Mediaeval Times.
By Keith Norman MacDonald, M.D. Glasgow:
Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street,
C.2.

First published 1900. Re-issued 1929.
6 ff, 126pp. 21x18. PC.

MACDONALD, KEITH NORMAN. PUIRT-A-BEUL.
[Oban], 1901..

Puirt-a-beul -- Mouth-tunes: or, Songs for
dancing as practised from a remote antiquity
by the Highlanders of Scotland. Collected
and arranged by Keith Norman MacDonald, M.D.,
and reprinted from the "Oban Times". 1901.
1 f, viii, pp 3-54. 21x17. Mit., SS.
[Tunes in solfa.]

PUIRT-A-BEUL.
Glasgow, 1931.

Puirt-a-Beul -- Mouth-tunes: or, Songs for
dancing, as practised from a remote antiquity
by the Highlanders of Scotland. Collected and
arranged by Keith Norman MacDonald, M.D.
Glasgow: Alex MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle
Street, C.2.

Reprinted 1931.
2 ff, viii, pp 3-54, 1 f. 21x17. Mit., PC.

MACDONALD, KENNETH, Lecturer in Celtic in Glasgow University (editor). See MACDONALD JULIA. UNPUBLISHED VERSE.

MACDONALD, KENNETH, of Contin (co-author). CEITHIR COMHRAIDHEAN. BANNERMAN, JOHN R.

MACDONALD, MORAG (co-author). TRI COMHRAIDHEAN. See MACDONALD, DUNCAN, of Stornoway.

MACDONALD, NEIL. EACHANN AGUS AN TARBH. Glasgow, n.d.

Eachann agus an Tarbh. By Neil MacDonald. 36pp, 10 ff Vocabulary. 20x13. Mit., NLS. [Published by Dionnasg Gaidhlig na h-Alba (The Gaelic League of Scotland); Foreword by John Paterson, Publications Editor of the League. Gaelic and English on facing pages; intended for learners of Gaelic. Acquired Mit. 1954.]

MACDONALD, R. T. FEASGAR TRANG 'S AN OSD-THIGH. [Glasgow], 1949.

Feasgar Trang 's an Osd-Thigh. Dealbh-Chluich an aon sealladh le R. T. MacDhomhnaill. Printed for An Comunn Gaidhealach by Eneas MacKay, Stirling. 1949. 21pp. 19x13. EU, GU:CL.

MACDONALD, RODERICK. GLEANN AN DEOIR.
Glasgow, n.d.

Gleann an Deòir. Dain Spioradail le Ruairidh Dòmhnallach, Feidigearraidh, Leodhas. Fo laimh Eachainn Mhic Dhùghaill. Songs and Poems by Roderick MacDonald, Fidigaray, Lochs, Stornoway. Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrunn 's a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal, C.2. (All Rights Reserved.)
31pp, 1 f Ads. 19x13. NLS, PC.
[Add. 1929.]

MACDONALD, T. D. AN DEIDH A' CHOGAIDH.
Glasgow, [Fore.1921].

An Deidh a' Chogaidh. Le T. D. MacDhomhnuill. Ughdaire: "Dàin is Dealbhan -fhacail an am a' Chogaidh", &c., &c., &c. Published by Archibald Sinclair, The Celtic Press, Waterloo Street, Glasgow; Hugh MacDonald, Bookseller, Oban; and printed by The Celtic Press as above.
34pp. 19x13. PC.
['Facal anns an Toiseach' dated 1921.
Stridently topical and discursive; not very successful.]

MACDONALD, T. D. CELTIC DIALECTS.
Stirling, 1903.

Celtic Dialects: Gaelic, Brythonic, Pictish, and some Stirlingshire place-names. Paper read before the Gaelic Society of Stirling, March 31st, 1903, by T. D. MacDonald. Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 43 Murray Place. 1903.
46pp, 2 ff The Gaelic Society of Stirling.
20x12. EU, Mit.

MACDONALD, T. D. DAIN AGUS DEALBHAN-FHACAIL.
Glasgow, n.d.

Dàin agus Dealbhan-fhacail an am a' Chogaidh.
Le T. D. MacDhomhnuill, Ugdar: "Dàin Eadar-
theangaichte", "Puirt mo Sheanmhair", "Celtic
Dialects", "The Lords of Lochaber", "War-Time
Verses", "Appin and its Neighbourhood", &c.,
&c. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, "Celtic
Press", 47 Waterloo Street.

viii, pp 9-64. 19x13. Mit., NLS, PC.

[Add. as "now ready" in 'An Deo-Greine',
Feb. 1919. Contains some very interesting
and moderately experimental poetry: see
discussion in Part 1, Chapter 4.]

MACDONALD, T. D. DAIN EADAR-THEANGAICHTE.
Stirling, 1903.

Dain Eadar-Theangaichte. Le T. D. MacDhomhnuill.
Air an clo-bhualadh le Aonghas MacAoidh,
Struidhla. 1903.

vii, pp 8-95, 1 f Ads., 1 f errata. 20x14.

AU, Mit., NLS, SS.

[Printed Jamieson & Munro, Stirling.]

MACDONALD, T. D. GAELIC PROVERBS.
Stirling, [Intro.1926].

Gaelic Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings. With
English translation. T. D. MacDonald, author
of "The Lords of Lochaber", "Celtic Dialects",
"Dàin Eadar-theangaichte", "Dàin an am a'
Chogaidh", "Dàin an déidh a' Chogaidh", etc.
Eneas MacKay, Stirling.

xxi, 4 ff, pp 26-156, 3 ff. 19x13. GU, SS.

[Introduction dated-February, 1926.

Printed Jamieson & Munro, Stirling.]

[MACDONALD, T. D.] PUIRT MO SHEANAMHAR.
Stirling, 1907.

Puirt mo Sheanamhar. Cronain agus puirt-
altrum air son a' chloinn-bhig. "O, sud na
fuinn a chuala mi / An uair a bha mi òg, /
'Nam laighe an uchd mo mhàthar, / A'm chadal
suain, gun ghò". Struibhle: Aonghas Mac Aoidh.
1907.

1 f Ill., 24pp. 19x13. AU, Mit.
[Roimh-Radh by T. D. MacDonald, who edited
the collection. 4 other pp. of Ills., all
numbered.]

MACDOUGALL, ALEXANDER. LAOIDH AIR FULANGAIS
CHRIOSD.

Oban, n.d.

Laoidh air fulangais Chrìosd. Words by
Alexander MacDougall. Music from "The Celtic
Lyre".

3pp. 22x15. Mit.
[Printed "Oban Times", Oban. T S-G gives
date of publication as 1902. Music in
solfa.]

MACDOUGALL, ALEXANDER (translator). See OWEN,
JOHN. OIRDHEIRCEAS CHRIOSD.

MACDOUGALL, ALLAN. LAOIDHEAN MOLAIDH.
Glasgow, n.d.

Laoidhean Molaidh. Leis an Urramach Ailean
Mac Dhùghaill, An Caolas, Tirithe. Fo laimh
Eachainn Mhic Dhùghaill. Glascho: Alasdair
Mac Labhrainn 's a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid
Earraghaidheal, C.2.

64pp, 4 ff Ads. 19x13. PC, SS.
[Ca. 1928.]

MACDOUGALL, DUGALD G. BRAISTE LATHURNA.
Glasgow, 1959.

Bràiste Lathurna. (The Brooch of Lorn.)
A memorial volume of Gaelic Poems and Songs
by the late Dugald Gordon MacDougall, Bard
of the Clan MacDougall. Compiled and edited
with biographical sketch by Somerled MacMillan.
Printers: K. & R. Davidson, Ltd., 205-207 West
George Street, Glasgow. 1959.
174pp; 2 ff Ills. [photos of MacDougall; in text].
22x15. GU, Mit.

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR. A' BHRAISD LATHURNACH.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh.
Aireamh 4. A' Bhraisd Lathurnach. Le Eachann
Mac Dhughail. [Crest.] A' phris, se sgillinnean.
6d. Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, 360-2
Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
Pp 177-206. 22x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar
XI.2, An Samhradh 1914.]

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR. CATH-CHUAIRT EIDEIRT BHRUIS
AN EIRINN.

Glasgow, n.d.

Cath-chuairt Eideirt Bhruis an Eirinn. Le
Eachann Mac Dhùghail, ughdar "An Gaol a bheir
Buaidh", "Somhairle Mor MacGhille Dhride", &c.
Le Roimh-radh, bho pheann Ruaraidh Arascainn
is Mhàirr. A' phris - aon tasdan. Alasdair
Mac Labhrainn is a Mhic, 360 Sraid Earraghaidheal,
Glascho.

1 f Ill., iv, 60pp. 22x14. NLS, PC, SS.
[Reviewed in 'An Deo-Greine', April 1919; add.
in 'An Deo-Greine' and 'Guth na Bliadhna' 1919.]

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR. DEALBH-CHLUICHEAN GAIDHLIG.
Glasgow, n.d.

Dealbh-chluichean Gaidhlig. Le Eachann
Mac Dhughail. Gaelic Plays. Coir Samhna air
Leannan. Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrunn is a
Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.
31pp. 19x13. NLS, PC.

[Reviewed in 'An Gaidheal', January 1925;
dated 1924 in MacLaren. The other play
is 'Mar a dh' aisigeadh dhi a' Ghaidhlig',
pp 21-31.]

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR. AN GAOL A BHEIR BU AidH.
Glasgow, 1912.

An Gaol a Bheir Buaidh. Dealbh-chluich le
Eachann M. Mac Dhughail. Gilleasbuig Mac-na-
Ceardadh, Clo-bhualadair, 47 Waterloo Street,
Glascho. 1912.
19pp. 23x15. GU:CL, PC.

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR. SMEORACH NAN CNOC 'S NAN
GLEANN.

Glasgow, 1939.

Smeorach nan Cnoc 's nan Gleann. Comh-
chruinneachadh bardachd a chaidh a dheanamh
am Màrgairi an-Iar-dheas, Ceap Breatuinn.
Roimh-radh leis an Oll. P. I. Mac Neacail.
Fo laimh Eachainn Mhic Dhughail. Glascho:
Alasdair MacLabhrunn agus a Mhic, 268 Sraid
Earraghaidheal, C.2.

The Songster of the Hill and the Glen.
A collection of Gaelic poetry. Foreword by
the Rev. Dr. P. J. Nicholson, Antigonish, Nova
Scotia. Edited by Hector MacDougall. Glasgow:
Alexander MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

First published - 1939.

xii, 148pp. 19x13.

Mit., NLS.

[Foreword by Donald MacFarlane. One photo--
of Calum Gillies.]

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR. SOMHAIRLE MOR MAC GHILLE-
BHRIDE.

[Glasgow, n.d.]

Somhairle Mor Mac Ghille-Bhrìde. Eachann
Mac Dhughail.

Pp 191-218. 22x14.

[Referred to in 'Cath-chuairt Eideirt
Bhrìs an Eirinn' as one of MacDougall's
publications: not seen. Presumably a
reprint from 'Guth na Bliadhna' in the
Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh series (pub.
Alex. MacLaren, Glasgow); it appeared
in 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar X.2, An
t-Earrach 1913: the above bibliographical
data is derived from that source.]

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR. TRI ORAIN EIREANNACH.*

[No information.]

Tri Orain Eireannach air an cur an Gàidhlig
Albannaich: "Dán Moladh na Gaedhilge",
"Eibhlin a Rùin", "Páistin Fionn". 1911.

[Not seen. Information from a list of
MacDougall's publications compiled by
T. M. Murchison, which appeared in
'Gairm', Aireamh 8, An Samhradh 1954. It
may be publication in a periodical that
is referred to here, but this is specified
in other instances in this list.]

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (co-author). See
COMHRAIDHEAN GAIDHLIG [Note].

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See GRANT, PETER.
DAIN SPIORADAIL.

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See MacCORMICK,
JOHN. GAOL AIR A DHEARBHADH.

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See MACDONALD,
RODERICK. GLEANN AN DEOIR.

- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See MACDOUGALL,
ALLAN. LAOIDHEAN MOLAIDH.
- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See MACKAY,
RODERICK. OITEAGAN A TIR NAN OG.
- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See MACKENZIE,
WILLIAM. CNOC CHUSBAIG.
- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See MACLENNAN,
JOHN. DUANAGAN AGUS SGEULACHDAN BEAGA.
- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See MACNIVEN,
CHARLES (co-author). BAIRD CHILL-CHOMAIN.
- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See MATHESON,
JESSIE. GLEANN NA H-IRIOSLACHD.
- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See MATHESON,
JOHN. FIOSRACHADH MU'N BHIOBULL.
- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See MORRISON,
ANGUS, of Barvas. AN GRADH-BHUAN.
- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See NICOLSON,
NICOL. AN T-URRAMACH IAIN MAC RATH.
- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See SINCLAIR,
A. MACLEAN. CLARSACH NA COILLE.
- MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See SMITH,
Dr. JOHN. URNUIGHEAN AIR SON THEAGHLAICHEAN.

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR (editor). See WILLISON,
JOHN. MOTHER'S CATECHISM.

MACDOUGALL, HECTOR. [Note. MacDougall was
an entertaining and versatile, if fairly
traditional, Gaelic writer; he was an important
contributor to all the Gaelic periodicals of
his time. He carried out much editing work: the
above is a list only of the publications
in which the contribution he made is openly
acknowledged.]

MACDOUGALL, Rev. JAMES (folklore-collector).
See CALDER, GEORGE (editor). FOLK TALES AND
FAIRY LORE.

MAC EACHAINN. See MACEACHEN.

MACEACHARN. See MACECHERN; and, MACKECHNIE.

MACEACHEN, EWEN. FACLAIR. GAIDHLIG IS BEURLA.
Inverness, 1902.

Faclair Gaidhlig is Beurla le Eobhan Mac-Eachainn.
MacEachen's Gaelic-English Dictionary. Second
edition. Revised and enlarged by Alexander
MacBain, LL.D., and John Whyte. Inverness:
The Highland News Office. 1902.
viii, 406pp, 2 ff Ads. 19x10. AU, GU, Mit.
[First ed.--with 402pp of text--was in 1842.]

FACLAIR GAIDHLIG IS BEURLA.
Inverness, 1906.

Faclair Gaidhlig is Beurla le Eobhan Mac-Eachainn.
MacEachen's Gaelic-English Dictionary. Third
edition. Revised and enlarged by Alexander
MacBain, LL.D., and John Whyte. Inverness:
Taylor and Bain. 1906.
x, 407pp. 19x10. AU, BM.

MACEACHEN, EWEN. FACLAIR GAIDHLIG IS BEURLA. (cont.)
Inverness, 1922.

Faclair Gaidhlig is Beurla le Eobhan Mac-Eachinn.
MacEachen's Gaelic-English Dictionary. Fourth
edition. Revised and enlarged. Inverness:
The Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing
and Publishing Company, Limited. 1922.
xi, 1 f, 475pp, 1 f. 17x11. PC.
[Prepared by R. Barron and Dr. D. J.
MacLeod.]

FACLAIR GAIDHLIG IS BEURLA.
Inverness, 1936.

Faclair Gaidhlig is Beurla le Eoghainn Mac
Eachainn. MacEachen's Gaelic-English Dictionary.
Fifth edition. Revised and enlarged. The
Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and
Publishing Company, Limited. 1936.
xi, 1 f, 321pp, 3 ff Ads. 19x14. NLS.
[Prepared by Barron and MacLeod.]

FACLAIR GAIDHLIG IS BEURLA.
Inverness, 1948.

[Identical reprint.]

FACLAIR GAIDHLIG IS BAURLA[sic].
Inverness, 1960.

. . .enlarged. Highland Printers, Limited,
Inverness. 1960.
xi, 1 f, 321pp, 1 f Ads. 19x13. EPL.

FACLAIR GAIDHLIG IS BAURLA[sic].
Inverness, 1968.

. . .Fifth edition. Revised and enlarged.
(Second impression.) Highland Printers
Limited, Inverness. 1968.
xi, 1 f, 321pp, 1 f Ads. 19x13. PC.

MACEACHEN, EWEN (translator). See SCUPOLI,
LORENTZO. AN CATH SPIORADAIL.

MAC EANRUIG, AONGHAS. See HENDERSON, ANGUS.

MACECHERN, DUGALD. CLARSACH NAN GAIDHEAL.
Inverness, 1904.

Clàrsach nan Gàidheal (Harp of the Gael).
With English translations. By Rev. Dugald
MacEchern, M.A., B.D., Bard to the Gaelic
Society of Inverness. Printed by permission
of The Comunn Gaidhealach, being the Society's
Mod Poem, awarded the Prize of the Highland
Society of London.

Inverness: printed by T. M. Thomson, 5
Chapel Street. 1904.
26pp [pp 4-12 Gaelic original]. 15x12. PC.

MACERLEAN, JOHN C. (co-editor). LUIBHLEABHRAN.
See HOGAN, EDMUND.

MACFADYEN, JOHN. COMPANACH NA CLOINNE.
Stirling, 1912.

[Cover] Companach na Cloinne. Leabhran
Sgoil anns am bheil sgeoil thaitneach. [Ill.]
Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 43 Murray Place, Stirling.
1912.

[Title page] Companach na Cloinne. Le Iain
Mac Phaidin. Fo làimh Chalum Mhic Pharlain.
84pp, 1 f An Clar-amais, 1 f Ads. 19x13.
AU, GU:CL, Mit.

MACFADYEN, JOHN. AN T-EILEANACH.
Glasgow, 1921.

The Islander. Original Gaelic Songs, Poems and Readings. By John MacFadyen, Glasgow. Second edition. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 360 Argyle Street. 1921.

An t-Eileanach. Dàin, Orain agus Sgeoil-aithris. Le Iain Mac Phaidein, Glascho. An dara clo-bhualadh. Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, 360 Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal. 1921.

1 f Ill. [photo of author], xii, 314pp, 6 ff Ads.
19x13. AU, GU:CL, Mit.
[First ed. 1890: 303pp of text.]

MACFADYEN, JOHN. SGEULAICHE NAN CAOL.
Glasgow, 1902.

Sgeulaiche nan Caol. Original Gaelic Readings, Sketches, Poems and Songs. By John MacFadyen, Glasgow, author of "An t-Eileanach". [Ill.] Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, "Celtic Press", 47 Waterloo Street. 1902.

1 f Ill. [photo of author], xiv, 296pp.
19x13. AU, GU, Mit., SS.
[Some music--in solfa.]

MACFADYEN, JOHN. [Note. Very much a light entertainer. His writings are of considerable historical importance, illustrating as they do the effects on the traditional Gaelic village-bardic culture of the attempt to transplant it to the organised Gaelic community in the Galltachd; this is discussed in detail in Part 1 of the thesis.]

MACFARLANE, ALEXANDER (revising editor). See
MACLENNAN, MALCOLM. HANDBOOK OF GAELIC
PHRASES AND SENTENCES.

MACFARLANE, ANGUS. GAELIC NAMES OF PLANTS.
Inverness, 1928.

Gaelic Names of Plants: Studies of their Uses
and Lore. By The Rev. Angus MacFarlane,
F.S.A., Scot. Reprinted from the Transactions
of the Gaelic Society, Vol. XXXII. Inverness:
printed at the "Northern Chronicle" Office.
1928.

48pp. 22x15. AU.

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. BINNEAS NAM BARD.
Stirling, 1908.

Binneas nam Bàrd. Leabhar anns am bheil dàin,
òrain is duanagan nan Gaidheal Albannach air am
foillseachadh maille ri'm fuinn. Le Calum
Mac Phàrlain. Leabhar a h-Aon. Earrann a h-Aon.
Struibhle: Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 43 Murray Place.
1908.

Bardic Melody. A book in which the poems,
songs and ditties of the Scottish Gaels are
exhibited along with their airs. By Malcolm
Mac Farlane. Book 1. Part 1. Stirling:
Eneas MacKay, 43 Murray Place. 1908.

x, 112pp. 22x14. AU, GU:CL, Mit., NLS.

[Printed Archd. Sinclair, Glasgow. 9 parts
were proposed; according to 'The Celtic
Who's Who' (Kirkcaldy:1921; edited Lachlan
MacBean), MacFarlane "edited first and
second numbers of 'Binneas nam Bard";
but a second part has not been traced and,
as only Part 1 appears in the SS library
(which contains MacFarlane's own private
library), it seems reasonable to assume that
only the first part was published.]

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. AM BRIATHRACHAN BEAG.
Stirling, 1912.

The School Gaelic Dictionary. Prepared for the use of learners of the Gaelic language. By Malcolm Mac Farlane. Eneas Mackay, Bookseller, 43 Murray Place, Stirling. 1912.

Am Briathrachan Beag. Air a dheasachadh a chum feum luchd-ionnsachaidh na Gàidhlig le Calum Mac Phàrlain. Aonghas Mac Aoidh, Leabhar-reiceadair, 43 Murray Place, Struibhle. 1912. vi, 2 ff Index etc., 189pp, 2 ff[exs. of proof correcting]. 20x13. AU, GU, Mit., NLS.

AM BRIATHRACHAN BEAG.
Stirling, n.d.

The School Gaelic Dictionary. Prepared for the use of students of the Gaelic language. By Malcolm MacFarlane. Eneas Mackay, Stirling.

Am Briathrachan Beag. Air a dheasachadh a chum feum luchd-ionnsachaidh na Gàidhlig. Le Calum MacPharlain. Aonghas Mac Aoidh, Struibhle. vi, 2 ff Index etc., 189pp, 2 ff[exs. of proof correcting]. 19x13. NLS.

GAELIC-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.
Stirling, n.d.

Gaelic-English Dictionary. Prepared for the use of students of the Gaelic language. By Malcolm Mac Farlane. Eneas Mackay, Stirling. 4 ff, 189pp, 1 f[ex. of proof correcting]. 19x13. EPL.

[This ed. is referred to as that of 1948 in the EPL catalogue; no evidence for this dating is traceable in the copy itself. Otherwise the relationship of the above eds. is not clear.]

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. AM BRU-DHEARG.
Stirling, 1909.

[Front cover] Am Brù-Dhearg. Fo laimh
Chaluim Mhic Phàrlain. Air a chur am mach
le Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 43 Murray Place,
Struibhle. 1909.

[Back cover] The Robin. Edited by Malcolm
Mac Farlane. Music by C. H. MacKay. Stirling:
Eneas MacKay, 43 Murray Place. 1909.
24pp. 18x12. Mit., NLS, PC, SS.

[2-part harmony; solfa. T S-G refers
only to an ed. of 1908, but MacLean
does not seem to have seen Am Brù-
Dhearg: he does not give its pagination
or size, and his entry for it seems to
a quotation from a publisher's advertisement.]

AM BRU-DHEARG.
Stirling, 1913.

[Front cover] Am Brù-dhearg. 3d nett. [Ill.]
Fo laimh Chaluim Mhic Phàrlain. Air a chur
am mach le Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 43 Murray Place,
Struibhle. 1913.

[Back cover] The Robin. 3d nett. [Ill.]
Edited by Malcolm Mac Farlane. Music by
C. H. MacKay. Stirling: Eneas MacKay,
43 Murray Place. 1913.
24pp. 19x13. PC.

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. AN COMH-THREORAICHE.
Stirling, 1911.

[Cover] An Comh-threoraiche. Leabhran Sgoil
a chum feum na cloinne. [Ill.] Aonghas
Mac Aoidh, 43, Murray Place, Stirling. 1911.

[Title page] An Comh-threòraiche. Le Calum
Mac Pharlain.
64pp. 20x13. GU:CL, SS.
[Illustrated.]

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. LAMH-SGRIOBHAINN MHIC RATH.
Dundee, 1923.

Lamh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath. "Dorlach Laoidhean do sgrìobhadh le Donnchadh Mac Rath, 1688" anns an dà leabharan a tha aig an am so an leabhar-lann Oilthigh Ghlascho; agus iad an so air an litreachadh an dà chuid a réir gnàths Dhonnchaidh agus gnàths coitcheann an latha 'n diugh, le Calum Mac Phàrlain. Dun-de: Calum S. Mac Leoid, Blackness Road 183.

The Fernaig Manuscript. A Handful of Lays written by Duncan Mac Rae, 1688, in two booklets presently lying in the Library of the University of Glasgow; revealed here according to Duncan's own spelling and the standard spelling of the present day, by Malcolm Mac Farlane. Dundee: Malcolm C. MacLeod, 183 Blackness Road. 1923.

Cha deach os cionn ceud ceann gu leth de Leabhar Lamh sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath a chur an clò mu choinnimeh an fhroisidh so; agus is teisteanas a t-ainm shìos gur e so mac-samhail. . . [No.] diubh. [Signature, - 'Calum S. MacLeòid'.] 1 f, xiv, 1 f, 345pp, 1 f; 12 ff Ills. [in text; 6 of portraits, 3 Ms facsimiles, 2 etchings, 1 scenic]. 26x21. AU, GU, GU:CL, Mit., SS.

LAMH-SGRIOBHAINN MHIC RATH.
Dundee, n.d.

Lamh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath [etc].
xiv, 1 f, 345pp, 1 f; 12 ff Ills. [as above;
in text]. 26x17. BM, PC.

[An unlimited edition--apparently issued in 1923 also. Differs from the above in lacking date and limited edition imprints, and in being clearly a cheaper production (e.g. smaller; title in black, not red). Both printed by Milne, Tannahill & Methven, Perth.]

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. MAIRI NIGHEAN ALASDAIR RUAIDH.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceildih Books. Leabhraichean na Ceilidh.
Aireamh 36. Mairi Nighean Lasdair Ruaidh.
Le/

Le Calum Mac Pharlain. A' phris, tri
sgillinnean. 3d. Alasdair MacLabhrainn agus
a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
Pp 17-36. 22x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar
XI.1, An t-Earrach, 1914.]

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. AM MOSGLADH MOR.
[?]

Am Mosgladh Mor.
Pp 136-138, 156-159, 171-174. 24x18.
[Not seen. One of a number of plays add.
in 'An Deo-Greine', Leabhar X:3-6 (Dec. 1914-
March 1915) by Alex. MacLaren & Sons.
First published in 'The Celtic Monthly',
Vol. XXII, 1914, from which the above
collation is derived: almost certainly an
offprint, if published at all. See detailed
note under SINCLAIR, DONALD. SUIRIDHE
RAOGHAIL MHAOIL.]

AM MOSGLADH MOR.
Glasgow, n.d.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Dealbh-
chluich-ciuil Cloinne. Am Mosgaldh Mor. (An
Dara duais, Mod 1925.) Le Calum Mac Pharlain.
A' phris, se sgillinn. An Comunn Gaidhealach,
114 Sraid West Campbell, Glascho.
16pp. 22x15. AU, Mit., PC.
[Add. as "New. . . Publication" in 'An
Gaidheal', Leabhar XXI.7, April 1926.
Music in solfa.]

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. THE PHONETICS OF THE GAELIC
LANGUAGE.

Dundee, n.d.

The Phonetics of the Gaelic Language, with an
exposition of the current orthography and a
system of phonography. By Malcolm
Mac Farlane/

Mac Farlane. " 'S i dh'ionnsaich sinn
tràth ann an làithean ar n-òig". Dundee:
Malcolm C. MacLeod.

95pp. 19x13.

PC.

[Printed Geo. E. Findlay, Dundee. Ills.]

First ed. 1889, of which this is a reprint.]

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. AN SMEORACH.

Stirling, n.d.

[Front cover] An Smeòrach. [Ill.] Fo laimh
Chaluim Mhic Phàrlain. Air a chur am mach le
Aonghas Mac Aoidh, Struibhle. Price sixpence.

[Back cover] The Mavis. Edited by Malcolm
Mac Farlane. Music by C. H. MacKay.
Eneas MacKay, Stirling.

24pp. 18x13.

Mit., PC.

[2-part harmony; solfa. First add. in
'An Deo-Greine', Leabhar III.2, Nov. 1907;
the publication date, on other evidence,
is more likely to have been 1908 than 1907.]

AN SMEORACH.

Stirling, 1911.

An Smeòrach. Fo laimh Chaluim Mhic Pharlain.
Air a chur am mach le Aonghas Mac Aoidh,
43 Murray Place, Struibhle. 1911.

The Mavis. Edited by Malcolm Mac Farlane.
Music by C. H. MacKay. Stirling: Eneas
MacKay, 43 Murray Place. 1911.

24pp. 20x13.

AU, SS.

AN SMEORACH.

Stirling, 1920..

[Title pages (i.e. covers) as above, except
date.] 1920.

24pp. 18x13.

PC.

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. SONGS OF THE HIGHLANDS.
Inverness, n.d.

Songs of the Highlands. The Gaelic and English Words arranged by Malcolm Mac Farlane. The Symphonies and Accompaniments by Fr. W. Whitehead. Inverness: Logan & Company, 59 Church Street; also, Aberdeen, Elgin, Nairn, and Dingwall.

vii, 201pp. 36x27. AU, GU, Mit.
[First add. in 'Am Bard', 1902. Music in both notations. Noticed T.G.S.I., 1902.]

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. AN TREORAICHE.
Stirling, 1903.

An Treoraiche. Leabhran sgoil air son na cloinne. Air a chur a mach le Aonghas Mac Aoidh, Leabhar-reiceadair, 43 Murray Place, Struibhle. 1903. 3d.

[Colophon] Bha an leabhran so air a chur ri chéile le Calum Mac Phàrlain; agus air a chur a mach le còmhnaidh o Chéilidh nan Gaidheal am Baile Ghlascho.

40pp. 19x13. PC.
[Illustrated.]

AN TREORAICHE.
Stirling, 1906.

An Treoraiche. Leabhran sgoil air son na cloinne. Air a chur a mach le Aonghas Mac-Aoidh, Leabhar-reiceadair, 43 Murray Place, Struibhle. 1906. 3d.

An dara clo-bhualadh.
40pp. 19x13. PC.

AN TREORAICHE.
Stirling, 1911.

An Treoraiche. Leabhran sgoil a chum feum/

feum na cloinne. Air a thoirt a mach le
Aonghas Mac-Aoidh, Leabhar-reiceadair, 43
Murray Place, Struibhle. 1911. 3d.

An Treoraiche. Le Calum Mac Pharlain.
An treas clo-bhualadh.

40pp. 19x13. AU, GU:CL, SS.
[All printed by Jamieson & Munro, Stirling.]

MACFARLANE, MALCOLM (co-editor). AN UISEAG.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Lark. Second edition. An Uiseag.
Leabhran-ciùil air son sgoilean. Air a chur
a mach le Calum Mac Pharlain agus Eanraig
Mac Gille-bhain. Gaelic songs for schools,
in two-part harmony. Archibald Sinclair,
47 Waterloo Street, Glasgow. Threepence.
16pp. 16x13. FC.
[First ed. 1894. Solfa.]

AN UISEAG.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Lark. Third edition. . . [Otherwise title
page as above.]
16pp. 16x13. GU:CL.

AN UISEAG.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Lark. Fourth edition. An Uiseag.
Leabhran-ciùil air son sgoilean. Air a chur
a mach le Calum Mac Pharlain agus Eanraig
Mac Gille-bhain. Gaelic songs for schools,
in two-part harmony. Archibald Sinclair,
Celtic Press: 27a Cadogan Street, Glasgow.
Price - threepence.
16pp. 16x13. Mit., PC.

- MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. AN SGEUL GOIRID. See
under MacCORMICK, JOHN. THALL 'S A BHOS.
- MACFARLANE, MALCOLM (editor). See AN COMUNN
GAIDHEALACH. UIRSGEULAN GAIDHEALACH.
- MACFARLANE, MALCOLM (Gaelic editor). See
GIVEN, JENNIE. CLARSACH A' GHLINNE.
- MACFARLANE, MALCOLM (Gaelic editor). See
AN LON DUBH.
- MACFARLANE, MALCOLM (revising editor). See
MACBAIN, ALEXANDER. AN ETYMOLOGICAL
DICTIONARY OF THE GAELIC LANGUAGE.
- MACFARLANE, MALCOLM (editor). See MacCORMICK,
JOHN. SEANCHAIDH NA H-AIRIGH.
- MACFARLANE, MALCOLM (editor). See MacCORMICK,
JOHN. SEANCHAIDH NA TRAGHAD.
- MACFARLANE, MALCOLM (editor). See MACFADYEN,
JOHN. COMPANACH NA CLOINNE.
- MACFARLANE, MALCOLM (editor). See MACLEAN,
LACHLAN. UILLEAM UALLAS, IAIN KNOX AGUS
ROB RUADH.
- MACFARLANE, MALCOLM. [Note. Prolific editor,
Romantic poet ('Mo Dhachaidh'), and supporter of
young writers such as John MacCormick.]

[MACFARLANE-BARROW, JAMES.] See URNUIGHEAN
AIRSON NA CLOINNE.

MACFARLANE-BARROW, JAMES. LAOIDH-DHIANN AITHREACHAIS
(1919); and, URNUIGHEAN SONRUICHTE ANN AN AM
COGAIDH (1915). [Described in 'Celtic Who's
Who' (Kirkcaldy, 1921). Not seen. Enquiries
include one to the Gaelic-speaking Bishop
of Moray, Ross and Caithness, a friend of
the late Rev. MacFarlane-Barrow. MacFarlane-
Barrow was an Episcopal minister in Argyll
from 1910 till 1928 when he joined the Roman
Catholic Church [information from 'Crockford's
Clerical Directory' and the Bishop of Moray, etc.]

MACGARAIÐH, SEUMAS. THE BRACKEN ABLAZE.
London, n.d.

The Bracken Ablaze. Being Fugitive Verses in
Gaelic and English by Seumas MacGaraidh. With
Introduction by Compton MacKenzie. London: Arthur
H. Stockwell, Limited, 29 Ludgate Hill, E.C.4.
1 f Ill., 96pp. 18x13. NLS.
[15 Gaelic poems. Printed John Drew, Ltd.,
Aldershot.]

MACGILLIVRAY, ANGUS. OUR GAELIC PROVERBS.
Glasgow, 1928.

Our Gaelic Proverbs. A Mirror of the Past. By
Angus MacGillivray, C.M., M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.E.,
F.S.A.Scot. Reprinted from the "Caledonian
Medical Journal", January, 1928. Glasgow: printed
by Alex. MacDougall, 70 Mitchell Street. 1928.
20pp. 22x14. EPL, PC.

MACGILLIVRAY, JOHN (editor). See [MACLEAN, JOHN].
ORAN DO MHAC-MHIC-ALASDAIR GHLINNE-GARADH.

MACGREGOR, ALEXANDER. SONGS.
N.p., n.d.

Songs of Alexander MacGregor. By Rev.
Chas. M. Robertson.
16pp. 22x14. EU.
[No title page.]

MACGREGOR, Lt. Col. JOHN. LUINNEAGAN LUAINNEACH.*
[?]

Luinneagan Luaineach.

[This book was published in 1897; but it is included in a list of "just published" books by Alex. MacLaren in Henry Whyte's *Naidheachdan Firinneach* (1929 ed.). There is no other evidence for a 20th century ed., however, and I feel that the above reference is a typographical error.]

MACINNES, D[UNCAN]. COMHRAIDHEAN.
Glasgow, 1938.

Còmhraidhean an Gàidhlig 's am Beurla. Conversations in Gaelic and English. By Rev. D. MacInnes, author of "Folk and Hero Tales of Argyllshire". With introduction by Professor Blackie. "A' chàinain cheòlmhor, / Shòghmhor 's glòirmhor blas". New edition. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

First edition 1880. Reprinted 1938.
x, 1 f, pp 12-64. 19x12. EPL, PC.

MACINNES, JOHN (transcriber). See CAMPBELL,
JOHN. ORAIN GHÀIDHLIG.

MACINNES, MALCOLM. ISEABAIL NA H-AIRIGH.
Glasgow, [c.1933].

A Highland Musical Play. Sgeul-oran le Fuinn. Iseabail na h-Airigh. Ishebel of the Shealing. Introducing 33 original songs and melodies. The words in Gaelic and English. The music in staff and solfa notations. Written and composed by Malcolm MacInnes, M.A., LL.B. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Publishers of Gaelic and Scottish Literature, 268 Argyle Street, C.2. Copyright 1933.
4 ff, 38pp. 27x18. PC.

MACINNES, MALCOLM. SONGS OF THE ISLE OF SKYE.
Glasgow, [c.1931].

Songs of the Isle of Skye. By Malcolm MacInnes, M.A., LL.B., Advocate. Gaelic and English. With Accompaniments by Malcolm Davidson. Copyright 1931. Price 5/- net. Glasgow: Alex. Maclaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street, C.2.
4 ff, 18pp, 2 ff Ads. 32x26. PC.
[Both notations.]

MACINNES, MALCOLM. TRADITIONAL AIRS OF SKYE
AND THE WEST.
London, [Pref.1942].

"Swallow-flights of song that dip / their wings in tears and skim away". Traditional Airs of Skye and the West. With Gaelic and English Words. By Malcolm MacInnes, M.A., LL.B., Author of Liltis from the Western Isles, Songs of the Isle of Skye, Ishebel of the Shealing, Rory's Courting. Copyright. 4/-. Bayley & Ferguson; London: 2 Great Marlborough Street, W.; Glasgow: 54 Queen Street, C.1.
4 ff, 26pp. 27x19. AU.
[Preface dated-18th February, 1942.
Both notations; piano acc.]

MACINNES, MALCOLM (revising editor). See
NICOLSON, ALEXANDER, Advocate. GAELIC
PROVERBS.

MACINNES, PAUL (translator). See MACLEAN,
ALLAN C. TEINE CEANN FOID.

MACINTYRE, ALEXANDER. BALAICH AN T-SRATHA.
Glasgow, 1946.

Balaich an t-Sratha. No, Iain beag agus a chuideachd. Leis an Lighiche, Alasdair Mac-an-t-Saoir, An Ard-Ruighe. (Dr Alexander MacIntyre, Airdrie.). Price, - 1/6.
Glaschu: Alasdair Mac Labhrunn agus a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earraghaidheal. 1946.
48pp. 19x13. GU:CL, PC.
[Foreword by Hector MacDougall.]

MACINTYRE, ANGUS. "CRUACHAN" VISTAS.
Glasgow, n.d.

Angus Macintyre. "Cruachan" Vistas 1871-1931. Chiefly a collection of sonnets, songs, etc. ("Fraoch Geal") [Ill.] Glasgow: Angus MacIntyre. Edinburgh and Glasgow: John Menzies & Co., Ltd.
72pp [ca. 20pp of Gaelic]. 20x14. AU, Mit.
[Some music: in staff. Illustrated.
Foreword by Angus Henderson.]

MACINTYRE, DONALD. SPORAN DHOMHNAILL.
Edinburgh, 1968.

Sporan Dhòmhnaill. Gaelic Poems and Songs by the late Donald MacIntyre, The Paisley Bard. Compiled and edited by Somerled MacMillan. Published by Oliver and Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh. 1968.

Scottish Gaelic Texts. Volume Ten.
xxx, 418pp. 23x15.
[Printed by Robert Cunningham and Sons Ltd, Alva. An interesting traditional bard; see Part 1, Chapter 4 for discussion.]

MACINTYRE, DUNCAN BAN. BEINN DORAINN.
Stirling, 1949.

Duncan Ban MacIntyre. Beinn Dorainn.
With English version and notes by John
MacKechnie, M.A. Eneas MacKay, Stirling.

First published - 1949.
68pp. 19x13.

Mit., NLS.

MACINTYRE, DUNCAN BAN. ORAIN AGUS DANA.
Edinburgh, 1901.

Orain agus Dana Gaidhealach, le Donnachadh
Ban Mac-an-t-Saoir. Songs and Poems, in Gaelic,
by Duncan Ban MacIntyre. Twelfth edition.
With an English translation of "Coire Cheathaich"
and "Ben Dorain". Edinburgh: John Grant,
31 George IV. Bridge. 1901.

xi, 1 ff, pp 13-233. 16x11. AU.

[First ed. 1768; the above is a reprint
of that of 1871. Printed Oliver & Boyd,
Edinburgh.]

ORAIN AGUS DANA.
Edinburgh, 1908.

Orain agus Dana Gaidhealach, le Donnachadh
Ban Mac-an-t-Saoir. Songs and Poems, in Gaelic,
by Duncan Ban MacIntyre. Thirteenth edition.
With an English translation of "Coire Cheathaich"
and "Ben Dorain". Edinburgh: John Grant. 1908.
xi, 1 f, pp 13-233. 18x11. EPL, Mit.

ORAIN GHÀIDHEALACH.
Edinburgh, 1912.

Orain Ghaidhealach le Donnachadh Macantsaoir.
Air an eadartheangachadh agus air an cur a mach
le Deòrsa Caldair. Dun-eideann: Iain Grannd,
31 George IV. Bridge. 1912.

The Gaelic Songs of Duncan MacIntyre. Edited
with/

with translation and notes by George Calder.
Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge.
1912.

x1, 535pp; 5 ff Ills. [1 folio]. 21x15.

AU, EU, GU, Mit.

[Verse translation. Printed Oliver & Boyd.]

MACINTYRE, DUNCAN BAN. (cont.) SONGS.
Edinburgh, 1952.

The Songs of Duncan Bàn MacIntyre. Edited
with a translation, introduction and notes
by Angus MacLeod, M.A., B.Sc., F.E.I.S.
Published by Oliver & Boyd for the Scottish
Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh. 1952.

Scottish Gaelic Texts. Volume Four.

xlvii, 581pp. 23x15.

[Printed The Kynoch Press, Birmingham.]

VIE, ETUDE, CITATIONS,
TRADUCTIONS.

Inverness, n.d.

Université de Rennes. Donnchadh Bàn
Mac an t-Saoir (Duncan Bàn Mac Intyre) 1724-
1812. Poète gaélique écossais. Vie,
étude, citations, traductions. Thèse
présentée à la Faculté des Lettres pour le
Doctorat par Donald James Macleod, M.A.,
H.M.I.S., Inverness, Ecosse, Inspecteur de
gaélique et de langues modernes, Scottish
Education Department. Printed by the Northern
Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing
Company, Limited, Margaret Street, Inverness.
viii, 243pp, 1 f Biblio. 22x15. AU, PC.

[Text and French translation on facing
pages. An earlier ed. than that of 1952:
this deduced from remarks in the editor's
intro. rather than from formal imprint,
hence the present ordering of the eds.]

MACINTYRE, DUNCAN BAN. MOLADH BEINN DOBHRAINN.
See MACLEOD, ANGUS. SAR ORAIN.

MACINTYRE, JOHN. TRANSLATIONS INTO GAELIC VERSE
AND ORIGINAL GAELIC SONGS.
Oban, 1916.

Translations into Gaelic Verse of some
Jacobite and Scottish Songs and Original
Gaelic Songs. By the Rev. John MacIntyre,
LL.D., of Kilmonivaig. With appendix. Also,
Article on the Cian Battle on the North
Inch of Perth in 1396. Oban: printed at
"The Oban Times" Printing Works. 1916.
44pp, vii Appendix. 19x13. EU.

MACIVER, COLIN. ORAIN GHAILIG.
Sydney, C.B., 1902.

Orain Ghailig, le Cailleann Mac-Iomhair, a
rugadh ann am baile Bharabhais, Eilean
Leòghais, Siorrachd Rois, Alba, agus a tha
chòmhnaidh an diugh am Milan, siorrachd
Compton, Quebec. Sydney, C.B.: Mac-Talla
Publishing Company, Ltd. 1902.
35pp. 19x13. Xavier. ✱

MACIVER, D[ONALD]. BILINGUAL TEXT BOOK.
Inverness, 1900.

Bilingual Text Book. By D. MacIver, F.E.I.S.,
Bayble School. Inverness: printed at "The
Highland News" Office. 1900.
2 ff, 80pp. 19x13. Mit.

["The writer's objects in compiling this
Class-Book is to facilitate the teaching
of English in the Upper Division of his
own school" -- Preface. T S-G gives
'4 ff, +7-80', erroneously.]

MACIVER, MARY A. CEOL AGUS DEOIR.
Stornoway, n.d.

Ceol agus Deoir. Le Màiri A. NicIomhair.
4Opp. 23x14. PC.
[Printed Stornoway Gazette. Recent.]

MACIVER, MARY A. MARBHRANN.
Stornoway, n.d.

Marbhrann do Dhomhnall MacIomhair le a
Phiuthair Mairi A. NicIomhair. Pris - 1/6.
8pp. 22x14. PC.
[Printed 'Stornoway Gazette'. 1968.]

MACKAY, A. M. (editor). See CELTIC MONTHLY.

MACKAY, D. T. CUL-TAIC AN T-SAIGHDEIR.
Dundee, 1919.

War Price 4½d. MacLeod's Gaelic Booklets No. 3.
Cul-taic an t-saighdeir. (Faisgeadan furtachd
do'n Churaidh Chrìosdaidh, anns am bheil
earrannan sonruichte de na Sgrìobtuirean
Naomha, a tha freagarrach do gach car, cor is
cunnart a tha 'n leanmhuinn dreuchd an
t-saighdeir, air an cur sìos leth-taobh
duilleige mu choinnimeh gach latha 'sa mhios.)
Leis an Urr. D. T. Mac Aoidh, (Ploc Loch
Aillse). [Ill.] Calum Siosal Mac Leòid,
Leabhar-reiceadair, Dùn-dé. An ceud clo-
bhualadh 1919.
32 ff. 17x11. GU:CL.

MACKAY, D. T. LEABHRAN OIR NAN GEALLANA.
Oban, 1927.

Leabhran Oir nan Geallana. (Booklet of Gospel
Promises.) By D. T. Mackay, Plockton (Late
Tiree). Oban: printed and published by Hugh
MacDonald. 1927.
44pp. 19x13. PC.

MACKAY, DONALD J. (editor). See MO LEABHAR II:
LEABHAR-OIBREACH.

MACKAY, JOHN (editor). See CELTIC MONTHLY.

MACKAY, J[OHN]G. GAELIC FOLKTALE.
London, 1925.

Gaelic Folktale. J. G. MacKay.
Pp 151-175 [pp 159-165 Gaelic]. 23x15. GU.
[In 'Folk-lore', Vol. XXXVI, London, 1925.
From the J. F. Campbell Mss.]

MACKAY, JOHN G. GAELIC PHRASES AND SENTENCES.
Glasgow, 1946.

MacKay's Gaelic Phrases and Sentences. Easy
Gaelic Syntax. The correct arrangement of
Gaelic words in sentences, popularily treated
for beginners by J. G. MacKay. [Prefatorial
remarks.] Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons,
268 Argyle Street, C.2.

Copyright. First Edition 1899. Second Edition
1946.

iv, 57pp, 3 ff Ads. 19x13. EPL, GU:CL, PC.

McKAY, JOHN G. GILLE A' BHUIDSEIR.
London, [1912].

Ancient Legends of the Scottish Gael.
Gille a' Bhuidseir. The Wizard's Gillie and
other tales. Edited and translated by John G.
McKay. From the magnificent Manuscript
Collections of the late J. F. Campbell of
Islay, compiler of the famous "Popular Tales
of the West Highlands". Saint Catherine Press,
Oswaldestre House, 34 Norfolk St., Strand, W.C.
141pp; 6 ff Ill.[in text; colour]. 20x14. AU, GU.
[Date from imprint in 2nd ed.]

MACKAY, JOHN G. GILLE A' BHUIDSEIR. (cont.)
Glasgow, 1946.

Ancient Legends of the Scottish Gael.
Gille a' Bhuidseir. The Wizard's Gillie and
other tales. Edited and translated by J. G.
MacKay. From the magnificent Manuscript
Collections of the late J. F. Campbell of
Islay, compiler of the famous "Popular Tales
of the West Highlands". Illustrated. Glasgow:
Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

First Edition 1912. Second Edition 1946.
127pp, 1 f Ads. 18x12.

McKAY, JOHN G. NA SE BONNAICH BHEAGA.
London, [1912]

Na Sè Bonnaich Bheaga, and other Easy Gaelic
Fairy Tales. From the unpublished MS.
collections of the late J. F. Campbell of
Islay, Iain Og Ile. Arranged by J. G. McKay.
Price 4d.; by post 5d. Translation 2d.; by
post 3d. Special terms for large quantities.
To be had from - Miss A. MacLennan, 82 St.
John's Hill, Clapham Junction, London, S.W.
12pp. 25x19. AU, PC.
[Date from imprint in 2nd edition.]

NA SE BONNAICH BHEAGA.
Glasgow, 1946.

Na Sé Bonnaich Bheaga. The Six Little Bannocks,
and other Easy Gaelic Fairy Tales. From the
unpublished MS. collections of the late J. F.
Campbell of Islay, Iain Og Ile. English
translation by J. G. MacKay. For every story
English translations have been prepared, upon
which the utmost care has been bestowed, and
these translations will be found facing the
Gaelic originals, on opposite pages. Glasgow:
Alex. MacLaren and Sons, 268 Argyle Street.

First Edition 1912. Second Edition 1946.
2 ff, 26pp, 4 ff Ads. 22x17. PC.

McKAY, JOHN G. THE TALE OF THE CAULDRON.
Dundee, 1927.

Ancient Legends of the Scottish Gael.
The Tale of the Cauldron. Gaelic and English.
Arranged by J. G. McKay. Sixteen paintings by
Gordon Browne, R.I. Dundee: published by
Malcolm C. MacLeod, 183 Blackness Road. 1927.
64pp. 21x26. NLS, PC.
[Sumptuously produced. Printed Geo. E.
Findlay, Dundee.]

McKAY, JOHN G. (transcriber). See MACLEAN,
Rev. Prof. DONALD. MORE WEST HIGHLAND TALES,
VOLUME ONE.

McKAY, JOHN G. (transcriber). See MATHESON,
ANGUS. MORE WEST HIGHLAND TALES, VOLUME TWO.

MACKAY, JOHN M. (co-editor). See IRISLEABHAR
CEILTEACH.

MACKAY, J[OHN] R. AN EAGLAIS PHRESBITERIANACH
SHAOR.
N.p., [1906].

An Eaglais Phresbiterianach Shaor agus an
Eaglais Shaor a reir an lagha.
8pp.

[Not seen. Information from T S-G, Beaton.]

MACKAY, JOHN R. (editor). See COOK, ARCHIBALD.
SEARMOINEAN GAELIG.

MACKAY, JOHN R. (editor). See COOK, ARCHIBALD.
SERMONS (GAELIC AND ENGLISH).

MACKAY, JOHN R. (editor). See MACKENZIE, DONALD.
LAOIDHEAN SPIORADAIL.

MACKAY, RODERICK. OITEAGAN O TIR NAN OG.
Glasgow, 1938.

Oiteagan ó Tìr nan Og. Orain agus Dain le
Ruairidh Mac Aoidh, Loch-nam-Madadh. Fo laimh
Eachainn Mhic Dhughail. Glascho: Alasdair
MacLabhrunn is a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earra-
Ghaidheal, C.2.

Breezes from Tìr nan Og. Songs and Poems by
Roderick MacKay, Illeray, Lochmaddy. Edited
by Hector MacDougall. Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren
& Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

First published, 1938.
viii, 109pp, 2 ff Ads. 20x13. Mit., NLS.
[Roimh Radh by George MacKenzie.]

MACKAY, THOMAS. SEOLAIDHEAN FEUMAIL MU CHOCAIREACHD.
Glasgow, 1905.

Practical Hints on Cooking and Baking.
By Thomas Mackay, Largs, Ex-President, Clan
Mackay Society. Translated into Gaelic by
Henry Whyte ('Fionn'). Glasgow: Clan Mackay
Society. 1905.

Seolaidhean Feumail mu Chocaireachd 's mu
Fhuineadh. Eadar-theangaichte o'n Bheurla le
'Fionn'. Glaschu: Comunn Chloinn Aoidh. 1905.
xiii, pp.2-47. 17x11. EU, Mit.
[Gaelic and English on facing pages. Mit.
copy now lost.]

MACKAY, W. P. AN GRAS AGUS AN FHIRINN.
Glasgow, n.d.

Gaelic Edition of "Grace and Truth". Chap. 1.,
"There is No Difference". 'An Gras agus an
Fhìrinn' Fo Dha Shealladh Dheug. Le W. P.
Macaoidh, M.A., Hull. 'Thainig an Gràs agus
an Fhìrinn le Iosa Crìosd.'-Eoin, 1.17.
A' Cheud Chaibideil, 'Cha-n eil eadar-dhealachadh
ann'. Ar Diteadh. Eadar-theangaichte o'n
Bheurla. Glasgow: "The Witness" Office, 180
Buchanan Street, Booksellers and Publishers of
Christian Literature. Price 1d. 1s. per Dozen,
Post Free.
24pp. 18x13. AU, PC.

MACKAY, WILLIAMINA. ORAN.
N.p., n.d.

Oran o throm-inntinn a bhàird air suidheachadh
na h-Eaglaisean. . . Williamina MacKay.
6pp. 26x21. PC.
[Century uncertain.]

MACKAY, WILLIAMINA. TEANNTACHD NA H-EAGLAIS
AONAICHTE.
N.p., n.d.

Teanndachd na h-Eaglais Aonaichte. Le
Uilleamina Macaoidh.
7pp. 21x13. PC.
[Century uncertain. Not in T.S-G. Drawn
to my attention by T. M. Murchison.]

MACKECHNIE, DONALD. AM FEAR-CIUIL.
Glasgow, 1904.

Am Fear-Ciuil. Original Gaelic humorous sketches, poems, songs, and translations. By Donald MacKechnie, Edinburgh. "Mar bhraon air blàth do m'anam fhéin, / Tha ceòl is sgeul is beagan àbhachd!" Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, "Celtic Press", 47 Waterloo Street. 1904.

Am Fear-Ciuil. Dain agus Orain, &c. Le Domhnall MacEacharn, Duneideann. "O, ceòl ar dùthcha, is spiorad iùil e, / A tha 'gar stiùradh air cùrsa mòrachd, / An cumail ùrail nam buadhan fiùghail, / A choisinn cliù dhuinn an cùis na còrach". Glasgo: Gilleasbuig Mac-na-Ceardadh, 47 Sraid Waterloo. 1904.
1 f Ill. [photo of author], xvi, 225pp. 20x13.
GU:CL, Mit., SS.

AM FEAR-CIUIL.
Edinburgh, 1910.

Am Fear-Ciuil. Dain, orain, oraidean, is sgeulachdan. Le Domhnall MacEacharn, an Duneideann. An dara clo-bhualadh, le moran ris. [Verse, as above.] Duneideann: Iain Grannd, Drochaid Dheorsa IV. 1910.

Am Fear-Ciuil. Poems, songs, and translations, with prose sketches, grave and gay. By Donald MacKechnie, Edinburgh. Second edition, much enlarged. [Verse, as above.] Edinburgh: John Grant, George IV. Bridge. 1910.
xvi, 336pp. 20x14. AU, GU, Mit.
[Prefatorial note by Donald MacKinnon.
Photo of author included in the pagination.]

AM FEAR-CIUIL.
Stirling, [Fore.1940].

Am Fear-Ciuil. Dain, orain, oraidean is sgeulachdan/

sgeulachdan. Le Domhnull MacEacharn (nach maireann), Duneideann. [Verse, as above.] Clo-bhuailte fo ughdarras A' Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich le Aonghas MacAoidh, 44 Craigs, Sruighlea.

Am Fear-Ciuil. Poems, songs, and translations, with prose sketches, grave and gay. By the late Donald MacKechnie, Edinburgh. [Verse, as above.] Published for An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow, by Eneas Mackay, 44 Craigs, Stirling.

316pp, 1 f Ads. 20x14. Mit.
[Roimh-radh dated 1940. No Ill. Printed Jamieson & Munro, Stirling.]

MACKECHNIE, ELIZABETH E. (editor). See STEWART, JOHN ROY. POEMS.

MACKECHNIE, JOHN. GAELIC WITHOUT GROANS. Stirling, 1934.

Gaelic without Groans! In a series of twenty-nine lessons. By John MacKechnie, M.A. Eneas MacKay, Stirling.

First published 1934.
155pp, 3 ff Ads. 19x13. AU, Mit.
[Illustrated.]

GAELIC WITHOUT GROANS.
[Reprints as below.]

Reprints identical to the above in 1935, 1948.
[A revised ed. was issued in 1962: see below.]

GAELIC WITHOUT GROANS.
Edinburgh, 1962.

Gaelic without Groans. John MacKechnie, M.A. Oliver/

Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh and London.

First published (Eneas Mackay) - 1934.

Second revised edition - 1962.

124pp. 19x13.

Mit.

MACKECHNIE, JOHN. GAELIC WITHOUT GROANS. (cont.)
[Reprints as below]

Reprints of the revised ed. have been
issued in 1963, 1965.

MACKECHNIE, JOHN. THE OWL OF STRONE.
Glasgow, 1946.

The Owl of Strone. Edited by John MacKechnie,
M.A., B.L., B.D. Sgoil Eolais na h-Alba: 1946.
36pp. 22x14. GU, Mit., SS.

[Printed The Caledonian Press, Glasgow.
Detailed notes on metres and on the text.]

MACKECHNIE, JOHN. THE OWL REMEMBERS.
Stirling, 1933.

The Owl Remembers. Gaelic poems selected and
edited with notes by John MacKechnie, M.A.,
B.D., F.S.A.(Scot.) Introduction and English
versions by Patrick McGlynn, M.A., D.Litt.
Eneas MacKay, Stirling.

First published 1933.

110pp. 20x13.

EPL, Mit., PC.

[Translation on facing pages. Ranges from
the Book of the Dean of Lismore to
Donald MacKechnie and Malcolm MacFarlane;
Ewen MacLachan is particularly generously
represented.]

MACKECHNIE, JOHN (editor). See MACINTYRE,
DUNCAN BAN. BEINN DORAINN.

MACKELLAR, MARY. THE TOURIST'S HANDBOOK.
Edinburgh, n.d.

The Tourist's Handbook of Gaelic and English
Phrases, with pronunciation. By Mrs Mary
MacKellar, Bard to the Gaelic Society of
Inverness. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George
IV. Bridge.

24pp. 10.6x13.8. PC.

[First ed. in the 19th century, by
MacLachlan & Stewart, Edinburgh. The
above is probably the ed. add. in 'Guth
na Bliadhna' in 1919.]

THE TOURIST'S HANDBOOK.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Tourist's Handbook of Gaelic and English
Phrases, with pronunciation. By Mrs Mary
MacKellar, Bard to the Gaelic Society of
Inverness. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons,
Argyle Street, C.2.

24pp, 4 ff Ads. 10.4x13.6. GU:CL, Mit.
[Possibly the Jubilee Edition of 1929.]

THE TOURIST'S HANDBOOK.
[Reprints as below.]

Reprints of the MacLaren ed. above in
1935, 1940, 1953.

[Note. MacKellar's 'The Tourist's
Handbook' provided the basis for Malcolm
MacLennan's 'Handbook of Gaelic Phrases
and Sentences' (1930), which was revised
by Alexander MacFarlane in 1939 and reprinted
in 1949 and 1962: See MACLENNAN, MALCOLM.
HANDBOOK OF GAELIC PHRASES AND SENTENCES.]

MACKENZIE, ANNIE M. (editor). See MACDONALD,
JOHN, Seventeenth Century poet. ORAIN
IAIN LUIM.

MACKENZIE, ARCHIBALD J. HISTORY OF CHRISTMAS
ISLAND PARISH.

N.p., n.d.

History of Christmas Island Parish. By
Archibald J. MacKenzie. With an Introduction
by Rev. Patrick Nicholson, Ph.D., Professor
in St. F. X. College.
167pp [pp150-167: 18 Gaelic Songs]. 22x14. PC.
[Ca. 1939. Information from John L.
Campbell, Canna.]

MACKENZIE, DONALD. LAOIDHEAN SPIORADAIL.
Inverness, 1909.

Laoidhean Spioradail. Le Domhnull MacCoinnich,
fear ceasnuichidh 'bh'ann an sgìre Assuint,
an Cataobh. Air an deasachadh airson
a' chlodh bhualaidh so leis An Urr. I.R.
MacAoidh, M.A., Inbhirnis. Inverness:
"Northern Chronicle" Office. 1909. Price
ninepence.
47pp. 19x13. EPL, FC, Mit.

MACKENZIE, EILA. SEVEN GAELIC SONGS.
London, 1962.

Seven Gaelic Songs. Collected by Mrs. Eila
Mackenzie.
Pp 122-128. 20x17. GU.
[In 'The Journal of the English Folk
Dance and Song Society', Volume IX,
No. 3, December, 1962. 3/4 verses of
each song, with English translation;
music in staff notation.]

MACKENZIE, JOHN. EACHDRAIDH A' PHRIONNSA.
Paisley, 1906.

Eachdraidh a' Phrionnsa, no Bliadhna
Thearlaich: anns am bheil min-chunntas air
Taisdeal a' Phrionnsa do dh' Albhainn;
Togbhail nam Fineachan Gaelach 'na Aobhar;
agus Gach Teugbhail 'bha aca r'a Naimhdean;
maille ri Iomruagadh a' Phrionns' agus a
Luchd-Leanmhuinn an deigh Latha Chuil-
Fhodair, &c. Le Iain Mac-Choinnich, Ball
Urramach de Chomunn Oisianach, Ghlascho; de
Chomunn na Gàellig ann an Lunnainn, &c.; Fear-
Sgrìobhaidh "Sàr-Obair nam Bàrd Gàelach", agus
"Eachdraidh Beatha nam Bàrd", &c. Paislig:
Alasdair Gardner, Clodh-bhuailtear, le a
deòin rioghail fein, do'n Bhàn-Rìgh Victoria
nach maireann. 1906.
199pp. 20x14. GU:CL, Mit.
[First ed. 1844.]

MACKENZIE, JOHN. AN ENGLISH-GAELIC DICTIONARY.
Glasgow, 1930.

An English-Gaelic Dictionary. By John
MacKenzie, author of 'The Beauties of
Gaelic Poetry'. Being Part Second to
MacAlpine's Pronouncing Gaelic-English
Dictionary. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons,
268 Argyle Street, C.2.

MacLaren's New Edition 1930.

v-x, pp 285-549. 19x13.

[The above (without a separate title page
or pagination) was issued bound with the
1903 and 1906 eds. of MacAlpine's Dictionary.
The reprint of 1962 (see below) was bound
with Part One, but had a separate title
page.]

AN ENGLISH-GAELIC DICTIONARY.
[Reprints as below.]

The above was reprinted in 1936, -43, -50, -56, -62.

MACKENZIE, JOHN. SAR-OBAIR NAM BARD GAELACH.
Edinburgh, 1904.

Sar-Obair nam Bard Gaelach: or, The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry and the Lives of the Highland Bards; with historical and critical notes, and a comprehensive glossary of provincial words. By John MacKenzie, Esq., Honorary Member of the Ossianic Society of Glasgow, the Gaelic Society of London, &c., &c. With an historical introduction containing an account of the manner, habits, etc., of the ancient Caledonians, by James Logan, Esq., F.S.A.S., Corresponding Member S.Ant.Normandy, author of the Scottish Gael, &c., &c. New edition. Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, 25 George IV. Bridge. 1904.

1 f Ill., lxvi, 408pp. 26x17. AU, EU, Mit.
[Printed Lorimer & Chalmers, Edinburgh.
First ed. 1841. ; the 2nd ed. of 1865
had 408pp.]

SAR-OBAIR NAM BARD GAELACH.
Edinburgh, 1907.

Sar-Obair nam Bard Gaelach. The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry and Lives of the Highland Bards. Edited by John MacKenzie. With an historical introduction containing an account of the manners, habits, etc., of the ancient Caledonians, by James Logan, F.S.A.S. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1907.

4 ff, lxxii, 447pp. 23x16. GU:CL, PC.

M[AC]K[ENZIE], J[OHN] (translator). See BUNYAN,
JOHN. GRAS AM PAILTEAS.

MACKENZIE, JOHN (translator). See BUNYAN,
JOHN. AN SAOGHAL A TA RI TEACHD.

MACKENZIE, JOHN (translator). See BUNYAN,
JOHN. TURAS A' CHRIOSDAIDH.

MACKENZIE, JOHN (editor). See ROSS, WILLIAM.
ORAIN GHAELACH.

MACKENZIE, JOHN. [Note. 19th century. A man of
great editorial industry and flair; particularly
noted for his editions of poetry--some
bordering on the obscene--and for his
translations from English of books of Puritan
theology.]

[MACKENZIE, LACHLAN.] ADDITIONAL LECTURES,
SERMONS, AND WRITINGS.

Inverness, 1930.

"The Rev. Mr Lachlan" of Lochcarron.
Additional Lectures, Sermons, and Writings
of a famous Highland minister of the old
school. Practically all hitherto unpublished.
Supplementary to volume already published.
Compiled and published by James Campbell,
Inverness.

Inverness: Robt. Carruthers & Sons. 1930.
xvi, 442pp. 22x15. Mit.

[1 Ill: numbered page. Foreword by
Rev. Ewen Macqueen, Inverness.]

[MACKENZIE, LACHLAN.] LECTURES, SERMONS, AND
WRITINGS.

Inverness, 1928.

"The Rev. Mr Lachlan" of Lochcarron.
Lectures, Sermons, and Writings of a famous
Highland minister of the old school.
Including some of his work which has never
hitherto been published. Compiled and
published by James Campbell, Inverness.

Robt. Carruthers & Sons. 1928.

xvi, 462pp, 1 f. 22x15. Mit.

[Foreword D. Beaton, Wick. Little Gaelic.]

MACKENZIE, L[ACHLAN]. ROS O SHARON.
Edinburgh, n.d.

Cogadh mór na h-Eorpa. Ròs o Sharon.
MacCoinnich. [Here crest of burning bush,
circumscribed by the legend,—Eaglais na
h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte, An
Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd,
Edinburgh, for the Church of Scotland, The
United Free Church of Scotland, and The Free
Church of Scotland.

61pp. 14x16.

NLS.

[From the English. Issued for soldiers
in World War I. First ed. 1897: 33pp.]

ROS O SHARON.
Glasgow, n.d.

"Ros o Sharon". Searmoin leis An Urr.
Lachlan MacCoinnich a bha ann an Lochcarron.
Alasdair Mac Labhrainn 's a Mhic, Reiceadairean
Leabhraichean Gaidhlig, 268 Sraid Earra-
Ghaidheal, Glascho, C.2. Price twopence.

16pp. 16x11.

Mit., PC.

[MacLaren gives date as 1940.]

MACKENZIE, LACHLAN (co-author). DIOGHLUIM
O THEAGASG NAN AITHRICHEAN. See MACADAM,
ALEXANDER.

MACKENZIE, LACHLAN. See MacCUISH, DONALD J.
CEIT MHOR AGUS MAIGHSTIR LACHLUNN.

MACKENZIE, PEGGY (collector). See MACKENZIE,
WILLIAM. CNOC CHUSBAIG.

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM, of Cnoc Chusbaig. CNOC
CHUSBAIG.

Glasgow, 1936.

Cnoc Chusbaig. Comh-Chruinneachadh de Orain agus Dain le Uilleam Mac Coinnich, Siadar an Rudha Leodhais. Comh-Chruinneachadh le Peigi Nic Coinnich. Roimh-radh le Domhnull Mac Coinnich, A.M. Fo laimh Eachainn Mhic Dhughail. Glasgo: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn 'sa Mhic, 268 Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal, C.2.

Cnoc Chusbaig. A Collection of Songs and Poems by William MacKenzie, Shader Point, Lewis. Collected by Peggy MacKenzie. Foreword by Donald MacKenzie, M.A. Edited by Hector Mac Dougall. Glasgow: Alex MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

First published 1936. Copyright.
61pp, 3 ff Ads. 19x13. Mit., PC.
[Traditional lyric poetry of some interest and popularity, verging on morbidity. See discussion in poetry chapter above.]

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM, Secretary of Crofters' Commission. GEMS OF HIGHLAND SONG, BOOK 1. Edinburgh, [c.1923].

Gems of Highland Song. With the original Gaelic words, and a translation into English. By William MacKenzie. Arranged for solo voices, with accompaniment (and chorus ad. lib.) by J. A. Moonie. Book 1. Price 1s. 6d. Edinburgh: Bruce, Clements & Co., Music Publishers, 128a, George Street. Copyright 1923 by Bruce, Clements & Co. Full Score and Bound Parts may be obtained from the publishers.
4 ff, 13pp, 3 ff Ads. 28x19. NLS.
[Acc. to MacLaren this is the 6th ed; T S-G quotes only an Ad. for it. The publishing company is now defunct.]

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM, Secretary of Crofters'
Commission. GEMS OF HIGHLAND SONG, BOOK 2.
[Glasgow, 1914.]

Gems of Highland Song.

[Book 2 not seen. Described by MacLaren
as containing 8 songs and being
published twice, the second issue being
by Patersons, Glasgow in 1914. Neither
book is listed in the B.M. catalogue.]

MACKINNON, ALEXANDER. DAIN AGUS ORAIN.
Charlottetown, 1902.

Dain agus Orain. Le Alasdair Mac-Fhionghain.
Edited by the Rev. A. MacLean Sinclair.

[Ill.] Charlottetown: printed by Haszard
and Moore. 1902.

48pp. 16x11. EU:CL, Mit.

[Pp 38-48 Notes, etc.]

MACKINNON, DONALD, Free Church Minister. DOMHNALL
"MUNRO".

N.p., n.d.

Domhnall "Munro", An Dall, Snitheasort,
anns An Eilean Sgitheanach. Le Domhnall
Mac Fhionghain, Port-rìgh. A' phris sia
sgillinn.

12pp. 22x14. PC.

MACKINNON, DONALD, Free Church Minister. THE
GAELIC BIBLE AND PSALTER.

Dingwall, 1930.

The Gaelic Bible and Psalter. Being the
story of the translation of the Scriptures
into Scottish Gaelic, with metrical versions
of the Psalms and Paraphrases. By Rev. Donald
MacKinnon/

Mackinnon, F.S.A., Scot., Portree. Price 5/6.
 Dingwall: printed and published by the Ross-
 shire Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.
 1930.

7 ff, 119pp, 6 ff Index. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit.
 [The discussion is in English but
 substantial Extracts are given from
 the Gaelic text.]

MACKINNON, DONALD, Free Church Minister.
 AN T-IONAD-FASGAIDH.

Edinburgh, 1951.

An t-Ionad-fasgaidh. Searmoinean air
 Isaiah XXXII:2. Le Domhnall Mac Fhionghain.
 Edinburgh: Lindsay & Co., Ltd., 17 Blackfriars
 Street. 1951.

2 ff, 78pp. 20x13. PC.

[MACKINNON, DONALD, Free Church Minister] (compiler).
 See SGUABAN A ACHADHEAN NAN AITHRICHEAN.

MACKINNON, DONALD, of Leurbost. DURACHD MO
 CHRIDHE.

Glasgow, [c.1938].

Durachd mo Chridhe. Dain Spioradail.
 Le Domhnall Mac Fhionghain, Liùrabost,
 Steòrnabhagh, Leodhas. Glascho: Alasdair
 MacLabhrainn 's a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earra-
 Ghaidheal, C.2.

15pp. 19x13. EPL, NLS.

MACKINNON, Prof. DONALD. GAEELIC MANUSCRIPTS.
Edinburgh, 1912.

A descriptive catalogue of Gaelic manuscripts in the Advocates' Library Edinburgh, and elsewhere in Scotland. By Donald MacKinnon, M.A., Professor of Celtic Languages, etc., etc., in The University of Edinburgh. Compiled at the instance of John, Fourth Marquess of Bute, through whose liberality it is published. Edinburgh: printed by T. and A. Constable, printers to His Majesty, and published by William Brown, 5. Castle Street. 1912.

xii, 348pp. 26x17. GU:CL, Mit., Etc.

MACKINNON, Prof. DONALD. PROSE WRITINGS.
Edinburgh, 1956.

Prose Writings of Donald MacKinnon, 1839-1914, the first Professor of Celtic in the University of Edinburgh. Edited by Oliver and Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. 1956.

Scottish Gaelic Texts Volume Five.
xxvii, 1 f, 337pp. 23x16. AU, GU, Mit.
[Essays of a seriously reflective nature:
on proverbs and literature mainly.]

MACKINNON, Prof. DONALD. READING BOOK, PART I.
Edinburgh, 1906.

Reading Book for the use of students of the Gaelic class in the University of Edinburgh. Part I. 'S i labhair Padruig an Innis-fail nan Righ / 'S am fàidh naomh sin Calum caomh an I. Edinburgh: James Thin, Publisher to the University. 1906.
vii, 261pp. 19x13. AU, CoS.
[First ed. 1889, of which this is a reprint.]

MACKINNON, Prof. DONALD. READING BOOK, PART II.
N.p., n.d.

[In pencil] MacKinnon. Class Book II.
204pp. 19x13. CoS, PC.
[Neither copy has a title page. Contents
from 18th century and earlier.]

MACKINNON, Prof. DONALD. SEANFHOCAIL,
Edinburgh, 1956.

Seanfhocail. Prose Writings of Donald
MacKinnon, 1839-1914, the first Professor of
Celtic in the University of Edinburgh. Edited
by Lachlan MacKinnon, M.A., F.E.I.S.
Published by Oliver and Boyd for the Scottish
Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh. 1956.
vii, 135pp. 22x14. PC.
[Extracted from 'Prose Writings' (see
above): for the use of schools.]

MACKINNON, Prof. DONALD (consulting editor).
See CELTIC REVIEW.

MACKINNON, JOHN (translator). See BELL, J. J.
SNAITHINEAN SGARLAID.

MACKINNON, J[ONATHAN] G. NA GAIDHEIL AN CEAP
BREATUNN.
Toronto, 1903.

"Na Gaidheil an Ceap Breatunn". Càradh nan
Gaidheal 'san t-Seann Dùthaich - An Deuchainnean
'san Dùthaich Uir - An Soirbheachadh a lean an
Saothair. (By J. G. MacKinnon, Editor of
Mac-Talla.)
Pp 71-81. 26x18. PC.
[In 'Cape Breton, Canada, at the beginning
of the Twentieth Century. A Treatise of
Natural Resources and Development. Nation
Building Series. By C. W. Vernon.
Toronto: Nation Publishing Co. 1903!]

[MACKINNON, JONATHAN G.] (translator). AM PIOBAIRE
BREAC.

Sydney, C.B., 1919.

Am Piobaire Breac agus da sgeul eile. Eadar-
theangaichte o'n Bheurla le E. G. M. F.
Thainig na tri sgeulan beaga so a duthchannan
cein: a' cheud sgeul--le cead na cuideachd--as
a' Ghearmailt; an dara sgeul a Ruisia; agus
an treas sgeul as a' Ghreig. Sydney, C.B.:
printed by Don. MacKinnon. 1919.
16pp. 21x13. Xavier.

MACKINNON, JONATHAN G. (editor). See FEAR NA
CEILIDH.

MACKINNON, JONATHAN G. (translator). See
HARDY, THOMAS. AN TRIUIR CHOIGREACH.

MACKINNON, JONATHAN G. (editor). See MAC TALLA.

MACKINNON, JONATHAN G. (translator). See
TOLSTOI, COUNT LEO. FAR AM BI GRADH.

MACKINNON, JONATHAN G. (translator). See
VAN DYKE, HENRY. SGEUL AN DRAOIDH EILE.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN. BAIRD A' CHOMUINN.
Glasgow, 1953.

Bàird a' Chomuinn. Comh-chruinneachadh de'n
bhàrdachd a choisinn an crùn aig a' Mhòd
Nàiseanta o'n bhliadhna 1923 gu 1951. Air a
dheasachadh le Lachlan MacFhionghuin, M.A.,
F.E.I.S. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 65, Sràid
West Regent, Glaschu C.2. 1953.
4 ff, 100pp. 19x13.

[Printed A. Sinclair. Has brief biographies.]

MACKINNON, LACHLAN. CASCHEUM NAM BARD.
Inverness, 1939.

Cascheum nam Bard. An Anthology of Gaelic Poetry. Selected and edited with Vocabulary and Notes on the poets by Lachlan MacKinnon, M.A. Inverness: printed by the Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, Limited. 1939.
vii, 170pp. 20x13. Mit., NLS.

CASCHEUM NAM BARD. [In 3 parts]
Inverness, 1939.

[3 separately paginated booklets; title pages as above except for 'Earrann I / II / III' respectively before the publisher's imprint. Lacks the Notes and Vocabulary.]
vii, 37pp; vii, 39pp; vii, 54pp. 19x13.

CASCHEUM NAM BARD. [In 3 parts]
Inverness, 1952.

Cascheum nam Bard. An Anthology of Gaelic Poetry. (Second Edition.) Selected and edited by Lachlan MacKinnon, M.A. Earrann I. Inverness: printed by the Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, Limited. 1952.

. . .Earrann II. . .

. . .Earrann III. . .
6 ff, 41pp; 4 ff, 43pp; iv, 63pp. 19x13. PC.

CASCHEUM NAM BARD.
Inverness, 1953.

Cascheum nam Bard. An Anthology of Gaelic Poetry. (Second Edition.) Selected and edited with Vocabulary and Notes on the poets by Lachlan MacKinnon, M.A. Inverness: printed by the Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, Limited. 1953.
vii, 184pp. 19x13. EU.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN. CASCHEUM NAM BARD. (cont.)
 [Earrann III only.]

Inverness, 1957.

[As above, with imprint: Reprinted 1957.]
 4 ff, 63pp. 18x13. PC.

CASCHEUM NAM BARD. [In 3 parts]
 Inverness, n.d.

Cascheum nam Bard. An Anthology of Gaelic
 Poetry. (Second Edition.) Selected and
 edited by Lachlan MacKinnon, M.A. Earrann I.
 Highland Printers, Inverness.

. . . Earrann II. . .

. . . Earrann III. . .
 6 ff, 41pp; 4 ff, 43pp; 4 ff, 63pp. 19x13.
 [Recent. All the tripartite eds. lack
 the Notes and Vocabulary. Used in schools.]

MACKINNON, LACHLAN. LEABHRAICHEAN LEUGHaidh,
 A' CHEUD CHEUM.

Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean Leughaidh. A' Cheud Cheum.
 Air a dheasachadh le Lachlan MacFhionghuin,
 M.A. [Ill.] Clòdh-bhuailte fo ughdarras
 A' Chomuinn Ghàidhealaich le Blackie agus a
 Mhac, Ltd., Glaschu.

80pp. 18x12. PC.

[Leabhraichean Leughaidh (6 parts: for
 the other 5 see immediately below) was
 a revised re-issue of the series,
 Leabhraichean Sgoile Gaidhlig, which
 was published in the 1920's under the
 general editorship of W. J. Watson.
 Reviewed in 'An Gaidheal', Leabhar XLIV.1,
 January 1949.]

MACKINNON, LACHLAN. LEABHRAICHEAN LEUGHaidH,
LEABHAR NA CLOINNE BIGE.

Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean Leughaidh. Leabhar na Cloinne Bige. Air a dheasachadh le Lachlann MacFhionghuin, M.A. [Ill.] Clòdh-bhuailte fo ùghdarras A' Chomuinn Ghàidhealaich le Blackie agus a Mhac, Ltd., Glaschu.
96pp. 18x12. Mit.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN. LEABHRAICHEAN LEUGHaidH,
LEABHAR I.

Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean Leughaidh. Leabhar I. Air a dheasachadh le Lachlann MacFhionghuin, M.A. [Ill.] Clòdh-bhuailte fo ùghdarras A' Chomuinn Ghàidhealaich le Blackie agus a Mhac, Ltd., Glaschu.
112pp. 18x13. Mit.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN. LEABHRAICHEAN LEUGHaidH,
LEABHAR II.

Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean Leughaidh. Leabhar II. Air a dheasachadh le Lachlann MacFhionghuin, M.A. [Ill.] Clòdh-bhuailte fo ùghdarras A' Chomuinn Ghàidhealaich le Blackie agus a Mhac, Ltd., Glaschu.
160pp. 18x13. GU:CL, Mit.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN. LEABHRAICHEAN LEUGHaidH,
LEABHAR III.

Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean Leughaidh. Leabhar III. Air a dheasachadh le Lachlann MacFhionghuin, M.A. [Ill.] Clòdh-bhuailte fo ùghdarras A' Chomuinn Ghàidhealaich le Blackie agus a Mhac, Ltd., Glaschu.
176pp. 18x13. GU:CL, Mit.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN. LEABHRAICHEAN LEUGHaidH,
LEABHAR IV.

Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean Leughaidh. Leabhar IV. Air a dheasachadh le Lachlann MacFhionghuin, M.A. [Ill.] Clòdh-bhuailte fo ùghdarras A' Chomuinn Ghàidhealaich le Blackie agus a Mhac, Ltd., Glaschu.

224pp. 18x13.

GU:CL, Mit.

[All illustrated. Date probably 1948 (see footnote to A' Cheud Cheum). A useful, though not very lively series.]

MACKINNON, LACHLAN. AN SEANACHAIDH.

Glasgow, 1936.

An Seanachaidh. Leabhar Leughaidh Gaidhlig. Air a dheasachadh le Lachlann MacFhionghuin, M.A. [Ill.] Clo-bhuailte fo ughdarras A' Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich le Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 40 Craigs, Struibhle.

First published 1936.

163pp. 19x13.

EU, GU:CL, NLS.

AN SEANACHAIDH.

Glasgow, 1948.

An Seanachaidh. Leabhar Leughaidh Gaidhlig. Air a dheasachadh le Lachlann MacFhionghuin, M.A. [Ill.] Clo-bhuailte fo ughdarras A' Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich le Aonghas Mac Aoidh, 40 Craigs, Struibhle.

First published 1936. Current reprint 1948.

160pp. 19x13.

GU:CL.

[Both eds. printed by Jamieson and Munro, Stirling. From J. F. Campbell's Popular Tales of the West Highlands. Place of publication determined according to LC rule: see Introduction to Bibliography.]

MACKINNON, LACHLAN (translator). See FERGUSON,
J. A. AM BODACH-ROCAIS.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN (translator). See GREGORY,
Lady [AUGUSTA]. AN T-AIRGIOD-CINN.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN (translator). See JOHN,
EVAN. OR CHOIGREACH.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN (editor). See MACKINNON,
Prof. DONALD. PROSE WRITINGS.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN (editor). See MACKINNON,
Prof. DONALD. SEANFHOCAIL.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN (co-editor). See MACPHAIL,
MALCOLM C. AM FILIDH LATHARNACH.

MACKINNON, LACHLAN (translator). See MALLOCH,
G. R. AM BATA-LUATH.

MACKINNON, MARY A. AIRGIOD SIUSAIDH.
Glasgow, n.d.

Airgiod Siùsaidh. A Gaelic Play, in four
acts. By Mary A. MacKinnon (Mrs. A. Campbell).
[Ill.] Glasgow: printed by Archibald
Sinclair, "Celtic Press", 27A Cadogan Street.
32pp. 22x15. PC.
[Add. 'An Gaidheal', Aug. 1930.]

MACKINNON, MARY A. BEITIDH.
Glasgow, n.d.

"Beitidh". A Gaelic and English play, in three acts. By Mary A. MacKinnon. Written in aid of the Tìree Memorial Fund. Glasgow: printed by Archibald Sinclair, "Celtic Press", 47 Waterloo Street, Glasgow.

22pp. 22x14. NLS.

[MacLaren gives date as 1916.]

BEITIDH.
Glasgow, n.d.

Beitidh. Dealbh-chluich an Gaidhlig agus am Beurla. Le Mairi A. Chaimbeul. A Gaelic and English play, in three acts. Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrainn 's a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.

24pp. 19x13. Mit., PC.

[Dated 1925 in MacLaren. Add. first in 'An Gaidheal', 1927. All items are entered under author's maiden name, in cases where both are used; see Intro.]

MACKINNON, MARY A. POSADH SEONAIID.
Glasgow, n.d.

Posadh Seònaid. A Gaelic and English play, in five acts. By Mary A. MacKinnon (Mrs. A. Campbell). Written in aid of the Feill 1927 Fund. [Ill.] Glasgow: printed by Archibald Sinclair, "Celtic Press", 47 Waterloo Street, Glasgow.

32pp. 22x14. PC.

MACKINNON, MARY A. RI GUAILLIBH A' CHEILE.
Glasgow, n.d.

"Ri Guaillibh a' Chéile". ("Shoulder to Shoulder".) By Mary A. MacKinnon (Mrs. A. Campbell). Glasgow: printed by Archibald Sinclair, "Celtic Press", 27A Cadogan Street.

20pp. 22x15. Mit., PC.

[Add. 1930. Acquired Mit. 1930.]

MACKINNON, MARY A. [Note. A writer of light and popular plays; closely associated with the Glasgow Tíree Association, who, according to Mr. Hugh MacPhee, frequently performed her plays in the years following the First War.]

MACKINNON, RODERICK. AR SLANUIGHEAR.
Glasgow, [c.1932].

Ar Slanuighear. Dain Spioradail le Ruairidh Mac Fhionghain. Ten Spiritual Hymns by Roderick MacKinnon, Bernera, Harris. Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2. Copyright, 1932.
20pp. 19x13. PC.

MACKINTOSH, D. (translator). See LAOIDH
NA RIOGHACHD.

MACLACHLAN, EWEN. GAELIC VERSE.
Aberdeen, 1937.

Aberdeen University Studies 114. Ewen MacLachlan's Gaelic Verse. Comprising a translation of Homer's Iliad Book I-VIII and original compositions. Edited by John MacDonald, M.A., Reader in Celtic in the University of Aberdeen. Printed for the University of Aberdeen by R. Carruthers & Sons, Inverness. MCMXXXVII.
xv, 262pp. 26x20. AU, GU, Mit., NLS.

MACLAGAN, ROBERT C. THE GAMES AND DIVERSIONS
OF ARGYLLESHIRE.

London, 1901.

The Games and Diversions of Argyllshire.
Compiled by Robert Craig MacLagan, M.D.
"Albainn/

"Albainn bheadarrach!" London: published for the Folk-Lore Society by David Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre. 1901.

Publications of The Folk-Lore Society XLVII (1900).

vi, 1 f Scheme of Classification, 3 ff Ills, 270pp. 23x15. AU, Mit.

[Texts of verses etc. used in games. Some music: in both notations. Printed Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London.]

MACLAGAN, ROBERT C. THE GAMES OF ARGYLESHIRE, ADDITIONS.

London, 1905-06.

Additions to "The Games of Argyleshire".

R. C. MacLagan.

Pp 77-97, 192-221, 340-9, 439-60 [Vol. XVI]; pp 93-106, 210-229. 22x15. GU.

[In Folk-Lore/The Transactions of the Folk-Lore Society; Vols. XVI and XVII, 1905 and 1906; London: published for the Folk-Lore Society by David Nutt, 55-57, Long Acre.]

MACLAREN, [ALEXANDER]. INTERLINEAR GAELIC READER.

Glasgow, [c.1935].

MacLaren's Interlinear Gaelic Reader.

Gaelic with English translations. [Contents.]

Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2. Printed in Scotland on Scottish paper. Copyright 1935.

32pp. 18x13. EPL, Mit., PC.

[Translations of the Bible and of an Aesop's fable, poem by Neil MacLeod, etc. For learners of Gaelic. Prob. prepared by James MacLaren, author of Gaelic Self-taught, etc.]

MACLAREN, JAMES. FIONN ANN AN TIGH A' BHLAIR
BHUIDHE.

Glasgow, n.d.

Uirsgeulan Ghaidhlig. Fionn ann an Tigh a'
Bhlair Bhuidhe gun chomas suidhe no eirigh.
Fingal in the House of Blar Buidhe without the
power of sitting down or getting up.

[Prefatorial remarks.] Glasgow: Alexander
MacLaren & Son, Gaelic Publishers and
Booksellers, 360-362 Argyle Street.
16 ff. 19x13. PC.

[Translation on rt. facing pages.

Notes signed J. M. L. Add. 'An Deo-
Greine', Leabhar XI.2, Nov. 1915.]

FIONN ANN AN TIGH A' BHLAIR
BHUIDHE.

Glasgow, 1949.

[Cover.] MacLaren's Gaelic Publications.
Fingal in the House of the Blar Buidhe.
A weird Highland tale with Gaelic and
English on opposite pages. A boon to
the learner of Gaelic. Translated and
edited by James MacLaren. Alex. MacLaren
& Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2. Ninepence.

Uirsgeulan Ghaidhlig. Fionn ann an Tigh
a' Bhlair Bhuidhe gun chomas suidhe no
eirigh. Fingal in the House of Blar Buidhe
without the power of sitting down or rising
up. [Prefatorial remarks: as in first ed.]
Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle
Street, C.2.

16 ff. 17x11. PC.

[See also FIONN ANN AN TIGH A' BHLAIR-
BHUIDHE [Dwelly version].]

MACLAREN, [JAMES]. GAELIC SELF-TAUGHT.
Glasgow, 1923.

Suas leis a' Ghaidhlig. MacLaren's Gaelic Self-taught. Third edition - completely revised. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Gaelic Publishers, Printers, and Booksellers, 360-362 Argyle Street.

[Printer's imprint.] 1923.
viii, 184pp. 19x13. PC.
[Based on JAMES W. MACLEAN'S INTRODUCTION TO GAELIC FOR BEGINNERS, q.v. That of 1923 was the first ed. under MacLaren's name.]

GAELIC SELF-TAUGHT.
Glasgow, 1935.

Suas leis a' Ghaidhlig. MacLaren's Gaelic Self-taught. An introduction to Gaelic for beginners. Fourth edition - revised. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Gaelic Publishers, Printers, and Booksellers, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

[Imprint.] 1935.
2 ff Ads, viii, 184pp, 2 ff Ads. 19x13.

GAELIC SELF-TAUGHT.
[Reprints as below.]

Reprinted 1941, 1944, 1948, 1957, 1960.
[A Key to the exercises was sometimes issued bound with the above, sometimes separately: see immediately below. Gaelic Self-taught is a popular learners' book still, though lacking in interest and, even, accuracy.]

MACLAREN, [JAMES]. GAELIC SELF-TAUGHT, KEY
TO EXERCISES.

Glasgow, 1923.

Key to exercises and answers to examination questions in MacLaren's Gaelic Self-taught, Third edition. Also adapted as a Gaelic exercise book. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street.

[Imprint.] 1923.

x, 40pp. 19x13.

[When bound with Gaelic Self-taught lacked the introductory pages.]

GAELIC SELF-TAUGHT, KEY
TO EXERCISES.

[Reprints as below.]

Reprinted 1931, 1935[revised], 1942, 1948,
1958, 1960, 1963, 1966.

MACLAURIN, [JOHN]. CRANN-CEUSAIDH CHRIOSD.
Edinburgh, n.d.

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Crann-Ceusaigh Chrìosd. Maclabhrainn. [Crest of burning bush, with legend, -Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church of Scotland, The United Free Church of Scotland, and The Free Church of Scotland. 80pp. 14x10. Mit., NLS.

[For soldiers in the First War. Trans. by Rev. Dugald MacPhail.]

MACLEAN, A. N. AN APPROACH TO GAELIC.
Stirling, 1949.

An Approach to Gaelic. Part One. By A. N. MacLean, M.A. Published for An Comunn Gaidhealach/

Gaidhealach by Eneas Mackay, Stirling.
1949.

iv, 92pp. 19x13. EPL, GU:CL.
[Printed Jamieson & Munro, Stirling. Ill.]

MACLEAN, ALISTAIR. THE GAELIC PHONO-GRAMMAR.
Inverness, 1932.

The Gaelic Phono-grammar. A conversation grammar for the use of beginners. By The Rev. Alistair MacLean, B.D. To be used with a set of gramophone records spoken by Neil MacLean, M.A., B.Sc., and published for the Proprietors by The Parlophone Company, Ltd. Price 3/6 net; or with the 5 illustrative records, 18/- Inverness: printed by the Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, Limited. 1932.

xvi, 136pp. 20x13. Mit., NLS.
[Intros. by Lady Elspeth Campbell and Compton MacKenzie.]

MACLEAN, ALLAN (translator). See FRANCIS,
J. O. BREAC A LINNE.

MACLEAN, ALLAN (translator). See SYNGE, JOHN.
MUINNTIR A' CHUAIN.

MACLEAN, ALLAN C. TEINE CEANN FOID.
Glasgow, 1967.

Teine Ceann Foid. Le Ailean Caimbeul Macgilleathain. Eadar-theangaichte le Pol MacAonghais. Gairm. Glaschu. 1967.

Clo-bhualaidhean Gairm - Leabhar 5.
110pp. 22x14.
[A children's novel.]

MACLEAN, ANN. COBHAIR AS NA SPEURAN.
Glasgow, n.d.

"Cobhair as na Speuran". Dealbh-Chluich le Anna Nic Gilleathain, Glaschu. A' cheud duais, Mod 1936. [Ill.] An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 Sraid Iar Regent, Glaschu. A' phris - sè sgillinn.

15pp. 22x15. EPL, Mit.
[Reviewed in 'An Gaidheal', Dec. 1937.]

MACLEAN, ARCHIBALD. LAOIDHEAN SPIORADAIL.
Glasgow, n.d.

Laoidhean Spioradail, le Gilleasbuig Mac Gilleathain. Glaschu: Gilleasbuig Mac na Ceardadh, Cio-bhuailtear Gaidhlig.

23pp. 18x12. EU, PC.
[Dated [1901] in T S-G.]

MACLEAN, C. (co-editor). See MO LEABHAR I: LEABHAR-LEUGHaidh/LEABHAR-OIBREACH; and MO LEABHAR II: LEABHAR-LEUGHaidh.

MACLEAN, CALUM I. THE CHARM OF THE LASTING LIFE.

Uppsala, 1959.

A variant of the Charm of the Lasting Life from Uist. By Calum I. Maclean.

4pp. 25x17. PC.
[Offprint from 'Saga Och Sed', Information from John F. Campbell, Canna.]

MACLEAN, CALUM I. CONALL ULABAN.
Dublin, 1945.

Sgéalta as Albainn. . Conall Ulaban, Mac Righ Cruachan.

Pp 237-246. 22x14. PC.
[Offprint from 'Béaloides', Iml. XV, Dublin, 1945.]

MACLEAN, CALUM I. (co-editor). See SCHOOL
OF SCOTTISH STUDIES. GAELIC AND SCOTS
FOLK TALES AND FOLK SONGS.

MACLEAN, DONALD, Minister of Dunvegan.
TYPOGRAPHIA SCOTO-GADELICA.
Edinburgh, 1915.

Typographia Scoto-Gadelica. Or, Books
Printed in the Gaelic of Scotland from the
year 1567 to the year 1914. With
bibliographical and biographical notes.
By The Rev. Donald Maclean, Dunvegan,
Skye. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV.
Bridge. 1915.

Only two hundred and fifty copies of this
work have been printed, of which two
hundred and forty copies, signed and
numbered, are for sale in England and
America. This copy is. . . [Signature.]
x, 372pp. 27x21. AU, GU, PC.
[Printed R. & R. Clark, Edinburgh.
See discussion in Introduction to
the present Bibliography.]

MACLEAN, DONALD, of Isleworth. CUAIRTEAR
NAN GAIDHEAL.
Glasgow, [c.1949].

Cuairtear nan Gàidheal. Nine Gaelic songs
and five songs in English. By Donald MacLean,
Isleworth. Melodies and pianoforte
accompaniments by Andrew J. Orr. Staff and
Sol-fa music. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren &
Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2. Copyright 1949.
Price, 3/6.
31pp. 26x16. Mit., PC.
[Romantic. Foreword in Gaelic and
English by Hector MacDougall. There are,
in fact, only eight Gaelic songs.]

MACLEAN, Rev. Prof. DONALD (editor). DORLACH
SIL.

Edinburgh, 1931.

Dòrlach Sìl. Searmoinean le caochla
mhinisteirean. Dun-Eideann: Comunn Clò-
bhualaidh na h-Eaglaise Saoir. 1931
128pp. 20x13. Mit., PC.

[Roimh-Radh signed, - Donald MacLean,
Fear-deasachaidh. Printed Turnbull
& Spears, Edinburgh.]

MACLEAN, Rev. Prof. DONALD (co-editor). MORE
WEST HIGHLAND TALES, VOLUME ONE.

Edinburgh, 1940.

More West Highland Tales. Transcribed and
translated from the original Gaelic by John.
G. McKay. Edited by: Professor W. J. Watson,
M.A., LL.D., D.Litt.Celt., Hon.F.E.I.S.;
The Reverend Professor Donald Maclean, D.D.;
Professor H. J. Rose, M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.S.
Volume One. Published for The Scottish
Anthropological and Folklore Society by
Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh and London. 1940.
xxxix, 540pp. 24x16. AU, EU:CL, GU.

[From the J. F. Campbell of Islay Mss.
Gaelic and English on facing pages.
Secretaries to the Publishing Committee:
D. C. Crichton and T. J. M. Mackay.]
For Volume Two, see under MATHESON,
ANGUS.]

MACLEAN, Rev. Prof. DONALD (editor). See
BUCHANAN, DUGALD. SPIRITUAL SONGS.

[MACLEAN, Rev. Prof. DONALD] (co-editor).
COGADH MOR NA H-EORPA. [See under COGADH
MOR NA H-EORPA for crossreferences to
individual publications in this series.]

MACLEAN, JAMES W. INTRODUCTION TO GAELIC FOR
BEGINNERS. [in 8 parts]

Glasgow, n.d.

Introduction to Gaelic for Beginners by one
who has acquired the language. Jas. White
MacLean, formerly Teacher to the Celtic
Union, The Edinburgh and Leith School Boards.
Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Son, Gaelic
Booksellers, 228 and 360 Argyle Street.

Part I [to Part VIII].

Pp 1-128 [16pp each]. 19x13.

[According to MacLaren, the parts were
issued between 1911 and 1914. Acc. to
the same source, Parts I-IV were
revised by James MacLaren and republished:
see below.]

INTRODUCTION TO GAELIC FOR
BEGINNERS. [4 parts only]

[Glasgow], n.d.

Introduction to Gaelic for Beginners by
one who has acquired the language.

Part I [to Part IV]. 19x13. Mit.

[Only 3 parts seen, but this is
presumably the 2nd ed. of Parts I-IV
(revised James MacLaren) referred to
above.]

INTRODUCTION TO GAELIC FOR
BEGINNERS. [1 vol.]

Glasgow, n.d.

Introduction to Gaelic for Beginners.

By one who has acquired the language. Jas.
White MacLean, formerly Teacher to the
Celtic Union, The Edinburgh and Leith
School Boards. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren &
Sons, Gaelic Booksellers, 360 and 362 Argyle
Street.

8 ff, 128pp. 19x14. GU:CL, NLS.

[MacLaren gives July 1915 as date,
but both GU:CL and NLS ascribe it to
1916.]

MACLEAN, JAMES W. INTRODUCTION TO GAELIC FOR
BEGINNERS. (cont.)

Glasgow, 1919.

Gaelic Self-taught. An Introduction to
Gaelic for Beginners. With easy imitated
phonetic pronunciation. By James White
MacLean, formerly Teacher to the Celtic
Union, Edinburgh and Leith School Boards
and the Vancouver Gaelic Society. Second
and Revised Edition. Alexander MacLaren &
Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street, Glasgow. 1919.
1 f Ads, 4 ff, 126pp, 2 ff Ads. 18x12 AU, PC.

[Provided the basis for MacLaren's
Gaelic Self-taught: see MACLAREN,
JAMES.]

MACLEAN, JOHN, of Barra ('collaborator'). See
CAMPBELL, JOHN L. FOLKSONGS FROM THE ISLE
OF BARRA.

[MACLEAN, JOHN, of Tiree]. ORAN DO MHAC-MHIC-
ALASDAIR GHLINNE-GARADH.

N.p., n.d.

Oran do Mhac-Mhic-Alasdair Ghlinne-Garadh.
An ainm Bard Thighearna Cholla. The
Glengarry version of the song. Written from
memory by John MacGillivray, Oldground,
Invergarry, December, 1913.

4 ff. 22x12.

PC.

[Drawn to my attention by T. M. Murchison.]

MACLEAN, JOHN, of Tiree (author). See
SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN. FILIDH NA COILLE.

MACLEAN, JOHN (KAID). BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE.
Glasgow, 1939.

Book of Remembrance. John (Kaid)
MacLean. Glasgow: Archd. Sinclair, Celtic
Press, 27a Cadogan Street. 1939.
64pp. 18x12. PC.
[Poems and songs. 2pp Gaelic only.]

MACLEAN, LACHLAN. UILLEAM UALLAS, IAIN KNOX,
AGUS ROB RUADH.
Stirling, 1912.

Eachdraidhean-beatha nan Albannach Iomraiteach
ud: Uilleam Uallas, Iain Knox agus Rob Ruadh.
Le Lachlann Mac Gill-Eathain nach maireann.
Fo làimh Chalum Mhic Phàrlain. Aonghas Mac
Aoidh, Leabhar-reiceadair, 43, Murray Place,
Struibhle. 1912.

116pp, 4 ff Ads. 19x13. AU, SS.
[Ills. (paged) at the beginning of
each section. Maclean was a mid-19th
century writer of essays: his Gaelic books
include one on etiquette and another
attempting to demonstrate that Gaelic
is the common ancestor of the world's
languages. The above appeared as
separate essays in the periodicals of the
time.]

MACLEAN, LACHLAN (transcriber). See CRAIG,
K. C. LEIGHEAS CAS O CEIN.

MACLEAN, MALCOLM. (co-editor). ALBA.
Glasgow, 1948.

Alba. A Scottish Miscellany in Gaelic and
English. No. 1. Editors: Malcolm MacLean;
T. M. Murchison. [Ill.] Published by
William MacLellan, 240 Hope Street, Glasgow,
C.2./

C.2. for An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West
Regent Street, Glasgow, C.2.

[Cover] 1948.
85pp. 23x15. AU, EPL, GU:CL, Mit.
[Liberally illustrated. No more issued.]

MACLEAN, MARY M. SUNBEAMS AND STARLIGHT.
N.p., n.d.

Sunbeams and Starlight. English and
Gaelic Poems. By Mary M. MacLean, Blackpoint,
Grimsay, North Uist. (This little booklet
is affectionately dedicated to the tender
memories that bind me irrevocably to the
town of Oban. M. McL.)
19pp [pp 16-19 Gaelic]. 18x13. EPL.

MACLEAN, NEIL. ORAIN IS DAIN.
N.p., n.d.

Orain is Dain le Niall MacGilleathain.
Gaelic Songs and Poems by Neil Maclean.
Arranged by Violet Mathieson, Dip.Mus.Ed.,
R.S.A.M.
50pp 26x18. Mit., NLS.
[Both notations; piano. Preface Maclean;
Foreword T. M. Murchison. Reviewed
in 'An Gaidheal', Jan. 1950.]

MACLEAN, SOMHAIRLE. DAIN DO EIMHIR.
Glasgow, 1943.

Dain do Eimhir agus Dain Eile. Le Somhairle
Mac Ghill Eathain. Air an cur a mach le
William MacLellan, 240 Hope St., Glaschu.
MCMXLIII.
103pp. 27x19. AU, EU, GU, Mit., NLS.
[Prepared for the press by Douglas Young,
who contributes a preface; translations
by Robert Garioch, Dugald MacColl, John
MacKechnie and Young; ills. by William
Crosbie. See Part 1: Chapter 4 above.]

MACLEAN, SOMHAIRLE. SEVENTEEN POEMS FOR
SIXPENCE.

Edinburgh, 1940.

Seventeen Poems for Sixpence. By Somhairle
Mac Ghill-eathain and Robert Garioch.
Edinburgh. The Chambers Press. 1940.

28pp. 20x14. NLS.

[8 Gaelic poems by MacLean; 6 Scots and
2 English by Garioch; 1 Scots translation
by Garioch of a poem by MacLean. Includes
a section from MacLean's long unpublished
poem, An Cuilthionn.]

MACLELLAN, ANGUS. RAONULL BAN MAC EOGHAIN OIG.
Antigonish, n.d.

Raonull Ban Mac Eoghain Oig. Le Aonghas
Mac Gillfhaolain. Casket Print, Antigonish.

26pp. 21x14. PC.

[Information from John L. Campbell.]

MACLELLAN, ROBERT. A' CHAILLEACH.
N.p., n.d.

A' Chailleach. Dealbh-chluich an aon
sealladh. Gaelic translation of the one-act
play, The Cailleach, by Robert MacLellan.

18pp. 19x13. PC.

[Copyright note,—"Application to perform
this play must be made to A. & J.
Donaldson, Ltd., Publishers, 69 Ingram
Street, Glasgow". This does not mean,
of course, that Donaldson published
the Gaelic translation.]

MACLELLAN, ROBERT. AN TACHARAN.
N.p., n.d.

An Tàcharan. Dealbh-chluich àbhachdach an
aon sealladh. Gaelic translation of the
one-act comedy, The Changeling, by Robert
MacLellan/

MacLellan. Air eadar-theangachadh le Iain
M. MacMhathain.

19pp. 19x13.

GU:CL, PC.

[Copyright note as in A' Chailleach above.]

McLELLAN, VINCENT A. FAILTE CHEAP-BREATUINN.
Sydney, C.B., 1933.

Failte Cheap Breatuinn. McNeil Edition.
Including, the original Failte Cheap-Breatuin,
together with, a supplementary of songs, stories,
notes, and a biography of Mr. V. A. McLellan, by
James Hughie McNeil, Sydney, Cape Breton.

A Bhealltain, 1933.

267pp. 23x14.

PC.

[First ed. 1891. "Only 8 type-written copies
made of the above ed." - Prof. C. I. MacLeod.]

MACLENNAN, GORDON. GAIDHLIG UIDHIST A DEAS.
Dublin, 1966.

Gàidhlig Uidhist a Deas. (Téacsleabhar.)
Gordon Mac Gill-fhinnein a chuir le chéile.
Institiúid Ard-leinn Bhaile Atha Cliath, 10
Bóthar Burlington, Baile Atha Cliath 4. 1966.
xiii, 139pp.

[Printed Hely Thom Limited, Dublin.]

MACLENNAN, JOHN. DUANAGAN AGUS SGEULACHDAN BEAGA.
Glasgow, 1937.

Duanagan agus Sgeulachdan Beaga. Le Iain Dubh
Mac Dhomhnuill 'ic Iain. [Verse.] Fo laimh
Eachainn Mhic Dhùghaill. Glascho: Alasdair
MacLabhrunn 's a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earra-ghaidheal, C. 2.

Poems and Storyettes. By John MacLennan, Brisbane.
Edited by Hector MacDougall. Glasgow: Alex.
MacLaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

First published 1937.

ix, 117pp. 20x13. EPL, GU:CL, Mit., NLS.

[MACLENNAN, MALCOLM.] CEO NA MOINEADH.
Edinburgh, 1907.

Ceò na Mòineadh (Peat Reek) á Luidhearan Dhun-
eidinn (from Edinburgh Chimneys). "Clanna nan
Gàidheal 'an guaillibh a chéile". St. Columba's
United Free Church. Edinburgh. Martinmas 1907.
1 f Ill., 24pp. 22x14. EU.
[[4pp of Gaelic: story and poem. 2 items
(including Gaelic poem) signed by MacLennan.
Front. photo of MacLennan.]

MACLENNAN, MALCOLM. HANDBOOK OF GAELIC PHRASES
AND SENTENCES.
Edinburgh, 1930.

Handbook of Gaelic Phrases and Sentences. With
pronunciations and English equivalents. Based on
"The Tourist's Handbook" by Mrs Mary MacKellar.
New edition revised and enlarged by Malcolm
MacLennan, D.D. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31
George IV. Bridge. 1930.
63pp. 17x11. FC.
[Printed Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.]

HANDBOOK OF GAELIC PHRASES
AND SENTENCES.
Edinburgh, 1939.

Handbook of Gaelic Phrases and Sentences. With
pronunciations and English equivalents. Based
on "The Tourist's Handbook". By Malcom MacLennan,
D.D. New edition revised and enlarged by
Alexander MacFarlane, M.A. Edinburgh: John
Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1939.
64pp. 17x11. CoS, GU:CL, Mit.

HANDBOOK OF GAELIC PHRASES
AND SENTENCES.
Edinburgh, 1949.

[Reprint, by Grant.]

HANDBOOK OF GAELIC PHRASES
AND SENTENCES.
Edinburgh, 1962.

[Reprint, by Grant.]

[See also MACKELLAR, MARY. THE TOURIST'S
HANDBOOK.]

MACLENNAN, MALCOLM. MACLEOD'S GAELIC READER.
Edinburgh, 1909.

MacLeod's Gaelic Reader. With Notes and
Vocabulary. Edited by Malcolm MacLennan,
Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod.
1909.
66pp. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit., NLS.
[Traditional sgeulachdan.]

THE GAELIC READER.
Edinburgh, 1913.

The Gaelic Reader. With Notes and
Vocabulary. Edited by Malcolm MacLennan.
New and revised edition. Edinburgh: John
Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1913.
80pp. 19x13. AU, PC.
[3 18th century poems have been added.]

MACLENNAN, MALCOLM. A PRONOUNCING AND ETYMOLOGICAL
DICTIONARY.
Edinburgh, 1925.

A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary
of the Gaelic Language. Gaelic-English;
English-Gaelic. By Malcolm MacLennan, D.D.
Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge.
1925.
xv, 1 f, 613pp. 23x15. AU, EPL, Mit.
[Printed Oliver and Boyd.]

MACLENNAN, MALCOLM (translator). See BUNYAN,
JOHN. TURUS A' CHRIOSDUIDH.

[MACLENNAN, MALCOLM] (co-editor). COGADH
MOR NA H-EORPA. [See under COGADH MOR
NA H-EORPA for crossreferences to
individual publications in this series.]

MACLENNAN, MALCOLM (editor). See AM FEAR-
TATHAICH MIOSAIL.

MACLENNAN, MALCOLM (editor). See MACLEOD,
MURDO, of Scalpay. LAOIDHEAN AGUS DAIN
SPIORADAIL.

MACLENNAN, MALCOLM (editor). See MARTIN,
DONALD J. TEAGASG NAN COSANHLACHDAN.

MACLEOD, ALLAN, of Stornoway. CLIU AGUS
CUIMHNEACHAN.
Glasgow, 1931.

Cliù agus Cuimhneachan air cuid de na
Criosdaidhean a chaidh dhachaidh. Le
Ailean MacLeoid, anns a' Ghleann-Ur,
Steòrnabhagh, Leodhas. Glascho: Alasdair
MacLabhrunn agus a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid
Earraghaidheal, C.2. 1931.
16pp. 19x13. EPL, Mit., NLS.

[MACLEOD, ALLAN, of Bernera, Harris.] See
TURNER, NEIL. GRIASAICHE BHEARNARAIDH:
A BHARDACHD.

MACLEOD, ANGUS. SAR ORAIN.
Glasgow, 1933.

Sar Orain. Three Gaelic Poems. Luinneag
Mhic Leòid -- Mary MacLeod, Màiri Nighean
Alasdair Ruaidh. Birlinn Chlann Raghnaill --
Alexander MacDonald, Alasdair MacMhaighstir
Alasdair. Moladh Beinn Dobhrainn -- Duncan
MacIntyre, Donnchadh Bàn. Edited by
A. MacLeod, M.A., B.Sc., F.E.I.S., Rector,
Oban High School. An Comunn Gaidhealach,
212 West George Street, Glasgow. 1933.
xv, 232pp. 19x14. AU, GU:CL, Mit.
[Printed Learmonth, Stirling.]

MACLEOD, ANGUS (editor). See MACINTYRE,
DUNCAN BAN. SONGS.

MACLEOD, B. A. (co-editor). See MO LEABHAR I:
LEABHAR-LEUGHaidH/LEABHAR-OIBREACH; and
MO LEABHAR II: LEABHAR-LEUGHaidH.

MACLEOD, C. A. (co-editor). See MO LEABHAR I:
LEABHAR-LEUGHaidH/LEABHAR-OIBREACH; and
MO LEABHAR II: LEABHAR-LEUGHaidH.

MACLEOD, CALUM I. N. AN T-EILTHIREACH.
Glace Bay, N.S., 1952.

An t-Eilthireach. Original Gaelic Poems and
Melodies. By Major C. I. N. MacLeod.

Printed by Brodie Printing Service Ltd.,
Glace Bay, Nova Scotia. 1952.

43pp. 22x14.

NLS.

[Music in staff. English Foreword by
Dr. D. J. MacLeod. Enclosed is a loose
typed sheet, 'Glossary'.]

MACLEOD, CALUM I. N. SCOTTISH GAELIC FOR
BEGINNERS.

Halifax/Glasgow, n.d.

[Script.] Scottish Gaelic for Beginners.
Gaidhlig na h-Albann air son Luchd-toiseachaidh.
Series No. 1.

[Record label.] Scottish Gaelic for Beginners.
. . . A Simplified Course conducted by Major
Calum Iain MacLeod, Gaelic Advisor to the
Province of Nova Scotia, and Mrs. C. I. N.
MacLeod.

12pp. 27x21.

PC.

[1 LP record of Gaelic dialogue, with
a script comprising 12 typed sheets
stapled together. Issued ca. 1955 by Rodeo
Records, Halifax, N.S.; re-issued by Gaelfonn,
Glasgow, Scotland ca 1956.]

MACLEOD, CALUM I. N. SIMPLIFIED GAELIC LESSONS
FOR BEGINNERS.

Glace Bay, N.S., 1950.

Simplified Gaelic Lessons for Beginners.

By Major Calum I. N. MacLeod.

16pp. 18x13.

PC.

[Printed by Brodie Printing Service, Ltd.,
Glace Bay, N.S. Prof. MacLeod gives the date
as 1950 and informs that the stocks were
bought and disposed of by the Nova Scotia
School Book Bureau in that year. Out of print.]

MACLEOD, CALUM I. N. (co-editor). GAELIC
SONGS IN NOVA SCOTIA. See CREIGHTON, HELEN.

MACLEOD, CHRISTINA. CEOLRAIDH CRIDHE.
Glasgow, [c.1943].

Ceolraidh Cridhe. Music from the Heart.
Nine original Highland melodies with Gaelic
and English words. By Christina MacLeod.
Some of the airs, the arrangement and
accompaniments by Kenneth I. E. MacLeod.
Dedicated to all those brave men and women
from Lewis and the Hebrides who serve their
country on the sea, on the land and in the
air. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 268
Argyle Street, C.2. Printed in Scotland.
Price 4/- net. Copyright, 1943.

2 ff, 26pp. 26x18. Mit., PC.

[Both notations.]

MACLEOD, CHRISTINA. NA RAITHEAN.
Glasgow, n.d.

An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Crest.] Dealbh-
chluich-ciuil Cloinne. Na Raithean. An treas
duais (ionann), Mod, 1925. Le Cairistiona
NicLeoid. A' phris se sgillinn. An Comunn
Gaidhealach, 114 Sraid West Campbell, Glascho.
6pp, 2 ff Ceol nan Oran. 22x15. AU, Mit.
[Add. 'An Gaidheal', 1926.]

MACLEOD, CHRISTINA. AN SIREADH.

Stirling, 1952.

An Sireadh. Le Chiorstai NicLeòid.
Cuimhneachan air m'athair agus mo mhathair.
[8-line verse to the same.] Air a chlàdh-
bhualadh le Aonghas MacAoidh, Struibhle.
1952. Printed at the Observer Press,
40 Craigs, Stirling.

v, 74pp. 19x13. Mit., PC.

[Roimh-Ràdh by J. N. MacLeod. Contains
some interesting religious poetry: see
discussion in poetry chapter above.]

MACLEOD, DONALD J. THE STANDARDISATION OF
GAELIC PRONUNCIATION.

Inverness, 1932.

Inverness Gaelic Society. Address on The
Standardisation of Gaelic Pronunciation, by
D. J. MacLeod, M.A., D.Litt., Officier
d'Academie. Printed by the Northern Counties
Newspaper and Printing and Publishing
Company, Limited, Margaret Street, Inverness.
1932.

21pp. 22x14. PC.

MACLEOD, DONALD J. (editor). See MACINTYRE,
DUNCAN BAN. VIE, ETUDE, CITATIONS,
TRADUCTIONS.

MACLEOD, DONALD J. (co-author). See AN
SOLARAICHE.

MACLEOD, INA (editor). See MACLEOD, MURDO,
Murchadh a' Cheisteir. MURCHADH A'
CHEISTEIR.

MACLEOD, JAMES. CAILINN SGIATHANACH.
Glasgow, [Fore.1923].

Cailinn Sgiathanach. No, Faodalachd
na h-Abaid. Le Seumas MacLeoid. Glascho:
Alasdair MacLabhrainn 's a Mhic, 360-362
Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal.

A Maid of Skye. Or, The Foundling of the
Abbey. By James MacLeod. Glasgow: Alexander
MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street.
4 ff, 364pp. 19x13. AU, GU:CL, Mit.
[Novel; see discussion in Chapter 2 above.]

MACLEOD, JOHN, Iain Tholsta. DAIN.
N.p., n.d.

Dàin. Le Iain MacLeòid, (Iain Tholsta) nach
maireann.
11pp. 20x13. PC.

MACLEOD, JOHN, Iain Thormaid Bhig. BARDACHD
GHAIHLIG.
N.p., n.d.

Bardachd Ghaidhlig. Le Iain Macleoid
(Iain Thormaid Bhig), Tom a' Ghlinne,
Siabost.
32pp. 19x12. PC.
[Roimh-radh by N.McA.]

MACLEOD, JOHN, of Culkein-Store. DAIN AGUS
ORAIN.
Edinburgh, 1900.

Poems and Songs. By John MacLeod, sometime
professor of English Literature, etc., Garrick
Chambers, London. Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod,
25 George IV. Bridge. 1900.

Dain agus Orain. Le Iain Macleoid, Culkein-
storr. Dunéideann: Tormad MacLeoid,
Drochaid/

Drochaid Rìgh Deorsa IV. 1900.
 32pp. 17x11. NLS.
 [Printed Lorimer & Gillies, Edinburgh.]

MACLEOD, JOHN, of Culkein-Store. DAIN AGUS
 ORAIN. (cont.)
 Inverness, 1907.

Poems and Songs. By John MacLeod, sometime
 Professor of English Literature, etc.,
 London. Inverness: printed by the Northern
 Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing
 Company, Limited. 1907.

Dain agus Orain. Le Iain MacLeod, Culkein-
 Store. Inbhirnis: An Eachdraidh Thuathach.
 1907.
 48pp. 19x13. CoS.

DAIN AGUS ORAIN.

Inverness, 1918.

Poems and Songs. By John MacLeod, sometime
 Professor of English Literature, etc., London,
 author of "The Spiritual Vision". Second
 edition. Inverness: printed by the Northern
 Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing
 Company, Limited. 1918.

Dain agus Orain. Le Iain MacLeod, Culkein-
 Store, author of "The Spiritual Vision".
 Second edition. Inbhirnis: An Eachdraidh
 Thuathach. 1918.
 68pp [pp 52-68 English verse]. 18x13.
 AU, Mit., NLS.

MACLEOD, JOHN, of Glendale, Skye. CEOLRAIDH
 IAIN MHIC LEOID.* [Add. in 1930 by Alex.
 MacLaren's as, - "Ceolraidh Iain Mhic Leoid;
 of Glendale, Skye. Collected by Rev.
 Donald MacCallum. To be published as soon
 possible." (digest.) Apparently not
 published.]

MACLEOD, Rev. JOHN, Minister of Barvas. AM MEASG
NAN LILI.

Inverness, 1948.

Am Measg nan Lili. Tormod Sona a bha
'n Siadair Bharabhais. Leis an Urr. Iain
MacLeod, an Eaglais Shaor, Barabhas.
A' phris 5/6. Inverness: The Highland
News Office. 1948.
1 f Ill. [photo of Tormod Sona], 4 ff, xxiv,
146pp. 19x13. GU.

MACLEOD, JOHN N. BARDACHD LEODHAIS.
Glasgow, 1916.

Bàrdachd Leodhais. Fo Iain N.
MacLeod. [Ill.] Glaschu: Alasdair
Mac Labhrunn agus a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid
Earraghaidheal. 1916.
2 ff, xx, 275pp; 11 ff Ills. [9 photos; 2
line drawings: all in text]. 23x15.
AU, GU, Mit.

[Some tunes: solfa. Printed Milne,
Tannahill & Methven, Perth. Contains
some very fine bardic poetry.]

BARDACHD LEODHAIS.
Glasgow, [Fore.1955].

Bàrdachd Leodhais. Fo Iain N. MacLeod.
[Ill.] Glaschu: Alasdair Mac Labhrunn agus
a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earraghaidheal.
xx, 275pp; 11 ff Ills. 22x15. GU:CL, PC.
[Roimh-Radh signed, -'Iain MacAoidh,
Glaschu, 27 de'n Og Mhios 1955!]

MACLEOD, JOHN N. FIONGHAL A' PHRIONNSA.
Dingwall, 1932.

"Fionghal a' Phrionnsa". Dealbh-chluich
Gaidhlig le Iain N. MacLeod. Seoras
Griasaiche/

Griasaiche, Buth nan Leabhraichean, Inbhir-
pheofharain, agus Alasdair Mac Labhrainn &
a Mhic, Glaschu. 1932.
39pp. 20x13. AU, EU.

MACLEOD, JOHN N. LITRICHEAN ALASDAIR MHOIR.
Stornoway, 1932.

Litrichean Alasdair Mhoir. Le Iain N.
MacLeod. Oifis "Cuairtear Steornabhaigh",
18 Sraid Choinnich, Steornabhagh. 1932.
xv, 392pp. 19x13. AU, GU:CL.
[Reprints from MacLeod's weekly
'diary' in the Stornoway Gazette: 1917--;
see discussion in prose chapter above.]

MACLEOD, JOHN N. POSADH MORAIG.
Glasgow, 1916.

Pòsadh Móraig. (Dealbh-chluich Ghàidhlig.)
Le Iain N. MacLeod, ughdar "Reiteach
Móraig". Glaschu: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn
agus a Mhic, 360 Sràid Earraghaidheal. 1916.
16pp. 23x15. PC.
[Sequel to 'Reiteach Móraig'.]

MACLEOD, JOHN M.[i.e. N.]. REITEACH MORAIG.
Glasgow, 1911.

Réiteach Móraig. Le Iain M. Macleoid,
Cinntàile. Le dealbh an ùghdair. Glaschu:
Gilleasbuig Macnaceardadh, Clo-bhuailtear
Gàidhlig. 1911.
2 ff, 1 f Ill., ii, 12pp. 23x15. Mit.
[Deliberately mummifying dramatisation
of a decadent custom. Appeared in
An Sgeulaiche, 1910.]

REITEACH MORAIG.
Glasgow, 1922.

Reiteach Moraig. Le Iain M. MacLeod. An
treas/

treas clo-bhualadh. Glaschu: Alasdair
MacLabhrainn agus a Mhic, 360 Sraid
Earraghaidheal, Clo-bhuailtearan Gàidhlig.
1922.

4 ff, 12pp. 23x15. PC.

MACLEOD, JOHN N. (editor). See NICOLSON,
CALUM. DAIN SPIORADAIL.

MACLEOD, KENNETH (co-editor). FOUR HEBRIDEAN
LOVE LILTS. See KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY.

MACLEOD, KENNETH (co-editor). FROM THE
HEBRIDES. See KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY.

MACLEOD, KENNETH (co-editor). SEA TANGLE.
See KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY.

MACLEOD, KENNETH (co-editor). SEVEN SONGS OF
THE HEBRIDES. See KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY.

MACLEOD, KENNETH (co-editor). SONGS OF THE
HEBRIDES [3 Vols.]. See KENNEDY-FRASER,
MARJORY.

MACLEOD, KENNETH (co-editor). SONGS OF THE
HEBRIDES FOR SCHOOLS. See KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY.

MACLEOD, KENNETH (co-editor). TWELVE SELECTED
SONGS OF THE HEBRIDES [3 Vols.]. See
KENNEDY-FRASER, MARJORY.

MACLEOD, M. (co-editor). See MO LEABHAR I:
LEABHAR-LEUGHaidH/LEAEHAR-OIBREACH; and
MO LEABHAR II: LEABHAR-LEUGHaidH.

MACLEOD, MALCOLM. AN IUChair OIR.
Stirling, 1950.

The Golden Key. Gaelic Sermons by The
Reverend Malcolm MacLeod, M.A. Edited with
Gaelic Memoir and Biographical Sketch in
English, by The Rev. T. M. Murchison, M.A.
Stirling Tract Enterprise. 1950.

An Iuchair Oir. Searmoinean leis an
Urramach Calum MacLeod, M.A. Air an
deasachadh le Iomradh air Beatha an
Ughdair leis an Urramach T. M. MacCalmain,
M.A. Comunn nan Trachdaichean, Sruighlea.
1 f Ill.[photo of MacLeod], 147pp. 23x15.
GU, NLS.

[Printed Jamieson & Munro, Stirling.]

[MACLEOD, MALCOLM] (editor). See AN COMUNN
GAIDHEALACH. AM FEACHD GAIDHEALACH.

MACLEOD, MALCOLM (translator). See OLDHAM,
J. H. COMASAN NA H-URNUIGH.

MACLEOD, MALCOLM C. MODERN GAELIC BARDS.
Stirling, 1908.

Modern Gaelic Bards. Edited by Malcolm
C. MacLeod. Stirling: Eneas Mackay,
43 Murray Place. 1908.
xii, 4 ff, pp 17-243; 10 ff Ills.[photos:
in text]. 23x15. AU, Mit.
[Music in solfa.]

MACLEOD, MALCOLM C. MODERN GAELIC BARDS:
SECOND SERIES.

Dundee, 1913.

Modern Gaelic Bards. Edited by Malcolm C. MacLeod. Second Series. Part 1. Dundee: John Leng & Co., Ltd., Bank Street. Glasgow: Alex. Maclaren & Son, Argyle Street. 1913. iv, 1 f, 128pp, 10 ff Ads; 6 ff Ills. [photos: in text]. 22x15. AU, Mit., SS.

MODERN GAELIC BARDS:
SECOND SERIES.

Dundee, n.d.

Modern Gaelic Bards. Edited by Malcolm C. MacLeod. Second Series. Dundee: Malcolm C. MacLeod, 183 Blackness Road.

This Edition is limited to 100 copies, of which this is No. . . . [Signature of M.C. MacLeod.]

iv, 1 f, 128pp; 6 ff Ills. 29x23.

GU:CL, Mit., SS.

[Printed Leng.]

MACLEOD, MALCOLM C. (editor). See DUNDEE
HIGHLAND SOCIETY. THE CELTIC ANNUAL.

MACLEOD, MARY. ORAIN AGUS LUINNEAGAN GAIDHLIG.
London, 1934.

Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod. Edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes, etc., by J. Carmichael Watson. Blackie & Son, Limited, London and Glasgow. 1934.

Orain agus Luinneagan Gàidhlig le Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh.

1 f Ill. [photo of St. Clement's Church, Rodel], xxxiv, 158pp. 19x13. AU, EU, GU, Mit.

[Translation on rt. facing pages.]

MACLEOD, MARY. ORAIN AGUS LUINNEAGAN GAIDHLIG.
 (cont.)
 Edinburgh, 1965.

Orain agus Luinneagan Gaidhlig le Mairi
 Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh.

Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod. Edited by
 J. Carmichael Watson. Published by Oliver
 & Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.
 Edinburgh. 1965.

Scottish Gaelic Texts. Volume Nine.
 xxxiv, 158pp. 23x15.
 [A reprint. Printed Robert Cunningham,
 Alva.]

MACLEOD, MARY. LUINNEAG MHIC LEOID. See
 MACLEOD, ANGUS. SAR ORAIN.

MACLEOD, MURDO, Gaelic Organiser for Schools.
 LAITHEAN GEALA.
 Aberdeen, 1962.

Laithean Geala. Murchadh MacLeòid, M.A.,
 B.A., Fear-stiùiridh na Gàidhlig an sgoiltean
 Siorrachd Inbhirnis. Na dealbhan le Aonghus
 Mac-a-phì, Ard-sgoil Inbhirnis. Oilthigh
 Obair-Dheadhain. 1962.

Leabhraichean ùra Gàidhlig Oilthigh Obair-
 Dheadhain. Fo stiùireadh Ruairidh MhicThómais.
 Sreath na Sgoile - Leabhar 1. Laithean Geala,
 le Murchadh MacLeòid.
 viii, 144pp. 19x13. PC.
 [Illustrated. Printed by Blackie, Glasgow.]

LAITHEAN GEALA.
 Aberdeen, 1965.

. . .Inbhirnis. An dara clò-bhualadh.
 Oilthigh Obair-Dheadhain. 1965. [Otherwise,
 as above.]
 viii, 144pp. 19x13.

MACLEOD, MURDO, Gaelic Organiser for Schools.
SEUMAS BEAG.

Glasgow, 1968.

Seumas Beag. Murchadh MacLeod, Fear-
stiùiridh na Gàidhlig an sgoiltean Siorrachd
Inbhirnis. Na dealbhan le Gilleasbuig
Friseal. Gairm. Glaschu. 1968.

Clo-bhualaidhean Gairm - Leabhar 7.

4 ff, 52pp. 19x13.
[Illustrated. Printed Learmonth,
Stirling.]

MACLEOD, MURDO, Gaelic Organiser for Schools (co-
editor). LEASAIN GHÀIDHLIG. See DICK,
LACHLAN.

MACLEOD, MURDO, Murchadh a' Cheisdeir. LAOIDHEAN
AGUS ORAIN.

Edinburgh, 1962.

Bardachd Mhurchaidh a' Cheisdeir. Laoidhean
agus Orain. Songs and Hymns, by Murdo
MacLeod (The Lewis Bard). Printed at
The Darien Press, Ltd., Bristo Place,
Edinburgh. 1962.

3 ff Ills.[photos], vi, 73pp. 23x15.
AU, EPL, GU, Mit.

[English Introduction signed, - A. D.,
J. M. D. Roimh-Radh signed A. D.
A. D. = Angus Duncan; J. M. D. = Jane
Mary, wife of Angus and daughter of
the bard.]

MACLEOD, MURDO, Murchadh a' Cheisteir. MURCHADH
A' CHEISTEIR.

Stornoway, [Pref.1961].

Murchadh a' Cheisteir.

99pp; 5 ff Ills.[photos: between pp 10/11].
23x15. PC.

[Preface signed, - 'Mrs Ina MacLeod, Edinburgh,
1961'. Imprint, - 'Stornoway Gazette: Lewis:
1961'. A rival version, not quite identical,
to the above.]

MACLEOD, MURDO, of Leurbost. LAOIDHEAN GAIDHLIG.
Stornoway, n.d.

Laoidhean Gaidhlig le Murchadh Macleoid,
Liurbost.

[Colophon.] Published by Mrs. A. J.
MacKenzie, 16 Newton Street, Stornoway, and
printed by Stornoway Gazette, Ltd., 10
Francis Street, Stornoway.

20pp. 23x15.

PC.

[Roimh Radh signed, - D. MacIlliosa. Recent.]

MACLEOD, MURDO, of Scalpay. LAOIDHEAN AGUS
DAIN SPIORADAIL.

Edinburgh, 1908.

Laoidhean agus Dàin Spioradail. Le
Murachadh MacLeoid (nach maireann), Scalpaidh
na h-Earradh. Air a dheasachadh leis an
Urr. Calum Mac'Illinnein, B.D., an Duneideann.
Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod. 1908.

xi, 83pp. 19x13. AU, EPL, GU:CL, Mit.

[Printed Morrison & Gibb, Edinburgh.

Roimh Radh signed, - A. S. M., S. M.]

LAOIDHEAN AGUS DAIN SPIORADAIL.
Edinburgh, 1966.

Laoidhean agus Dàin Spioradail. Le
Murachadh MacLeoid (nach maireann), Scalpaidh
na h-Earradh. Air a dheasachadh leis an Urr.
Calum Mac'Illinnein, B.D., an Duneideann.
Sold and published by the Knox Press, 15
North Bank Street, The Mound, Edinburgh, 1.
Reprinted by the Ross-Shire Printing and
Publishing Coy., Dingwall, Ross-Shire, August,
1966.

xiii, 48pp. 21x14.

PC.

[The Knox Press is The Free Church's
publishing company.]

MACLEOD, MURDO, of Scalpay. MARBHRANN.
N.p., n.d.

Marbhrann do Mrs Iain Macleoid, Scalpaidh
na h-earrabh (nighean Iain Caimbeul, Tolstadh
'o thuath), nach maireann. (Le Murchadh
Macleoid, Scalpaidh.) . . .
4 ff. 18x11. FC.

MACLEOD, NEIL. CLARSACH AN DOIRE.
Edinburgh, 1902.

Clarsach an Doire. Gaelic Poems, Songs,
and Tales. By Neil MacLeod. Third edition -
revised and enlarged. With portrait of the
author. Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, 25
George IV. Bridge. 1902.

Clarsach an Doire. Dain, Orain, is
Sgeulachdan. Le Niall MacLeod. [6-line
verse.] An treas clo-bhualadh. Le dealbh
an ughdair. Duneideann: Tormaid MacLeod.
1902.

1 f Ill., xii, 268pp. 20x14. AU, Mit.
[Printed Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh.
First ed. 1883.]

CLARSACH AN DOIRE.
Edinburgh, 1909.

Clarsach an Doire. Gaelic Poems, Songs, and
Tales. By Neil MacLeod. Fourth edition -
revised and enlarged. With portrait of the
author. Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, 25 George
IV. Bridge. 1909.

Clarsach an Doire. Dain, Orain, is
Sgeulachdan. Le Niall MacLeod. [6-line
verse.] An ceathramh clo-bhualadh. Le
dealbh an ughdair. Duneideann: Tormaid
MacLeod. 1909.

1 f Ill., xii, 267pp. 20x14. EU:CL, Mit.
[See over.]

MACLEOD, NEIL. CLARSACH AN DOIRE. (cont.)
Glasgow, 1924.

Clarsach an Doire. Gaelic Poems, Songs,
and Tales. By Neil MacLeod. Fifth
edition. With portrait of the author.
Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren & Sons, 360-
362 Argyle Street, C.2.

Clarsach an Doire. Dain, Orain, is Sgeulachdan.
Le Niall MacLeod. [6-line verse.] An
coigeamh clo-bhualadh. Le dealbh an ughdair.
Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn 's a Mhic,
360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.
1 f Ill., xiv, 274pp. 20x13. Mit., PC.
[The poetry of an exiled 'bard'.]

MACLEOD, NORMAN, Gaelic Master of Glasgow High
School (editor). See REID, DUNCAN.
ELEMENTARY COURSE OF GAELIC.

MACLEOD, Dr. NORMAN, Minister of St. Columba's
Church, Glasgow. CARAID NAN GAIDHEAL.
Edinburgh, 1910.

Caraid nan Gaidheal. The Friend of the
Gael. A choice selection of Gaelic writings
by Norman MacLeod, D.D. Selected and
edited by Rev. A. Clerk, LL.D., Minister
of Kilmallie. With a memoir of the author
by his son, Norman MacLeod, D.D., Barony
Parish, Glasgow. Edinburgh: John Grant,
31 George IV. Bridge. 1910.
1 f Ill. [photo of author], xlviii, 792pp.
23x16. AU, Mit., PC.
[First ed. 1867.]

MACLEOD, Dr. NORMAN, Minister of St. Columba's
Church, Glasgow. THE HIGHLANDERS' FRIEND:
SECOND SERIES.

Edinburgh, 1901.

The Gaelic Classics, No. 1. The Highlanders'
Friend: second series. A further selection
from the writings of the late Very Reverend
Norman MacLeod, D.D., St. Columba's Church,
Glasgow. Edited by Dr. George Henderson,
Minister of Eddrachillis, Examiner in Celtic,
Edinburgh University, and Hon. Scholar of
Jesus College, Oxford. Edinburgh: Norman
MacLeod, 25 George IV. Bridge. MCM I.
viii, 175pp. 20x14. Mit.
[Printed Lorimer and Chalmers, Edinburgh.]

MACLEOD, Dr. NORMAN, Minister of St. Columba's
Church, Glasgow (formerly of Campsie).
LEABHAR NAN CNOC.

Inverness, 1905.

Leabhar nan Cnoc. Comh-chruinneachadh
de nithibh sean agus nuadh; airson oilean
agus leas nan Gaidheal. Le Tormoid MacLeod,
D.D., Ministear an t-Soisgeil ann an Campsie.
" 'S i labhair Pàdruig 'n Innse-Fàil nan
righ, / 'S am fàidh caomh sin Calum naomh
'an I". New edition. Inverness: "Northern
Chronicle" Office. Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod,
25 Geo. IV. Bridge. 1898.

[Addition to 1898 Prefatory Note.] N.B.-- We
have got the edition of 1898 reprinted without
variation; because, while the former issue had
become exhausted, a steady demand for the book
still existed. Applicants for copies can now
be supplied. Inverness, May, 1905.

xvi, 264pp. 19x13.
[First ed. 1834.]

NLS.

MACLEOD, Dr. NORMAN, Minister of St. Columba's
Church, Glasgow. LEABHAR NAN CNOC. (cont.)
Inverness, 1919.

Leabhar nan Cnoc. Comh-chruinneachadh de
nithibh sean agus nuadh; airson oilean agus
leas nan Gaidheal. Le Tormoid MacLeoid,
D.D., Ministear an t-Soisgeil ann an Campsie.
[Quotation as above.] New edition. Inverness:
"Northern Chronicle" Office. Edinburgh:
Norman MacLeod, 25 Geo. IV. Bridge. 1898.

[Addition to Prefatory Note of 1898.] N.B.--
We have got the edition of 1898 reprinted
without variation; because while the former
issue had become exhausted, a steady demand
for the book still existed. Inverness, 1919.
xvi, 264pp. 19x13. AU, PC.

MACLEOD, Dr. NORMAN, Minister of St. Columba's
Church, Glasgow. LONG MHOR NAN EILTHIREACH.
N.p., n.d.

Long Mhor nan Eilthireach. By Norman
MacLeod. (For the use of the Celtic Union
Gaelic Classes.)
8pp. 21x13. PC.

[Looks fairly new. Seen in the private
collection of Jack MacLaren of MacLaren
& Sons, Glasgow.]

MACLEOD, Dr. NORMAN, Minister of St. Columba's
Church, Glasgow [formerly of Campsie]
(co-editor). A DICTIONARY OF THE GAELIC
LANGUAGE. See DEWAR, DANIEL.

MACLEOD, Dr. NORMAN, Minister of St. Columba's
Church, Glasgow (editor). See SMITH,
Dr. JOHN. URNUIGHEAN AIR SON THEAGHLAICHEAN.

MACLEOD, Dr. NORMAN, Minister of St. Columba's Church,
Glasgow. [Note. Father of periodical and
prose literature in Gaelic. See Chpt. 2 above.]

MACLEOD, Dr. NORMAN, of Inverness. "AR TIGH
NAOMH AGUS MAISEACH".
Inverness, 1903.

"Ar Tigh Naomh agus Maiseach". Searmoin
a rinneadh aig coisrigeadh Eaglais Uir ann
an sgìreachd Hionspuill an Eilean Thir-idhe
air Sabaid a' Chomanachaidh an 29 la de
mhios Mhàirt, 1903 leis an Urramach Tormoid
Mac-leoid, D.D. Inverness: The Northern
Counties Printing and Publishing Company,
Ltd. 1903.
1 f Ill. [photo of church], 24pp. 21x14.
EU:CL, Mit.

MACLEOD, NORMAN K. AN COGADH.
N.p., n.d.

An Cogadh.
[Not seen. Clare. Dunn.]

MACLEOD, ROB[ERT]. MOLADH A BHREACAN.
N.p., n.d.

"Moladh a Bhreacan". (Air a sgrìobh le
Rob. Macleoid.) . . .
1 f. 19x12. NLS.

MACLEOD, RODERICK. CEITHIR ORAIN GHÀIDHLIG.
Glasgow, n.d.

Ceithir Orain Ghàidhlig eadar-theangaichte
bho'n Bheurla, mar a sheinneadh iad le
Ruairidh Mac-Leoid, Inbhir-nis. [Ill.]
Clò-bhuailte le Alasdair Mac Labhrainn 's a
Mhic, Glascho.
8pp. 18x13. PC, SS.
[First add. 'An Gaidheal', Aug. 1924.
The songs are: Lass o' Killiecrankie;
Stop your tickling, Jock; Kate Dalrymple;
K.-K.-Katie.]

MACLEOD, RODERICK. [ORAIN GHAIHLIG].
Glasgow, [Fore.1923].

Leabhar-fhaclan nan Oran Gaidhlig a sheinneadh
's a' Ghreis-labhrais le Ruairidh Mac-Leoid.
Le dealbh an t-seinneadair. Gaelic Songs on
the Gramophone, sung by Roderick MacLeod.
Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn 's a Mhic.
1 f Ill., 19pp, 1 f Ads. 19x13. Mit., SS.
[Music in solfa. Roimh-Radh signed,-
Ruairidh Mac Leoid, 10 Sraid Dhruimin,
Inbhir-nis, 2 de'n Ghearran, 1923'.]

MACLEOD'S GAELIC BOOKLETS. See:

MacCUISH, DONALD J. CEIT MHOR AGUS MAIGHSTIR
LACHLANN.

MACKAY, D. T. CUL-TAIC AN T-SAIGHDEIR.

STEWART, J. B. CHI SINN THALL THU.

MAC-MHARCUIS (co-author). See COMHRAIDHEAN
GAIDHLIG.

MAC MHATHAIN. See MATHESON.

[MACMHUIRICH, LACHLAN MOR?] (author). See
THOMSON, DERICK S. THE HARLAW BROSNACHADH.

MACMHUIRICH, NEIL. See LLOYD, JOSEPH.
ALASDAIR MAC COLLA.

MACMILLAN, ANGUS (translator). See BRANDANE,
JOHN. RUAIRIDH ROIMH-AINMICHTE.

MACMILLAN, JOHN, of Toronto (co-editor). See
IRISLEABHAR CEILTEACH.

MACMILLAN, JOHN. AIRGIOD A' CHRUAIDH FHORTAIN. *
[?]

"Airgiod a' Chruaidh Fhortain. New Gaelic
Play by John MacMillan. 1/- net".

[Not seen. Add. by Alex. MacLaren of
Glasgow in 1937. Possibly not
published.]

MACMILLAN, Fr. JOHN. GAELIC FOLK SONGS OF
THE ISLES OF THE WEST, VOLUME I.
London, [c.1930].

Gaelic Folk Songs of the Isles of the West.
Volume I. Six songs (traditional and
original) by Father John MacMillan, with
legends and translations by Dr. Patrick
McGlynn (Glasgow University). Music
arranged by Frank W. Lewis. Price 5/- net.
Boosey & Co., Limited. [London, New York
City, Paris and Sydney addresses of Boosey
& Hawkes and associated companies.] Copyright,
1930, by Boosey & Co., Ltd. Printed in
England.

v, pp 2-35, 1 f Ads. 33x26. AU, PC.
[Music in staff.]

MACMILLAN, Fr. JOHN. GAELIC FOLK SONGS OF THE
ISLES OF THE WEST.
London, [c.1930].

Gaelic Folk Songs of the Isles of the West.
Volume II. Six songs (traditional and
original) by Father John MacMillan, with
legends and translations by Dr. Patrick
McGlynn (Glasgow University). Music arranged
by Frank W. Lewis. Price 5/- net. Choral versions
of these songs are published. Boosey
& Co., Ltd./

& Co., Ltd., 295 Regent Street, London, W.1,
and 111-113 West 57th Street, New York.
Copyright, 1930, by Boosey & Co., Ltd.
Printed in England.
6 ff, 29pp. 31x25. AU, Mit.
[Staff.]

MACMILLAN, SOMERLED. SMUID MONA.
London, n.d.

Peat-reek (Smuid Mona). Foreword by Sir
Hugh S. Robertson. Words & music by Somerled
MacMillan (Bard of the Clan MacMillan).
London: Bayley & Ferguson, 2 Great Marlborough
Street, W. Glasgow: 54 Queen Street.
4 ff, 35pp, 1 f Ads. 28x22. Mit.
[English translation interlinearly.
Both notations; piano. Reviewed
'An Gaidheal', Dec. 1949; acquired Mit.
Feb. 1950. Romantic poems.]

MACMILLAN, SOMERLED (editor). See MACDOUGALL,
DUGALD G. BRAISTE LATHURNA.

MACMILLAN, SOMERLED (editor). See MACINTYRE,
DONALD. SPORAN DHOMHNAILL.

MACNAB, JOHN. CALUM IS BANTRACH THARMAID.
See under MacCORMICK, JOHN. AM FEAR A
CHAILL A GHAIHHLIG.

[MACNEIL, JAMES.] GAELIC LESSONS FOR BEGINNERS.
Sydney, N.S., 1939.

Gaelic Lessons for Beginners. [8-line verse
by 'Am Bard MacGhilleathain'.]
72pp. 21x13. PC.
[Dr. Donald MacLean Sinclair of Antigonish
supplies also the following information--
it is not clear if it is from the title
page--'Published by Post Publishing Co., Ltd.,
Sydney, N.S., July 29, 1939'. Foreword Sinclair.]

MACNEILL, JAMES H. (editor). See MACLELLAN,
VINCENT A. FAILTE CHEAP BREATUINN.

MACNEILL, JOHN D. MALLACHD NA MISG.
Glasgow, n.d.

Mallachd na Misg. Leis an Urramach Iain
Deòrsa MacNeill, Sgìreachd Chaldair.

[Colophon.] To be had from G. Wallace Ross,
Secretary Free Church Temperance Society,
2 Ailsa Terrace, Hillhead, Glasgow.

4pp. 21x14. NLS.
[Uncertain if 20th century. Not in T S-G.]

MACNEILL, JOHN D. (translator). See HALL,
NEWMAN. THIG GU IOSA.

MACNEILL, LACHLAN (narrator). See CRAIG, K. C.
LEIGHEAS CAS O CEIN.

MACNIVEN, CHARLES (co-author). BAIRD CHILL-
CHOMAIN.

Glasgow, 1936.

Baird Chill-Chomain. Orain agus Dain le
Donnchadh agus Tearlach Mac Nimhein, Ile.
Fo Iainh Eachainn Mhic Dhughail. Roimh-Radh
le Niall Mac Gille Sheathanaich, Runair: An
Comunn Gaidhealach. Glasgo: Alasdair Mac
Labhrunn 's a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal,
C.2.

The Kilchoman Bards. The Songs and Poems of
Duncan and Charles MacNiven, Islay. Edited
by Hector MacDougall. Foreword by Neil Shaw,
F.S.A.(Scot.), Secretary of An Comunn
Gaidhealach. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons,
268 Argyle Street, C.2.

First published, 1936.
159pp. 19x13. EU, GU:CL, Mit., NLS.

MACPHAIL, DONALD, Northern Organiser of An Comunn Gaidhealach (co-compiler). See CLANN AN FHRAOICH. CAINNT AGUS FACAIL IOMCHUIDH AIR SON COINNIMH.

MACPHAIL, DONALD, Northern Organiser of An Comunn Gaidhealach (co-editor). See MACPHAIL, MALCOLM C. AM FILIDH LATHARNACH.

MACPHAIL, DUGALD (translator). See MACLAURIN, [JOHN]. CRANN-CEUSAIDH CIRIOSD.

MACPHAIL, JOHN S. EARAIL DHURACHDACH.
Edinburgh, n.d.

Earail Dhùrachdach do mhàthraichean òga anns na cearnaidhean de'n Ghàidhealtachd 's an robh e na mhinisteir. Le an caraide dileas Iain S. MacPhàil. Edinburgh: The Religious Tract & Book Society of Scotland, 99 George Street.

1 f Ill., 39pp. 16x13. Mit.
[Ca. 1900. Printed Turnbull & Spears,
Edinburgh.]

MACPHAIL, JOHN S. LITIR MU THEANNTACHD
. NA H-EAGLAIS.
Glasgow, 1904.

Litir mu theanndachd na h-Eaglais: do dh'oigridh Bheinn-na-Faola, Chillemhòire, agus Shleibhte, far an do shaothraich e mar mhinisteir re leth-cheud bliadhna. Bho'n Urramach Iain S. MacPhail. Gilleasbuig Mac-na-Ceardadh, Clo-bhuailtear Gaidhlig, Glaschu. 1904.

20pp. 22x13. EU, FC.
[Contains 1 Ill.]

[MACPHAIL, JOHN S.] SEOLAIDHEAN MU SHLAINTE.
Edinburgh, [Fore.1907].

Seòlaidhean mu Shlàinte air son feum
mhàthraichean anns a' Ghaidhealtachd. An
roimh-radh air a sgrìobhadh leis An Urramach
Iain S. MacPhail. Edinburgh: The Religious
Tract & Book Society of Scotland, 99 George
Street.

16pp, 6 ff Ads. 15x13. PC.

[Roimh-radh dated 1907. Printed
Turnbull and Spears, Edinburgh.]

MACPHAIL, M. S. SPUIR NA H-IOLAIRE.
Glasgow, 1950.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gaidhlig. Spuir
na h-Iolaire. Dealbh-chluich an aon
sealladh. Gaelic translation of the
one-act play, The Eagle's Claw, by M. S.
MacPhail. Air eadar-theangachadh le
Domhnall MacThomais (An t-Oban). An
Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street,
Glasgow. 1950.

16pp. 19x13. PC.

[Printed Learmonth, Stirling.]

MACPHAIL, MALCOLM C. AM FILIDH LATHARNACH.
Stirling, 1947.

Am Filidh Latharnach. Le Calum Caimbeul
Mac Phàil, "Am Bard Latharnach". Air a
chlòdh-bhualadh le Aonghas MacAoidh, Struibhle.
1947.

xi, 81pp. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit.

['Roimh-radh an luchd-deasachaidh'
signed, - 'Domhnall Mac Phàil (Mac a'
Bhàird), Lachlann MacFhionghuin'.
First ed. 1878, the 'Roimh-radh an
Ughdair' of that date being reprinted.
7 tunes: in solfa.]

MACPHAIL, NEIL. CUMHA.

Glasgow, n.d.

Cumha do'n Urramach Niall Camshron a bha na Mhinistear na h-Eaglais Shaoir-Chleireil Ghlasachu air son sea bliadhna deug air fhichead agus a chaochail air an 9mh latha de'n Mhart 1932. Le Niall Mac Phail. Eadartheangaichte gu Beurla le Caraid. Lament for the late Rev. Neil Cameron, who was Free Presbyterian Minister in Glasgow for Thirty-six years, who died on 9th March, 1932. Gaelic by Neil MacPhail, Glasgow. English translation by a Friend. English Foreword by Rev. James MacLeod, Greenock. 16pp [pp 7-11 Gaelic poem]. 19x13. PC.

MACPHATER, CHARLES (translator). See BURNS, ROBERT. DAIN IS LUINNEAGAN.

MACPHEE. See MACPHIE.

MACPHERSON, ALISTAIR. TREUBHANTAS NA'N GAIDHEAL ALBANNACH.

N.p., n.d.

Treubhantas na'n Gaidheal Albannach. The Valour of the Scottish Gael. By Alistair MacPherson, F.I.B.P., National Reserve, Late XV The King's Hussars. Dedicated to Lady MacDonald of the Isles.

x, 64pp. 14x11. PC.

[Poems in Gaelic: heroic and on Skye and Gaelic culture. Post 1902.]

MACPHERSON, ALISTAIR. WELCOME TO ALEXANDER
SOMERLED ANGUS.

Edinburgh, 1918.

Welcome to Alexander Somerled Angus,
the Son of the Heir of MacDonalld, Prince
of the Western Isles, Chief of Clan Colla,
Lord of the Race of Conn. By Alistair
MacPherson, F.I.B.P., National Reserve,
Late XV. The King's Hussars. Edinburgh:
printed by T. and A. Constable, Printers to
his Majesty. 1918.

vi, 3 ff, pp 10-30 [8pp Gaelic].
21x14. AU, FC.

MACPHERSON, JANET. CUMHA.

N.p., n.d.

Cumha airson an Urramaich Mr. Alastair
Mac-an-t-Saoir an deigh dha Eilean Phrionns
Eideard fhàgail. Le maighdinn òig dam
b'ainm Seonaid Nic a' Phearsain, a chaidh a
dhusgadh gu iomaguinn mu a cor siorruidh
fo eisdeachd.

8pp. 22x13. FC.

MACPHERSON, JOHN (folk-source). See CAMPBELL,
JOHN L. (editor). TALES OF BARRA TOLD BY
THE CODDY.

MACPHERSON, JOHN M. GAELIC AND ENGLISH POEMS.
Glasgow, n.d.

Gaelic and English Poems. By John M.
McPherson. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair,
Celtic Press, 27A Cadogan Street.

32pp, 1 f Ads. 19x13. PC.
[Gaelic poetry pp 9-28.]

[MACPHERSON, MARY.] LAOIDHEAN BEAN TORRA DHAMH.
Inverness, 1902.

Laoidhean Bean Torra Dhamh. Gaelic Hymns of
Mrs Clark, including three never before
published. Edited by Rev Thomas Sinton,
Dores. "Northern Chronicle" Office: Inverness.
1902.
28pp. 19x13. FC, Mit.

BEAN TORRA DHAMH: HER
POEMS AND LIFE.

Arbroath, n.d.

Mary MacPherson (Mrs Clark). Bean Torra
Dhamh. The religious poetess of Badenoch.
Her Poems and Life. Edited by Rev. Alexander
Macrae, author of "Kinlochbervie", "The Fire
of God among the Heather", etc. Arbroath:
The Herald Press, Brothock Bridge.
72pp, 5 ff Ads.; 2 ff Ills. [photos: in
text]. 19x13. AU, EU, Mit., NLS.
[Reviewed 'An Gaidheal' 1935, acquired
NLS 1935.]

BEAN TORRA DHAMH: HER
POEMS AND LIFE.

Glasgow, n.d.

Mary MacPherson (Mrs Clark). Bean Torra
Dhamh. The religious poetess of Badenoch.
Her Poems and Life. Edited by Rev. Alexander
Macrae, author of "Kinlochbervie", "The Fire
of God among the Heather", etc. Illustrated.
Glasgow: Alex. Maclaren & Sons, 268 Argyle
Street, C.2.
64pp. 19x13. PC.
[2pp of photos: scenes. The Life is
in English.]

MACPHERSON, T. S. (translator). See BRANDANE,
JOHN. 'S LEAM FHIN AN GLEANN.

MACPHIE, DONALD. NA H-ORDUIGHEAN ANNS AN
EILEAN.

Edinburgh, [Pref.1917].

Na h-Orduighean anns an Eilean. Donald
MacPhie.

Pp 62-71. 23x14. Mit.

[In,- 'Eilean a' Cheo. . .Comprising
Articles on Skye by Skyemen. Edited
with an introduction by Fred. T. MacLeod,
F.S.A.Scot.. . .Printed and published by
Gordon Wilson, 47 Thistle Street,
Edinburgh.' Preface of book dated 1917.
Pagination of book,- 1 f Ill., xv, 132pp.]

MACPHIE, DONALD (editor). See WATSON, WILLIAM
J. (general editor). LEABHRAICHEAN SGOILE
GAIDHLIG.

MACQUEEN, E[WEN]. SEARMOIN.

Inverness, n.d.

Searmoin leis an Urr. E. MacCuinn, Inbhirnis,
air feasgar la Sabaid a' Chomunnachaidh,
June 1929. Isa. 33:23,24.-'Ghlac an bacadh
a' chobhartach agus cha'n abair am fear-
aiteachaidh, tha mi tinn: gheibh an sluagh
a tha chomhnuidh an sin maitheanas 'nan
aingidheachd'. Printed by Robt. Carruthers
& Sons, "Courier" Office, Inverness.
12pp. 21x14. FC.

MACQUEEN, EWEN (editor). See MACKENZIE,
LACHLAN. ADDITIONAL LECTURES, SERMONS
AND WRITINGS.

MACRAE, ALEXANDER (editor). See MACPHERSON,
MARY. BEAN TORRA DHAMH: HER POEMS AND LIFE.

MACRAE, ALEXANDER (editor). See THANGAIDH[?],
CATHERINE. LAOIDHEAN AGUS ORAIN.

MACRAE, DONALD (compiler). See MACFARLANE,
MALCOLM. LAMH-SGRIOBHAINN MHIC RATH.

MACRITCHIE, J. A. (co-editor). See MO LEABHAR I:
LEABHAR-LEUGHaidH/LEABHAR-OIBREACH; MO LEABHAR
II: LEABHAR-LEUGHaidH.

McR[ITCHIE], M[ALCOLM]. GAELIC HYMNS.
Stornoway, 1924.

Gaelic Hymns. By M. McR., F.C., Strathy.
For the use of his congregation, chiefly his
evening class for young people. Gazette
Office, Stornoway. 1924.

62pp. 19x13.

FC.

[Introduction by R. MacLeod, F.C. Manse,
Garrabost. Printed at the 'North Star'
Office, Dingwall. First ed. 1863,
with 24pp; the 2nd ed. of 1864 had
64pp.]

MACRURY, JOHN. MAIRNEALACHD.
[Sydney, C.B. ?]

Màirnealachd.

[Dunn. Reprint from Mac-Talla?]

MAC-TALLA.

Sydney, C.B., [1892]-1904.

Mac-Talla. "An ni nach cluinn mi an diugh
cha'n aithris mi maireach". Vol. I. Sidni, C.B.,
Di-Sathairne, Mai 28, 1892. No. 1.
[Colophon] Mac-Talla. Bi'dh Mac-Talla air a
chuir/

chuir a mach uair 'san t-seachdainn air
maduinn Di-Sathairne. A' phris 50 sent 'sa
bhliadhna; aon aireamh 2 shent. . . J. G.
McKinnon, Mac-Talla, Sydney, C.B.

Mac-Talla. "An ni nach cluinn mi an diugh
chan aithris mi maireach". Vol. VIII.
Sidni, C.B., Di-Haoine, Ianuaraidh 5, 1900.
No. 26. [Colophon as above.]

Mac-Talla. "An ni nach cluinn mi an diugh
cha'n aithris mi maireach". Vol. X. Sidni,
Ceap Breatunn, Di-Haoine, Nobhember 1, 1901.
No.17.

[Colophon] Mac Talla . Air a chur a mach
uair 'san da sheachdain.
[Fortnightly thereafter.]

Mac-Talla. "An ni nach cluinn mi an diugh
cha'n aithris mi maireach". Vol. XII.
Sidni, Ceap Breatunn, Di-Haoine, Iun 24, 1904.
No. 26. [Last number.]

[Pagination.] 4pp per issue in Vol. I, 8pp
per issue thereafter. Paged as volumes
from Vol. V: Vols. IX and X are short of
8pp each, because, in both, two numbers
were run together; Vol. XII has 208pp (26
of 8pp each), not 200pp as the numbering
indicates (Nos. 25 and 26 are both paged
193-200).

[Size.] 33x23[I-IV], 36x26[V-VI], 40x28[VII-XII].

[Locations.] AU and NLS have microfilm copies
of the complete set.

[Newspaper, though news content was low (ca.
1½pp per issue); published trad. stories,
history, poems. Edited by J. G. McKinnon.
Weekly till 1901, fortnightly thereafter.]

MAC THOMAS, RUARAI DH. See THOMSON, DERICK S.

MAIR, WILLIAM. AN FHIRINN MU EAGLAIS NA H-ALBA.
Edinburgh, n.d.

An Fhirinn mu Eaglais na h-Alba. Leis
an Urramach Uilleam Mair, D.D. Eadar-
theangaichte o'n Bheurla le Iain. Clo-
bhualte le Uilleam Blackwood agus a Mhic
an Dun-Eideann agus an Lunainn.

80pp. 15x10. FC, Mit.
[Acc. to T S-G,-translated by Rev. John
Macrury, Snizort and published 1902.]

MAIRI NIGHEAN ALASDAIR (folk-source). See
CRAIG, K. C. ORAIN LU Aidh.

MALLOCH, G. R. AM BATA-LUATH.
Glasgow, 1950.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gàidhlig. Am Bàta-
Luath. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh.
Gaelic translation of The Grenadier by
G. R. Malloch. Air eadar-theangachadh le
Lachlann MacFhionghuin. Printed for An
Comunn Gàidhealach by Eneas MacKay, Stirling.
1950.

20pp. 19x13. PC.

MARBHRANN.

N.p., n.d.

Marbhrann do Mhrs Graham, bean Mhr Graham,
ministear na h-Eaglaise Saoire.

4pp. 17x11. PC.
[Died 1881.]

MARJORIBANKS, GEORGE. A' CHLANN FO GHEASAIBH.
Inverness, 1935.

A' Chlann fo Gheasaibh. Dealbh-chluich
beag airson Comunn Na h-Oigridh. Le Seoras
Marjoribanks. Inverness: The "Northern Chronicle"
Office. 1935.

8pp. 19x13. PC.

[MARJORIBANKS], GEORGE. DEALBH MO SHEANAR.
Glasgow, 1936.

Dealbh mo Sheanar. Dealbh-chluich beag ann
an dà shealladh. Le Seoras Gallda. 1936.
Alasdair MacLabhrunn 's a Mhic, 268 Sraid
Earra-Ghaidheal, Glascho, C.2. Copyright.
11pp. 19x13. EPL, Mit., PC.

[MARJORIBANKS], GEORGE. MAIRI BHAN GHLINN
FREOIN.
Glasgow, [Fore.1937].

"Mairi Bhan Ghlinn Freoin". Le Seoras
Gallda. [Ill.] An Comunn Gaidhealach,
131 Sraid Iar Regent, Glaschu. A' phris -
sè sgillinn.
16pp. 22x15. EPL, Mit., PC.
[Roimh-Radh dated 1937.]

MARJORIBANKS, GEORGE. TEA A NASGAIDH?
Inverness, 1935.

Tea a Nasgaidh? Dealbh-chluich beag airson
Comunn na h-Oigridh. Le Seoras Marjoribanks.
Inverness: The "Northern Chronicle" Office.
1935.
8pp. 19x13. PC.

MARSHALL, ALEXANDER. SLAINTE ANN AN RATHAD DHE.
Glasgow, n.d.

Slainte ann an Rathad Dhé. Gaelic edition
of "God's Way of Salvation". Three million
copies issued. Eadar-theangaichte le Iain
Cameron, F.E.I.S., Ullapul. Le Alastair
Marshall. Glasgow: Pickering and Inglis,
229 Bothwell Street. London: Alfred Holness,
14 Paternoster Row, E.C. One Penny.
40pp. 15x11. FC.

MARSHALL, WALTER. NAOMHACHADH.
Edinburgh, [Intro.1916].

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Naomhachadh.
Marshall. [Here crest of burning bush,
circumscribed by the legend, - Eaglais na h-
Alba, An Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte, An Eaglais
Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh,
for The Church of Scotland, The United Free
Church of Scotland, and The Free Church of
Scotland.

xi, 99pp. 14x10. NLS.
[Translation of Rev. Walter Marshall's
'The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification'
of 1692. Intro. signed by Norman
MacLean and dated 1916. One of the
series printed for soldiers in World
War I.]

MARTIN, DONALD J. TEAGASG NAM MIORBHUILEAN.
Edinburgh, [Intro.1916].

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Teagasg nam
Miorbhuilean. Leis an Urramach Domhnull
Iain Mairtinn. [Crest of burning bush with
legend, - Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor
Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by
Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church
of Scotland, The United Free Church of
Scotland, and The Free Church of Scotland.

xi, 104pp. 14x10. NLS.
[Intro. signed by Norman MacLean, 1916.
World War I series.]

TEAGASG NAM MIORBHUILEAN.
Edinburgh, 1942.

Cogadh na Saorsa. Teagasg nam Miorbhuilean.
Leis an Urramach Domhnull Iain Mairtinn.
[Here crest of burning bush, circumscribed
by the legend, - Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais
Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh,
for The Church of Scotland, The Free Church
of Scotland. 1942.

vii, 104pp. 14x10. PC.
[World War II series.]

MARTIN, DONALD J. TEAGASG NAN COSAMHLACHDAN.
Edinburgh, 1914.

Teagasg nan Cosamhlachdan. Leis An Urramach Domhnall Iain Mairtinn, M.A. (nach maireann), a bha 'n a mhinisteir anns an Eaglais Shaoir Aonaichte ann an Stiornabhagh agus anns an Oban. Air a dheasachadh leis An Urramach Calum Macillinnein, B.D., Ministeir Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte Chalumchille, an Dun-Eideann. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1914.
1 f Ill. [photo of Martin], xxx, 197pp. GU.
['Cunntas' by 'Calum MacNeacail Mac an Rothaich, M.A., Tigh an Uillt'.
Printed Oliver and Boyd.]

MARTIN, HUGH. SGAIL CHALBHARI.
Edinburgh, [Intro.1916].

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Sgail Chalbhari. Mairtinn. [Here crest of burning bush, circumscribed by the legend,—Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church of Scotland, The United Free Church of Scotland, and The Free Church of Scotland.
xi, 148pp. 14x10. NLS.
[Trans. of Rev. Hugh Martin's 'The Shadow of Calvary'. Intro. dated 1916.
First War series.]

SGAIL CHALBHARI.
Edinburgh, 1942.

Cogadh na Saorsa. Sgail Chalbhari. Mairtinn.. [Here crest of burning bush, with legend,— Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church of Scotland, The Free Church of Scotland. 1942.
vii, 148pp. 14x10. PC.
[Second War series.]

MASS. See ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. AN AIFRIONN
ANN AN GAIDHLIG.

MATHESON, ANGUS (editor). CARMINA GADELICA,
VOLUME V.
Edinburgh, 1954.

Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and incantations with illustrative notes on words, rites, and customs, dying and obsolete: orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland by Alexander Carmichael. Volume V. Edited by Angus Matheson, McCallum-Fleming Lecturer in Celtic, University of Glasgow. [Ill.] Oliver and Boyd; Edinburgh: Tweeddale Court; London: 39A Welbeck Street, W.1. 1954.

1 f Ill. [photo of J. Carmichael Watson, editor of Vols. III and IV], xxiv, 402pp.
24x17. AU, EU, GU, Mit., NLS.
[Printed T. and A. Constable, Edinburgh.
See also CARMICHAEL, ALEXANDER, and
WATSON, JAMES C.]

MATHESON, ANGUS (co-editor). FEAR NA H-EABAID.
N.p., n.d.

International Conference held at Stornoway, October, 1953 under the auspices of the University of Glasgow and the British Council. Fear na h-Eabaid: the man with the habit. A folk tale related by Duncan MacDonald, Peninerine, South Uist, (Donnchadh Mac Dhomhnaill Mhic Dhonnchaidh), and recorded by John Lorne Campbell, Esq., Ll.D, of Canna, at Loch Boisdale, 14th February, 1950. Transcribed and translated by Angus Matheson and Derick Thomson. (The tale was recorded from the same source by K. C. Craig in 1944, and published in his book, Sgialachdan Dhunnchaidh. To facilitate comparison the paragraphing of the version printed here follows that book as closely as possible.)
31pp. 22x17. PC.

MATHESON, ANGUS (Gaelic editor). MORE WEST
HIGHLAND TALES, VOLUME TWO.
Edinburgh, 1960.

More West Highland Tales. Transcribed and translated from the original Gaelic MSS. by John G. McKay, translator of The Wizard's Gillie. Editors: Gaelic - Professor Angus Matheson, M.A.; Translation - J. MacInnes, M.A.; Folk-lore - Professor H. J. Rose, M.A., LL.D., F.B.A.; Notes - Professor K. Jackson, Litt.D., D.Litt.Celt., F.B.A. Volume Two. Published for The Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh and London. 1960.

From the MS. Collections of the late John Francis Campbell of Islay, Iain Og Ile, collector and translator of Popular Tales of the West Highlands.

xvi, 383pp. 24x16. AU, EU, GU.

[Secretaries to the Publishing Committee, David C. Crichton and Thomas J. M. Mackay. See also MACLEAN, Rev. Prof. DONALD (co-editor). MORE WEST HIGHLAND TALES, VOLUME ONE.]

MATHESON, ANGUS. SOME PROVERBS AND PROVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS FROM LEWIS.
Baltimore, 1949.

Some proverbs and proverbial expressions from Lewis. Angus Matheson, Glasgow. Reprinted from The Journal of Celtic Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, November, 1949. Made in United States of America.
Pp 105-115. 23x16. PC.

[MATHESON, ISABELLA.] DO'N URRAMACH IAIN FRISEAL.
N.p., n.d.

Do'n Urramach Iain Friseal. (Isabella Matheson, 1909.)

[Dunn. Not seen.]

MATHESON, JESSIE. GLEANN-DAIL.
Glasgow, 1931.

Gleann-Dail. Dain spioradail. Le Seonaid
Nic Mhathain, Eilean a' Cheo. [Ill.]
Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren & Sons, 360-362
Argyle Street, C.2. 1931.
16pp. 18x13. Mit., NLS; PC.

MATHESON, JESSIE. GLEANN NA H-IRIOSLACHD.
Glasgow, n.d.

Gleann na h-Irioslachd. Dain spioradail.
Le Seonaid Nic Mhathain, Eilean a' Cheo.
Spiritual Hymns by Mrs. Jessie Matheson.
Fo laimh Eachainn Mhic Dhùghail. Glascho:
Alasdair Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic, 360 Sraid
Earraghaidheal, C.2. 1/-.
20pp. 19x13. NLS, PC.
[Tunes in solfa. MacLaren dates it
at 1927; add. 1929.]

MATHESON, JOHN. FIOSRACHADH MU'N BHIOBULL.
Glasgow, 1941.

Fiosrachadh mu'n Bhiobull. Le Eoin Mac
Mhathain. Fo laimh Eachainn Mhic Dhughail.
Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrunn agus a Mhic,
268 Sraid Earra-ghaidheal, C.2.

First Edition, 1880. Second Edition, 1941.
32pp. 19x13. PC.
[Account of Matheson by J. MacLaren.]

MATHESON, JOHN. FUINN NAN SALM.*
[Glasgow, ?]

[Fuinn nan Salm. mar 'tha iad air an seinn ann
an Alba, maille ri prìomh leasain air son
luchd-foghlaim. Le Eoin Mac-Mhathain.]
[First ed. 1863(ca.); but Intro. to the
above and MacLaren say 'MacLaren's new
edition' issued in 4-parts ca. 1940 with the
original 40 tunes "+1+the long tunes".]

MATHESON, JOHN M. BHA 'AINM ANNS AN FHEARANN.
Glasgow, 1949.

Bha 'Ainm anns an Fhearann. Dealbh-chluich
an aon sealladh. Le Iain M. MacMhathain.
Printed for An Comunn Gaidhealach by Eneas
MacKay, Stirling. 1949.
15pp. 19x13. EPL, EU, PC.

MATHESON, JOHN M. (translator). See MACLELLAN,
ROBERT. AN TACHARAN.

MATHESON, WILLIAM (editor). See MacCODROM,
JOHN. SONGS.

Mc. [Treated as MAC.]

MEGAW, B. R. S. (editor). See SCHOOL OF
SCOTTISH STUDIES. SCOTTISH STUDIES.

MIL NAN DAN.

Edinburgh, n.d.

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Mil nan Dàn.
[Here crest of burning bush, circumscribed
by the legend, - Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais
Shaor Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed
by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The
Church of Scotland, The United Free Church
of Scotland, and The Free Church of Scotland.
112pp. 14x10. NLS.
[Issued for soldiers in World War I.
Selection of Gaelic poetry.]

MIL NAN DAN. (cont.)

Edinburgh, n.d.

Cogadh na Saorsa. Mil nan Dàn. [Crest of burning bush circumscribed by, - Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church of Scotland, The Free Church of Scotland. 112pp. 14x10. PC.

[World War II series.]

MILTON, J. C. GAOTHAN RI'N REIC.

Glasgow, 1951.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gaidhlig. Gaothan ri'n Reic. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh. Gaelic translation of the one-act play, Winds for Sale, by J. Coleman Milton. Air eadar-theangachadh le Domhnall Mac Dhomhnail (Eirisgeidh). An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent Street, Glasgow. 1951. 21pp. 18x12. PC.

[Printed Learmonth, Stirling.]

MITCHELL, GEORGE. LAOIDHEAN.

N.p., n.d.

Laoidhean le Sheoras Mitchell, [Ill.]
Callanish Leodhas.
7pp. 21x13. PC.

MO LEABHAR I: LEABHAR-LEUGHaidh.

Inverness, n.d.

Mo Leabhar I. Leabhar-leughaidh. Chaidh an leabhar seo a dheasachadh an Leodhas le C. A. Mhoirreach, C. Nicilleathain, I. Nicruisnidh, C. A. Nicleoid, B. A. Nicleoid, M. Nicleoid, M. A. Nicasgail. Rinn A. M. Martainn na dealbhan. An Comunn Gaidhealach, Tigh Obairthairbh, Inbhirnis. Air a chlo-bhualadh le Eccles, Inbhirnis. 20 ff. 23x19.

[Recent. Ills. in black/white/red.]

MO LEABHAR I: LEABHAR-OIBREACH.

Inverness, n.d.

Mo Leabhar I. Leabhar-oibreach. Chaidh an leabhar so a dheasachadh an Leodhas le C. A. Nicmhuirich, C. Nicilleathain, I. Nicruisnidh, C. A. Nicleoid, B. A. Nicleoid, M. Nicleoid, M. A. Nicasgail. Rinn A. M. Nicmhartainn na dealbhan. An Comunn Gaidhealach, Tigh Obairthairbh, Inbhirnis. Air a chlo-bhualadh le Eccles, Inbhirnis.
20 ff. 21x19. PC.

MO LEABHAR II: LEABHAR-LEUGHaidh.

Inverness, n.d.

Mo Leabhar II. Leabhar-leughaidh. Dheasaicheadh an leabhar an Leodhas le C. A. Nicgille Mhoire, C. Nicilleathain, I. Nicruisnidh, C. A. Nicleoid, B. A. Nicleoid, M. Nicleoid, M. A. Nicasgail. Rinn Coinneach Stiubhart na dealbhan. An Comunn Gaidhealach, Tigh Obarthairbh, Inbhirnis. Air a chlo-bhualadh le Eccles, Inbhirnis.
26 ff. 25x19. PC.

MO LEABHAR II: LEABHAR-OIBREACH.

Inverness, n.d.

Mo Leabhar II. Leabhar-oibreach. Chaidh na ceistean a thogail bho'n leabhar a chaidh a dheasachadh an Leodhas le C. A. Nicgille Mhoire, C. Nicilleathain, I. Nicruisnidh, C. A. Nicleoid, B. A. Nicleoid, M. Nicleoid, M. A. Nicasgail. Rinn Coinneach Stiubhart na dealbhan. Dheasaich Domhnall I. MacAoidh na leasain oibreach. An Comunn Gaidhealach, Tigh Obarthairbh, Inbhirnis. Air a chlo-bhualadh le Eccles, Inbhirnis.
26 ff. 25x19. PC.

[A series of very lively elementary readers for schools: prepared by a panel of teachers.]

MOD, AM. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH. [For list of published competition pieces.]

MOFFAT, ALFRED. THE MINSTRELSY OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS.

London, n.d.

The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Highlands. A Collection of Highland Melodies, with Gaelic and English Words. Selected, edited, and arranged by Alfred Moffat. London: Bayley & Ferguson, 2 Great Marlborough Street, W. Glasgow: 54 Queen Street.

4 ff, 135pp. 28x22. AU, Mit.
[Both notations; piano. Add. in 'An Deo-Greine' Sept. 1910.]

MOFFAT-PENDER, IAIN M. IS ANN.

Glasgow, 1930.

Is Ann. A simple explanation of a conversational difficulty experienced by those learning the Gaelic Language. By I. M. Moffat-Pender. "A valuable Supplementary Chapter to all the Gaelic Grammars."-Eachann MacDhughail. Price Sixpence. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Printers and Publishers, 360/362 Argyle Street, C.2. 1930. (Copyright.)

8pp. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit.

MOFFAT-PENDER, IAIN M. LITRICHEAN GHAIIDHEAL AN LATHA AN DIUGH.

Stornoway, n.d.

[Title] Litrichean Ghaidheal an Latha an Diugh.

[Cover] Address delivered by Iain MacAlasdair Moffat-Pender to Ceilidh nan Gaidheal, Glasgow, 23rd October, 1926. Printed at the "Gazette" Office, Stornoway.

16pp. 22x15.

FC.

MOFFAT-PENDER, IAIN M. LORNA.
Glasgow, 1954.

Lorna. I. M. Moffat-Pender, M.A. ("Mo mhac foghlama"-An t-Ollamh Maolmhúire Díolún) do scriobh. Do bhuaidh an chuid is mó de na h-agallmhaibh seo an chéad duais ag an Mhod (An t-Oireachtas) i n-Albain. Déanta agus clóbhuailte i n-Eirinn le Brún agus O Nualláin, Teór., An Cló Richview, Cluain Sceach. 1954. [In Irish script.]

Lorna. Le I. M. Moffat-Pender, M.A. ("Duine inbheach am measg mo sgoilear"-An t-Ollamh U. I. Mac Bhàtair). Baile Ghlaschu: Bell and Bain Limited. 1954.
7 ff, 83pp; 4 ff Ills. [photos: in text].
27x21. PC.

[Plays. Scottish and Irish Gaelic on facing pages. Copies were distributed free to schoolchildren; so, bear the formula, - 'Donated by I. M. Moffat-Pender to. . .']

MOFFAT-PENDER, IAIN M. MO NIGHEAN DONN
BHOIDHEACH.
Edinburgh, 1924.

Mo Nighean Donn Bheidheach, agus Sgeulachdan Eile. Le Iain MacAlasdair Moffat-Pender. U. M. Urchardainn agus a Mhac, Dun-Eideann. 1924.

1 f Ill. [photo], 119pp, 1 f 'Buidheachas'.
20x14. GU:CL, NLS.

[The main story is 'An Rathad chum nan Eilean', pp 49-119--an account of a walking tour in the Highlands. Map of the tour on p.48.]

MOFFAT-PENDER, IAIN M. SGEUL GAIDHEALACH.
Glasgow, 1923.

Sgeul Gaidhealach.

8pp. 25x19.

Mit., PC.

[Bound with a 4pp leaflet: pp 1-2
comprise a Comunn Gaidhealach circular;
p.3 bears the information, - 'Sgeul
Gaidhealach le Iain M. Moffat-Pender.
Do chailleagan agus do bhalaich na
Gaidhealtachd. Lough an sgeul agus thoir
ainm air'; the rest of p.3 and p.4 give
information on the competition. The
circular is dated 1st June, 1923; the
2 leaflets are bound in Mit. with 'An
Gaidheal', Vol. XX, 1924-25.]

MOFFAT-PENDER, IAIN M. (editor). See CAMERON,
ALEXANDER. ORAIN, SGRIOBHAIDHEAN AGUS
LITRICHEAN.

MOFFAT-PENDER, IAIN M. (co-compiler). See
CLANN AN FHRAOICH. CAINNT AGUS FACAIL
IOMCHUIDH AIR SON COINNIMH.

MONTHLY VISITOR, THE. See AM FEAR-TATHAICH
MIOSAIL.

MORGAN, EDWIN (co-editor). SCOTTISH POETRY,
NUMBER ONE. See BRUCE, GEORGE.

MORGAN, EDWIN (co-editor). SCOTTISH POETRY,
NUMBER THREE. See BRUCE, GEORGE.

MORRISON, ALICK (editor). See MACASKILL,
JOHN ARCHIE. AN RIBHEID CHIUIL.

MORRISON, ANGUS, of Barvas. AN GRADH-BHUAN.
Glasgow, 1946.

An Gradh-Bhuan. Dain spioradail le Aonghas MacGhille Mhoire. Spiritual Songs by Angus Morrison. Edited by Hector MacDougall. Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrainn is a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.

15pp. 19x13. NLS.
[Roimh-Radh by 'R.M.' Printed Milne,
Tannahill and Methven, Perth.]

MORRISON, ANGUS, of Edinburgh. DAIN AGUS ORAIN
GHAIHLIG.

Edinburgh, [Pref.1929].

Dain agus Orain Ghaidhlig. Le Aonghas Moireasdan. Maille ri mineachadh. Dun-Eideann: An "Darion Press", 5 Aite Bristo.

Gaelic Poems and Songs. By Angus Morrison. With explanatory notes. Edinburgh: The Darion Press, 5 Bristo Press.

xvi, 416pp. 22x15. AU, EU, GU, Mit., NLS.
[Preface dated 'Nollaig, 1929'. Sententious.]

MORRISON, ANGUS, of Edinburgh. ORAIN NAM BEANN.
Glasgow, [Fore.1913].

Orain nam Beann. (Songs of the Mountains.) A Collection of Gaelic Songs, containing many airs not hitherto published. Selected, edited, and in part composed by Angus Morrison. Music in both notations with pianoforte accompaniment. Part 1. Copyright. Price 5s net. Glasgow: Aird & Coghill Ltd, 24 Douglas Street.

2 ff, 53pp. 31x25. Woodside P.L., Glasgow.
[Foreword dated 'June, 1913'. On some copies, the following is pasted over the publisher's imprint:- 'Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren & Sons, Gaelic Publishers, 268 Argyle Street, C.2. All Rights of Reproduction reserved by them'; this indicates the purchase by MacLaren of the existing stock of this edition some time after 1931 (the year MacLaren's moved from 360-2 Argyle Street).]

MORRISON, ANGUS, of Edinburgh. ORAIN NAM BEANN. (cont.)
Glasgow, [c.1946].

Orain nam Beann. [Ill.] Songs of the Mountains.
A Collection of Gaelic Songs, containing many airs
not hitherto published. Selected, edited and in
part composed by Angus Morrison. Music in both
notations with pianoforte accompaniments by Charles
R. Baptie. Copyright. Price 6s net. Alex. MacLaren
& Sons, 268 Argyle Street, Glasgow, C.2.

2 ff, 53pp. 31x25. AU, PC.

[Has 1913 Foreword, but copyright imprint
(on first song) of 1946: clearly a reprint
of ca. 1946. A 'New Series' of "Orain nam
Beann" was add. by MacLaren's in 1938, and
is referred to in MacLaren (dated 1932);
this has not been seen: see note under
ORAIN NAM BEANN.]

M[ORRISON], A[NGUS], of Edinburgh. ORAN
A' CHEASAR.

Glasgow, 1916.

Oran a' Cheasar. Song on the Kaiser.
Le A. M. [Ill.] Alex. MacLaren & Sons,
Gaelic Publishers and Booksellers, 360-
362 Argyle Street, Glasgow. 1916.

8pp. 17x11. PC.

[MacLaren ascribes it to Angus Morrison.
In aid of the Red Cross Society.]

MORRISON, C. A. (co-editor). See MO LEABHAR I:
LEABHAR-LEUGHAIIDH/LEABHAR-OIBREACH; and MO
LEABHAR II: LEABHAR-LEUGHAIIDH.

MORRISON, DONALD (translator). SIOS CHUN NA
MARA.

Glasgow, 1950.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gàidhlig. Sios chun na
Mara. Air eadar-theangachadh le Dòmhnall
MacGhille Mhoire. Printed for An Comunn
Gàidhealach by Eneas MacKay, Stirling. 1950.
24pp. 19x13. PC.

MORRISON, DONALD (translator). See FRANCIS,
J. O. AM POIDSEAR.

MORRISON, DUNCAN M. CEOL MARA.
London, [Fore.1935].

Ceol Mara. Songs of the Isle of Lewis.
Collected and arranged by Duncan M. Morrison.
With a foreword and introduction by the
Marchioness of Londonderry, D.B.E. Price 7/6
net. J. & W. Chester, Ltd., London:
11, Great Marlborough Street, W.1. France:
Rouart, Levolle et cie., Paris. Belgium:
Les Editions Modernes, Bruxelles. Switzerland:
Foetisch Frères, Lausanne. Italy: A. & G.
Carisch & Co., Milano. Germany: Hug & Co.,
Leipzig. Holland: Braekmans & Van Poppel,
Amsterdam. Czecho-slovakia: Hudebri Matice,
Prague. South America: Iriberry, Belloeg
& cia., Buenos Aires.
2 ff, vii, 2 ff, 38pp. 30x24. Mit., NLS.
[Staff; piano. Some songs in Gaelic
only, some in English only.]

MORRISON, F. M. ORAIN UIDHISTEACH.
Edinburgh, [c.1933].

Orain Uidhisteach. From Miss F. M. Morrison's
Collection. All songs in this book are
copyright, 1933. Published by -- Alex.
Maclaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, Glasgow,
C.2. Arranged and printed by T. Morrison,
6 Piershill Place, Edinburgh, 8.
15pp. 28x22. PC.
[Both notations; piano. Handwritten,
reproduced photographically.]

MORRISON, JOHN. DAIN IAIN GHOBHA.
 Edinburgh, n.d.

[Title page.] Dain Iain Ghobha.

[Dust cover.] The Poems of John Morrison.
 Edited by George Henderson. Knox Press.
 12 ff, lxxv, 315pp; [Vol. II] 2 ff, xlvi,
 350pp. 19x13.

[1967. Reprint--bound in one volume--
 of the 2-vol. ed. of 1893-96. Besides
 that edition's Preface, Memoir and
 Introduction, the present ed. contains
 a 'Publisher's Preface', signed,-
 'G. N. M. Collins (for the Knox Press,
 Edinburgh)'. The Knox Press is connected
 with the Free Church of Scotland.]

MORRISON, MURDO, of Cape Breton. ORAIN FUINN
 IS CLADAICH.

Glasgow, 1931.

Orain Fuinn is Cladaich. Gaelic Poems
 and Songs. By Murdoch Morrison (Murchadh
 Choinnich Bhàin), Ferguson's Lake,
 Cape Breton. Printed for Alex. Finlayson,
 Grand River, C.B. Glasgow: Alexander
 MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street, C.2.
 1931.

64pp, [32pp Ad. catalogue bound with
 the book]. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit. NLS.

[Brought up in Canada. His poetry
 is village-bardic--mainly humorous;
 no nostalgia for the 'homeland'.]

MORRISON, MURDO, of Shader. FEAR SIUBHAL
 NAN GLEANN.

Glasgow, [Intro.1923].

Fear Siubhal nan Gleann. Orain agus Dain.
 Le Murchadh Mac-ille-Mhoire, Siadar Bharabhais.
 (Leth-bhreach air a thoirmeasg.) Glascho:
 Alasdair/

Alasdair Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal.

The Traveller of the Glens. Poems and Songs. By Murdo Morrison, Shader, Barvas. (Copyright.) Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street.
1 f Ill. [photo of Morrison], x, 86pp, [32pp Ad. catalogue bound with the poems].

MORRISON, [PETER]. "SAOR MHARSANTACHD".
Edinburgh, n.d.

"Saor Mharsantachd", no, Marsantachd Dhaor, agus mar a bhuineas i ri staid na'n croitearan. . .

[Colophon] Le Mac Ille Mhuire.
3pp. 24x18. NLS.
[Printed and published David MacDonald, Edinburgh. Not in T S-G.]

MORRISON, RODERICK (translator). SGEULACHDAN MHIC-AN-TEOSAIN.
Stornoway, n.d.

Sgeulachdan Mhic-an-Teòsain. Air an tarruing o'n leabhar, "The Adventures of Baron Munch-hausen". Air an rèiteachadh agus air air an eadartheangachadh le Ruairidh Moireasdan.

64pp. 29x15.
[Published by the 'Stornoway Gazette', in which the stories were previously published. Ca. 1966. Cartoons.]

MORRISON, RODERICK (translator). See STEVENSON, ROBERT L. DAIBHIDH BALFOUR.

MORRISON, RODERICK (translator). See
STEVENSON, ROBERT L. EILEAN AN IONMHAIS.

MORRISON, WILLIAM M. (translator). See
SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM. JULIUS CAESER.

MOSGLADH.

Sydney/Antigonish,
1922-1933.

Mosgladh. "The Awakening". Leabhar I.
An t-Earrach, 1922. Aireamh 1. [Ill.]
"Gloir Dhe agus math ar cinnidh". Scottish
Catholic Society of Canada (organised
July 1st, 1919).

[A new series began 1929.]

Mosgladh. [Ill.] December 1933. Published
by the Scottish Catholic Society of Canada.
"Glòir Dhe agus math ar cinnidh". [Last seen.]
Ca. 50pp per quarterly issue. 26x18.
Harv., Xavier.

[Information from Sister Margaret
MacDonell of Harvard and Nova Scotia
and Prof. Calum I. N. MacLeod of St.
Francis Xavier University, Antigonish.
Prof. MacLeod informs that the paper
was printed at Sydney, N.S., and that
it was also issued "in newspaper form" (30x23)
printed in Antigonish. Quarterly.]

MUNRO, JAMES. GAELIC VOCABULARY AND PHRASE BOOK.
Glasgow, n.d.

Munro's Gaelic Vocabulary and Phrase Book.
Containing copious vocabularies and a choice
selection of colloquial phrases on various
subjects arranged under distinct heads, each
having an imitated pronunciation marked.
Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Argyle Street, C.2.
64pp. 19x13. PC.

[From Munro's Gaelic Primer, of which it
was the larger part.]

MUNRO, JAMES. A NEW GAELIC PRIMER.
Edinburgh, 1902.

A New Gaelic Primer: containing elements of pronunciation; an abridged grammar; formation of words; a list of Gaelic and Welsh vocables of like signification: also, a copious vocabulary, with a figured orthoepy; and a choice selection of colloquial phrases on various subjects, having the pronunciation marked throughout. By James Munro, H.M.E.I., I.C., & O.S.G., &c. Seventh edition. Improved and enlarged. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1902. 86pp, ii Index. 18x12. EPL.
[First ed. 1828; the above is a reprint of that of 1854.]

A NEW GAELIC PRIMER.
Edinburgh, 1908.

. . .By James Munro, H.M.E.I., I.C., and O.S.G., Etc. Seventh edition. Improved and enlarged. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1908. 86pp, ii Index. 18x12. AU, GU:CL, Mit.
[Reprint.]

MUNRO, NEIL. THE LOST PIBROCH.
Inverness, [Pref.1913].

The Lost Pibroch and Other Shielsing Stories. By Neil Munro, Ll.D. Translated into Gaelic by Rev. Archd. MacDonald, Kiltarlity. Division 1. Price ninepence. Inverness: The "Northern Chronicle" Office. John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh. James Thin, 54 South Bridge, Do. A. M'Laren & Sons, 360 Argyle Street, Glasgow. E. MacKay, 54 Murray Place, Stirling. 56pp. 18x12. EU, GU:CL, Mit.
[Prefatory Note dated September, 1913. See overleaf.]

MUNRO, NEIL. AM PORT MOR A BHA AIR CHALL. (cont.)
Inverness, n.d.

Am Port Mor a bha air Chall agus Sgeulachdan eile na h-Airidh. Leis an Olla Niall Mac an Rothaich. Eadarthangaichte[sic] bho an Bheurla Sasunnaich gu Gaidhlig Albannaich leis an Urramach G. Mac Dhomhnuill, D.D. Pris 4/- Inbhirnis: Comunn Foillseachaidh na h-Airde-Tuath.

4 ff, 101pp. 25x19. NLS.

[Ascribed to 1934 by NLS. Munro was an important influence on Gaelic writers of fiction in the first few decades of this century.]

MURCHISON, THOMAS M. (co-editor). ALBA. See MACLEAN, MALCOLM.

MURCHISON, THOMAS M. (editor). See LAMONT, DONALD, PROSE WRITINGS.

MURCHISON, THOMAS M. (editor). See MACLEOD, MALCOLM. AN IUCHAIR OIR.

MURRAY, NORMAN. NEW METHOD GAELIC.
Vancouver, [c.1941].

New Method Gaelic. A phonetic system of Gaelic reading. [Crest with inscription, 'An Comunn Gaidhealach; and caption, - 'Vancouver, B.C.']. By Norman Murray, M.A. Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach, Vancouver, Canada.

Copyright 1941 by An Comunn Gaidhealach, Vancouver, Canda.

3 ff, 17pp. 23x16. GU:CL.

NA/NA H-/NAM/NAN. [Gaelic definite article:
ignored in alphabetisation.]

NATIONAL ANTHEM, THE. See LAOIDH NA RIOGHACHD.

NATIONAL BIBLE SOCIETY, THE. See BIBLE.

NATIONAL BIBLE SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, THE. See
COMUNN-BHIOBULL DUTHCHAIL NA H-ALBA. [booklet]

NATIONAL SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE BAHÁ'IS OF
THE BRITISH ISLES. CREIDEAMH NA BAHÁ'I.
London, 1961.

[Title page] Creideamh na Bahá'í.

[Colophon] Printed in Great Britain 1961. This
is a publication of The National Spiritual
Assembly of the Bahá'ís of the British Isles.
Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 27 Rutland Gate,
London, S.W.7.

28pp. 13x9.

PC.

[An explanatory booklet. Printed Heffer, Cambridge.]

NEW TESTAMENT, THE. See BIBLE.

NEWSPAPERS. For title list of newspapers which
featured a regular Gaelic column for a period,
see under PERIODICALS.

NORTHERN INSURANCE COMPANY, THE. See AN TUATH
CHOMUNN URRAS.

NICOLSON INSTITUTE, THE, Stornoway. See
SCHOOL MAGAZINES.

NICOLSON, ALEXANDER, Advocate. GAELIC PROVERBS.
Glasgow, 1951.

Gaelic Proverbs. Collected and translated into English with equivalents from other European languages by Alexander Nicolson, M.A., LL.D., Advocate. Reprinted with Index, etc. by Malcolm Mac Innes, M.A., LL.B., Edinburgh and the Cape of Good Hope, Advocate. [Ill.] Published for Malcolm MacInnes, Esq. by the Caledonian Press, 793 Argyle Street, Glasgow. 1951.

10 ff, xxxvi, 470pp. 23x15. AU, PC.
[Section B (pp i-xxxvi, pp 1-420) comprises a reprint of Nicolson's 'Gaelic Proverbs' (1st ed. 1881), including the title page--less publisher's imprint--of that edition. Section A (10 ff) contains all the prefatorial material--including the title page reproduced above--to the new edition by MacInnes. Section C (pp 423-470) comprises MacInnes' Index. Nicolson's book was based on Donald MacIntosh's 'A Collection of Gaelic Proverbs' (1st ed. 1785). As the proverbs are arranged alphabetically, the Index makes the work much more usable.]

NICOLSON, ALEXANDER, Lecturer in Gaelic.
AM BREACADH.

Glasgow, 1939.

Am Breacadh. A Basic Gaelic Reader.
Compiled by Alexander Nicolson, M.A.,
Lecturer in Gaelic in Jordanhill Training
College, Glasgow. Glasgow: Archd. Sinclair,
Celtic Press, 27a Cadogan Street. 1939.
44pp, 2 ff Ads. 19x13. Mit.
[See overleaf.]

NICOLSON, ALEXANDER, Lecturer in Gaelic.
AM BREACADH. (cont.)

Glasgow, n.d.

Am Breacadh. A Basic Gaelic Reader.
Compiled by Alexander Nicolson, M.A.,
Lecturer in Gaelic in Jordanhill Training
College, Glasgow. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren
& Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.
36pp, 12 ff[3 of grammar, 1 Ads., 8 glossary].
19x13. PC.
[Still in print.]

NICOLSON, ALEXANDER, Lecturer in Gaelic.
GAELIC RIDDLES AND ENIGMAS.

Glasgow, 1938.

Gaelic Riddles and Enigmas. (Toimhseachain
agus Dubh-Fhacail.) By Alexander Nicolson,
Lecturer in Gaelic at Jordanhill College,
Glasgow. Glasgow: Archd. Sinclair, Celtic
Press, 27a Cadogan Street. 1938.
103pp. 19x13. Mit., SS.
[English translation on rt. facing page.]

NICOLSON, ALEXANDER, Lecturer in Gaelic.
MODERN GAELIC: A BASIC GRAMMAR.

Glasgow, [Pref.1936].

Modern Gaelic. A Basic Grammar. By
Alexander Nicolson, M.A., Lecturer in Gaelic
at Jordanhill College, Glasgow. Glasgow:
Archibald Sinclair, Celtic Press, 27A
Cadogan Street.
viii, 155pp. 19x13. AU, CoS, Mit., NLS.

MODERN GAELIC: A BASIC
GRAMMAR.

Glasgow, 1945.

Modern Gaelic. A Basic Grammar. By Alexander
Nicolson, M.A., Lecturer in Gaelic at The
University/

University and Jordanhill College, Glasgow.
Three shillings and sixpence net. Glasgow:
Alex. Maclaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2.

First published 1936. Re-issued 1945.
viii, 155pp. 19x13. PC.
[Printed Sinclair, Glasgow.]

NICOLSON, ALEXANDER, Lecturer in Gaelic.
OIDEAS NA CLOINNE.

Glasgow, n.d.

Oideas na Cloinne. Le Alasdair Mac Neacail.
Printed by Archibald Sinclair, Celtic Press,
2/12 Mackeith Street, Glasgow, S.E.
103pp. 22x14. PC.
[Reviewed 'An Gaidheal', 1948.]

NICOLSON, ALEXANDER, Lecturer in Gaelic.
AN DUILLEAG GHAIÐHLIG. See CHAPBOOK.

NICOLSON, CALUM. See NICOLSON, MALCOLM.

NICOLSON, DONALD. LAMH-SGRIOBHAINNEAN MHC-
NEACAIL.

N.p., n.d.

Lamh-Sgriobhainnean Mhic-Neacail.
An t-Urramach Domhnull Mac Neacail, A.M. (1735-
1802).
Pp 340-409. 22x14. FC.

NICOLSON, MALCOLM. DAIN SPIORADAIL.
Glasgow, 1917.

Dàin Spioradail. Le Calum MacNeacail,
maighstir-sgoile ann am Barabhas. Fo Iainh Iain
N. MacLeoid, deasaiche "Bardachd Leodhais".
Glaschu: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic,
360 Sraid Earraghaidheal. 1917.
1 f Ill. [photo of Nicolson]. 15x14. EPL, NLS.

NICOLSON, NICOL. AN T-URRAMACH IAIN MAC-RATH.
Inverness, 1910.

An t-Urramach Iain Mac-Rath ("Mac-Rath Mor") a bha ann an Leodhas. Beagan iomraidh m'a bheatha agus criomagan d'a theagasg. Le Neacal Mac-neacail, ministear Strath-Ghairbh. Maille ri dealbh Mhr. Mhic-Rath. An treas clo-bhualadh. Inverness: George Young, New Market. 1910.

1 f Ill., 40pp. 22x14.

[First and second eds in 1894, 1895.]

AN T-URRAMACH IAIN MAC RATH.
Glasgow, 1939.

An t-Urramach Iain Mac Rath ("Mac Rath Mor") a bha ann an Leodhas. Beagan iomradh m'a bheatha agus criomagan d'a theagasg. Le Neacal Mac Neacail, ministear Shrath-Chairbh. Maille ri dealbh Mhgr Mhic Rath. Fo laimh Eachainn Mhic Dhughail. Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrainn is a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal, C.2.

An ceathramh clo-bhualadh 1939.

59pp, 5 ff Ads. 19x13.

PC.

O BROIN, PADRAIG (co-editor). See IRISLEABHAR CEILTEACH.

O BROIN, PADRAIG (editor). See TEANGADOIR.

O LOCHLAINN, COLM. DEOCH-SLAINTE NAN GILLEAN.
Dublin, [c.1948].

Deoch-slàinte nan Gillean. Dòrnán òran a Barraidh. Air na dheasachadh le Colm O Lochlainn, am Baile Atha Cliath, ann an Eirinn: Fo Chomhardha nan Trì Coinnlean.

Copyright Colm O Lochlainn 1948.

xi, 83pp. 19x13.

GU:CL.

[Some music, in staff.]

O' RAHILLY, THOMAS F. IRISH DIALECTS.
Dublin, 1932.

Irish Dialects past and present, with chapters on Scottish and Manx. By Thomas F. O' Rahilly. Browne and Nolan Limited: Dublin; Belfast; Cork; Waterford; London: 18, Red Lion Passage, Holborn, W.C.1. 1932.
ix, 1 f Contents, 278pp, 1 f Symbols used, 1 f Errata(12.5x12). 22x14. AU:CL.
[Printed at the St Catherine Press, Ltd., Bruges, Belgium.]

OBAIR A' CHELP.

[Oban, 1914.]

The Kelp Industry. Reprint of two articles on the Industry from "The Oban Times", the first appearing on 25th November, 1914, with Gaelic translation thereof. 4pp[English]. 26x20.

Obair a' Chelp. An gabh i cur air bonn dìongmhalta?
3pp[Gaelic]. 26x20. GU:CL.
[The two are stapled together.]

OFTEDAL, MAGNE. THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST.
Oslo, 1956.

A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic dialects of Scotland. Vol. III. Magne Oftedal. The Gaelic of Leurbost, Isle of Lewis. Oslo. 1956. H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard). 372pp. 26x18.
[Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, Suppl. Bind IV.]

OLD HIGHLANDS, THE. See THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF GLASGOW, TRANSACTIONS, VOLUME III.

OLD TESTAMENT, THE. See BIBLE.

OLDHAM, J. H. COMASAN NA H-URNUIGH.
London, 1913.

Comasan na h-Urnuigh. Le J. H. Oldham.
Translated from the English by Malcolm
MacLeod, M.A., Minister at Broadford,
Skye. T. N. Foulis, London & Edinburgh.
1913.

The Possibilities of Prayer. By J. H.
Oldham. T. N. Foulis, London & Edinburgh.
1913.

1 f Ill., 81pp. 19x13. CoS, Mit.
[English and Gaelic on facing pages.
Printed Turnbull & Spears, Edinburgh.]

ORAIN-CARAID. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

ORAIN DA-GHUTHACH.

Glasgow, 1928.

Orain Da-Ghuthach. Book One. Gaelic Duets.
A new collection of Gaelic songs arranged
for two voices. 1/- net. Glascho: Alasdair
MacLabhrunn 's a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earra-
Ghaidheal, C.2. 1928.

16pp. 21x17. Mit., NLS, PC.
[Solfa.]

ORAIN NAM BEANN, NEW SERIES.*

N.p., n.d.

'Orain nam Beann. Part 1. New Series.
3 songs, Gaelic & English. Methven
Simpson. 1932.'

[The above quotation is from MacLaren.
Described in MacLaren catalogue of
1938 as 'Orain nam Beann. New Series.
Book 1'. Untraceable. See also MORRISON,
ANGUS, of Edinburgh. ORAIN NAM BEANN.]

ORAN A' CHEASAR. See M[ORRISON], A[NGUS], of
Edinburgh.

ORAN MHIC ILLEATHAIN.

N.p., n.d.

Oran Mhic Illeathain an "Hotel".

1p. 22x18. PC.
[No music. Prob. published by MacLaren,
Glasgow.]

ORDNANCE SURVEY OF SCOTLAND. GLOSSARY.

N.p., n.d.

Ordnance Survey of Scotland. Glossary of the
most common Gaelic words (and corrupted forms
of Gaelic), used on the Ordnance Survey Maps.
8pp. 18x9. PC.

OSSIAN [poet].. See DANA OISEIN MHIC FHINN.

OSSIAN [periodical]. See GLASGOW UNIVERSITY
OSSIANIC SOCIETY.

OWEN, JOHN. OB AIR AN SPIORAID NAOIMH.
Edinburgh, [Intro.1916].

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Obair an Spioraid
Naoimh. Omhain. [Here crest of burning
bush with legend, - Eaglais na h-Alba, An
Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor.]
Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh,
for The Church of Scotland, The United Free
Church of Scotland, and The Free Church of
Scotland.

xi, 84pp. 14x10. NLS.
[A translation of Dr. John Owen's
'A Discourse Concerning the Holy Spirit'.
Introduction dated 1916, signed Norman
MacLean. Issued to World War I soldiers.]

OWEN, JOHN. OIRDHEIRCEAS CHRIOSD.
Edinburgh, [Intro.1916].

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Oirdheirceas Chrìosd.
Omhain. [Crest of burning bush, with legend,-
Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte,
An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by Oliver and
Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church of Scotland,
The United Free Church of Scotland, and The
Free Church of Scotland.

x, 80pp. 14x10. NLS.
[Translation by Alexander MacDougall of
Four Sermons by Dr John Owen on Psalm
xlv:1-3. Intro. dated 1916, signed
Norman MacLean. Issued to soldiers in
World War I.]

PARKER, WINIFRED. NA DAOINE SIDHE.
Glasgow, 1907.

Na Daoine Sidhe is Uirsgeulan eile. Air an
cur an eagar le Una, inghean Fear na Pairce.
Na dealbhan o laimh Chatrìona Chamaron, R.S.W.,
is Raoghnailt Ainslie Ghrannnd Dubh.
Archibald Sinclair, Celtic Press, 47
Waterloo Street, Glasgow. 1907.
Pp 5-48; 4 ff Ills [in text]. 21x14. NLS.

PARKER, WINIFRED. NA DAOINE SIDHE.
N.p., 1907.

Na Daoine Sidhe is Uirsgeulan eile.
Air an cur an eagar le Una, inghean Fear na
Pairce. Na dealbhan o laimh Chatrìona Chamaron,
R.S.W., is Raoghnailt Ainslie Ghrannnd Dubh. 1907.

Gaelic Fairy Tales. Edited by Winifred M. P
Parker. Illustrated by Katharine Cameron, R.S.W.,
and Rachel Ainslie Grant Duff. 1907.
Pp 5-48; pp 5-48; 4 ff Ills.[in text]. 21x14.
GU:CL.

[Gaelic and English(translation) on facing
pages.]

PARKER, WINIFRED. NA DAOINE SIDHE. (cont.)
Glasgow, 1908.

Na daoine Sidhe is Uirsgeulan eile. Na dealbhan o laimh Chatrìona Chamaroin, R.S.W., is Raoghnailt Ghrann Dubh. Glaschu: Gilleasbuig Mac-na-Ceardadh, 47 Sraid Waterloo. 1908.

Gaelic Fairy Tales. Illustrated by Katharine Cameron, R.S.W., and Rachel Ainslie Grant Duff. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, Celtic Press, 47 Waterloo Street. 1908.
Pp 5-48; pp 5-48; 4 ff Ills. [in text]. 21x14.
[Second Edition Preface. Issued in aid of the funds of the Feill of 1907.]

PARKER, WINIFRED (co-editor). "SOP AS GACH SEID". See FORBES, MABEL C.

PASTORAL LETTER, A.

Oban, [1942].

[Crest of the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.]
A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles. To be read at the Last Mass on The First Sunday in Lent, 1942. Oban Times Ltd., Oban.
10pp. 21x14. PC.

PATERSON, JOHN M. GAELIC MADE EASY, PART 1.
Glasgow, [1952].

"Gaelic Made Easy". A Guide to Gaelic for Beginners. Part 1. Comprising 10 lessons in Gaelic. Written and compiled by John M. Paterson. [Crest, lion rampant, with legend, - Dionnasg Gaidhlig na h-Alba. Cha n-fhois gu buaidh.] Dionnasg Gaidhlig na h-Alba (The Gaelic League of Scotland), 27 Elmbank St., Glasgow.
2 ff, 40pp, 1 f. 19x13.
[Dated 1952 in 2nd ed.]

GAELIC MADE EASY, PART 1.
[Reprints as below.]

Reprinted 1952, 1954(revised), 1958.

PATERSON, JOHN M. GAEELIC MADE EASY, PART 2.
Glasgow, [1953].

"Gaelic Made Easy". A Guide to Gaelic for
Beginners. Part 2. Comprising 10 lessons
in Gaelic, including vocabulary. Written and
compiled by John M. Paterson. [Crest.]
Dionnasg Gaidhlig na h-Alba (The Gaelic
League of Scotland), 27 Elmbank St., Glasgow.
2 ff, 40pp, x Vocab., 2 ff. 19x13.

GAEELIC MADE EASY, PART 2.
[Reprints as below.]

Reprinted 1956, 1959(revised).

PATERSON, JOHN M. GAEELIC MADE EASY, PART 3.
Glasgow, [1958].

"Gaelic Made Easy". A Guide to Gaelic for
Beginners. Part 3. Comprising 10 lessons in
Gaelic, including vocabulary. Written and
compiled by John M. Paterson. [Crest.] Dionnasg
Gaidhlig na h-Alba (The Gaelic League of
Scotland), 27 Elmbank St., Glasgow.
4 ff, 51pp, v Vocab. 19x13.

GAEELIC MADE EASY, PART 3.
Glasgow, 1963.

. . . Scotland), 34 Berkeley Street, Glasgow, C.3.
[Reprint.]

PATERSON, JOHN M. GAEELIC MADE EASY, PART 4.
Glasgow, 1960.

"Gaelic Made Easy". A Guide to Gaelic for
Beginners. Part 4. Comprising 13 lessons
in Gaelic, including vocabulary. Written and
compiled by John M. Paterson. [Crest.] Dionnasg
Gaidhlig na h-Alba (The Gaelic League of
Scotland), 27 Elmbank St., Glasgow.
4 ff, 69pp, ix Vocab., 1 f. 19x13.

GAEELIC MADE EASY.
Glasgow, 1967.

. . . Scotland), 34 Berkeley Street, Glasgow, C.3.
[Reprint.]

PATERSON, JOHN M. THE GAELS HAVE A WORD FOR IT.
Glasgow, [Fore.1964].

The Gaels Have a Word for it. A modern Gaelic vocabulary of 2000 words. Compiled by John M. Paterson. Price 3/6. Post free 3/10. [Crest of lion rampant, with legend, - 'Dionnasg Gaidhlig na h-Alba. Cha n-fhois gu buaidh.'] Dionnasg Gaidhlig na h-Alba (The Gaelic League of Scotland), 34 Berkeley Street, Glasgow, C.3. 6 ff, 31pp, 1 f Ads. 19x13.

[English Roimh-Radh dated February, 1964. Printed Learmonth, Stirling. Neologisms of Paterson's own creation.]

PEITEAG RUAIDH. See under ERSKINE, RUARAIH,
OF MAR. AIR EACHDRAIDH.

PERIODICALS. The following is a title list of serials which published (or still publish) Gaelic material with some regularity but not in sufficient quantity to fulfil the terms of the definition of 'Gaelic Publications' used in this work:-
An Aimsir Cheilteach(C); Akros; Alba Nuadh;
Aurora(C); The Barra Bulletin; Béaloideas;
The Bee(C); The Canadian-American Gael(C);
Cape Breton Mirror(C); The Casket(C); Catalyst;
Catholic Directory; Ceann Tara(C); Celtica;
Clan Society Magazines; The Eastern Chronicle(C);
Eigse; The Eilean Fraoich Annual; Eriu;
Etudes Celtiques; Fraser's Scottish Annual(C);
The Glasgow Highlander; The Glengarrian(C);
The Highland News; The Highland Times; The
Inverness Courier; The Journal of Celtic
Studies; Lines Review; Lion Rampant; Lochlann;
Maple Leaf(C); Mercat Cross; New Saltire;
North Star; The Northern Chronicle[important];
The Northern Evangelist; The Northern
Weekly; The Oban Times; Outlook; The People's
Journal; The Pictish Review; Poetry
Scotland/

PERIODICALS (cont.).

Scotland; Port Hood Greetings; Revue Celtique; Saga och Sed; St Peter's Magazine; Schools' Annuals[see under SCHOOL MAGAZINES]; Scottish Art and Letters; Scottish Australian; Scottish Canadian(C); Scottish Catholic Herald; Scottish Chapbook; Scottish Highland Weekly; Scottish International; Scottish Review; The Sea Leaguer; The Stornoway Gazette[important]; The Sydney Post(C); Sydney Post-Record(C); Sydney Record(C); Thistle; Tir; The Voice of Scotland; The Weekly Scotsman; Wick Literary Magazine; Yorkshire Celtic Studies; Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.

[C = Canadian. Occasional articles in serials which do not regularly feature Gaelic are given under the name of the author, if the article is of some significance.]

PORTREE HIGH SCHOOL. See COMUNN' NA H-OIGRIDH, FEACHD PHORTRIGH'. AN CABAIRNEACH.

PORTREE HIGH SCHOOL. See SCHOOL MAGAZINES.

PRAYER BOOK. See ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. AITHGHEARRADH TEAGASG CHRIOSTA. [bound together]

PSALMS. See BIBLE.

PSALMODY. See:

BIBLE. PSALMODY.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. FUINN NAN SALM GHAIHLIG.

HATELY, T. L. SEANN FHUINN NAN SALM.

MACBEAN, LACHLAN. FUINN NAN SALM.

PUIRT MO SHEANAMHAR. See [MACDONALD, T. D.]

QUIGGIN, E. C. (compiler). See FRASER, JOHN.
POEMS FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAN OF LISMORE.

REID, DUNCAN. A COURSE OF GAELIC GRAMMAR.
Glasgow, 1902.

A Course of Gaelic Grammar. By Duncan Reid, F.S.L.A., teacher of Gaelic in the High School of Glasgow. [Ill.] (New and enlarged edition.) Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, Printer, 47 Waterloo Street. Edinburgh and Glasgow: John Menzies and Co. 1902. (Entered at Stationers' Hall.)
viii, 164pp. 19x12. AU, EPL, GU:CL, Mit.
[First ed. 1895.]

A COURSE OF GAELIC GRAMMAR.
Glasgow, 1908.

A Course of Gaelic Grammar. By Duncan Reid, F.S.L.A. [Ill.] (Third edition.) Seventh thousand. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, Printer, 47 Waterloo Street. Edinburgh and Glasgow: John Menzies & Co. 1908. (Entered at Stationers' Hall.)
viii, 164pp. 19x13. AU, GU:CL, NLS.

A COURSE OF GAELIC GRAMMAR.
Glasgow, 1923.

A Course of Gaelic Grammar. By Duncan Reid, F.S.L.A. Fourth edition. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, Printer, 47 Waterloo Street. 1923. (Entered at Stationers' Hall.)
viii, 164pp. 18x13. CoS, Mit.

REID, DUNCAN. ELEMENTARY COURSE OF GAELIC.
Glasgow, 1908.

Elementary Course of Gaelic. By Duncan Reid, author of "A Course of Gaelic Grammar", etc. Issued by An Comunn Gaidhealach for use in Schools and Gaelic Classes. Glasgow: printed and published for An Comunn Gaidhealach, 68 Gordon Street, by Archd. Sinclair, Celtic Press, 47 Waterloo Street. 1908.
4 ff, 117pp, 2 ff. 19x14. Mit.

ELEMENTARY COURSE OF GAELIC.
Glasgow, 1913.

Elementary Course of Gaelic. By Duncan Reid. Re-arranged and enlarged by Norman MacLeod (Gaelic Master, The Glasgow High School). Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach for use in Schools and Gaelic Classes. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, "Celtic Press", 47 Waterloo Street. 1913.
vii, 208pp. 18x12. AU, NLS.

ELEMENTARY COURSE OF GAELIC.
Glasgow, 1921.

Elementary Course of Gaelic. By Duncan Reid. Rearranged and enlarged by Norman MacLeod, M.A. (Gaelic Master, The Glasgow High School). Second edition. Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach for use in Schools and Gaelic Classes. Stirling: Jamieson & Munro, Ltd., Printers, 40 Craigs. 1921.
viii, 208pp. 20x13. NLS, PC.

ELEMENTARY COURSE OF GAELIC.
Glasgow, 1928.

. . . School). Third edition. Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach for use in Schools and Gaelic Classes. Stirling: Jamieson & Munro, Ltd., Printers, 40 Craigs. 1928.
viii, 208pp. 20x13. PC.

REID, DUNCAN. ELEMENTARY COURSE OF GAELIC. (cont.)
Glasgow, 1935.

Elementary Course of Gaelic. By Duncan Reid.
Rearranged and enlarged by Norman MacLeod, M.A.
(Gaelic Master, The Glasgow High School).
Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach for use in
schools and Gaelic classes.
viii, 208pp. 20x13. AU, PC.
[Printed Jamieson and Munro.]

ELEMENTARY COURSE OF GAELIC.
Glasgow, 1935.

[Title page identical to the above.]
viii, 208pp. 19x13. EU:CL, NLS.

ELEMENTARY COURSE OF GAELIC.
Glasgow, 1952.

. . . School). Present Reprint 1952.
Published by An Comunn Gaidhealach for use
in schools and Gaelic classes. Stirling:
Jamieson & Munro, Ltd., Printers, 40 Craigs.
viii, 208pp. 19x13. PC.

ELEMENTARY COURSE OF GAELIC.
Glasgow, 1968.

. . . School). Present Reprint - 1968. . .
[Title page otherwise identical to the above.]
viii, 208pp. 19x13.
[In a Preface, Mr. Donald Thomson is
thanked "for his work in correcting and
preparing this book for reprinting".
Still a standard schools' grammar; it has
been changed in very little since 1913.]

RIAGHAILTEAN AGUS CLAR-OBRACH. See COMUNN
NA H-OIGRIDH.

ROBERTSON, ANGUS. CNOC AN FHRADHAIRC.
Glasgow, 1940.

Cnoc an Fhradhairc. By Angus Robertson.
Foreword by Alexander Nicolson, M.A., Lecturer
in Gaelic in Jordanhill College, Glasgow, author
of "History of Skye", "Gaelic Grammar", etc.
'The Celts have been for long the schoolmasters
of the Germanic peoples.'--Henri Hubert.
Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren & Sons, 268
Argyle Street, C.2. 1940.
xviii, 94pp. 19x13. EPL, GU, Mit.

[The central core of the book is a
47-page poem on the 'ethos of his race'
(Nicolson). The language is aureate and
sometimes obscure, the philosophy not
very original.]

ROBERTSON, ANGUS. AN T-OGHA MOR.
Glasgow, [Fore.1913].

An t-Ogha Mor. No, Am Fear-Sgeoil air
Uilinn. Le Aonghas Mac Dhonnachaidh.
Fosgrachadh le Uisdean Mac an Rothaich.
Glascho: MacDhonnachaidh, Uéir & Co., 47
Stràid Waterloo.
8 ff, 226pp, 4 ff Ads; 4 ff Ills.[in text].
20x13. AU, GU:CL, Mit., NLS.

['Ceann-Cuimhne' dated 'Earrach, 1913',
signed by Robertson. Printed John
Cossar, Govan. Novel: see discussion
in prose chapter above.]

AN T-OGHA MOR.
Glasgow, 1919.

An t-Ogha Mor. No, Am Fear-Sgeoil air
Uilinn. Le Aonghas Mac Dhonnachaidh.
Fosgrachadh le Uisdean Mac an Rothaich.
Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic,
360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal. 1919.
.8 ff, 226pp; 4 ff Ills.[in text]. 20x13. PC.

ROBERTSON, ANGUS. ORAIN NA CEILIDH.
London, n.d.

Orain na Ceilidh. Songs of the Ceilidh. By Angus Robertson. Arranged by Duncan Morrison. Foreword by D. J. MacLeod, D.Litt. Copyright. 5/- net. Paterson's Publications; London: 36-40 Wigmore Street, W.1.; Edinburgh: 27 George Street; Glasgow: 152 Buchanan Street; Aberdeen: 183 Union Street; New York: Carl Fischer, Inc, 62 Cooper Square; Canada: Anglo-Canadian Music Co., 144 Victoria Street, Toronto; New Zealand: C. Begg & Co., Ltd., Manners Street, Wellington.

4 ff, 34pp, 3 ff Ads. 31x25. Mit.
[Acquired Mit. 1945. English translations.]

ROBERTSON, ANGUS. COR, COIR AGUS COIRICH. See
under HENDERSON, ANGUS. SGOILTEAN AGUS OILEAN.

ROBERTSON, CHAS. M. THE GAELIC OF THE WEST OF ROSS-
SHIRE.

Inverness, n.d.

The Gaelic of the West of Ross-Shire. By Rev. Chas. M. Robertson, Badcall, Lochbroom. (Reprinted from the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. XXIV, 1899-1901.)
49pp. 22x14. EU.

ROBERTSON, CHAS. M. SKYE GAELIC.
N.p., n.d.

Skye Gaelic. By Rev. Chas. M. Robertson.
36pp. 22x13. FC.
[Reprinted from 'Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness', Vol. XXIII, 1902.]

ROBERTSON, CHAS. M. (editor). See MACGREGOR,
ALEXANDER. SONGS.

ROBINSON, F. N. THE GAELIC BALLAD OF THE MANTLE.
Chicago, [1903].

Reprinted from Modern Philology, Vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1903. A Variant of the Gaelic Ballad of the Mantle. By F.N. Robinson. Printed at the University of Chicago Press.

13pp. 25x18. Mit.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. AN AIFRIONN ANN AN GAIDHLIG.
N.p., n.d.

An Aifrionn ann an Gaidhlig.
16pp. 11.9x8.6. PC.
[Very recent.]

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. AITHGHEARRADH TEAGASG
CHRIOSTA.

[Oban], 1902.

Aithghearradh Teagasg Chrìosta. Le aonta
nan Easbuig Ro-Urramach, Easbuig Abair
Eadhain agus Easbuig Earraghaidheal 's nan
Eilean. An siathamh clo-bhualadh. MCMII.
46pp. 13x8. EU:CL, PC.

[The first Gaelic translation of the
Christian Doctrine was published in
1781 (486pp); the first abridged
version was in 1815. The above was
printed by Hugh MacDonald, Oban.]

CHRIOSD.

ATH-GHEARRADH AN TEAGSAG[sic]

New Glasgow, N.S., 1920.

Ath-ghearradh an Teagsag Chrìosd. Air a
cheartachadh 's air ath leasachadh le
ordugh Easbuig Caithliceach na' Sgìreachd.
[Ill.] New Glasgow, N.S.: New Glasgow
Printery. 1920.
24pp. 14x10. GU:CL.

CHRIOSTA.

AITHGHEARRADH TEAGASG

Glasgow, 1940.

All Rights Reserved. Entered at Stationers'
Hall. Aithghearradh Teagasg Chrìosta is
Leabhar Urnaigh. Air an tionndadh bho
Bheurla gu Gaidhlig le aonta Easbuig
Earraghaidheal 's nan Eileanan. Clo-
bhualte le P. Donegan & Co., 145 Trongate,
Glasgow, C.1. 1940.
100pp. 14x11. NLS.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. IUL A' CHRIOSTDAIDH.
Antigonish, 1901.

Iul a' Chriostaigh; no Comh-chruinneachadh de ùrnaighean air son a h-uile ama agus staide de bheatha a' Chriostaigh. An seachdamh clòbhualadh, ath-leasaichte. Antigonish: The Casket Printing and Publishing Company. 1901.

383pp. 15x12.

Xavier.

[First ed. pre-1844. T S-G gives the pagination of the 1901 ed. as '6 ff + 372 pp', wrongly.]

IUL A' CHRIOSDAIDH.
Stirling, 1963.

Iul a' Chriosdaigh. No, Comh-chruinneachadh de urnuighean air son a h-uile ama agus staide de bheatha a' Chriosdaigh. An ochdamh clòbhualadh, ath-leasaichte. Stirling: A. Learmonth & Son, Printers, 9 King Street. 1963.
viii, 463pp. 14x11. PC.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. LEABHAR CHEIST NA CLOINNE BIGE.

Dublin, 1950.

Leabhar Cheist na Cloinne Bige. With simplified text and explanations for the pupil and a manual with detailed study guides for the teacher. Prepared by Ellamay Horan, Ph.D., Editor of The Journal of Religious Instruction, and the co-author of the Kingdom of God Series. Containing the complete text of the official first communion catechism. The Scottish Hierarchy has approved Leabhar Cheist na Cloinne Bige for the Infant Department and Primary Three of Catholic Schools. + Donald A. Campbell, Archbishop of Glasgow, October 10, 1950.
Distributed/

Distributed by The Catholic Truth Society,
18 Renfrew Street, Glasgow, C.2. Air an
tionndadh bho Bheurla gu Gaidhlig le
aonta + Stephen McGill, Easbuig Earraghaidheal
's nan Eileinean. Published by Iona Press,
Dublin and Glasgow. Entire contents copyrighted
1950 throughout the United Kingdom by Iona
Press by arrangement with William H. Saddler,
Inc., New York, and under licence from the
Confraternity of Christian Doctrine,
Washington. Printed in Dublin by Dakota
Limited.

viii, 39pp, 1 f. 19x14. PC.
[Attractively illustrated in colour.]

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. LOCHRAN AN ANMA.
Edinburgh, [1906].

Lòchran an Anma. Leabhar-Urnaigh Caitliceach.
Sands agus a' Chuideach', 21 Sraid Anobhair,
Dùnèideann.

viii, 162pp. 13x9. Mit., NLS, PC.
[Imprimatur and Nihil obstat are
dated, - 'die 31 Jul. 1906'. Printed
Oliver and Boyd. T S-G gives pagination
as '3 ff + 163 pp', wrongly.]

ROSARNACH, AN, LEABHAR I.
Glasgow, 1917.

An Ròsarnach. [Ill.] Alasdair Mac Labhrainn
agus a Mhic, Glaschu. Clo-bhuailte anns
a' bhliadhna 1917.

[Cover] Leabhar I.
8 ff, 227pp; 13 ff Ills. [in text]. 27x21.
AU, GU:CL, Mit., NLS.
[Printed Milne, Tannahill & Methven,
Perth.]

ROSARNACH, AN, LEABHAR II.

Glasgow, 1918.

An Ròsarnach. [Ill.] Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, Glaschu. Clo-bhuailte anns a' bhliadhna 1918.

[Cover] Leabhar II.

8 ff, 216pp; 7 ff Ills.[in text]. 27x21.

AU, GU:CL, Mit., NLS.

[Printed Milne, Tannahill & Methven.]

ROSARNACH, AN, LEABHAR III.

Glasgow, 1921.

An Ròsarnach. Leabhar III. [Ill.] Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, Glaschu. 1921.

8 ff, 162pp; 3 ff Ills.[in text]. 27x20.

AU, GU:CL, Mit., NLS.

[Printed Milne, Tannahill & Methven.]

ROSARNACH, AN, LEABHAR IV.

Glasgow, 1930.

An Ròsarnach. An Ceathramh Leabhar. [Ill.] Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic, Glaschu. 1930.

8 ff, 159pp; 9 ff Ills.[in text]. 27x21

[Ads. leaflet appended. Printed by George Finlayson, Dundee.]

ROSARNACH, AN, LEABHAR V.*

[?]

[Add. in Orain a' Mhoid, 1931 as, - 'Rosarnach V. Volume of contemporary verse and prose.

7/6. . .to appear.' However, was almost certainly not published.]

ROSARNACH, AN. [Note. Anthology chiefly of prose: of considerable interest; edited by Ruaraidh Erskine of Mar: his periodicals, including this one, were of much importance. See discussion in Part 1, Chpt. 1.]

ROSE, H. J. (co-editor). MORE WEST HIGHLAND
TALES, VOLUME ONE. See MACLEAN, Rev. Prof.
DONALD.

ROSEBERRY, LORD. GAIRM AIR NA H-ALBANNAICH.
Stirling, [1914].

2d. Cogadh! "Gus an teirig troise".
Gairm air na h-Albannaich gu cath. Le
Tighearna Roseberry. [Ill.] Aonghas
MacAoidh, Struibhle.

16pp. 22x14. PC.

[Translation of 2 spechrs, both made
in 1914. Pp 14-16 comprise 2 songs by
Evan MacColl.]

ROSS, JAMES (co-editor). See SCHOOL OF
SCOTTISH STUDIES. GAELIC AND SCOTS FOLK
TALES AND FOLK SONGS.

ROSS, NEIL. ARMAGEDDON.
Edinburgh, 1950.

Armageddon. A Fragment. By Neil Ross,
C.B.E., D.D., D.Litt., Minister of Laggan.
Edinburgh. 1950.

4 ff, 147pp. 22x14.

[Printed by James Wilson, Edinburgh.
Distributed by The Albyn Press, Edinburgh;
in association with Irving Ravin,
New York, U.S. Foreword by D. J.
MacLeod, D.Litt. English verse
translation on rt. facing page.
An 'epic' of the 2nd World War:
versified history.]

ROSS, NEIL. HEROIC POETRY FROM THE BOOK OF
THE DEAN OF LISMORE.
Edinburgh, 1939.

Heroic Poetry from The Book of the Dean of
Lismore/

Lismore. Edited by Neil Ross, C.B.E.,
D.D., D.Litt., Minister of Laggan. Published
by Oliver & Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic
Texts Society. Edinburgh. 1939.

Scottish Gaelic Texts. Volume Three.
xxxi, 306pp, 2 ff Ads. 23x16. AU, GU, Mit.
[With English translation.]

ROSS, NEIL (co-author). See AN SOLARAICHE.

ROSS, THOMAS (translator). See BIBLE. PSALMS.

ROSS, WILLIAM. ORAIN GHAELACH.
Edinburgh, 1902.

Orain Ghàèlach. Le Uilleam Ros. Air an
co-chruinneachadh ri chéile le Iain Mac-
Choinnich ann an Inbhirie. Gaelic Songs.
By William Ross. Collected by John
MacKenzie, Inverurie. Fifth edition.
Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge.
1902.

xvi, 107pp. 15x10. Mit.
[First ed. ca. 1830; the above has the
Preface to the 2nd ed. of 1834.
Pp 95-107 comprise 'Ath-leasachadh' of
poems by John MacKay, 'Am Plobaire
Dall', Ross' grandfather.]

ORAIN GHAIÐHEALACH.
Edinburgh, 1937.

Orain Ghaidhealach. Le Uilleam Ross.
Air an cruinneachadh ri cheile le Iain
Mac-Choinnich, Inbhir-Iugh.

Gaelic Songs. By William Ross. Collected
by John MacKenzie, Inver-Ewe. New edition
revised, with metrical translation, memoir,
glossary, and notes, by George Calder,
B.D./

B.D., D.Litt., D.D., sometime lecturer in Celtic in the University of Glasgow. Oliver and Boyd; Edinburgh: Tweeddale Court; London: 33 Paternoster Row, E.C. 1937.
xxxii, 252pp. 21x15. AU, GU, Mit., etc.

RYLE, BISHOP. See DRUMMOND, PETER. GAELIC SERIES, BY BISHOP RYLE.

SAILM DHAIBHIDH. See BIBLE. PSALMS.

SAILM DHAIBHIDH. See BIBLE. PSALMODY.

ST COLUMBA COLLECTION OF GAELIC SONGS, THE.
See A' CHOISIR CHIUIL.

ST COLUMBA PARISH CHURCH. LEABHAR LAOIDHEAN.
Glasgow, 1906.

Leabhar Laoidhean Eaglais Chalum Chille an Glaschu. Eadar-theangaichte o'n Bheurla. [Crest of burning bush, with legend, - Nec Tamen Consumebatur.] Glasgow: printed for St Columba Parish Church by Archibald Sinclair, Celtic Press. 1906.

xvi; no pagination in text: 100 hymns.
17x13. FC, Mit., PC.

SAOR MHARSANTACHD. See MORRISON, [PETER].

SCHOOL MAGAZINES.

BELLAHOUSTON ACADEMY.

Only 1 number seen: No. 43, June 1951;
4 ff, 32pp, 6 ff Ads [1p Gaelic]. Ills.

DINGWALL ACADEMY.

Magazine begun 1922; no Gaelic till ca. 1930.
Only ca. ½p. per issue thereafter, if at all.
[Information from W. Ross, English Dept.]

SCHOOL MAGAZINES. (cont.)

INVERNESS ROYAL ACADEMY.

The first issue to contain Gaelic was Vol. V, No. 2, April 1930 (1p Gaelic). Gaelic was printed in the Academy magazine sporadically thereafter. [Information from Lachlan Dick, Gaelic Dept., Inverness Royal Academy.]

KINGUSSIE SCHOOL.

The Headmaster, W. B. Anderson, informs me that the school magazine has not contained much Gaelic at any time, although the influx of pupils from the Islands to the school was considerable in the years prior to the 2nd War (an average of 5 admissions per year, according to D. R. Morrison's history of the school, a copy of which Mr Anderson kindly presented to me).

LIONEL J.S. SCHOOL. TAINTEAN.

First appearance 1959: issued yearly since. Varies in length from 17-40pp. Approx. half Gaelic. Ills. Printed by the Stornoway Gazette. [Back copies received on loan from D. MacKenzie, Headmaster, Lionel J.S. School.]

LOCHABER HIGH SCHOOL, Fort William. [FOCUS].

First seen with Gaelic is 1960 ($\frac{1}{2}$ p Gaelic). Ca. 2pp Gaelic per issue thereafter. Ills. Magazine known as 'Focus' from 1961. [Information from Ian MacLeod, Gaelic Dept., Lochaber High School.]

NICOLSON INSTITUTE, THE, Stornoway.

The first number was in 1901. There were no further numbers until 1914; publication thereafter was as follows:- 1914-17, 1928-47, 1950, 1953-54, 1960-68. Before 1947, each issue had an average of 30pp, of which 3-4 were in Gaelic; from 1960, the average length has increased/

SCHOOL MAGAZINES. (cont.)

NICOLSON INSTITUTE, THE, Stornoway. (cont.)
 increased to 60-70pp, of which 4-6 are
 in Gaelic; the 1968 Annual had 85pp,
 including ca. 7 of Gaelic. Ills.
 Printed in 1901 by Pillans and Wilson,
 Edinburgh; 1914-16 by Wm. Culross &
 Son, Ltd., Coupar Angus; 1917-68 by the
 Stornoway Gazette. [Detailed information
 from Mary MacLeod, The Gaelic Dept.,
 The Nicolson Institute.]

OBAN HIGH SCHOOL.

No information received. The magazine
 has appeared intermittently in this
 century and has contained some, though
 not much Gaelic.

PORTREE HIGH SCHOOL.

First published shortly before 1937;
 regularly between 1937 and 1941;
 numbers in 1950 and 1951 and on one
 other year before 1965; issues have
 appeared for sessions 1965-66, 1966-67,
 1967-68, 1968-69. Approx. 4-6pp per
 issue is Gaelic. All up to 1951 printed
 by The Northern Chronicle, Inverness;
 thereafter by the Stornoway Gazette.
 [Information from John Steele, Gaelic
 Dept., Portree High School.] During
 the past year, pupils in this school have
 been publishing a fortnightly newspaper,
 'Skyline'. See also COMUNN NA H-OIGRIDH,
 FEACHD PHORTRIGH'. AN CABAIRNEACH.

SIR EDWARD SCOTT J.S. SCHOOL, Tarbert. BROCHAN.

First published 1961, and yearly thereafter.
 Steady increase in pagination from 16pp in
 1961 to 40pp in 1968; only about one-quarter
 Gaelic, on average.

[Note. In the above magazines, all official
 school news, editorial matter and special
 socio-economic features tend to be in English.]

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES. GAEELIC AND SCOTS
FOLK TALES AND FOLK SONGS.
Edinburgh, 1960.

Gaelic and Scots Folk Tales. Gaelic and
Scots Folk Songs. Scottish Instrumental
Music. School of Scottish Studies. University
of Edinburgh. 1960.

52pp. 20x17.

PC.

[Editors: Francis Collinson (Music);
Hamish Henderson (Scots Folk Tales and
Songs); Calum I. MacLean (Gaelic
Tales); James Ross (Gaelic Folk Songs).
Issued with long-playing records.]

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES. SCOTTISH STUDIES.
Edinburgh, 1957--.

Scottish Studies. Editor: J. Wrexford
Watson. Advisory Board: K. H. Jackson,
K. L. Little, A. McIntosh, S. Piggott,
S. T. M. Newman, W. L. Renwick. Volume 1.
Published for the School of Scottish
Studies, University of Edinburgh, by Oliver
and Boyd Ltd., Edinburgh. 1957.

Scottish Studies. The Journal of the School
of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.
Director: B. R. S. Megaw. Editor: J.
Wrexford Watson. Assistant Editors: W. F. H.
Nicolaisen, S. F. Sanderson. Volume 2.
1958. Oliver and Boyd Ltd., Edinburgh.

. . .Watson. Associate Editor: W. F. H.
Nicolaisen. Volume 5. 1961. Oliver and
Boyd Ltd., Edinburgh.

. . .Editor: B. R. S. Megaw. Volume 8.
1964. Oliver and Boyd, Ltd., Edinburgh.

. . .Megaw. Assistant Editor: D. J. Hamilton.
Volume 10. 1966. Oliver and Boyd Ltd., Edinburgh.

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES. SCOTTISH STUDIES.
(cont.)

Scottish Studies. The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh. 11. 1967. Oliver & Boyd Ltd., for the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

. . .12. 1968. School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

218-268pp + ff Ills. in each yearly volume. 23x15 up to 1966; 25x19 thereafter.

[Ca. 12pp per yearly vol. of Gaelic: mainly folk tales and stories. The volumes are issued in two parts. The editor continues to be Megaw. Printed by Oliver and Boyd until 1966; thereafter by The University Press, Aberdeen. The main contributions are by members of the staff of the School.]

SCOTT, W. J. EDMONDSTON (editor). See CELTIC FORUM.

SCOTTISH CATHOLIC SOCIETY OF CANADA, THE. See MOSGLADH.

SCOTTISH CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION EXAMINATION BOARD. GAELIC HIGHER GRADE.
Edinburgh, 1967.

[Crest.] Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board. Gaelic: Higher Grade - Native Speakers; Higher Grade - Learners. Syllabuses and Specimen Question Papers. Edinburgh. 1967.

20pp. 25x15. PC.

[See also SENIOR LEAVING CERTIFICATE, GAELIC.]

SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION.
AITHRIS IS OIDEAS.

London, 1964.

Aithris is Oideas. (Traditional Gaelic Rhymes and Games.) University of London Press Ltd, Warwick Square, London EC4. 1964.

Publications of the Scottish Council for Research in Education XLIX. Aithris is Oideas. (Traditional Gaelic Rhymes and Games.)

110pp, 2 ff Ads. 23x15.

GU.

[Compiled by the Committee on Bilingualism of the S.C.R.E.; convener, John A. Smith. Preface signed by Smith. Printed Rbt. Cunningham & Sons, Alva.]

SCOTTISH GAELIC AS A SPECIFIC SUBJECT. See
AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

SCOTTISH GAELIC STUDIES.

[P. varies], 1926--.

Scottish Gaelic Studies. Issued from the Celtic Department of the University of Aberdeen. Edited by John MacDonald, M.A. [Crest, with legend, - Timor Domini Initium Sapientiae.] Vol. I. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press: London, Edinburgh, Glasgow. 1926.

Vol. II in 1927; Vol. III in 1931; Vol. IV in 1935. [Title page as above.]

. . . Vol. V. B. H. Blackwell Ltd. Oxford. 1942.

Vol. VI in 1949; Vol. VII in 1953; Vol. VIII in 1958. [Title page as for Vol. V.]

SCOTTISH GAELIC STUDIES. (cont.)

Scottish Gaelic Studies. Issued from the Celtic Department of the University of Aberdeen. Edited by Derick S. Thomson. [Crest.] Vol. IX. University of Aberdeen. 1961.

Vol. X in 1965; Vol. XI in 1966. [Title page as above.]

211-273pp. 22x14[vol. binding].

[Each volume is issued in two parts.

The interval between the appearance of the parts is irregular--ranging from 7 months for I (1926) to over 4 years for V (1938 and 1942), the commonest interval being 1-2 years. The volume title page sometimes bears the date of the 2nd part (e.g. VI), sometimes of the first (e.g. XI, dated 1966, of which Part II appeared only in 1968).

Scholarly; contains considerable amount of Gaelic--both of actual texts and also quotations in discussions.

Printed initially by The University Press, Aberdeen; printed at the 'Courier' Office, Inverness (Rbt. Carruthers) since Vol. III, Part I, 1929.]

SCOTTISH GAELIC TEXTS. [Publications of The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, an organisation set up in 1934 to produce critical editions of important literary works in Gaelic]. See:

CALVIN, JOHN. ADTIMCHIOL AN CHREIDIMH.

LANONT, DONALD. PROSE WRITINGS.

MacCODROM, JOHN. SONGS.

MACDONALD, JOHN, Seventeenth Century Gaelic poet. ORAIN IAIN LUIM.

[Continued overleaf.]

SCOTTISH GAELIC TEXTS. (cont.) See:

MACINTYRE, DONALD. SPORAN DHOMHNAILL.

MACINTYRE, DUNCAN BAN. SONGS.

MACKINNON, Prof. DONALD. PROSE WRITINGS.

MACLEOD, MARY. ORAIN AGUS LUINNEAGAN GAIDHLIG.

ROSS, NEIL. HEROIC POETRY FROM THE BOOK OF
THE DEAN OF LISMORE.

SCOTTISH STUDIES. See SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES.

SCUPOLI, LORENTZO. AN CATH SPIORADAIL.
Perth, 1908.

An Cath Spioradail. Le Lorentzo Scupoli.
Eadar-theangaichte leis an Athair Eòghan
Mac Eachainn nach maireann. Clo-bhualadh
ùr fo laimh Ruairidh Arascainn is Mhairr.
[Crest, with legend, -Clè-chlar Caitliceach
na h-Alba.] Peairt, Albainn. 1908.
xii, 187pp. 15x10. Mit., GU:CL.
[First ed. 1835. Printed Milne, Tannahill
& Methven, Perth.]

SEALG BHEINN-EIDIR. See FIONN ANN AN TIGH
A' BHLAIR-BHUIDHE [Dwelly version].

SEANN TIOMNADH, AN T-. See BIBLE. OLD TESTAMENT.

SEIRBHIS A' CHRUIIN. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

SENIOR LEAVING CERTIFICATE. GAELIC.
Stirling, [Fore.1946].

Senior Leaving Certificate. Examination
Papers. Gaelic. Higher and Lower Grades.
A. Learmonth & Son, Printers, 9 King Street,
Stirling.
47pp. 25x15. PC.
[Foreword signed, A.J. Bedford, Edinburgh,
Sept. 1946.]

SEOLAIDHEAN MU SHLAINTE AIRSON FEUM MHATHRAICHEAN
ANNS A' GHAIÐHEALTACHD. See [MACPHAIL,
JOHN S.]. SEOLAIDHEAN MU SHLAINTE.

SEONAIÐ. See WESTERN ISLES UNIONIST ASSOCIATION.

SEORAS GALLDA (pseudonym). See MARJORIBANKS,
GEORGE.

SGEULACHDAN ARABIANACH, DIVISION I.
Inverness, 1906.

Sgeulachdan Arabianach. Tales from the
Arabian Nights. Translated into Gaelic
from the English expurgated edition. Division
I. Second edition. Price one shilling.
Inverness: "Northern Chronicle" Office.
Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, The Mound. 1906.
4 ff, 120pp. 19x13. AU, GU:CL.
[First ed. 1897.]

SGEULACHDAN ARABIANACH, DIVISION III.
Inverness, 1900.

Sgeulachdan Arabianach. Tales from the
Arabian Nights. Translated into Gaelic from
the English expurgated edition. Division III.
Price/

Price one shilling. Inverness: "Northern Chronicle" Office. Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, 25 George IV. Bridge. 1900.

4 ff, 126pp. 19x13.

AU, GU:CL.

[Division II appeared in 1899. Reprinted from the "Northern Chronicle" newspaper. Translated by Rev. John Macrury.]

SGEULAICHE, AN.

Dumfries/Glasgow, 1909-1911.

A' phris sè sgillinn. Price sixpence net. An Sgeulaiche. Leabhar I. An naodhamh mios, 1909. Aireamh 1. [Ads.] September, 1909.

[Colophon] An Sgeulaiche. Clo-bhuailte le Milne, Tannahill, is Methven, Crois an Eich, Peairt, agus air a chur am mach, as leath na feadhach d'am buin e, le Alasdair Niall Mac Neacail, 5 Victoria Terrace, Dun-fris.

[As above, monthly, to 'Leabhar I. A' Cheud Mhios, 1910. Aireamh 5'; thereafter, quarterly, as follows.]

A' phris sè sgillinn. Price sixpence net. An Sgeulaiche. Leabhar II. An t-Earrach, 1910. Aireamh 1. [Ads.] Publishers - Alexander MacLaren and Son, 360 Argyle Street, Glasgow. Spring, 1910.

[Colophon] Clo-bhuailte le Milne, Tannahill is Methven, Crois an Eich, Peairt.

[Quarterly for 5 further issues: last issue as below.]

[Last issue] . . .Leabhar III. An Samhradh, 1911. Aireamh 2. . .

[Pagination] 496pp in Leabhar I(5 numbers); 402pp in II(4 Numbers); 202pp in III(2).

[Size] 23x17.

[Locations] AU, GU:CL, Mit.

[A very important periodical specialising in essays and stories: sponsored by R. Erskine of Mar. See Chpts. 1 & 2 above.]

SGOIL BHALTOIS. DOMHNULL CAM MACDHUGHAILL.
Stornoway, [Fore.1965].

Domhnall Cam Macdhughail. Le Sgoil Bhaltois.
19pp. 24x19. PC.
[Foreword dated, -2nd July 1965. Printed
by the 'Stornoway Gazette'.]

SGUABAN A ACHAIIDHEAN NAN AITHRICHEAN.
Edinburgh, 1946.

Cogadh na Saorsa. Sguaban a Achaidhean nan
Aithrichean. [Here crest of burning bush,
with legend, - Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais
Shaor.] Dhia beannaich ar Rìgh. Church of
Scotland. Free Church of Scotland. 1946.
120pp. 14x10. PC.
[Compiled by Donald MacKinnon of Kennoway.
Printed Learmonth, Stirling. One of the
series of religious booklets issued to
soldiers in World War II: it seems that
this one was not published quite in time.]

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM. JULIUS CAESAR.
Edinburgh, 1911.

Julius Caesar. Dàn-cluiche Shacspeair.
Eadar-theangaichte le U. M. MacGillemhóire.
Sgeul mu am a dh'fhalbh. Dun-eideann: Iain
Grann, 31 George IV. Bridge. 1911.
8 ff, 120pp. 19x13. AU, Mit., NLS.
[Printed Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.]

SHAW, MARGARET FAY. FOLK-SONGS AND FOLK-LORE OF
SOUTH UIST.
London, 1955.

Folk-songs and Folk-lore of South Uist.
By Margaret Fay Shaw. [Ill.] Routledge &
Kegan Paul Limited, London.

First published 1955.
xiv, 290, 2 ff Map; 32 ff Ills. 26x20. AU, GU, Mit.
[Music in staff. Printed W. Clowes, London.]

SHAW, MARGARET FAY. GAELIC FOLKSONGS FROM SOUTH
UIST.

Budapest, 1956.

Separatim e libro memoriali cui titulus
"Studia Memoriae Belae Bartók Sacra".
Margaret Fay Shaw. Gaelic Folksongs from
South Uist. [Crest, with legend, -Akademiaikado
Budapest.] 1956.

Pp 427-443. 24x17.

AU.

[Offprint from "Studia [etc]", a
festschrift edited by B. Rajeczky and
L. Vargyas, published by the Hungarian
Academy of Sciences, Budapest. Music
in staff.]

GAELIC FOLKSONGS FROM SOUTH

UIST.

Budapest, 1957.

Separatim e libro memoriali cui titulus
"Studia Memoriae Belae Bartók Sacra".
Margaret Fay Shaw. Gaelic Folksongs from
South Uist. [Ill.] 1957.

Pp 417-433. 24x17.

PC.

[From the 2nd, slightly smaller (535pp
compared to 544) edition of "Studia [etc]".]

GAELIC FOLKSONGS FROM SOUTH

UIST.

London, 1959.

Margaret Fay Shaw. Gaelic Folk Songs from
South Uist.

Pp 419-434. 25x18.

AU, GU, Mit.

[In 'Studia Memoriae Belae Bartok sacra.
Editio tertia. Boosey and Hawkes, Limited:
London, New York, Sydney, Toronto, Cape
Town, Paris, Bonn. 1959'. In English: the
earlier eds. were in English, French,
German or Russian.]

[SHAW], MARGARET [FAY]. HEBRIDEAN SONGS.
London. 1940.

Six Hebridean Songs. Collected by Margaret
Shaw Campbell.

and

More Hebridean Songs. From the Collection
of Margaret Shaw Campbell.

Pp 149-156, 190-196. 21x17. GU.
[In 'Journal of the English Folk Dance
and Song Society. Volume IV. London:
Cecil Sharp House. . December, 1940.']

SHAW, NEIL (co-compiler). CAINNT AGUS FACAIL
IOMCHUIDH AIR SON COINNIMH. See CLANN AN
FHRAOICH.

SHAW, NEIL (Gaelic editor). See BOULTON, HAROLD.
SONGS OF THE NORTH, VOL. III.

SHAW, NEIL (co-author). See AN SOLARAICHE.

SHORTER CATECHISM, THE. See MACDONALD, Rev. Dr.
JOHN, of Ferintosh. LEABHAR AITHGHEARR NAN
CEIST.

SILIS NI MHIC RAGHNAILL NA CEAPAICH. See MACDONALD,
JULIA.

SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN. NA BAIRD LEATHANACH:
VOL. II.

Charlottetown, 1900.

Na Bàird Leathanach: The MacLean Bards.
By the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair. Vol. II.
Charlottetown: Haszard & Moore. 1900.
2 ff, 176pp, 1 f Corrigenda. 16x11. AU, GU, Mit.
[Vol. I in 1898.]

SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN. CLARSACH NA COILLE.
Glasgow, 1928.

The Maclean Songster. Clarsach na Coille.
A collection of Gaelic poetry by Rev. A.
Maclean Sinclair, LL.D., Hopewell, Nova
Scotia. Revised and edited by Hector
MacDougall. [8-line verse on Gaelic by
'Am Bard MacGilleathain'.] Glasgow: Alex.
MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street, C.2.

First edition - 1881. Second edition (revised) -
1928.

1 f Ill. [photo of Sinclair], xxiv, 292pp,
4 ff Ads. 19x13. EPL, GU:CL, NLS.
[Pp 1-165 comprise poems by John MacLean,
'Am Bard MacGilleathain'. Notes by
MacDougall on pp 263-292.]

SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN. COMH-CHRUINNEACHADH
GHLINN'-A-BHAIRD.

Charlottetown, 1901.

Comh-chruinneachadh Ghlinn'-a-Bhàird: The
Glenbard Collection of Gaelic Poetry. By the
Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair. (Abridged.) [Ill.]
Charlottetown, P.E. Island: Haszard & Moore.
1901.

4 ff, pp 1-24, 161-216, 265-386. 15x10. PC.
[First ed. 1890.]

SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN. FILIDH NA COILLE.

Charlottetown, 1901.

Filidh na Coille: Dain agus Orain leis a
bhàrd Mac-Gilleain agus le feadhainn eile.
Air a dheanamh deas leis an Urr. A. Mac-Gilleain
Sinclair. [8-line verse on Gaelic by John
MacLean: as in Clarsach na Coille above.]
Charlottetown, P.E. Island: The Examiner
Publishing Company. 1901.

197pp. 16x11. AU, EU, .Mit.

SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN. FILIDH NA COILLE. (cont.)
Sydney, C.B., 1902.

Filidh na Coille.
[Not seen. Information from Clare.]

SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN. THE GAELIC BARDS, 1825
TO 1875.
Sydney, C.B., 1904.

The Gaelic Bards, from 1825 to 1875. By the
Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair. Sydney, C.B.:
Mac-Talla Publishing Co. Ltd. 1904.
iv, 143pp. 16x10. PC.
[The fourth volume in the series. Not
in T S-G.]

SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN. MACTALLA NAN TUR.
Sydney, C.B., 1901.

Mactalla nan Tur. By the Rev. A. Maclean
Sinclair. Sydney, C.B.: Mac-Talla Publishing
Co., Ltd. 1901.
vi, 126pp. 16x11. EU, SS.
[Poems.]

[SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN] (editor). See BARDACHD NA
FEINNE.

SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN (editor). See MACKINNON,
ALEXANDER. DAIN AGUS ORAIN.

SINCLAIR, A. MACLEAN. [Note. One of the most
important collectors of Gaelic poetry and
song of all time.]

SINCLAIR, ALEXANDER (translator). See McCHEYNE,
R. M. BEATHA AGUS SEARMOINEAN.

SINCLAIR, ALEXANDER (translator). See McCHEYNE,
R. M. GUTH MO GHRAIDH.

SINCLAIR, DONALD. CROIS TARA.
Glasgow, n.d.

1/- . Crois Tara. Dealbh-chluich le D. M. N. C.
[Ill.] Aon tasdan. Glasgow: Alexander
MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street.
Pp 311-362. 21x14. PC.

[Ca. 1930; add. 1929. In the same format
as 'Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh'. An
important offprint from 'Guth na Bliadhna',
Leabhar X:3, 1914. Deals with the '45.]

SINCLAIR, DONALD. DOMHNULL NAN TRIOBLAID.*
[ca. 1914?]

Domhnull nan Trioblaid.

Pp 151-195. 21x14.

[Not seen. One of a number of plays
add. in 'An Deo-Greine', X:3-6 (Dec. 1914-
March 1915) by Alex. MacLaren & Sons. First
published 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar
IX:2, 1912, from which the above collation
is derived: almost certainly an offprint,
if published at all. See detailed note
under SINCLAIR, DONALD. SUIRIDHE
RAOGHAIL MHAOIL.]

DOMHNULL NAN TRIOBLAID.
Glasgow, [ca. 1929].

Domhnull nan Trioblaid.

[Not seen. Add. by MacLaren's in 1929; add.
in MacLaren Catalogue of 1932, with recent
review from the 'Northern Chronicle'.]

DOMHNULL NAN TRIOBLAID.
Glasgow, 1936.

Domhnull nan Trioblaid. Dealbh-chluich le
Domhnull Mac-na-Ceardadh. [Ill.] Glascho: Alasdair
Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic, 268 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.

Reprinted 1936.

2 ff, 45pp, 1 f Ads. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit., PC.

SINCLAIR, DONALD. FEARANN A SHINNSEAR.
Glasgow, n.d.

1/- net. Fearann a Shinnsear. Dealbh-
chluich le D. M. N. C. [Ill.] Glascho:
Alasdair Mac Labhrainn 's a Mhic, 360-364
Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.
Pp 301-340. 23x15. PC.
[Ca. 1930. In the same format as
Leabhraichean nan Ceilidh. Offprint
(important) from 'Guth na Bliadhna',
Leabhar X:3, 1913.]

SINCLAIR, DONALD. LONG NAN OG.
Edinburgh, 1927.

Long nan Og. Dealbh-chluich air son
chloinne le Domhnall Mac-na-Ceardadh.
[Ill.] Comunn Litreachais na h-Alba.
Duneideann. 1927.
1 f Ill., 29pp. 22x17. EPL, PC.

SINCLAIR, DONALD. A' MHOR-ROINN AGUS AM FEARANN.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan
Ceilidh. Aireamh 18. A' Mhor-roinn agus
am Fearann. Le Domhnall Mac-na-Ceardadh.
[Ill.] A' phris, tri sgillinnean. 3d.
Alasdair Mac Labhrainn agus a Mhic,
360-2 Sraid Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
Pp 421-438. 21x14. PC.
[Reprinted from 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar
XI.4, An Geamhradh 1914.]

SINCLAIR, DONALD. SUIRIDHE RAOGHAIL MHAOIL.*
[?]

Suiridhe Raoghail Mhaoil.

Pp 437-462. 20x13.

[Not seen. First appeared in 'Guth na Bliadhna', Leabhar IX.4, 1912, from which the collation details above were derived: almost certainly an offprint, if published at all.

(General Note.) In 'An Deo-Greine', Leabhar X:3-6--December 1914 to March 1915--Alex. MacLaren & Sons issued the following notice:- "Gaelic Plays. Why not get up a Gaelic Play to pass the long winter or in aid of Red Cross or Belgian Relief Funds? We can supply the following:- "Crois-Tara" [No. of characters and price follows], Fearann a Shinnsir, Domhnull nan Trioblaid, Suiridhe Raoghail Mhaoil, Reiteach Moraig, An Gaol a bheir buaidh, Am Mosgladh Mor, Dugadh na Feinne, An Sgoil Bheag, An Reiteachadh Rathail." Of these ten plays, 4 have been seen: Reiteach Moraig(Sinclair: 1911), An Gaol a bheir buaidh(Sinclair: 1912), Dugadh na Feinne(Parlane: 1908), An Sgoil Bheag (1910). All of these are paged from p.1, i.e. are not offprints. 2 of the 4--Reiteach Moraig(MacLaren: 1922) and An Sgoil Bheag (MacLaren: 1927)--were republished later, and, significantly, reference is made in these to the earlier eds. of 1911 and 1910, resp. No pre-1914 eds. of the remaining 6 plays have been seen, except that they all appeared in periodicals before the MacLaren Ad. of 1914-15 was printed. All of these 6 were published by MacLaren later:- Crois Tara(ca. 1930: offprint), Fearann a Shinnsir(ca. 1930: offprint), Domhnull nan Trioblaid(ca. 1929 and 1936), Suiridhe Raoghail Mhaoil(1929: offprint), Am Mosgladh Mor(ca. 1926: as part of a series of Mod prize plays), An Reiteachadh Rathail(1929: offprint). In none of these is a pre-1914 edition/

SINCLAIR, DONALD. SUIRIDHE RAOGHAIL MHAOIL. (cont.)

Suiridhe Raoghail Mhaoil.

[Continuation of footnote.]

. . . edition of the same play referred to: this gives rise to the suspicion that no earlier eds. were in fact produced, presumably because of the War (The English Catalogue of Books, Vol. IX, Jan.1911-Dec.1915 and BM record none of these plays but this is not conclusive evidence). It may also be numbers of the periodicals containing these plays which are referred to in the Ad.; the price (ca.7d) of the plays is ambiguous evidence in this context: copies of An Sgeulaiche cost 6d and of Guth na Bliadhna 1/- but it is significant that the only play very different from the rest is An Reiteachadh Rathail, at 2/9, which also was the only one published in a book (Oiteagan o'n Iar was add. in 1911 at 2/6 + 6d postage). In any case, offprints qualify only marginally for inclusion in this work.]

SUIRIDHE RAOGHAIL MHAOIL.

Glasgow, 1929.

Dealbh-Chluich Ghaidhlig. Suiridhe Raoghail Mhaoil. Le Domhnall Mac-na-Ceardadh. Bald Ronald's Courtship. A Humorous Gaelic Sketch by Donald Sinclair. Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2. 1929. 1/2 ff, pp 437-462. 20x13. NLS, PC.

SINCLAIR, DONALD. [Note. See Part 1 above.]

SINTON, THOMAS. THE POETRY OF BADENOCH.

Inverness, 1906.

The Poetry of Badenoch. Collected and edited, with translations, introductions and notes, by The Rev. Thomas Sinton, Minister of Dores. [Verse by James Munro.] Inverness: The Northern Counties Publishing Company, Ltd. 1906. xxxvii, 1 f Errata, 576pp. 26x16. AU, Mit., NLS.

SINTON, THOMAS (editor). See MACPHERSON, MARY.
LAOIDHEAN BEAN TORRA DHAMH.

SIR EDWARD SCOTT J. S. SCHOOL, Tarbert. See
SCHOOL MAGAZINES.

SIUBHAL AIR FALBH IMPIREACHD. See under
HENDERSON, ANGUS. CEARD AGUS CAINNT.

SMITH, GREGOR IAN. FOLKTALES OF THE HIGHLANDS.
London, 1953.

Folktales of the Highlands. Gregor Ian
Smith. Drawings by the author. Thomas
Nelson & Sons Ltd., London and Edinburgh.

First published 1953.

viii, 136pp. 17x11.

Mit., NLS.

[Some rhymes in Gaelic. Another issue in
the same year, in 'The Teaching of English
Series' (No. 255), having pp 137-165 of
Notes and Questions. Also translated into
Russian, 1959.]

SMITH, IAIN. BIOBUILL IS SANASAN-REICE.
Glasgow, 1965.

Biobuill is Sanasan-reice. Iain Mac a'
Ghobhainn. Gairm. Glaschu. 1965.

Clo-bhualaidhean Gairm - Leabhar 3.

80pp. 22x15.

[Poems. Printed A. Learmonth, Stirling.]

SMITH, IAIN. BURN IS ARAN.
Glasgow, 1960.

Clo-bhualaidhean Gairm - Leabhar 2.

Burn is Aran. Le Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn.

Gairm: 227 Bath Street, Glaschu, C.2. 1960.

71pp. 23x15.

AU, GU, NLS.

[Short stories and some poems. Printed
'The Stornoway Gazette', Stornoway.]

SMITH, IAIN. A' CHUIRT.

Glasgow, [Fore.1966].

Dealbh-chluich an Gaidhlig. A' Chuirte.
Le Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn. [Crest.] Air a
dheasachadh le Domhnall MacThomais. An
Comunn Gaidhealach.
24pp. 19x13.

[Roimh-Radh dated, - 'An Céitean, 1966'.Learmonth.]

SMITH, IAIN. AN COILEACH.

Glasgow, [Fore.1966].

Dealbh-chluich an Gaidhlig. An Coileach.
Le Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn. [Crest.] Air a
dheasachadh le Domhnall MacThomais. An
Comunn Gaidhealach.
21pp. 19x13.

[Roimh-Radh dated, - 'An Céitean, 1966'.Learmonth.]

SMITH, IAIN. AN DUBH IS AN GORM.

Aberdeen, 1963.

An Dubh is an Gorm. Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn.
Oilthigh Obair-Dheadhain. 1963.

Leabhraichean ùra Gàidhlig Oilthigh Obair-
Dheadhain. Fo stiùireadh Ruairidh MhicThómais.
Aireamh 2. An Dubh is an Gorm. Le Iain
Mac a' Ghobhainn.

4 ff[leaves], 106pp. 19x13.

[Short stories. Printed Learmonth.]

SMITH, IAIN. [Note. A prolific writer--in
Gaelic and English--of great intelligence and
versatility. See discussion in Part 1 of the
thesis, all chapters.]

SMITH, JOHN. DAIN SPIORADAIL.
Stornoway, n.d.

Dain Spioradail. Le Iain Smith, Missionairidh
nach maireann.
36pp. 21x14. PC.
[Printed 'Stornoway Gazette', Stornoway.]

SMITH, Dr. JOHN. URNUIGHEAN AIR SON THEAGHLAICHEAN.
Glasgow, 1942.

Urnuighean air son Theaghlaichean. Gaelic
Prayers for Family Worship. By John Smith,
D.D., minister of the Gospel, Campbeltown.
Selected by the late Norman MacLeod, D.D.,
minister of St. Columba Church, Glasgow.
Edited by Hector MacDougall. Glasgów: Alexander
Maclaren & Sons, 268 Argyle Street, C.2. 1942.
64pp. 19x13. PC.
[First ed. 1808 (156pp).]

SMITH, Dr. JOHN. (translator). See BIBLE.
PSALMS.

SOCIETY. See COMUNN.

SOLARAICHE, AN.
Glasgow, 1918.

An Solaraiche. Gaelic Essays. 1.
Aonghas Mac Eanruig. Niall Ros. Niall
Mac Gille Sheathanaich. Domhnall I. Mac
Leod. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 108 Hope
Street, Glasgow. 1918.
4 ff, 113pp. 19x13. AU, GU:CL, etc.
[3 essays from 'An Ròsarnach', 1 from
'An Deò-Gréind'.]

SOLUS IUIL, AN.

Sydney, C.B., 1925-27.

An Solus Iuil. "Is ann ad sholus dealrach glan, chi sinne solus iùil". Leabh. 1.
Sidni, C.B. An Lunasdal, 1925. Air. 1.

[Finished 'An Damhair, 1927', after 12 numbers.]
96pp. 23x17. PC.

[Edited J. G. MacKinnon. Some articles in English. Detailed information from John L. Campbell, Canna.]

SOLUS LATHAIL: [AN CEUD EARRANN].

Edinburgh, 1943.

Cogadh na Saorsa. Solus Lathail. [Crest, with legend, - 'Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor'.] Printed by Paul & Matthew, Dundee, for The Church of Scotland, The Free Church of Scotland. 1943.

96pp. 14x10. PC.

[Daily Bible readings: Jan. 1 to March 31. 'Cogadh na Saorsa' was a series of religious booklets for soldiers in World War II.]

SOLUS LATHAIL: AN DARÀ EARRANN.

Edinburgh, 1943.

Cogadh na Saorsa. Solus Lathail. An Dara Earrann. [Crest as above.] By kind permission of Messrs Samuel Bagster & Sons, Ltd.

Printed by Paul & Matthew, Dundee, for The Church of Scotland, The Free Church of Scotland. 1943.

96pp. 14x10. PC.

[An Giblean 1 - An Og-Mhios 30.]

SOLUS LATHAIL: AN TREAS EARRANN.

Edinburgh, 1943.

. . .An Treas Earrann. . . [Otherwise as
immediately above.]
96pp. 14x10. PC.
[An t-Iuchar 1 - An t-Sultainn 30.]

SOLUS LATHAIL: AN CEATHRAMH EARRANN.

Edinburgh, 1943.

. . .An Ceathramh Earrann. . . [Otherwise as
above.]
96pp. 14x10. PC.
[An Damhar 1 - An Dubhlachd 31.]

SOLUS LATHAIL, A' CHUIBHRIONN FHEASGAIR: AN CEUD
EARRANN.

Edinburgh, 1943.

Cogadh na Saorsa. Solus Lathail. A' Chuibhrionn
Fheasgair. An ceud earrann. [Crest, with
legend, - Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor.]
Dhia beannaich ar Rìgh. Church of Scotland;
Free Church of Scotland. 1943.

By kind permission of Messrs Samuel Bagster
& Sons Ltd. Printed by A. Learmonth & Son,
9 King Street, Stirling.

95pp. 14x10. PC.
[Daily Bible readings, as above. For
soldiers in World War II.]

SOLUS LATHAIL, A' CHUIBHRIONN FHEASGAIR: AN DARA
EARRANN.

Edinburgh, 1944.

. . .An dara earrann. . .1944. [Otherwise as
immediately above.]
96pp. 14x10. PC.

SOLUS LATHAIL, A' CHUIBHRIIONN FHEASGAIR: AN TREAS
EARRANN.

Edinburgh, 1944.

. . .An treas earrann. . . [Otherwise as
above.]
100pp. 14x10. PC.

SOLUS LATHAIL, A' CHUIBHRIIONN FHEASGAIR: AN
CEATHRAMH EARRANN.

Edinburgh, 1944.

. . .An ceathramh earrann. . . [Otherwise as
above.]
100pp. 14x10. PC.

[For soldiers in World War II.
Information and access to copies from
Prof. G. N. M. Collins of the Free Church
College and Dr. T. M. Murchison.]

SOMERVELL, ARTHUR (co-editor). OUR NATIONAL
SONGS, VOLUME II & VOLUME III. See BOULTON,
HAROLD.

SPURGEON, C. H. DEAGH MHSINEACHD DO NA DIOBARRAICH.
Edinburgh, n.d.

Cogadh mór na h-Eòrpa. Deagh Mhsineachd do
na Diobarraich. C. H. Spurgeon. [Crest, with
legend,- Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor
Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by
Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church of
Scotland, The United Free Church of Scotland,
and The Free Church of Scotland.

42pp. 14x10. NLS.
[Translated. For soldiers in World War I.]

SRADAG.

Glasgow, 1960-62.

Sradag. Aireamh 1. An t-Sultuin, 1960.
A' phrìs, 1/-.

Sradag. Aireamh 8. An t-Og-mhios, 1962.
A' phrìs, 6d. [Last number.]

4pp per quarterly issue. 42x34. PC.

[Printed by Learmonth, Stirling, for
An Comunn Gaidhealach. Edited by
Roderick MacKinnon, Perth. A children's
comic, with colourful cartoons and
traditional stories and lore: the tone
is rather spoilt by the inclusion of
Gaelic lessons[!] which take up 2
columns in each issue. Did not attain
much popularity with children.]

SRUTH. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

ST. [Treated as SAINT.]

STEVENSON, ROBERT L. DAIBHIDH BALFOUR.
Stornoway, n.d.

Daibhidh Balfour. Air a tharruing o'n
sgeulachd, "Kidnapped" le R. L. Stevenson.
Air a rèiteachadh agus air eadar-theangachadh
le Ruairidh Moireasdan.

48pp. 14x22. PC.

[Printed by the Stornoway Gazette, in
which it was previously serialised.
Comic strip format. Ca. 1966.]

STEVENSON, ROBERT L. EILEAN AN IONMHAIS.
Stornoway, n.d.

Eilean an Ionmhais. Air a tharruing ó'n
sgeulachd "Treasure Island" le Raibeart
L. Stevenson. Air a réiteachadh is air
eadar-theangachadh le Ruairidh Moireasdan.
64pp. 20x21 PC.

[Printed in the 'Stornoway Gazette', in which
it had been serialised previously. In
strip cartoon format. 1968.]

STEWART, ALEXANDER. ELEMENTS OF GAELIC GRAMMAR.
Edinburgh, 1901.

Elements of Gaelic Grammar in four parts.
I. Of Pronunciation and Orthography, II. Of
the Parts of Speech. III. Of Syntax. IV. Of
Derivation and Composition. By Alexander
Stewart, Minister of the Gospel at Dingwall,
Honorary Member of the Highland Society of
Scotland. Royal Celtic Society Edition.
Fifth edition revised. With preface by
the Rev. Dr. M'Lauchlan. Edinburgh: John
Grant, 31 George IV. 1901.
xvi, 184pp. 17x12. EPL, Mit.

[Printed Oliver and Boyd. First ed.
1801; Thomas M'Lauchlan's Preface
dated 1876.]

STEWART, J. B. CHI SINN THALL THU.
Dundee, 1918.

Chi Sinn Thall Thu. Le J. B. Stiùbhard.
Dundee: Malcolm C. MacLeod, Bookseller and
Publisher, 183 Blackness Road. 1918.

[Cover.] MacLeod's Gaelic Booklets, No. 2.
18pp, 6 ff Ads. 18x11. PC.
[Printed John Leng, Dundee.]

STEWART, JOHN. LAOIDHEAN AGUS ORAIN.
Stornoway, n.d.

Laoidhean agus Orain. Le Ian Stiubhart.
46 ff. 22x15. PC.
[Printed by the 'Stornoway Gazette'
Preface signed by K. MacLeod, Back.
Recent.]

STEWART, JOHN ROY. POEMS.
Glasgow, 1947.

Scottish Gaelic Poetry Series. The Poems
of John Roy Stewart. Edited by Elizabeth
E. Mackechnie. Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba.
1947.
39pp, 1 f Sources. 22x15. Mit., SS.
[Printed The Caledonian Press, Glasgow.]

STEWART, KENNETH. DOMHNALL DEARG.
Glasgow, 1950.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gàidhlig. Domhnall
Dearg. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh.
Gaelic translation of The Five Year Plan by
Kenneth Stewart. Printed for An Comunn
Gàidhealach by Eneas MacKay, Stirling. 1950.
15pp. 19x13. PC.

STORNOWAY. See THE NICOLSON INSTITUTE, [Crossreference.]

STORY, ELMA. AM BOLG SOLAIR.
Glasgow, [Fore.1907].

Am Bolg Solair. The Pedlar's Pack. With
contents collected from many sources and
published in aid of the funds of Féill a'
Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich. Published by Archibald
Sinclair, Celtic Press, 47 Waterloo Street,
Glasgow.
100pp; 12 ff Ills.[in text]. 21x17. AU, Mit., NLS.
[Editor's Note signed by Elma Story and
dated October, 1907. Tales, poems, songs.]

SUIL RIS AN DOCHAS BHEANNAICHTE.

Edinburgh, 1915.

Sùil ris an Dòchas Bheannaichte. (Eadar-
theangaichte.) Edinburgh: John Grant, 31
George IV. Bridge. 1915.

61pp. 14x10.

Mit., NLS.

[Printed Oliver and Boyd.]

SUIM AGUS FEUM AN EOLAIS SHLAINTEIL. See under
LEABHAR AIDEACHAIDH A' CHREIDIMH.

SYNGE, JOHN. MUINNTIR A' CHUAIN.

Glasgow, 1950.

Dealbh-chluichean an Gàidhlig. Muinntir
a' Chuain. Dealbh-chluich an aon sealladh.
Gaelic translation of the one-act play,
Riders to the Sea, by J. Synge. Air eadar-
theangachadh le Ailean Macill'eathain.
An Comunn Gaidhealach, 131 West Regent
Street, Glasgow. 1950.

14pp. 19x13.

NLS, PC.

[Printed Learmonth, Stirling.]

SYNOD OF ARGYLL (sponsors). See BIBLE. PSALMS.

TAINTEAN. See SCHOOL MAGAZINES. LIONEL J.S.
SCHOOL.

TARBERT. See SIR EDWARD SCOTT J.S. SCHOOL. [For
crossreference.]

TEACHDAIRE NAN GAIDHEAL.

Sydney, N.S., 1925-34.

Teachdaire nan Gaidheal. "Lean gu dlùth ri cliù do shinnsreadh, 's na dìbir a bhi mar iadsan". Leabh. I. Sidni, N.S. [1925]

[The first number seen is 'Leabh. I. Sidni, N.S. 15mh de'n Ghiblin, 1925. Air. 5.' Clare and Prof. Calum I. N. MacLeod of Antigonish give 1925 as the first year of publication.]

Teachdaire nan Gaidheal. "Loan gu dlùth ri cliù do shinnsreadh, 's na dìbir a bhi mar iadsan". Leabh. VI. Sidni, N.S., Canada. An Gearran, (February), 1934. Air. 12. [Last number seen.]

6-16pp per issue [average 10]. 30x23. NLS [incomplete]

[Edited by James MacNeill. Ca. 1p per issue of English from Leabh. III on. The holding of the magazine in NLS is incomplete: I am not clear how much of this is due to the fact that the publication of the paper itself was irregular. The following numbers have been seen:- Leabhar I.5 (An Ghiblin, 1925), I.11-12 (An t-Samhuinn & An Nollaig, 1925); II.1-12 (Am Faoilleach, 1926 to An Nollaig, 1927--i.e. 24 months); III.1 (Am Faoilleach, 1928); IV.1,4,5,7,8 (Earrach, 1928 to Lunasdail, 1929); V.3 (Am Faoilleach, 1933); VI.11 (Am Faoilleach, 1934); VI.12 (An Gearran, 1934).]

TEAGASG NAN AITHRICHEAN.

Edinburgh, n.d.

Cogadh mòr na h-Eòrpa. Teagasg nan Aithrichean.

[Crest of burning bush, circumscribed by the legend,- Eaglais na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor Aonaichte, An Eaglais Shaor,] Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church of Scotland, The United Free Church of Scotland, and The Free Church of Scotland.

xvi, 160pp. 14x10.

NLS.

[For soldiers in World War I.]

TEAGASG NAN AITHRICHEAN. (cont.)

Edinburgh, n.d.

Cogadh na Saorsa. Teagasg nan Aithrichean.
 [Crest of burning bush, with legend, - Eaglais
 na h-Alba, An Eaglais Shaor.] Printed by
 Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, for The Church of
 Scotland, The Free Church of Scotland,
 viii, 160pp. 14x10. PC.
 [Issued to soldiers in World War II.]

TEANGADOIR.

Toronto, 1953-60.

Focal i dtaobh litríochta -- Teangadóir --
 ó am gu h-am. Pádraig O Broin, Eagarthóir,
 52 Derwyn Road, Toronto 6, Canada; Gl. 7461.
 Táille bhliana 50¢ (3/9). Imleabhar I.
 Lunas 1953. Uimhir 1.

. . . Canada. Imleabhar IV, uim. 11-12.
 Lá Ochtaibhe N. Bréanainn, Abb., Bealtaine
 23, 1960. Uimhir iomlán 35-36. [Last seen.]
 96pp in I[6 numbers]; 120pp in II[6 nos.];
 280pp in III[12 nos.]; 256pp in IV[12 nos.].
 18x11. PC.

[Bi-monthly. Pan-Celtic. The title
 page changes in unimportant details
 from time to time.]

TEARUINTEACHD, CINNTE AGUS AOIBHNEAS.

Stirling, n.d.

Tearuinteachd, Cinnte agus Aoibhneas.
 (From the English by Permission of the Author.)
 Ma's creidmheach thu, carson nach 'eil thu
 cinnteach mu thearnadh? Ma tha thu tearuinte,
 carson nach 'eil thu aoibhneach? Drummond's
 Tract Depot, Stirling. Price, one penny.
 46pp. . 12x9. FC, NLS, PC.

[The FC copy has '42pp, 2 ff Ads., 2 ff
 Cover'. In the other copies, the text
 ends on p42 and pp 43-46(i.e including
 back cover) comprise Bible extracts.]

THANGAIDH[?], CATHERINE. LAOIDHEAN AGUS ORAIN.
Edinburgh, 1917.

Laoidhean agus Orain. Le Catriona Thangaidh.
Air an sgrìobhadh as a beul fhein leis an Urr.
Alasdair MacRath, M.A., Cill Chalum-an-Eala
an Ceann-Tìre. Edinburgh: W. F. Henderson, 19
George IV. Bridge. 1917.

38pp. 16x11. FC.
[Printed Morrison & Gibb, Edinburgh.]

THE. [English definite article: ignored in
alphabetisation.]

THOMSON, DERICK S. AN DEALBH BRISTE.
Edinburgh, 1951.

An Dealbh Briste. Gaelic Poems, with some
translations in English. Ruaraidh MacThómais.
[Ill.] Serif Books. Edinburgh.

First published 1951.

8 ff, 64pp. 23x15. AU, EU, GU, Mit., NLS.
[Printed by The Stanley Press, Edinburgh.]

THOMSON, DERICK S. EADAR SAMHRADH IS FOGHAR.
Glasgow, 1967.

Eadar Samhradh is Foghar. Cnuasachd de
dhaintean le Ruaraidh MacThomais. Gairm.
Glaschu. 1967. [Ill.]

Clo-bhualaidhean Gairm -- Leabhar 4.

90pp. 23x15.

[The title page illustration is the title in
an elaborated ogam script; this and two
full-page Ills. supplied by Henry Stuart.
Printed Alexander Learmonth, Stirling.]

THOMSON, DERICK S. THE GAELIC SOURCES OF
MACPHERSON'S "OSSIAN".
Edinburgh, [Pref.1951].

The Gaelic Sources of MacPherson's "Ossian".
Derick S. Thomson. Published for the University
of Aberdeen. Oliver and Boyd; Edinburgh:
Tweedale Court; London: 98 Great Russel Street.

Aberdeen University Studies - Number 130.
vii, 106pp. 23x15. AU, GU, Mit., NLS.
[Preface dated, - 'June, 1951'. Pp 91-100
comprise Appendix (no. iii) of Gaelic
ballads. Printed The University Press,
Aberdeen.]

THOMSON, DERICK S. THE HARLAW BROSNACHADH.
London, 1968.

Derick S. Thomson. The Harlaw Brosnachadh:
An early fifteenth-century literary curio.
Pp 147-169. 23x15.
[In 'Celtic Studies. Essays in memory of
Angus Matheson, 1912-1962. Edited by
James Carney and David Greene. London:
Routledge & Kegan Paul. (First published
1968). 'A fantastic 'poem', composed
almost entirely of epithets.]

THOMSON, DERICK S. (co-editor). EDWARD LIUUYD
IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS. See CAMPBELL,
JOHN L.

THOMSON, DERICK S. (co-editor). FEAR NA H-EABAID.
See MATHESON, ANGUS.

THOMSON, DERICK S. (general editor). See
CLO-BHUALAIDHEAN GAIRM. [For crossreferences
to individual titles in this series.]

THOMSON, DERICK S. (co-editor & editor). See
GAIRM.

THOMSON, DERICK S. (general editor). See
LEABHRAICHEAN URA GAIDHLIG OILTHIGH GHLASCHU.
[For crossreference.]

THOMSON, DERICK S. (general editor). See
LEABHRAICHEAN URA GAIDHLIG OILTHIGH OBAIR-
DHEADHAIN. [For crossreferences to individual
titles in this series.]

THOMSON, DERICK S. (editor). See SCOTTISH
GAELIC STUDIES.

THOMSON, DERICK S. [Note. Distinguished poet
and short story writer; editor of the only
two Gaelic literary and scholarly magazines
of significance since the War; responsible
for virtually all publications of
sophisticated Gaelic literature in the
past decade; seminal critic and encourager
of young writers. Generally, accurately
describable as the "father" of the
recent (post-1950) Gaelic literary revival.]

THOMSON, DONALD. GAELIC POEMS FOR INTERPRETATION.
[Glasgow], 1959.

Gaelic Poems for Interpretation. [Crest of
An Comunn Gaidhealach, with legend, - 'An
Comunn Gaidhealach. Ar cànan 's ar ceòl.']
Selected by the Central Gaelic Committee E.I.S.
1959. Donald Thomson, M.A., F.E.I.S.
99pp. 18x12. PC.

[In a Preface, An Comunn Gaidhealach
(the publishers) thank, among others,
the Central Gaelic Committee, E.I.S. "for
their work in preparing this booklet" and
Donald Morrison, Oban, "for his help in
correcting proofs". See over.]

THOMSON, DONALD. GAELIC POEMS FOR INTERPRETATION.
[Glasgow], 1965.

. . .1959. Reprinted 1965. Donald Thomson,
M.A., F.E.I.S. [Otherwise as above.]
99pp. 18x12. PC.
[A fairly original anthology of mostly
traditional poetry, with exercises in
interpretation (in English).]

THOMSON, DONALD (translator). See MACPHAIL,
M. S. SPUIR NA H-IOLAIRE.

THOMSON, DONALD (editor). See SMITH, IAIN.
A' CHUIRT.

THOMSON, DONALD (editor). See SMITH, IAIN.
AN COILEACH.

THOMSON, JAMES. AN DILEAB.
Glasgow, n.d.

An Dìleab. Gaelic Verse for Advanced
Divisions and Intermediate Classes.
Edited by James Thomson, M.A., Bayble,
Lewis. An Comunn Gaidhealach: 212 West
George Street, Glasgow, C.2.
4 ff, 48pp. 19x13. AU, PC.
[Ca. 1932. Noted especially for the
publication in it of the war poems of
Iain Munro and Norman Murray. Learmonth.]

AN DILEAB.

Glasgow, 1934.

An Dìleab. Gaelic Verse for Advanced Divisions
and Intermediate Classes. Edited by James
Thomson, M.A., Bayble, Lewis. Second edition.
1934. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 212 West George
Street, Glasgow, C.2.
4 ff, 48pp. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit.
[Printed James Cameron, Glasgow.]

THOMSON, JAMES. FASGNADH.

Stirling, 1953.

Fasgnadh. Gaelic Poems, with some translations in English. Seumas MacThomais. A. Learmonth & Son, 9 King Street, Stirling. 1953.

118pp. 22x15. AU, GU, Mit., NLS.

[Basically traditional religious and philosophical poetry, but with a moderate experimental tendency. See discussion in poetry chapter above.]

THOMSON, JAMES (translator). See GILBERT, BERNARD. AN SEANN TARBH.

THOMSON, R. L. (editor). See CALVIN, JOHN. ADTIOMCHIAL AN CHREIDIMH.

TILLEADH SHEUMAIS.

N.p., n.d.

Tilleadh Sheumais agus sgeul a thuruais.

24pp. 15x12. PC.

[Apparently of Canadian provenance. Information from John L. Campbell.]

TIOMNADH NUADH, AN. See BIBLE. NEW TESTAMENT.

TIR NA MEALA. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

TIR NAM BLATH. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

TIR NAN OG. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

TIR NAN SEUD. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

TOLMIE, FRANCIS. [GAELIC FOLK SONGS].
London, 1911.

Journal of the Folk-Song Society. No. 16.
Being the Third Part of Vol. IV. All versions
of songs and words published in this Journal
are the copyright of the contributor supplying
them, and are printed in this Journal on
behalf of that contributor, whose permission
must be obtained for any reproduction thereof.
London: 19, Berners Street, W. Printed
privately for the members of the Society
by Robert Maclehose & Co. Ltd., at the
University Press, Glasgow. December, 1911.
xiv, pp 143-278, ix. 21x17. AU, FC, PC.

[GAELIC FOLK SONGS].
London, 1914.

Journal of the Folk-Song Society. Volume IV.
1910-1913. All versions. . .Printed for the
Society by Barnicolt and Pearce, at the Wessex
Press, Taunton. 1914.

1 f, x1, 352pp[Gaelic pp as above]. 22x18.
['Notes and Reminiscences, by Francis
Tolmie' on pp 143-149; 'Notes on the
Modal System of Gaelic Tunes, by Annie
G. Gilchrist' and 'Note on the Gaelic
Scale System, by Lucy E. Broadwood' on
pp 150-156; the songs themselves are
on pp 157-276(virtually the whole of
No. 16). The songs are divided into
6 groups:- Songs of Rest and Recreation;
Songs of Labour; Ancient Heroic Lays;
Songs to Chiefs and Others; Laments,
Love lyrics, etc. There is also an Appendix,
comprising Index of titles in Gaelic and
English. Some translations. Music in staff.]

TOLMIE, FRANCIS (folklore collector). See
BASSIN, ROSE E. THE TOLMIE MANUSCRIPTS.

TOLMIE, FRANCIS. (folklore collector). See
BROADWOOD, LUCY E. GAELIC FOLK SONGS.

TOLSTOI, LEO. FAR AM BI GRADH, BIDH DIA.
[Sidney, C.B.], 1924.

Far am bi Gradh, bidh Dia. Le Count Leo
Tolstoi. Air a thionndadh gu Gailig le
E. G. M. F. Air a chur a mach fo churam
Comunn Gailig Chill-Rimhinn, Sidni, Ceap
Breatunn. Clo-bhuailte le Domhnull
MacFhionghuin. 1924.

32pp. 21x18. Xavier.
[Translated by Jonathan G. MacKinnon.]

TRACTS.

Edinburgh, n.d.

[Title +] Issued by The Church of Scotland
Home Mission Committee. Air a chur a mach le
'Home Board' Eaglais na h-Alba.

4pp each. 19x13. PC.

[Issued twice a year during the past several
years (all without date imprint). In
recent years edited by T. M. Murchison.]

TRANSACTIONS OF THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF GLASGOW.
See GAELIC SOCIETY OF GLASGOW.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.
See GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

TUATH CHOMUNN URRAS, AN. CUNNTAS GOIRID.
London, n.d.

Cunntas Goirid. An Tuath Chomunn Urras.
[Crest.] Prìomh Buthan: Lunainn, 1, Moorgate
St.; Abaireann, 1, Union Terrace.

26pp, 1 f. 13x8. GU:CL.

[Explanatory booklet on the Northern
Assurance Company. T S-G dates as 1902.]

TURNER, NEIL. GRIASAICHE BHEARNARaidH: A
BHARDACHD.

Glasgow, n.d.

Griasaiche Bhearnaraidh. A Bhàrdachd, le
iomradh air. Le Niall Mac-an-Tuairneir.
Published by the Caledonian Press for Neil
Turner, Drinishader, Harris, Inverness-shire.
24pp. 22x14. PC.

[Reviewed in 'Life and Work' October 1953;
in 'An Gaidheal' March 1954. The hymns
of Allan MacLeod, Bernera. Foreword by
T. M. Murchison.]

UIRSGEULAN GAIDHEALACH. See AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH.

UIRSGEULAN NA FEINNE. See FIONN ANN AN TIGH A'
BHLAIR-BHUIDHE [Dwelly version].

UNA INGHEAN FEAR NA PAIRCE. See PARKER, WINIFRED.

UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA, THE. AIDEACHADH A'
CHREIDIMH.

N.p., n.d.

Aideachadh a' Chreidimh. Eaglais Aonaichte
Chanada. Statement of Doctrine. United
Church of Canada.

19pp. 18x13. PC.
[Translated Jonathan G. MacKinnon.]

UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE. AN FHIANUIS.
Glasgow, 1901-1903.

Ianuaireidh, 1901. An Fhianuis. Eaglais Shaor
Aonaichte na h-Alba. [Ill.] Deasaiche, An t-Urr.
Iain Deorsa MacNeill, Chaladair. Gilleasbuig
Mac Na Ceardadh, Clo-bhuailtear Gàelig, Glaschu.

October, 1903. An Fhianuis. Eaglais Shaor
Aonaichte na h-Alba. [Ill.] Deasaiche, An t-Urr.
Iain Deorsa MacNeill, Chaladair. Gilleasbuig
Mac Na Ceardadh, Clo-bhuailtear Gaelig, Glaschu.
24pp per quarterly issue. 26x19. EU.
[Ca. 15pp of Gaelic per quarterly issue;
English section has separate title page.
Originally the magazine of THE FREE CHURCH
OF SCOTLAND, q.v. For post-1903 continuation
see immediately below.]

UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE. AN FHIANUIS
GHAIÐHEALACH.

Glasgow/Edinburgh, 1904-29.

An Fhianuis Ghaidhealach. Clar-innsidh. . .
6pp in issues 1 and 2, 8pp per monthly issue
thereafter. 26x20. Mit., PC.

[In 'The Highland Witness of the United Free
Church of Scotland. . . Archibald Sinclair,
Printer and Publisher, "Celtic Press", 47
Waterloo Street, Glasgow' from No. 1 in
January, 1904 to December, 1907, after
which 'The Highland Witness' was incorporated
into 'The Missionary Record of the United
Free Church of Scotland. . . Edinburgh'.
'An Fhianuis Ghaidhealach' appeared as a
special 8-page supplement in 'The Missionary
Record' from Jan. 1908 (No. 85)--it had
been an integral part of 'The Highland
Witness'. 'The Missionary Record' was
renamed 'The Record of the Home and Foreign
Mission Work of the United Free Church of
Scotland' in 1914 (New Series: Vol. XIV) and
continued till 1929, when the U.F. Church
and the Church of Scotland united: 'An Fhianuis
Ghaidhealach' and the Gaelic supplement of CoS's
'Life and Work' were combined to form an 8-page
supplement to 'Life and Work'. Rev. Malcolm
MacLennan edited 'An Fhianuis Ghaidhealach'
1908-29; See discussion in Part 1, Chpt. 1.]

UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, THE (co-sponsors).
See COGADH MOR NA H-EORPA. [For crossreferences
to individual titles in this series.]

URNUIGHEAN AIRSON NA CLOINNE.

N.p., n.d.

Urnuighean airson na Cloinne. Prayers for
the Children.

23pp. 14x11.

PC.

[English and Gaelic. Episcopalian.

Attributed in 'The Celtic Who's Who' (1921;
edd. L. MacBean) to Rev. James MacFarlane-
Barrow, Lochgilphead.]

URQUHART, CATHERINE F. and DAVID (co-translators).
See BOTTOMLEY, GORDON. DEIRDIRE.

VALTOS SCHOOL. See SGOIL BHALTOIS.

VAN DYKE, HENRY. SGEUL AN DRAOIDH EILE.

Dunfermline, 1938.

Sgeul an Draoidh Eile. Le Eanruig Van Dyke.
Air a thionndadh gu Gàidhlig Albannaich le E. G.
Mac Fhionghuin (a bha roimhe so 'na fhear-
deasachaidh "Mac Talla"). Air a chur amach ann
an Albainn le Iain Latharna Caimbeul. Chaidh
an leabhar so a chlò-bhualadh ann an Albainn le
I. B. MacAoidh agus a Chuideachd, ann an Dùn
Pharlain, Fìobha, gu feum an fhir-deasachaidh,
anns a' bhliadhna 1938. Chaidh an leabhar so a
thionndadh gu Gàidhlig Albannaich 's a chur amach
ann an Albainn le cead Cuideachd Harper agus a
Bhràithrean, ann an New York, a chuir amach an
toiseach e.

The Story of the Other Wise Man. By Henry Van
Dyke. Scottish Gaelic translation by J. G.
MacKinnon (formerly editor and publisher of the
Gaelic weekly "Mac Talla"). Prepared for
publication in Scotland by John Lorne Campbell.
Printed by J. B. Mackie and Co., Ltd., Dunfermline,
Fife, in 1938. Gaelic translation published by
permission of Messrs Harper & Brothers, New York.
Original version in English. Copyright, 1895, by
Harper & Brothers. Copyright, 1923, by Henry Van Dyke.
1 f Ill., xvii, 45pp. 19x13. PC.

VAN DYKE, HENRY. SGEUL AN DRAOIDH EILE. (cont.)
Dunfermline, 1939.

[Title pages as above.]

[Imprint.] A' Cheud Chlò-Bhualadh - An
Dàmhair, 1938 (400 lethbhrìc). An Darna
Clò-Bhualadh - An Sultaine, 1939 (400
lethbhrìc).

1 f Ill., xvii, 45pp. 19x13. GU:CL.

WALKER, JOHN (translator). See COCKER, W. D.
SUIRGHE A' MHUILLÈIR.

WATSON, J. WREXFORD (editor). See SCHOOL
OF SCOTTISH STUDIES. SCOTTISH STUDIES.

WATSON, JAMES C. CARMINA GADELICA.
Leeds,

Carmina Gadelica. Hymns, Charms, and Lore
of the Western Highlands and Isles (hitherto
unpublished) from the collections of the late
Alexander Carmichael, LL.D. Edited by
J. Carmichael Watson.

Pp 33-56. 23x15. AU, Mit.

[In 'Yorshire Celtic Studies. The
Yorkshire Society for Celtic Studies.
Transactions 1937-38. . . Printed for the
Society by Chorley & Pickersgill Ltd,
Leeds, and to be had from the Secretary,
University of Leeds.' With translations.
The editor of the magazine was Bruce
Dickens.]

[WATSON, JAMES C.] (latest editor). CARMINA
GADELICA, VOLUME III.

Edinburgh, 1940.

Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and incantations,
with illustrative notes on words, rites,
and customs, dying and obsolete: orally
collected in the Highlands and Islands of
Scotland by Alexander Carmichael. Volume
III. [Ill.] Oliver & Boyd; Edinburgh:
Tweeddale Court; London: 98 Great Russel
Street, W.C. 1940.

1 f Ill. [E. C. Carmichael], xxiv, 395pp, 1 f.
24x17. AU, EU, GU, Mit., NLS.

[Edited by James Carmichael Watson, who
contributes a Preface. Translations on
facing pages.]

[WATSON, JAMES C.] (latest editor). CARMINA
GADELICA, VOLUME IV.

Edinburgh, 1941.

Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and incantations,
with illustrative notes on words, rites,
and customs, dying and obsolete: orally
collected in the Highlands and Islands of
Scotland by Alexander Carmichael. Volume IV.
[Ill.] Oliver and Boyd; Edinburgh: Tweeddale
Court; London: 98 Great Russel Street, W.C.
1941.

xlv, 2 ff, 367pp. 24x17. AU, EU, GU, Mit., NLS.

[As above. See also under CARMICHAEL,
ALEXANDER and MATHESON, ANGUS. A fifth
volume, begun by the late Angus Matheson,
is being prepared for the press at
present by William Matheson.]

WATSON, JAMES C. (editor). See MACLEOD, MARY.
ORAIN AGUS LUINNEAGAN GAIDHLIG.

WATSON, WILLIAM J. BARDACHD GHAIIDLIG.
Glasgow, 1918.

Bardachd Ghaidhlig. Specimens of Gaelic Poetry, 1550-1900. William J. Watson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Celtic Languages, etc., in the University of Edinburgh. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 108 Hope St., Glasgow. Inverness: The Northern Counties Printing and Publishing Company, Limited. 1918.
lx, 350pp. 19x13. EU.

BARDACHD GHAIIDLIG.
Glasgow, 1932.

Bàrdachd Ghaidhlig. (Second edition.) Specimens of Gaelic Poetry, 1550-1900. William J. Watson, M.A., D.Litt.Celt., LL.D., Professor of Celtic Languages, etc., in the University of Edinburgh. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 212 West George Street, Glasgow. Stirling: A. Learmonth & Son, 9 King Street. 1932.
lxiii, 401pp, 1 f. 19x13. GU, Mit.

BARDACHD GHAIIDLIG.
Glasgow, 1959.

Bardachd Ghaidhlig. (Third edition.) Specimens of Gaelic Poetry, 1550-1900. William J. Watson, M.A., D.Litt.Celt., LL.D., Professor of Celtic Languages, etc., in the University of Edinburgh. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 212 West George Street, Glasgow. Stirling: A. Learmonth & Son, 9 King Street. 1959.
lxiv, 411pp, 1 f. 19x13. GU.

[Preface signed, - 'Angus MacLeod, Convener of the Publications Committee of An Comunn Gaidhealach.' A well edited anthology; still the standard poetry text-book in Higher classes in schools; the selection of poems from the 18th century leaves much to be desired.]

WATSON, WILLIAM J. (general editor). LEABHRAICHEAN
SGOILE GAIDHLIG, AN CEUD CHEUM.
Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean Sgoile Gàidhlig fo stiùradh
Uilleam Iain Mac-Bhàtair, M.A., LL.D. An
Ceud Cheum gu Gàidhlig. Air a dheasachadh
le Dòmhnall Mac a-Phí, F.E.I.S. [Crest of
An Comunn Gaidhealach, with legend, - 'An
Comunn Gaidhealach. Ar Cànan 's ar Ceòl.']
Clò-bhuailte fo Ughdarras A' Chomuinn
Ghàidhealaich le Blackie agus a Mhac, Ltd.,
Glaschu.

64pp. 18x12. AU, GU:CL.
[Ca. 1920. Illustrated.]

WATSON, WILLIAM J. (general editor). LEABHRAICHEAN
SGOILE GAIDHLIG, LEABHAR NA CLOINNE BIGE.
Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean Sgoile Gàidhlig fo stiùradh
Uilleam Iain Mac-Bhàtair, LL.D. Leabhar
na Cloinne Bige. Air a dheasachadh le Dòmhnall
Mac a-Phí, F.E.I.S. [Ill.] Clò-bhuailte
fo Ughdarras A' Chomuinn Ghàidhealaich le
Blackie agus a Mhac, Ltd., Glaschu.

80pp. 18x12. AU, GU:CL.

WATSON, WILLIAM J. (general editor). LEABHRAICHEAN
SGOILE GAIDHLIG, AN CEUD LEABHAR LEUGHaidh.
Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean Sgoile Gàidhlig fo stiùradh
Uilleam Iain Mac-Bhàtair, LL.D. An Ceud Leabhar
Leughaidh. Air a dheasachadh le Dòmhnall
Mac a-Phí, F.E.I.S. [Ill.] Clò-bhuailte fo
Ughdarras A' Chomuinn Ghàidhealaich le
Blackie agus a Mhac, Ltd., Glaschu.

112pp. 18x13. AU, GU:CL.

WATSON, WILLIAM J. (general editor). LEABHRAICHEAN
SGOILE GAIDHLIG, AN DARA LEABHAR LEUGHaidH.
Glasgow, 1921.

Leabhraichean Sgoile Gàidhlig fo stiùradh
Uilleam Iain Mac-Bhàtair, LL.D. An Dara
Leabhar Leughaidh. Air a dheasachadh le
Dòmhnall Mac a-Phí, F.E.I.S. [Ill.] Clò-
bhuailte fo Ughdarras A' Chomuinn Ghàidhealaich
le Blackie agus a Mhac, Ltd., Glaschu. 1921.
128pp. 18x13. AU, GU:CL.

WATSON, WILLIAM J. (general editor). LEABHRAICHEAN
SGOILE GAIDHLIG, AN TREAS LEABHAR LEUGHaidH.
Glasgow, 1922.

Leabhraichean Sgoile Gàidhlig fo stiùradh
Uilleam Iain Mac-Bhàtair, M.A., LL.D.
An Treas Leabhar Leughaidh. Air a dheasachadh
le Dòmhnall Mac a-Phí, F.E.I.S. [Ill.]
Clò-bhuailte fo Ughdarras A' Chomuinn
Ghàidhealaich le Blackie agus a Mhac, Ltd.,
Glaschu. 1922.
160pp. 18x13. AU, GU:CL.

WATSON, WILLIAM J. (general editor). LEABHRAICHEAN
SGOILE GAIDHLIG, AN CEATHRAMH LEABHAR LEUGHaidH.
Glasgow, 1923.

Leabhraichean Sgoile Gàidhlig fo stiùradh
Uilleam Iain Mac-Bhàtair, M.A., LL.D.
An Ceathramh Leabhar Leughaidh. Air a
dheasachadh le Iain Mac Dhòmhnail, M.A.
[Ill.] Clò-bhuailte fo Ughdarras A'
Chomuinn Ghàidhealaich le Blackie agus a Mhac,
Ltd., Glaschu. 1923.
239pp. 18x13. AU, GU:CL.

[The first 2 parts were add. in 'An Deo-
Greine', Nov. 1921. All illustrated.
Prose and poetry, including the work
of contemporary writers. For 2nd edition,
see under MACKINNON, LACHLAN. LEABHRAICHEAN
LEUGHaidH.]

WATSON, WILLIAM J. MARBHNADH DHONNCHAIHDH DUIBH.
Glasgow, n.d.

Marbhnadh Dhonnchaidh Duibh. Elegy on
Sir Duncan Campbell, of Glenorchy. Edited
and translated by William J. Watson.
(Reprinted from An Deo-Greine.) Glasgow:
Archd. Sinclair, 47 Waterloo Street.
16pp. 19x13. AU.
[Not an offprint.]

WATSON, WILLIAM J. NOTES ON THE STUDY OF GAELIC.
Inverness, 1908.

Notes on the Study of Gaelic. By William J.
Watson, M.A. Reprinted from the "Celtic
Review". Northern Chronicle Office, Inverness.
1918. 6d nett.
32pp 19x13. GU:CL.
[Lessons. Not an offprint.]

WATSON, WILLIAM J. ROSG GAIDHLIG.
Glasgow, 1915.

Rosg Gaidhlig. Specimens of Gaelic Prose.
Edited by William J. Watson, M.A., LL.D.,
Professor of Celtic Languages, &c., in the
University of Edinburgh. Published by An
Comunn Gàidhealach for use in schools and
Gaelic classes. Inverness: printed by the
Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and
Publishing Company, Limited. 1915.
x, 1 f, 288pp. 19x13. EU, Mit.

ROSG GAIDHLIG.
Glasgow, 1929.

Rosg Gaidhlig. Specimens of Gaelic Prose.
Edited by William J. Watson, M.A., LL.D.,
D.Litt.Celt., Professor Celtic Languages, &c.,
in the University of Edinburgh. Published by
An Comunn/

An Comunn Gaidhealach by Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street, C.2.
 x, 295pp, 1 f Errata. 19x13. Mit., NLS.
 [A wide-ranging selection. For many years a standard text-book; but now out of print and unlikely to be re-issued: in part superseded by A. I. MacAskill's Rosg nan Eilean(1966).]

WATSON, WILLIAM J. SCOTTISH VERSE FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAN OF LISMORE.

Edinburgh, 1937.

Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore. Edited by William J. Watson, LL.D., Litt.D.Celt., Professor of Celtic in the University of Edinburgh. Published by Oliver & Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh. 1937.

Scottish Gaelic Texts. Volume One.
 x1, 335pp. 23x16. AU, GU, Mit., NLS.
 [English translation on rt. facing pages.]

SCOTTISH VERSE FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAN OF LISMORE.

Edinburgh, 1937.

Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore. Edited by William J. Watson, LL.D., Litt.D.Celt., Professor of Celtic in the University of Edinburgh. Published by Oliver & Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh. 1937.

155pp. 22x14. EU, PC.

[Special edition for schools. No translation or notes.]

WATSON, WILLIAM J. (co-editor). MORE WEST
HIGHLAND TALES, VOLUME ONE. See MACLEAN,
Rev. Prof. DONALD.

WATSON, Mrs. WILLIAM J. See CARMICHAEL, E[LLA] C.

WESTERN ISLES UNIONIST ASSOCIATION, THE. SEONAIID.
[Stornoway], 1929-31.

Keep this - it is valuable. 1st October,
1929. Seònaid.
[Colophon] Printed by Aberdeen Journals,
Ltd., Broad Street, Aberdeen, for The Western
Isles Unionist Association.

Keep this - it is valuable. 1st January,
1930. Seònaid.
[Colophon] Printed by Aberdeen Journals,
Ltd., Broad Street, Aberdeen, for The Western
Isles Unionist Association.

Keep this - it is valuable. 31st January,
1931. Seònaid.
[Colophon] Printed by Duncan Grant, 47 High
Street, Inverness, and published by John
Macdonald, 3 Point Street, Stornoway.
8pp each. 23-21x14. PC.

[Each contains a polemical dialogue
and newsettes. Used as election
propaganda. Iain M. Moffat-Pender
was closely involved in their creation
and distribution.]

WHITEHEAD, F. W. THE LONG GAELIC PSALM TUNES.
See [HATELY, T. L.] [SEANN FHUINN NAN SALM].

[WHYTE, HENRY.] THE CELTIC GARLAND.
Glasgow, 1920.

Memorial Edition. The Celtic Garland of Gaelic Songs and Readings. Translations of Gaelic and English Songs. By "Fionn". Third edition. Greatly enlarged. Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren & Sons, Gaelic Publishers and Booksellers, 360-362 Argyle Street. 1920. 2 ff Ills., xvi, 353pp, 3 ff Ads. 20x14. AU, EPL, GU, Mit.
[First ed. 1881. Photos of Fionn & Memorial.]

[WHYTE, HENRY.] THE CELTIC LYRE.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Celtic Lyre. A collection of Gaelic songs, with English translations. By Fionn. [Ill.] Music in both notations. Glasgow: John Mackay, "Celtic Monthly Office", Blythswood Drive.

70 ff [2 ff Introductory]. 21x17. AU:CL.
[68 songs. Parts I-III of the Celtic Lyre were published by MacLachlan & Stewart, Edinburgh, in 1883, 1884 and 1886 and were reprinted in 1891; Part IV was published in 1895 by Henry Whyte(Glasgow), John Grant(Edinburgh) and Hugh MacDonald (Oban). The 4 parts were issued as one volume in 1895, this being reprinted by Grant in 1898. The date of the above ed. is uncertain but it must be between 1895 and 1906(the year of MacKay's death): I am treating it as the first ed. this century.]

THE CELTIC LYRE.

[Reprints as below.]

Reprinted as follows (publisher imprint only changes):- 1906(John Grant, Edinburgh); 1908 (Archibald Sinclair, Glasgow); 1910(Grant); 1924(Alex. MacLaren, Glasgow); 1927(MacLaren); 1932(Sinclair); 1946(MacLaren). Mit.(1910); PC.
[That of 1946 is a Jubilee Edition, with a Foreword by Annetta C. Scott.]

[WHYTE, HENRY.] THE CELTIC LYRE, PART IV.
Edinburgh, 1902.

The Celtic Lyre. A collection of Gaelic songs, with English translations. By Fionn. Part IV. Price sixpence. Music in both notations. Edinburgh: John Grant, Booksellers, 31 and 34 George IV. Bridge. 1902.

16 ff. 22x17. NLS.

[Songs 53-68. The above and all the 4-part volumes bear the imprint, 'End of Vol. I': no other volumes, however, were issued.]

WHYTE, HENRY. CEOL NAN GAIDHEAL.
Glasgow, [Pref.1905].

Ceòl nan Gàidheal. (Songs of the Gael.) Music in both notations, with Gaelic words and singable English translations. Edited by Henry Whyte ("Fionn"). Preface and inscription by Angus Macintyre. Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, Bryce and Murray, Ltd., 129 Buchanan Street.

vi, 120pp, 2 ff. 9.8x6.7. Mit.

[Preface is dated 1905. All subsequent eds. carry this Preface.]

CEOL NAN GAIDHEAL.

[Reprints as below].

There were 3 reprints of the above, all undated. MacLaren informs that the 2nd ed. was in 1915, the 4th in 193- (both by MacLaren & Sons), and the 3rd in 1920 by Wm. Collins of Glasgow. The 2 MacLaren Eds. have been seen; the 2nd bears the address '268 Argyle Street', which is post-1931 (evidence of GPO Directory): this ed. was add. in Crois Tara in 1938 among 'Leabhraichean Gàidhlig Ura'. Still in print.

[WHYTE, HENRY.] IS BRAITHREAN SINN UILE.
N.p., n.d.

Is Braithrean Sinn Uile. . . Eadar. le Fionn.
1p. 15x10. NLS.
[9-verse poem.]

[WHYTE, HENRY.] MAR A DH'EIRICH CUID DE NA
SEAN-FHACAIL.
Glasgow, n.d.

The Ceilidh Books. Leabhraichean nan
Ceilidh. Aireamh 16. Mar a dh'eirich cuid
de na sean-fhacail. Le Fionn. [Ill.]
A' phrìs, trì sgillinnean. 3d. Alasdair
Mac Labhrunn agus a Mhic, 360-2 Sraid
Earraghaidheal, Glascho.
Pp 155-201, 4 ff Ads. 21x14. PC.
[Offprinted from 'An Sgeulaiche', Leabhar III.2,
An Samhradh 1911.]

[WHYTE, HENRY.] NAIGHEACHDAN FIRINNEACH, I.
Paisley, 1905.

True Stories. I. Translated into Gaelic by
"Fionn". With illustrations. [Ill.] Paisley:
Alexander Gardner, Publisher by Appointment to
the late Queen Victoria. 1905.

Naigheachdan Firinneach. I. Eadar-theangaichte
gu Gàidhlig le "Fionn". Le dealbhan. [Ill.]
Pàislig: Alasdair Gardner, Clodh-bhuailtear,
le a deòin rìoghail fein, do'n Bhàn-Rìgh
Victoria nach maireann. 1905.
1 f Ill.[map], 261pp; 4 ff Ills.[in text].
20x13. AU, GU:CL, Mit.

[WHYTE, HENRY.] NAIGHEACHDAN FIRINNEACH, I. (cont.)
Paisley, 1906.

. . .1906.

. . .1906. [Otherwise as above.]
1 f Ill.[map], 261pp; 4 ff Ills.[in text].
20x13. AU, PC.

[WHYTE, HENRY.] NAIGHEACHDAN FIRINNEACH, II.
Paisley, 1907.

True Stories. II. Translated into Gaelic
by "Fionn". With illustrations. Ill.]
Paisley: Alexander Gardner, Publisher by
Appointment to the late Queen Victoria. 1907.

Naigheachdan Firinneach. II. Eadar-theangaichte
gu Gàidhlig le "Fionn". Le dealbhan. [Ill.]
Pàislig: Alasdair Gardner, Clodh-bhuailtear,
le a deòin rìoghail féin, do'n Bhàn-Rìgh
Victoria nach maireann. 1907.
263pp, 8 ff Ads; 4 ff Ills.[in text].
20x13. AU, Mit.

NAIGHEACHDAN FIRINNEACH, II.
Glasgow, 1929.

Naigheachdan Firinneach. II. Eadar-
theangaichte gu Gàidhlig le "Fionn". Le dealbhan.
Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrunn 's a Mhic,
360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2.

First published 1907. Re-issued 1929.
Pp 3-263; 4 ff Ills.[in text]; 32pp Ads. 20x13. GU.
[Vol. I was translated from Andrew Lang; Vol II
from A. MacKenzie(3), Charles Lamb(1), and James
Grant(1). Of some significance in the history
of the Gaelic short story and novel.]

WHYTE, HENRY (co-editor). AN UISEAG. See
MACFARLANE, MALCOLM.

WHYTE, HENRY (translator). See MACKAY, THOMAS.
SEOLAIDHEAN FEUMAIL NU CHOCAIREACHD.

WHYTE, HENRY. [Note. A very influential
personality in the Glasgow Gaelic community
of the late 19th and early 20th century; made
an important contribution to the development
of formal ceilidhs, prose readings, and of
Romanticism in poetry and song.]

WHYTE, JOHN. ELEMENTARY SOUNDS OF THE GAELIC
LANGUAGE.

Aberdeen, n.d.

Elementary Sounds of the Gaelic Language.

Arranged by John Whyte, Inverness. . .

3pp. 22x14.

Mit.

[Printed by the Aberdeen University Press.]

WHYTE, JOHN. PARA PIOBAIRE AGUS SGEULACHDAN EILE.
Glasgow, 1925.

Para Piobaire agus Sgeulachdan Eile. Le

Iain Ban Og. Peter the Piper and other

Humorous Gaelic Readings. By John Whyte. 1/-.

Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn 's a Mhic,

360-362 Sraid Earraghaidheal, C.2. 1925.

39pp, 1 f Clar-amais. 19x13. GU:CL, Mit., NLS.

WHYTE, JOHN. VOCABULARY FOR 'HOW TO LEARN GAELIC'.
Inverness, 1906.

Vocabulary for 'How to Learn Gaelic'. By
John Whyte. Inverness: "Northern Chronicle"
Office. 1906.

20pp. 19x13.

EPL, PC.

[See MACBAIN, ALEXANDER (co-author). HOW
TO LEARN GAELIC.]

WHYTE, JOHN (co-author). HOW TO LEARN GAELIC.
See MACBAIN, ALEXANDER.

WILLISON, JOHN. LEABHAR CHEIST NA MATHAR.
Glasgow, n.d.

Mother's Catechism (in Gaelic and English).
Leabhar Cheist na Mathar (ann an Gaidhlig agus
ann an Beurla). Roimh-Chuideachadh do'n
Dream a ta Og agus Aineolach, chum an deanamh
comasach air Leabhar Cheist Eaglais na h-Albann
a thuigsinn. Leis an Urramach Eoin Willison,
Ministeir an t-Soisgeil a bha an Dundeagh.
A preparatory help for the young and ignorant
in order to their easier understanding
The Assembly's Shorter Catechism, together with
Historical Questions out of the Bible and
Forms of Prayer for Children and Young
Communicants. Clo-bhualadh ùr, fo laimh
Eachainn Mhic Dhùghail. Glascho: Alasdair
Mac Labhrainn is a Mhic, 360-362 Sraid
Earraghaidheal, C.2. Price threepence.
48pp. 17x11. PC.

[MacLaren describes as of 1926.]

LEABHAR CHEIST NA MATHAR.
Glasgow, n.d.

. . . Mhic Dhùghail. Alasdair Mac Labhrainn
's a Mhic, Reiceadairean Leabhraichean Gaidhlig,
268 Sraid Earra-Ghaidheal, Glascho, C.2.
48pp. 16x10. PC.

[MacLaren informs that the ed. of 1926
was reprinted in 1940. MacLaren & Sons'
address changed to 268 Argyle Street
in 1932 (evidence of GPO Directory).
The first Gaelic ed. of the Catechism
was in 1752.]

WOOD, H. K. IS EIGIN DOMH AN FHEILL SO A
CHOIMHEAD.

Stirling, n.d.

Is Eigin domh an Fheill so a Choimhead.
Na h-aobharan a ta aig a' chreideach air son
frithealadh suipeir an Tighearna. Le
H. K. Wood. Drummond's Tract Depot, Stirling.
16pp. 11.3x8.8. PC.

WRIGHT, GORDON. AN T-SUIRGHE FHADALACH.

Glasgow, n.d.

An t-Suirghe Fhadalach. Dealbh-chluich
àbhachdach an aon sealladh. Gaelic translation
of the one-act comedy, "Love Lingers On" by
Gordon Wright. Air eadar-theangachadh le
Fionnlagh I. MacDhomhnaill. Glasgow: Brown,
Son, & Ferguson, Ltd., 52 to 58 Darnley Street.
19pp. 19x13. GU:CL, PC.
[Reviewed in 'An Gaidheal', Sept. 1950.]

YOUNG, DOUGLAS. SCOTTISH VERSE, 1851-1951.
London, 1952.

Scottish Verse, 1851-1951. Selected for
the general reader by Douglas Young.
With Foreword, Notes and Glossary. Thomas
Nelson and Sons Ltd: London, Edinburgh, Paris,
Melbourne, Toronto and New York.

First published 1952.
xxxiv, 363pp. 19x13. NLS.
[2 Gaelic poems by George Campbell Hay,
7 by Sorley MacLean, and 1 by Derick
Thomson.]

ADDENDA

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM, of Skye. OLD SKYE TALES.
Glasgow, 1934.

Old Skye Tales. Further traditions, reflections and memories of an octogentarian Highlander. William MacKenzie, Culnacnoc, author of "Skye: Iochdar-Trotternish and District". Illustrated. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, Argyle Street, C.2.

First published in November, 1934.
xi, 1 f, 161pp, 3 ff Ads; 12 ff Ills. [in text].
19x13. NLS.

[In English, but contains extensive quotation of Gaelic poems, including complete poems.]

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM, of Skye. SKYE: IOCHDAR-
TROTTERNISH AND DISTRICT.
Glasgow, 1930.

Skye: Iochdar-Trotternish and District. Traditions, reflections and memories. By William MacKenzie. Seventeen illustrations. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 360-362 Argyle Street, C.2.

First published in August, 1930.
xvi, 176pp, 32pp Ads. Catalogue; 17 ff Ills. [in text]. 19x13. NLS.
[Content as above.]

Addenda, continued.

ROBERTSON, ANGUS CAMERON. CROWN AND EMPIRE.
Edinburgh, 1911.

Crown and Empire. Letter from Queen Alexandra
and other Letters. [Ill.] Angus Cameron
Robertson, Mariner and Author. Price 2/6.
J..Wilkie & Co., Limited, Printers, 92 Princes
Street, Dunedin. 1911.

59pp [one side of paper only used]. 19x13. EU.
[In English, but Gaelic poem, 'Chumha[sic]
Righ Eideard VII' on pp 19-23. There is
an English translation of the poem.]

APPENDIX

[Books published since December, 1968.]

BIDEAU, GEORGES. BROIDREAGAN AGUS A CHUIDEACHD.
Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean A' Chomuinn. Broidreagan agus
a Chuideachd. Le Georges Bideau. A' Ghaidhlig
le Domhnall Grannd. [Ill.] Dealbhan le
Grinson. Clo-bhuailte le Bias am Paris mar a
dh'iarr An Comunn Gaidhealach.

24 ff. 19x15.

[Spring 1969. Liberally illustrated, in
colour. An elementary school reader,
translated from the French. Uniform with
the earlier translations by Grant of tales
by Grimm and Andersen.]

BIDEAU, GEORGES. PEASAN, CUILEAN NAN CLUARAN.
Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean A' Chomuinn. Peasan, Cuilean
nan Cluaran. Le Georges Bideau. A' Ghaidhlig
le Domhnall Grannd. [Ill.] Dealbhan le Luce
Lagarde. Clo-bhuailte le Bias am Paris mar
a dh'iarr An Comunn Gaidhealach.

24 ff. 19x15.

[Spring 1969. Liberally illustrated, in
colour. Uniform with the above.]

COMHLAN DE LUCHD-TEAGAISG AS NA HEARADH. ALASDAIR
AGUS MAIRI.

Glasgow, 1969.

Alasdair agus Màiri. Le Còmhlan de luchd-
teagaisg as na Hearadh fo iùil Mhurchaidh
MhicLeòid. Dealbhan le Cailean Spencer.
Gairm. Glaschu. 1969.

Clo-bhualaidhean Gairm - Leabhar 9.

2 ff, 28pp. 21x14.

[The 'Comhlan Deasachaidh' are Mina
MacKay, Mary MacCuish, Dolina Ferguson,
and Rachel MacLean. Colophon informs,-
'Air fhoillseachadh an co-bhoinn ri
Coimitidh nan Leabhraichean-sgoile'.
An elementary reading book, with
lively illustrations, in colour.]

FERGUSON, CALUM. SATH, LEABHAR 1.

Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhar 1. A transcript of the seventy
lessons of Sàth, the Gaelic Teaching Course.
Copyright. Printed in Scotland. Written and
devised by Calum Ferguson, M.A. Printed by
Tiumpan Developments, Ltd., produced by
Gaelfonn Recording Co., and distributed by
Caledonian Music Co. Ltd., 59 St. Vincent
Crescent, Glasgow, C.3. Tel. 041.221.0841.
1 f, xii, 200pp. 26x19.

FERGUSON, CALUM. SATH, LEABHAR 2.

Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhar 2. The lesson-by-lesson vocabulary
of Sàth, the Gaelic Teaching Course. Written
and devised by Calum Ferguson, M.A. Copyright.
Printed in Scotland. Printed by Tiumpan
Developments, Ltd., produced by Gaelfonn
Recording Co., and distributed by Caledonian
Music Co. Ltd., 59 St. Vincent Crescent,
Glasgow, C.3. Tel. 041.221.0841.
vii, 83pp. 26x19.

FERGUSON, CALUM. SATH, LEABHAR 3.
Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhar 3. A brief account of Gaelic grammar, followed by lesson-by-lesson notes on idioms, sentence construction, etc., of Sàth, the Gaelic Teaching Course. Written and devised by Calum Ferguson, M.A. Copyright. Printed in Scotland. Printed by Tiumpan Developments, Ltd., produced by Gaelfonn Recording Co., and distributed by Caledonian Music Co. Ltd., 59 St. Vincent Crescent, Glasgow, C.3. Tel. 041.221.0841. xii, 167pp. 26x19.

FERGUSON, CALUM. SATH, LEABHAR 4.
Glasgow, n.d.

Glossary. The words to be found in the seventy lessons of Sàth, the Gaelic Teaching Course. Written and devised by Calum Ferguson, M.A. Copyright. Printed in Scotland. Printed by Tiumpan Developments, Ltd., produced by Gaelfonn Recording Co., and distributed by Caledonian Music Co. Ltd., 59 St. Vincent Crescent, Glasgow, C.3. Tel. 041.221.0841.

[Cover] Leabhar 4.

ii, 28pp. 26x19.

[March 1969. The books are supplementary to four LP records. Leabhar 1 is illustrated profusely and in detail. The whole comprises a lively and sophisticated course in Gaelic.]

GRIMM. NA TRI MATHAIN.

Glasgow, n.d.

Leabhraichean A' Chomuinn. Na Tri Mathain.
 Le Grimm. Am frangais le Claire Audrix.
 [Ill.] Dealbhan le Pierre Leroy. Clo-bhuailte
 le Bias am Paris mar a dh'iarr An Comunn
 Gaidhealach.

24 ff. 19x15.

[Spring 1969. Illustrated, in colour.
 An elementary school reader, translated
 from French by Donald Grant.]

MACKENZIE, COLIN N. OIRTHIR TIM.

Glasgow, 1969.

Oirthir Tìm. Sgeulachdan le Cailein T.
 MacCoinnich. Gairm. Glaschu. 1969.

Clo-bhualaidhean Gairm - Leabhar 8.

176pp. 21x15.

[Mystery and Science Fiction stories.
 The style of narration is traditional,
 despite the modern subject matter: the
 explanations that follow the climax are
 reminiscent of Conan Doyle. A tendency
 to prolixity.]

[April, 1969.]

THE END