

#### IV.

ANCIENT VALUATION OF LAND IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND: CONTINUATION OF "WHAT IS A PENNYLAND?" BY THE LATE CAPT. F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., F.S.A. Scot.

In a former communication it was suggested that the "ounceland" of the Orkneys was the equivalent of a previous Pictish unit of valuation, called a "davach";<sup>1</sup> it will now be argued that Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde and all the Isles before the ninth century were divided into davachs; that in so much of Scotland as came under Norse domination, the davach was succeeded in name by the ounceland; and that in the twelfth or thirteenth century both davach and ounceland were valued in knight's fees, or in multiples or fractions thereof.

The unit of land valuation with the Anglo-Saxons was the hide, *hida*; the fourth part of which was an *ioctet*, *jugera*, yokeland, latterly in North Britain, a husbandland. *Hida* is translated in the earliest Latin charters by *terra aratri*,<sup>2</sup> a ploughgate—as much land as could be

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Soc.*, vol. xviii. p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> "*axx aratorum*," No. 15, A.D. 611, Birch; *Cart. Sax.*, "*trium aratorium*," No. 36, A.D. 675, *ib.*

ploughed by eight oxen in one season.<sup>1</sup> Many other words are used to translate *hida*, but we need only notice here *terra familiae*,<sup>2</sup> the land of a family, or rather, household, which must have included many individuals, for the mere father, mother, and children could neither have used nor required the work of eight oxen. After the Conquest, and in Scotland, a hide is usually called *carucata*, a carucate or ploughland, and contained 120 English or 104 Scotch acres.

In Scotland, I, Ioua (corrupted to Iona), I Cholumehille was estimated by Beda to contain five *familium*,<sup>3</sup> *terrae familiae*—that is, five hides or ploughgates; but throughout Pictavia, from the time there is any record, the unit of land valuation was the davach, *dabach*. That the davach was the same as the ploughgate admits of indirect proof, for in the west and north of Scotland a davach is synonymous with an ounceland; now, the ouncelands of the Orkneys, probably so named in the ninth century, contained a ploughgate.<sup>4</sup>

The extent of surface of land ploughed by a team of oxen<sup>5</sup> must have varied greatly with the lay of the land, the quality of the soil, as also by the weight and size of the oxen, which, it may be presumed, varied as much between different parts of the country before the Conquest as afterwards; a team of Highland kyloes would make but little way over the stiff clays of the south of England. It must therefore be most fallacious to reckon any fixed number of acres to a hide or ploughgate, until custom had established a theoretical in place of a natural measure.

Davach, *dabach*, *dabhach*, does not occur as a topographical term in Ireland, nor in Wales; it is therefore Pictish; and it would probably

<sup>1</sup> Seebohm, *Eng. Vill. Com.*, p. 62 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> “*x familiarum*,” No. 179, A.D. 749, Birch, *Cart. Sax.*; Beda, *Ecc. Hist.*, *passim*.

Beda, *Ecc. Hist.*, Bk. iii. ch. iv.

<sup>4</sup> *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. xviii. p. 276.

Many are the explanations given to this much-vexed word, e.g., Davach—four ploughgates; one ploughgate; *pagus*; district of country; a lot, a certain portion of land; a farm that keeps 60 cows; a farm adequate to the pasture of 320 cows; about eight miles long and four broad; literally the pasturage; a carucate boum; a well, or any deep pit or pool, or any deep hollow [in the land] like a vat or caldron; a flax dam; a vat, kieve, or large tub; a huge lady; Fingal’s mother; a throw or blow at a venture; a tub with two handles.

be represented in modern Gaelic by *damhach*, where *damh* = ox, oxen, and *ach* is an augmentative particle, giving the sense of "abounding in"; thus, *carn*, a heap of stones; *carnach*, a place of many cairns; so davach, *damhach*, *dabhach*, will mean a full team of oxen.

It is still an oral tradition in Inverness-shire, that a davach, always pronounced in modern Gaelic, *daach*, *da'ach*, was as much land as could be ploughed by a team of oxen in one season, and the O. S. A. of Banff states "in its original acceptation it means as much land as can be ploughed by eight oxen."<sup>1</sup> The same result is found for Inverness-shire, where in early ages, and even in quite recent times [1808], the extent or yearly value was estimated by the "daugh, the aughten part [and] the boll."<sup>2</sup> Now, "a boll's sowing of bere" is a convertible term for an acre of arable land,<sup>3</sup> and the writer states that "an aughten part" contains six bolls sowing,<sup>4</sup> in other words, six acres. This is proved at Elgin, where an "auchteen part" varied from four to six acres.<sup>5</sup> Therefore Dr Robertson is wrong in supposing that an "aught or aughten part" appears to be a corruption of an *eighth* part, for in that case a "daugh" would contain but 48 acres; whereas if an "aughten part" be the eighteenth part of a "daugh," a davach will contain 108 acres, which is almost exactly (104), a modern ploughgate. There is still further proof that a davach might contain but one ploughgate. In the Exchequer Rolls, 1458, in which are the accounts of the "Camerarius ultra Spey," they charge themselves with the "firm of xl s̄ de Westrehalfdavoeh," and of xl s̄ de Esterhalfdavoeh," in Ardmannoch (Cromarty), *i.e.*, £4, or six marks for the whole davach.<sup>6</sup> But as a bovate (oxgang) had been devastated, they deduct x s̄ from their former account. The firm for the whole davach was 80s.; they deduct 10s., or one-eighth, for the loss of one bovate, consequently the whole davach was eight bovates or one ploughgate. Again, in 1568, a charter was granted "of the half of the east quarter of the lands of Dalcarty (Ding-

<sup>1</sup> *Banff O. S. A.*, vol. xii. p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> *Agr. Sur. Inverness-shire*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Agr. Sur. Aberdeenshire*, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Agr. Sur. Inverness-shire*, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> *O. S. A. Elgyn*, vol. v. p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Scot. Exch. Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 463.

wall), namely, an oxgang.”<sup>1</sup> As a quarter always means a quarter davach in the northern counties, a half of a quarter davach, or one-eighth, is proved to be an oxgate, and eight oxgates in the davach.

But it is unquestionable that in the eastern counties a davach contained four ploughgates. In the Gordon Rental of Badenoch, 1603, against “Clone, four pleuches,” there is the marginal note “Macomtosch has this *dauch* in fee; and “Bannachar,” also four ploughgates, is called a “dauche.”<sup>2</sup> Between 1661–70, Gordon of Straloch wrote that in Aberdeenshire the districts (regiones) of country were divided into *pagi* or “daachs,” which contained as much land as could be broken up by four ploughs in one year, but that then, owing to more land having been cleared of wood, the arable land in a “daach” was more than doubled.<sup>3</sup> By 1800 a davach of ordinary extent required three times the number of cattle to labour it that were formerly employed. But the davachs must have varied considerably in superficies, for “some of the oxengates in Strathbogie are not 6 acres, others above 19 acres.”<sup>4</sup>

A list of lands in the barony of Murthlach, Banffshire, belonging to the Bishopric of Aberdeen, was made in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the descriptions and firms of those lands are in the Rental of the same Bishopric, in 1511, as below :<sup>5</sup>—

		MURTHLAK.				
		c. 1450.		1511.		
1 davach	{	Villa de Lekachy and				
		Sandlekachy			£ s. d.	
		„ Perthbeg . Perthbeg . . . . .	1 plg.	8 bov.	4 0 0	
		„ Petvache . Larthquhy and Pettaway . . . . .	...	...	13 6 8	
1 davach	{	Villa de Rynes . . . . .	Belland . . . . .	2 plg.	6 13 4	
		„ Drumlocher . Auchlothtyr . . . . .		2 plg.	16 bov.	8 0 0
1 davach	{	Villa de Keith				
		„ Petglassy . . . . .	Petglass . . . . .	2 plg.	16 bov.	8 0 0
½ davach		Terre de Cloueth . . . . .	Cloueth . . . . .	2 plg.	16 bov.	8 0 0

<sup>1</sup> *Or. Pr.*, vol. ii., Dingwall.  
<sup>2</sup> *Mis. Spalding Club*, vol. iv. pp. 209, 300.  
<sup>3</sup> Blaeu's Atlas, Aberdeen.  
<sup>4</sup> *Rhynie, O. S. A.*, vol. xix. p. 290.  
<sup>5</sup> *Reg. Epis. Aberdonensis*, vol. i. p. 251, 369.

From the above, it is plain that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a davach contained four ploughgates, or 32 bovates (oxgates). The extent of a davach cannot be traced farther back, for no fraction of a davach is ever expressed in acres, only in halves and quarters.

The attempt was made to get at the superficies of a davach by comparing the firm or rent with that of a known ploughgate (carucate), but with indifferent success, for rents varied as much in the thirteenth century as they do now. There is no want of material; for instance, at Banff there is a "fine place called Dow-haugh (Daach-haugh?) on which Duff House stands; the field, together with the sandy hills, &c., make a davach of land, supposed to contain 416 acres."<sup>1</sup> In 1668 George, Lord Banff, is served heir to his father in . . . "terris de Backlaw, Cairnelpies, cum salmonum piscationibus et cruives earundum in aqua de Dovern,"<sup>2</sup> &c.; and in 1663 his father was served heir to Cairnelfoies cum piscatione salmonum,<sup>3</sup> &c. We seem to have here the ancient "davata de Ketherelpi," for which the provost of Banff charged himself "quator libris de firmis vtriusque anno," in 1340,<sup>4</sup> and has done so from 1327, for "terra de Catherelpy." In the fragment of the Rental of Alexander III., 1249-85, of the county of Banff, preserved in the Chartulary of the Bishopric of Aberdeen, there occurs, "De villa de Ketherelpy vj marcas."<sup>5</sup> Thus the firm of this davach of land, in the thirteenth century, was £4=6 marks. At the same time, and in the same county "Convath," which was afterwards known as Inverkethney, and contained six davachs,<sup>6</sup> was rented at 24 marks<sup>7</sup> or one davach at 4 marks. In 1244-6, William de Monte Alto, sheriff of Crumbauchtyn (Cromarty), debits himself with 24 marks, for one year, for "sex davatis terre," which he holds hereditarily of the king.<sup>8</sup> In 1232 the

<sup>1</sup> *Banff O. S. A.*, vol. xv. p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Retours.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Scot. Exch. Rolls*, vol. i. p. 450.

<sup>5</sup> *Reg. Epis. Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> *Colls. Antiq. Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. ii. p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> *Reg. Epis. Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 160.

<sup>8</sup> *Echq. Rolls Scots.*, vol. i. p. 26.

firm of half a davach at Rhynie Church was 3 marks ; and of four other half davachs 2 marks each.<sup>1</sup>

From the foregoing it seems to be fairly established that in the thirteenth century, in Moravia, the firm of a davach of land was from 6 to 4 marks.

Knowing the price of produce in the thirteenth century, it will be found that a firm or rent of £4=6 merks would be paid by 4 chalders wheat=12 chalders barley or bere=8 chalders malt=6 chalders oatmeal=20 chalders prebende (oats in sheaf?)=20 cows at 4s., or 16 cows at 5s. each.<sup>2</sup> A short calculation would show that any of these articles of grain could be grown on 20 or 30 acres, which leads to the conclusion that nothing like 416 acres were cultivated in a davach.

Before the war of Independence the countries of England and Scotland were on a commercial and economical equality. The average price of wheat in England, in 1269, was 1 qr.=5s.; and in Kent, in 1292, 1 qr.=5s.; and we also find in the Rental of Alexander III., 1249-85, that, so far north as Banffshire, the compting price of wheat was 1 qr.=5s.<sup>3</sup> This may be taken as the normal price of wheat in both countries for the thirteenth century ; but prices rose and fell reciprocally, for in the fruitful year, 1280, the price of a quarter of wheat in England was 3s. 0½d., and in Scotland the price in Edinburgh was 3s., in Jedburgh 3s. 4d. per quarter. From 1264 to 1286 the compting price in Scotland of 1 qr. of barley was 3s. 4d., and this is also the average price in England for those years. The value of a Highland cow, 1264-66, was 3s., but the Lowland cattle were usually 5s. In England the prices varied much more, from 6s. to 11s.<sup>4</sup>

We will now make a short inquiry into the rent of a ploughgate (carucate) in both countries, from whence to compare the rent of a davach.

Earl David of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lyon, gave two measured carucates in Kelalcmund (afterwards called Ardblar, in

<sup>1</sup> *Colls. Antiq. Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. ii. p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> These prices are deduced from *Scots. Exchq. Rolls*.

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. Epis. Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf. Scots. Exchq. Rolls*; and Bain, *Cal. Scots. Docs.*, vol. ii.

Clat) to the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the grant was confirmed by King William.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Mathew, feued these lands to "Willelmo de Tatenell homini nostro," who was to pay for one carucate a pound of incense, and for the other one mark of silver; and King William confirms the "donation."<sup>2</sup> These lands are confirmed to another William de Tatenell, grandson of the former, in 1276, who feued and sold them in 1297, when the sale was confirmed by Bishop Henry, but the feu-duty was raised to 2 marks.<sup>3</sup> There having been contention, Isabella de Douglass, Countess of Marr, renounces, 1402, any right to the lands of Ardlaw and Estirlochyr, and in 1407 Alexander Stewart, Earl of Marr, does the same. In 1418 an inquest found that the two carucates of Kyllachmond, which is now called Ardlar, in the shire of Clat, paid two marks silver feu-duty, were then worth ten marks annually, and were of the same value "tempore pacis"; that is, before the war of Independence.<sup>4</sup> From this it appears that the rent of a ploughgate in the thirteenth century was five marks.

On 19th March, 1302-3, an inquest at St Andrews found that William held the land of Burchly (Burleigh?) of the Bishop of St Andrews for 10s. =  $\frac{3}{4}$  mark, or to perform the office of baker in the Bishop's household. The extent or annual value of the land was five marks. Julian, the daughter of William, was then seized in fee, and did service to the king for half a davach.<sup>5</sup> Here the rent of the davach is 10 marks.

The baker's daughter, Julian, was also heiress to half the land of Nidy [near St Andrews], which was worth three marks; the whole land of Nidy rendering the service of one "davauche."<sup>6</sup> Here the davach is worth 6 marks.

In 1296 an inquest on the lands of Robert de Pinkeney, deceased, was held, when the jurors found that the tenement of Ballincrief (by Aberlady) with the messuage, garden, and pigeon-house, were worth 34s. 4d.

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Epis. Aber.*, vol. i. p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Epis. Aber.*, vol. i. p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> Bain, *Cal. Scots. Docs.*, vol. ii. No. 1350.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1350.

And he had in desmene 10 carucates and 54 acres of arable land,<sup>1</sup> each worth with its grazing, 21d.; total, £95, 14s. 2d. (recte £95, 14s. 6d.). This is an early proof of the number of acres in a Scotch carucate or ploughgate, for by the summation one carucate is found to contain 104 (Scotch) acres. Although the land is still some of the best in Scotland, the rent per acre is enormous; this is partly caused by the vicious system in the Scotch inquests of including an indefinite quantity of meadow and pasture (Gullan Links?) to an acre of arable land, and we know that one acre of meadow is equal at least to two arable acres.

In the same tenement 6 bovates are worth 6 marks: hence 1 ploughgate = 8 marks. Also, in the same tenement of Ballincrief a carucate in "Le Cotis" was worth 6 marks; and in Gosford 1 carucate = 5 marks.<sup>2</sup>

In 1300, at Selkirk, 1 ploughgate in desmene was worth 10 marks, no doubt with meadow and grazings included.

The rental of the Priory of Coldingham, compiled apparently in 1290, soon after the disastrous battle of "Faukyrke," supplies information not readily found elsewhere. For the monks the "time of peace," *tempore pacis*, was of greater significance than a law phrase; for many of their lands were "waste," and others were let for four years at a progressive rent. Throughout the Rental viii. bovata = 1 carucate, but the bovate is not a fixed quantity; in seven townlands, out of a total of sixteen, 1 bovate = 13 acres; but in others 1 bovate = 14 (*bis*), 13½, 12½, 10 or 8 acres, so that a carucate may vary from 112 to only 64 acres. It cannot always be made out whether the land is desmene or husbandland, or whether the rents are for a time of war or time of peace, but a fair average for one carucate in time of peace was 40s = 3 marks.

The inquiry was extended into England, with the result that, in the thirteenth century, the average rent of arable land was 1 acre = 6d., or 4½ marks for a carucate of 120 acres.

It is to be regretted that the evidence here brought forward does not establish either way that, in the eastern counties, a davach of land in the thirteenth century contained either one ploughgate or four. At

<sup>1</sup> Bain, *Cal. Scots. Docs.*, vol. ii. No. 856.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 857.



present we can only suppose that, at an early period, a davach, having been equal to one ploughgate, and, like the English hide, considered to be the portion necessary to the support of one household, had by ploughing up additional land become, in the fifteenth century, of four times its original extent, as, by the eighteenth century, the area had been again doubled. This view is supported by a law in Regiam Majestatem, which enacts that a tenant holding less than one-eighth of a davach should pay no heriot. Had the davach contained four ploughlands this law would have exempted the holder of half a ploughgate and of four oxen—which is absurd. But if the davach contained but one ploughgate, the holder of less than one-eighth would also presumably possess less than a whole ox.

The davach, like the hide in England, was the unit both for fiscal and military purposes. In the early charters there is the constantly recurring clause “*faciendo forinsecum servitium quod ad terras illas pertinet.*” Forinsec service is explained as “*servicium Scoticanum,*”<sup>1</sup> and this is known to be service in the Scottish army for six weeks; but it is nowhere stated whether one or more men are to go from a davach. In the western fiords of Scotland the military was occasionally exchanged for naval service; in 1343 the four davachs of Assynt had to supply a galley of 20 oars, five men from a davach. In 1303 the lands of Christian of Marr, in Arasaig and Moidart, supplied a ship of 26 oars with men and victuals; and the  $5\frac{1}{4}$  davachs of Glenelg in 1343 also furnished a ship of 26 oars. In 1315 the lands of Lochow and Ardszkodnish had to find one ship of 40 oars with sufficient men and furniture for 40 days, while for the baillerie of Troternish, in 1498, Macleod was to have ready one ship of 26, and two of 16 oars. In 1463, the 28 marklands of Sleat supplied one ship of 18 oars.<sup>2</sup> But the Earl of Athol, in 1304, was informed that Lochlin (Macleon) and his friends had threatened that each davach of land should furnish a galley of 20 oars against the English.<sup>3</sup> This would have been one man from each household.

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Epis. Moray*, Original Charters, No. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Or. Pr.*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Bain, *Cal. Scots. Docs.*, vol. ii. No. 1633.

The fiscal and church exactions from a davach are too numerous and complicated to be enumerated here.

We now enter upon the second part of our inquiry—the land valuation of the West Coast and Isles in uncencelands and pennylands. The origin of this valuation is, of course, Norse; it exists in full vigour in the Orkneys at the present time. The comparative archæologist must often work from little or no help from record, but the place-names supply him with abundant materials for research. In the middle of Sutherland, on the banks of the Oikel, is Langwell. Neither Gael nor Englishman could have given that name, for the original was *Lang-vöhlr* = Long-field. Wherever “dale” terminates the name of a valley the Norse have been, and the “bols” in Sutherland and Ross bespeak their residence. Under many a strange form the Norse *fjörðr* may be discovered, not the least being *Knut-fjörðr*—Cnut’s firth appearing as Knoidert, and pronounced in Gaelic “Croderst.” By the place-names the Norsemen can be traced from Caithness to Kintyre, and by their peculiar valuation in ounce and pennylands, southward to Ayr.<sup>1</sup> There is little on record to point to an extensive and prolonged occupation of the west of Scotland, but their possession of the Hebrides must have given them great influence upon the west coast.

On the west of Scotland the valuation in ounce and pennylands must have been at one time universal; but the ounce, in conformity with the Saxon ounce of silver, was held to contain twenty pennyweights. There is no doubt that in Caithness the ounce was originally divided into eighteen pennies, and there are slight indications that it was the same in the Hebrides, in North Uist.

In Caithness, Kilminister, Wick, was a 36d. land, *i.e.*, 2 oz. of 18d. each. Skail, Reay, was 31d. land =  $1\frac{3}{4}$  oz. of 18d. Westerclith, Latheron, was 24d. land =  $1\frac{1}{2}$  oz. Scarmaclete, Bower, and Westgrenland, Latheron, were each 18d. = 1 oz. lands. Brims, Thurso, was  $13\frac{1}{2}$ d. =  $\frac{3}{4}$  oz. land. Wick and Stangergill, Olrick, each 9d. =  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. lands. Six places are 6d., or  $\frac{1}{3}$  oz.; and four others are  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., or  $\frac{1}{4}$  oz. lands. The parish of Reay contained 271 pennylands of arable land, no doubt, truly 270d. or 15 uncencelands of 18d. each.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bain, *Cal. Docs. Scot.*

<sup>2</sup> *Or. Pr.*, vol. ii.

Only in North Uist on the west coast have indications of valuation of 18d. = 1 oz. been found. Uganab was 24d. (18d. + 6d.) =  $1\frac{1}{2}$  oz. Kelleskere, 9d. (18d. - 9d.) =  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. Orwansay, North Uist, 6d. (18d. - 12d.) =  $\frac{1}{3}$  oz.; nor are there any fractions of 5d.<sup>1</sup>

In the Hebrides, in the charters, "ounceland" is frequently translated by *unciata*, as the *unciata* of Bogartallis, the four *unciatae* of Bracadale, Skye.

In a grant of the North Head of Ewist (Uist), 1505, a *davach* is explained as being a "terung," the *davach* called in Scotch *le terung*, where "Scotch" means "Gaelic, and "terung," "teirroung," "teiroung," written by Macvurich *tirunga*, is *tir-unga*, Gael. literally land-ounce, ounceland; from *tir*, Gael. land, and *unga*, Gael. ounce weight; thus we see that *davach*, ounceland, *unciata*, *tirunga*, are all synonymous. This is further confirmed by the 3 *davachs* of Knodworth (Knoidert) being equal to 60d. = 3 oz. and the 3 *unciatae* of Sunart being also equal to 60d. = 3 oz.

The islands on the coast of Sutherland are valued as pennylands,<sup>2</sup> but the townlands are all in *davachs*; as many as twenty-six are reckoned as single *davachs*. This indicates that the *davach* was a rough assessment of an uncertain area, for the townlands could not have been of the same size. The Pictish *davach*, which probably was the same as a ploughgate, became the Norse ounceland, but when the Gaelic speech regained the ascendancy the ouncelnd again became a *davach*.

The old valuation in pennylands is almost forgotten in Lewis; but some lands at Ness are still spoken of as *Na Cuiqpeighinneann* = The Five-pennys; and Kneep, with Valtos and Reef, are still the "Fourteen-pennies." There is, or was, Penny Donald = Donald's Pennyland, and the nine farthing land at Crolista, both on the Bay of Uig. It is now about sixty years since the practice of "runrig" was given up in Lewis, and the land was divided into "lots," before which

<sup>1</sup> *Or. Pr.*, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> There are some of the smaller islands upon the west coast valued as pennylands, but it was not the area of the island, but the extent of arable land, which was so valued. Ulva, Kintyre, 3d.; Scarba, 2d.; Lunga, 1d.; Inchkenneth, 2d.; Gometra, 4d.; Oransay, Uist, 6d.; Staffa,  $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; Fladda, 3d.; Stroma, 2d.; Hoan, 2d.; Heisker, North Uist, 9d.; Eorsay, Mull,  $\frac{1}{2}$ d.—*Or. Pr.*, vol. ii. *passim*.

time the different townlands were traditionally known to contain so many pennylands, and even still *peighinn*, penny, is still used to designate a definite part of a townland, as "Peighinn na Clath," "Peighinn na Cuile," &c.

A *Peighinn* or Pennyland might be divided into *Leth-peighinn* or Halfpenny; *Feoirlinn* or Farthing; *Leth-fheoirlinn* or Half-farthing; *Cianog* or Quarter-farthing; and *Clitag* equal to  $\frac{1}{8}$  Farthing.

A *Feoirlinn* or Farthing-land was an ordinary holding in Lewis at the end of the last century, and was large enough to keep five cows each with three followers, seventy or eighty sheep, and four or five horses, and it would require about five barrels ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  bolls) of seed corn.<sup>1</sup>

In Harris, 1792, the ancient and still common computation of land was a penny, halfpenny, farthing, half-farthing, clitag, &c. A tacksman might hold 20d.—that is, an ounceland; while a small tenant or crofter usually held a farthing land. The stock or souming for a farthing land was four milk cows, three or four horses, and as many sheep on the common as the tenant had the luck to rear. The crop might be computed in general at four or five bolls, and the rent was 30 or 40 shillings, besides personal service, rated at one day's work per week.<sup>2</sup>

In North Uist, 1794, the small tenants usually held a  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. land, on which they kept 6 cows, 6 horses, and raised enough grain to keep them all the year round.<sup>3</sup>

In Barra, a  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. land was either single or double; the souming of a single  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. land was 4 cows, 3 horses, and 8 or 10 sheep, and the rent was £3 or £4.<sup>4</sup>

Pennant, in 1772, found in Canna that a 1d. land yielded 8 bolls oats, 4 bolls bear, and 7 bolls potatoes; the farm maintained 7 cows and 2 horses, and the rent was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  guineas.<sup>5</sup> Pennylands are noted in nearly every one of the Hebrides excepting Islay.

We now reach the third division of our subject, viz., the valuation in marklands. We have seen that in the Orkneys and Shetland a mark-

<sup>1</sup> Rev. M. Macphail, Kilmartin.

<sup>2</sup> *Harris O. S. A.*, vol. x. p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> *North Uist O. S. A.*, vol. xiii. p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> *Barra O. S. A.*, vol. xiii. p. 331.

<sup>5</sup> *Voy. Hebrides, 1772*, vol. i. p. 315.

land was as much land as could be bought for a mark of silver, but in Scotland and the Isles a markland was the fraction  $\frac{1}{30}$  of a knight's fee of £20 or 30 marks.

David I. introduced the feudal system into Scotland by granting land for knight service, and his grandson is supposed to have stented a large part of the enclosed land of Scotland, at least such as came within the power of the Crown, in the same manner; it is on record that he gave twenty knight's fees to his sister Margaret, Countess of Brittany, on her marriage.<sup>1</sup> By 1264–66 the feudal casualties of ward, relief, and marriage had been fully established.<sup>2</sup>

The valuation must have been roughly made from rent, not from acres. The valuation of rent, *malgré* Domesday Book, could not have been an easy matter, considering the many items of produce and service of which it was composed. The parts of a knight's fee would be reckoned in marks, and hence the origin of "marklands," each of which would be rated at one mark of silver; but as the lands would vary in quality, a markland would be of no certain area nor any defined number of acres. Nor would the new valuation in knight's fees and marks agree with the old one in davachs and ouncelands. Rapid progress was being made in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Scotland in all the useful arts, and the arable land in what was rated as a davach or ounceland would be greatly increased.

In the Hebrides there could have been no feudal system until after their session to Scotland in 1266; the *Lagmenn* of the Isles, those who had *sac* and *soc*, would not have surrendered the freedom of their allodial tenure for feudal service. No doubt, southern influence was making itself felt among them; the King of Man was an English knight, with an allowance of corn and wine, but what is most extraordinary, and a remarkable instance of "turning the tables," he was to be defended by the English forces from the "wickings."<sup>3</sup>

On the cession of the Isles to Scotland, a valuation must have been

<sup>1</sup> *Act. Parl. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchq. Rolls Scot.*, vol. i. *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> "Wikini," *i. e.*, *Vikingar*, pirates, not villagers, as noted by the editor.—*Bain, Cal. Docs. Scot.*, ii. p. 428.

made in knight's fees for feudal purposes ; thus, Islay was valued at 12 knights' fees ; Mull and Arran at 10 ; Lewis, North Uist, and Seil at 2 ; Barra, Egg, Iona, Coll, Jura, Colonsay, Gigha, and Rachlin at 1, *i.e.*, each at £20 or 30 marks.<sup>1</sup> On the mainland, Duror, Lochiel, Sunart, and Kintail are each valued at 1 knight's fee.

The valuations appear to have been made by estimating the davachs at a varying number of marks. A davach, tir-unga, unciata or ounce-land, was valued in Lewis, Skye, and adjacent isles at 4 marks ; in both Uists, Barra, Egg, and the other small Isles at 6 marks ; while in Mull and its adjuncts, Lismore, Islay, Jura, Colonsay, Gigha, it was 10 marks.

At a subsequent, but still early period a more complicated method of valuation seems to have been adopted in Islay and a part of Mull. In 1528 the lands of Quinish, Mull, belonging to Maclean of Coll, are valued in a manner which it would be difficult to explain but for the analogy found in Islay. The 18 marklands of Quinish are made up of 18s., 36s., 27s., and 9s. lands. The ounce-land of 18d. has been valued at 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ th marks, or 144s., of which one-fourth is 36s., one-eighth 18s. &c. By this system all the higher numbers are multiples of 3 shillings.<sup>2</sup>

In Islay, in 1494 and 1541, the lands are valued as quarters, half-quarters, &c., and in 1562 in multiples and fractions of marks. On inspection it is seen that the unit of valuation is 10 marks, which again is the valuation of a davach or ounce-land. This unit of ten marks is broken up in halves, quarters, eighths, &c., each having a Gaelic name, as in the subjoined table :<sup>3</sup>—

1 davach = 20d. land = 10 marks = 133s. 4d. = 1 Tir-unga.
$\frac{1}{2}$ ,, = 5d. ,, = 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ,, = 33s. 4d. = Ceathramh.
$\frac{1}{4}$ ,, = 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ,, = 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ,, = 16s. 8d. = Ochdamh.
$\frac{1}{8}$ ,, = 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. ,, = $\frac{3}{8}$ ,, = 8s. 4d. = Leorthas.
$\frac{1}{16}$ ,, = $\frac{3}{8}$ d. ,, = $\frac{1}{16}$ ,, = 4s. 2d. = Cota-ban or Groatland.
$\frac{1}{32}$ ,, = $\frac{3}{16}$ d. ,, = $\frac{1}{32}$ ,, = 2s. 1d. = Dha Sgillin or Twopennyland.

The meaning of all the above terms is plain, except Leorthas, which awaits explanation.

<sup>1</sup> Anonymous Description of the Isles ; Skene, *Celtic Scot.*, vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Or. Pr.*, vol. ii. p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. Agr. Sur. Hebrides*, p. 624.