

THE STEWART EARLS OF ORKNEY AND THE HISTORY OF ORKNEY AND SHETLAND

Peter Anderson

The Northern Isles have their own national, or at any rate quasi-national, historical tradition. It is quite separate from that of Scotland, though it is clearly connected to it; and it offers parallels to the nineteenth-century growth in historical consciousness elsewhere in the British Isles. There is no term in the vocabulary of the Northern Isles which corresponds to the notions of 'Bonnie Scotland' or 'Merrie Wales', but there is no doubt that in Orkney and Shetland there grew up a similar vision of a romantic past. The conversion of tar-barrelling high jinks in Lerwick to the celebration of 'Vikingry' at Up-helly-A remains the best known manifestation of this spirit. This vision was not purely the creation of antiquarians, though there was a flowering of historical talent in both Orkney and Shetland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; but it was reflected through the views and outlook of at least some of those historians. When Orcadians and Shetlanders looked to their 'old traditional past' from the 'modern British and imperial future' (Ash 1980, 9), they saw something quite different from their fellow-subjects across the Pentland Firth. Edward Eunson, former convener of Orkney Islands Council, drew attention to this in his introduction to W.P.L. Thomson's *History of Orkney*. The popular historical perception of Eunson's youth was drawn from published versions of *Orkneyinga Saga*, from Tudor, Barry and Balfour's 'Odal Rights and Feudal Wrongs' and summarised for children and the general public in the *Orkney Book* of 1909.

This 'scenario' begins with the Picts, who disappeared, leaving the Norsemen to settle an empty land. Then came a golden age, with each man a freeholder, following the earl to war, but owing him no other allegiance. Scots rule brought this to an end, eroded the islanders' udal rights and reduced them to virtual serfdom under the Stewart earls. The overthrow and execution of Earl Patrick brought some relief, and after many vicissitudes the islands won through to relative prosperity with the coming of the agricultural revolution (Thomson 1987, x-xi).

Though concerned primarily with Orkney, this simple framework, reminiscent of the attitudes of *1066 and All That*, could stand for Shetland too. There are variations on it. Perhaps the principal one concerns the end of what A.T. Cluness refers to as 'The Long Night' – the darkness of Scottish misrule which followed the end of the

Norse period (Cluness 1951, 50–62). For both Cluness and Storer Clouston, it was not modern agriculture which brought relief but imperialism – ‘the privilege of becoming part of Great Britain’ (Clouston 1932, 363). It was this which brought tyranny to an end. This view of Scottish oppression comes early to the romantic reassessment of the history of Scotland and Shetland. The Scots appear as the ‘aggressors, the destroyers of the “little world” of Shetland’ in Scott’s *The Pirate*, his only novel in which the Scots ‘are not in some sense, the victims’ (Ash 1984, 194, 200). Scott himself was deeply interested in and sympathetic to Scandinavian culture, and his translation (from Latin) and publication of an abstract of *Eyrbyggja Saga* set in train the sagas’ rediscovery in Scotland, and in the Northern Isles. His unhappiness at the changes wrought in the north, particularly in Shetland, helped to inspire the general distaste for later periods in Orkney and Shetland history among the historians who followed after. Not for nothing was the society for northern historical study founded by A.W. Johnston called the Viking Society; and Johnston, Clouston and Hugh Marwick all used the early rentals and other records of Orkney, less to study the contemporary period, than to extrapolate back into the Norse times they preferred (Thomson 1984, 124).

Even Clouston and Cluness did not have an entirely black and white view of Scottish rule in Orkney and Shetland. Imperialism, after all, brought the press gangs to the islands; and on the other hand the first century or so after 1469 was relatively uneventful, at least so far as Norse institutions were concerned. Cluness agrees with modern writers like Steinar Imsen that the old polity remained vital in its Orkney and Shetland versions until James V’s visit to Orkney in 1540, and his appointment of a sheriff (as distinct from a lawman) shortly afterwards (Cluness 1951, 51; Imsen 1992). Clouston still saw the men of Summerdale as ‘the descendants of Earl Thorfinn’s warriors’, and the West mainland of that time as ‘the land of Torf Einar’s swordsmen, whose “blood and riots” still kept the sheriff busy for more than a century after Summerdale’ (Clouston 1914, xlvi; Clouston 1932, 290).

The big change came, and the ‘long night’ began, with the Stewart earls. It was the period of their rule, from Robert Stewart’s first interest in Orkney and Shetland in 1564 to Patrick’s execution in 1615 which, for Clouston, made an end to the traditional Orkney, rather than the seeming ‘dark age’ which followed the end of the saga (Clouston 1932, 329, 271). Of the two earls, Robert is much the more obscure, though bishop Graham’s account of his exactions and, more particularly, the account of Bruce of Culmalindie’s activities, transcribed and published by David Balfour in 1859, brought his activities to the notice of the general public of the islands (Peterkin 1820, iii, 20–1; Balfour 1859, 16–33).

It is Patrick, however, who is in many ways the pivot around which popular notions of island history turn. It is not too much to say that Patrick to this day casts a long shadow over the islands and their affairs. This is particularly true of Shetland. Here can be found an extraordinary consciousness of Patrick and his evil deeds among people with no pretence to detailed historical knowledge. Everyday comments regarding him are surprisingly common. In writing a book on Patrick, it was necessary to select from a host of examples – the hesitation about including the Stewart

arms among the heraldic emblems in Lerwick town hall, the comparisons with Hitler and Nazi rule in Poland, the invocation of the name 'Black Patie' as people elsewhere might use Old Nick (Anderson 1992, 1–2). He is charged with destroying the law-book of Shetland, though it hardly seems to have been in his interests to do so, since he was also accused, in his own time, of using both Scots and Norse law as suited his purpose, not to mention the fact that we know the lawbook was actually in use in his courts (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland [RPC]*, viii, 452). But this was by no means all. The suggestion has been made, preposterously, that he introduced patronymics – 'Patricknames' – to Shetland to prevent people from knowing their family descent (Stewart 1953, 21).¹ In 1909 one David Sutherland addressed Zetland County Council saying, 'when we look out over Shetland, there are few spots to be seen where the oppressor's hand has not left hideous marks . . . although the day has passed when Earl Patrick Stewart and Laurence Bruce could ride rough shod over the poor serfs in Shetland . . . etc.' (*RPC*, viii, 452). And any general observation of public pronouncements in Shetland will throw up Patrick similes and imagery at a rate of several examples a year.

But if we go behind these casual allusions, of which one could make an ever-expanding collection, what do we find? Essentially there are three kinds of material. First, folk tales of mysterious origin, generally associated with Scalloway Castle. Second, genuine family legends which survive, admittedly in a confused form and intertwined with related stories of Patrick's uncle, Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie. And third, literary offerings of greater or lesser merit, often associating Patrick with other legends of Orkney and more commonly, Shetland.

In 1989 Estelle Smith of Primary Five, Whiteness Primary School, contributed a poem to the *New Shetlander*, entitled 'Scalloway Castle' (*New Shetlander*, clxix (Hairst), 1989). This work had a number of fascinating features which are echoed in works which at least purport to be more sophisticated. Firstly there is the setting – Patrick's notorious castle; there are at least two adult poems about it in similar vein (Jamieson 1986, 42; Rognvald V. Torvald, Shand of Broughty Ferry Scrapbooks, SA D.1/135/2, p. 179). Secondly it refers to killing without reason – 'just for show' – and indeed there are allusions elsewhere to gratuitous murders by the legendary Patrick (Renwanz 1980, 233; Anderson 1992, 1). Thirdly Patrick asks for his pipe; and Patrick and his pipe is one of the commonest subjects of all the stories. Scalloway Castle was, we are told, built with the forced labour of the common folk of Shetland (SRO CS7/203, ff. 157–9). Tradition speaks of the mixing of eggs, blood and human hair with its mortar (Holbourn 1938, 71). The motto above the door – a biblical reference to the house built on sand – is said to have been suggested by James Pitcairn, minister of Northmavine, as a rebuke to Patrick for his tyranny (Brand 1701–3, 90–1). Thus far we can rely partly on actual historical evidence, precedent and common sense (if we discount the idea that the blood and hair was human). But beyond this is a fantasy world – the world of the ring, the pipe and the secret chamber.

On one of the chimneys of the castle, a tall structure known locally as the 'high top', there is a metal ring which is pointed out as the one through which Patrick

threaded his hangman's rope. When the earl's misbehaviour came to the attention of the authorities in Edinburgh, an expedition was sent to bring him to justice. On its arrival in Shetland he was nowhere to be found, but smoke was discovered issuing from a secret door in one of the walls of the castle. Behind this, in a secret chamber, Earl Patrick was found smoking his pipe (Anderson 1992, 3, 172). The chamber, ring and pipe stories are common currency in Shetland. Though nowadays it seems that Shetlanders are more sceptical, there is little doubt that these tales were at one time widely believed in. There is a detailed nineteenth-century account of an execution of a sheep-stealer using the ring, and as recently as 1964 Fred Irvine spoke quite confidently of all three stories in the *New Shetlander*, complete with excellent illustrations (Irvine 1964, 8).

The origin of these stories is very obscure, and I have found no references to them earlier than the nineteenth century. Secret chambers are mentioned in connection with all three of Patrick's buildings. In one of the chambers of his palace in Kirkwall are two sets of joist-holes, one above the other and too close together for a man to stand upright between them. This probably represents a change of function, or of mind by the builder; nevertheless it is seen as the evidence of a secret room, and in Traill Dennison's poem 'The Ballad of Brandyquoy' Patrick calls his bailiff to him in his secret room in order to plot the confiscation of the quoy in the title from 'Marrison' its ancestral owner (*Peace's Almanac* 1900).² The earliest Shetland story relates to Sumburgh rather than Scalloway and dates from 1838 (Catton 1838, 32). The earliest pipe reference comes from 1871, though another version dating from 1876 came from an old man, so it was probably old at that time (SL E.S. Reid Tait Collection). J.R. Nicolson has spoken of a counter-belief in Scalloway that the ring may indeed be more recent than Patrick's time,³ though it was in place when MacGibbon and Ross described Scalloway Castle in 1887 (MacGibbon and Ross 1887–92, ii, 93).

The upper stories of Scalloway Castle are ruinous, so we can have no knowledge of a secret chamber, though it seems unlikely that the earl would have ordered such a feature. Patrick might have smoked a pipe; the first pipe from the new world was presented to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586. But there are no contemporary references to him doing so, and the list of his personal effects in his last years includes bowstrings, golfballs and sweets, but no pipe or tobacco (Registrum Secreti Sigilli, SRO PS1/85, f. 119). The ring is so high on the side of the castle that it would have been difficult to use for executions, and we know in any case that in 1618 a maiden, or early guillotine, was in use (*Shetland Court Book* (1615–29), 71). Since a maiden is also recorded in Kirkwall Castle before Patrick's death (Orkney Record and Antiquarian Society Records, OA D46, box 1, No. 7), it is reasonable to assume that he introduced them both. (Curiously enough, Estelle Smith makes reference not to hanging from the ring, but to decapitation with 'a big sharp blade'.) Moreover, the only execution recorded in the 1602–4 court book – of a sheep-stealer as it happens – took place not at Scalloway, but at the gallows-hill of Delting (*Shetland Court Book* (1602–4), 18–19, 56). A far more likely explanation is that the ring dates from the mid-eighteenth century, when the earl of Morton granted permission to Sir Andrew Mitchell to

'plunder the gateways and windows . . . of their ornament' to adorn his house at Sand. Sir Andrew probably installed the ring to thread a rope for lowering slates and timbers to the ground (Edmondston 1809, i, 126).

Perhaps the most significant fact about all this is that none of these stories seem to be either genuine memories or folklore motifs. Ernest Marwick in his *Folklore of Orkney and Shetland* makes no reference to the stories of Earl Patrick, or indeed to any tales connected with Scottish historical personages at all – with one exception. This concerns the 'belted knights of Stove' – descendants of the Orkneyman John Kirkness who was apparently knighted *incognito* by James V during his visit to Orkney (Marwick 1975, 150–2). This is particularly interesting in view of the comparative lack of Patrick stories in Orkney. There are two brief mentions of him in *Around the Orkney Peat-Fires*: one involves Brown o' Hackland, who wins a weight-throwing contest and ends up throwing a stone through a window of the palace of Birsay, to the earl's understandable annoyance; and there is an unnamed son of Patrick, who murders a young woman in Rendall. Other than these, there is only one other major Orkney story about him with any claim to antiquity. This involves confrontation with another legend of Orkney – the 'Dons' of Westray, supposed survivors of the Armada ship wrecked on Fair Isle. The Dons build up a considerable continental trade which Patrick covets. He sends a boat to arrest Gilbert Hewison, a prominent Don from Pierowall. Hewison and his companions escape to the Western Isles, returning on the earl's fall (Anderson 1992, 3, 172).

But if these stories have neither historical authority nor the backing of lengthy tradition, what can we find, if anything, that is a real handed-down memory of Patrick and his time? Actually very little, and what there is is strongly connected with stories of Patrick's uncle, the notorious Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie. The connections are complex, hardly surprising when we remember Bruce was a lifelong opponent of Patrick, while himself bearing a reputation as an oppressor. Laurence Bruce appears in a favourable light in a number of stories. In one example the earl and his men have come to Uyeasound, the port for Bruce's castle at Muness, and taken one of Bruce's tenants who is to be removed to Scalloway. Laurence Bruce is too aged to intervene personally, but his son Andrew marches to Uyeasound, where the earl is just putting off with the tenant lying tied up in the bottom of his boat. Andrew Bruce seizes hold of the craft, sweeps it up the beach, lifts his man bodily from the boat, then launches the boat to the water again. Patrick, standing in the stern, can make no objection, but returns to Scalloway where his downfall soon follows (Irvine 1895). In another story, this time without reference to Patrick, Bruce appears in Shetland as an exile from his native Scotland, having killed the chief of Clan McInroy in single combat. Bruce's daughter Marjorie and Malcolm, younger son of the dead man, are lovers and maintain contact through a member of the clan who makes his way to Muness in disguise. In a botched attempt by the McInroys to storm Muness, the castle is set on fire, but Bruce and his family escape, and eventually order and good relations (and Bruce's strict but fair rule) are restored (Edmondston 1856, 237ff.).

The 1577 complaints of the Shetlanders against Bruce give a vivid and fascinating

picture of aspects of traditional Shetland life and Bruce's abuse of them, so it is curious to find stories that portray him in a more-or-less favourable light. Yet both these tales contain echoes of real events. Laurence's son did aid his aged father in his quarrels with Patrick (Anderson 1992, (e.g.) 67, 85, 86). Bruce complained that his tenants were forced to labour on Scalloway Castle and that Patrick's men had lain in wait to intercept his ship on its way from Uyeasound (SRO CS7/203, ff.157-9; CS7/239, ff.152-3). Patrick's followers had bound and thrown into open boats not Bruce's men but those of James Sinclair of Graemsay, as part of their punishment for transporting those of Robert Monteith of Egilsay, Bruce's Orkney counterpart as opponent of the earl (*Shetland News* 1909). The McInroy story may be fanciful, but it too has traces in fact. Laurence Bruce, younger son of the builder of Muness, was accused in 1618 of killing David Toshach, younger of Monzievaird, in a brawl in the streets of Perth (*Criminal Trials*, iii, 443, 465). And in 1624 Muness castle was burnt by Dunkirk pirates (*RPC* (2nd series), iv, 184).

There are several reasons for Bruce's unexpectedly good image in Shetland history. Besides his record of opposition to Patrick, there is the survival of his name. While Patrick had no legitimate children and his natural son Robert was executed, Bruce on the other hand founded a dynasty which survived into the present century, and is said to have fathered twenty-four illegitimate children in Unst. He is therefore an ancestor of many inhabitants of Unst, and families such as the Fordyces traced their ancestry through him, and preserved traditional tales. A version of the story of Bruce's coming to Unst was clearly current amongst the Fordyces and their offshoots in the early nineteenth century (Miscellaneous Photocopies and Transcripts, SA SA.2/205). There uncomplimentary stories about Bruce, notably one version of his courtship of Marjorie Stewart of Uyea, niece of earl Robert (there is a more sympathetic version as well); but much the best known takes us at least partly into the third of the three types of material that I mentioned earlier – the overtly imaginative literature. The story of Thorburn Sigurdson of Dalsetter is one which also seems to be generally believed – the remains of his house can be pointed out at Woodwick in Unst (Sandison 1968, 24-6) – but any factual core in the story seems overlaid with romantic literary material. The villain of the piece is a sort of composite of Patrick and Laurence Bruce. Their yoke becomes so heavy that a party of Unst men, led by Thorburn Sigurdson and including Hakki of Dikkerem, sets off to row their sixern to Edinburgh to complain. They receive a commission to investigate abuses but Sigurdson is killed in a confrontation with Bruce, after which Hakki of Dikkerem sets fire to Muness Castle. As in the story of the McInroys, there are star-crossed lovers, in this case Bruce's son Edwin and Helga, daughter of Thorburn Sigurdson. Ultimately Edwin, with or without his lady-love (depending on which version you follow) puts to sea in a storm and is never seen again.⁴

Despite the traces of real tradition regarding Thorburn Sigurdson, this story seems to derive chiefly from a German romantic poem by Reinhold Fuchs, translated by Katherine Irvine as *Helga: A Tale in Verse*. A parallel to this can be found in another such poem, *Eda: Et Sagn fra Shetlandsoerne*, which was translated and used as the basis for an ostensibly factual newspaper article in the late nineteenth century. Here

the legendary Patrick comes into his own. He is a ferocious creature, quite capable of killing anyone who stands in his path, and seeks to debauch the eponymous Eda, who has made her home on top of a large rock. His first attempt to capture her is a failure and he takes Eda's mother by mistake. In his second attempt he is badly injured while trying to scale Eda's rock with a ladder. This leads to his capture and removal to Edinburgh for trial for his misdeeds. This story, which contains a unique reference to the Valkyrie, is clearly a romantic fiction, but it does include a legendary element in the form of the lady living on top of a rock; this strongly echoes the story of Torvald Thoreson's daughter, who is said to have lived on top of the Maiden Stack off Papa Stour in an attempt – apparently unsuccessful – to preserve her virginity (Monteith 1711, 6).

This use of an existing legend as the basis for a story about Patrick is also found in that of Thorvald of Brenister, another sturdy udaller like Thorburn Sigurdson. He is sentenced to death for killing some of the earl's henchmen, but escapes and becomes an outlaw known as 'Da Tief ida Neean'. He uses the crags of the Neeans as a base for a campaign of plundering the livestock of the earl and the Scottish settlers. He is so successful at this that the losses are attributed to the supernatural. After the earl's death, Thorvald returns to his family. It seems probable that it was Christina Jamieson, who lived in Lerwick in the late nineteenth century but came originally from the Westside, who combined the traditional folktale of the 'Tief ida Neean' with that of a character invented by herself. The author of Thorvald's story makes the point that Thorvald is one of two prominent udallers deprived of their lands at the same time. The other is Eric of Dunrossness, clearly a reference to Black Eric of the Fitful Head, like the 'Tief ida Neean' one of a number of Shetland's legendary thieves (Anderson 1992, 173).

This story simply uses Patrick as an anonymous tyrant, rather like the role played by Prince John in the stories of Robin Hood. We find a similar figure, this time in Orkney, in another nineteenth-century narrative poem *Noltland: or the Balfour's Bridal* by T.S. Peace. Like the Bruce stories, this has its hero the progenitor of an island family still prominent at the time the poem was written. 'Michael Balfour' of Noltland Hall defies the earl's tyranny and rescues Lady Marion, imprisoned by Patrick in a tower beside the sea in Berstane in St Ola. As the plot suggests, however, the *Balfour's Bridal* has none of the Bruce stories' factual element. A much more modern and detailed story, which tells of Patrick, but combines the tale with legendary material, is 'The Ballad Singer' from George Mackay Brown's *Orkney Tapestry*. The story concerns the reactions of the singer's various hearers, including Patrick himself, to his song. The ballad, however, is Walter Traill Dennison's 'The Play o de Lathie Odivere' which itself combines a traditional ballad with fictional elements supplied by Traill Dennison himself. This story is not the only one about Patrick by Mr Brown. His story 'Hawkfall' from his collection of that name uses some of the same fictional characters as 'The Ballad Singer', as well as a udaller, Adam Thorfinnson, who is being tortured to force him to give up his lands.

In the light of research into Earl Patrick, what do we learn? Certain images are common to both legend and historical record. Imprisonment, torture and the threat

of torture undoubtedly took place in the cellars of Kirkwall Castle. There is no reason to doubt that Scalloway Castle was built by forced labour, though the more skilled workers were undoubtedly paid for their efforts (Smyth of Methven Papers, SRO GD.190, box 21). The lands of small udallers were acquired in both Orkney and Shetland, though to what extent this was oppressive is difficult to say. Perhaps the most significant difference between the legends and the true stories concerns the nature of the opposition to Patrick. It is here that the Bruce legends are closer to the reality of the situation than those of Patrick alone. The figure of Bruce is central to an understanding of why Patrick is such a particularly important figure in Shetland. Bruce was a udaller; he may have acquired his lands by the oppressive methods the legends associate with Patrick, but they do not make him a feudatory of the earl, like the gentry of Orkney. Bruce was to that extent a true representative of the Shetland opposition to Earl Patrick though he was at the same time no Thorvald of Brenister – a Scot, a land-grabber, a tyrant himself given the opportunity, and a man whose opinion of the native culture was no higher than Patrick's own. On the other hand, Thorvald of Brenister, Thorburn Sigurdson, Marrison, Brown o' Hackland, Adam Thorfinnson, Eda and Helga, are all figures of the romantic imagination, as are the lovers, the exiled stranger, the girl shut up in her tower, the disguised lord preying upon humble maidens. The Shetland fishermen rowing away in search of justice could derive from the real-life representations made by Arthur Sinclair of Aith against Bruce of Culmalindie, or from thoughts of Jeanie Deans plodding barefoot to London to plead her sister's case before the king.

In general therefore my conclusion regarding the fascinating stories about Patrick Stewart is that almost none of them are of earlier date than the mid-nineteenth century, although the associated tales of Bruce do have some deeply buried factual content. Patrick undoubtedly has had an evil reputation uninterruptedly from his death until the present, but the actual facts of his life are too well buried to prevent romance and fiction taking over from the truth. I would leave the last word to the obscure author of the Eda story who, at the end of the tale, departs entirely from what goes before and gives the reader a purple passage, complete with pseudo-Norse inversions of subject and verb, on the sinister Scalloway Castle:

For in this place, since Patrick Stewart's time, are the head quarters of all evil spirits; here the trows, the untiring blacksmiths of Hell, have their workshops. The whole night long crackles the flame, heave the bellows, rings the anvil. After they hold their infernal feast, then the spirits and witches dance until the ground cracks; to this they scream like vultures and grunt like pigs, and bleat like bucks. And in the stormy nights, the Walkyre sits upon the highest tower of Scalloway, her hair streaming in the wind, her elbow resting upon her knee and with the hand supporting her head. Sad and silent she sits there and thinks; far out to the sea stares her eye on the vessel which she dooms for destruction. The fisherman who passes below the castle often enough looks into the glowing of her eyes, dim as the morn, when she shines blood-red through the mist!

NOTES

- ¹ Stewart did not of course believe in the truth of this suggestion.
- ² I am grateful to Mr J.R.G. Mainland of Kirkwall, for drawing my attention to this poem.
- ³ Personal conversation with Mr Nicolson.
- ⁴ For analysis of the different versions of this story, see Anderson 1992, 174, n.49.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- P.D. Anderson, *Black Patie* (Edinburgh, 1992).
- M. Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1980).
- M. Ash, 'Scott and Shetland', *Essays in Shetland History* (Lerwick, 1984).
- J. Brand, *A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland Firth and Caithness* (Edinburgh, 1701-3).
- J. Catton, *History of the Shetland Isles* (Wainfleet, 1838).
- A.T. Cluness, *The Shetland Isles* (London, 1951).
- J.S. Clouston, *History of Orkney* (Kirkwall, 1932).
- The Court Book of Shetland, 1602-4*, ed. G. Donaldson, (Scottish Record Society), (Edinburgh, 1954).
- The Court Book of Shetland, 1615-29*, ed. G. Donaldson, (Edinburgh, 1992).
- B.E. Crawford (ed.), *Essays in Shetland History* (Lerwick, 1984).
- Criminal Trials in Scotland*, ed. R. Pitcairn, (Edinburgh, 1833).
- A. Edmonston, *View of the Present and Ancient State of the Zetland Isles* (Edinburgh, 1809).
- E. Edmonston, *Sketches and Tales of the Shetland Isles* (Edinburgh, 1856).
- I.B.B. Holbourn, *The Isle of Foula* (Lerwick, 1938).
- S. Imsen, 'Shetland and Orkney before the Stewart Earls - from a Norwegian Point of View', talk delivered to conferences in Orkney and Shetland, 1992.
- F. Irvine, 'Profiles from the Past: Earl Patrick Stewart', *New Shetlander*, lxi (1964).
- J.T. Irvine, 'The Bruces of Muness', *Shetland News*, 20 April 1895.
- R.A. Jamieson, 'T'Scallwa Castle', *Shoormal* (Lerwick, 1986).
- D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Domestic and Castellated Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887-92).
- E. Marwick, *The Folklore of Orkney and Shetland* (London, 1975).
- Miscellaneous Photocopies and Transcripts, SA ref. SA.2.
- R. Monteith, *Description of the Isles of Orknay and Zetland* (Edinburgh, 1711).
- Oppressions of the Sixteenth Century in the Islands of Orkney and Zetland* ed. D. Balfour, (Maitland Club), (Edinburgh, 1859).
- Orkney Record and Antiquarian Society Records, OA ref. D.46.
- Peace's Orkney Almanac*, 1900.

- Records of the Earldom of Orkney* ed. J.S. Clouston, (Scottish History Society), (Edinburgh, 1914).
- Register of Acts and Decrees of the Court of Session, SRO ref. CS7.
- Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Vols. VII, IX, (2nd series), IV, ed. D. Masson, (Edinburgh, 1881–98).
- Registrum Secreti Sigilli (Register of the Great Seal), SRO ref. PS1.
- Rentals of the Ancient Earldom and Bishoprick of Orkney*, ed. A. Peterkin, (Edinburgh, 1820).
- Renwanz, 'From Crofters to Shetlanders', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (Stanford, 1980).
- Sandison, *Unst – My Island Home and Its Story* (Lerwick, 1968).
- Shand of Broughty Ferry Scrapbooks, SA D.1/135/2.
- Shetland News*.
- Smyth of Methven Papers, SRO ref. GD90.
- Stewart, 'Folk Names', *New Shetlander*, xxx (June – August 1953), 21.
- E.S. Reid Tait Collection (Shetland Library).
- W.P.L. Thomson, 'Fifteenth Century Depression in Orkney: the Evidence of Lord Henry Sinclair's Rentals', *Essays in Shetland History* (Lerwick, 1984).
- W.P.L. Thomson, *History of Orkney* (Edinburgh, 1987).