

Further Reading.

Very many books have been published in the last twenty or thirty years on Highland affairs, as an inspection of any competent bibliography or well-stocked bookshelf will demonstrate. A selection from the best titles of these years would include the following.

The standard history of the economic formation of Highland crofting is deservedly James Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community*, (Edinburgh, 1976). The same author's *The Claim of Crofting* (Edinburgh, 1991) very usefully covers the political and administrative framework of crofting between 1930 and 1990.

For a detailed description of land-ownership in the Highlands to the mid- 1990s, see Andy Wightman's wonderfully impressive *Who Owns Scotland?* (Edinburgh, 1997); and also Wightman's *Scotland: Land and Power* (Edinburgh, 1999). For a study specifically of deer-forests see Willie Orr, *Deer Forests Landlords and Crofters* (Edinburgh 1982). For a judicious but stylishly critical portrait of selected major estates in the modern Highlands, see Auslan Cramb, *Who Owns Scotland Now?* (second edition, Edinburgh, 2000).

For a historical portrait of a small Highland community (and one that should serve as a model for portraits of other communities) see Camille Dressler, *Eigg - the Story of an Island* (Edinburgh, 1998). Joni Buchanan, *The Lewis Land War* (Stornoway, 1999), is an excellent study of land-centred agitation on that island.

David Craig, *On the Crofters' Trail* (London, 1990), is also well worth reading. So too are the following. John MacAskill, *We Have Won the Land* (Stornoway, 1999). Eric Richards, Patrick Sellar and the Highland Clearances (Edinburgh, 1999). Eric

Richards, *The Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh, 2000). Eric Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth - the Sutherland fortune in the industrial revolution* (London, 1973). T. M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War* (Manchester, 1994). Robert A. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords - social and economic change in the western Highlands and Islands* (Edinburgh, 1998). Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful than the Soil - army, empire and the Scottish Highlands 1715-1815* (East Lothian, 2000). Catriona M. M. Macdonald and E. W. MacFarland (eds), *Scotland and the Great War* (East Linton, 1999). Krisztina Fenyš, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance* (East Linton, 1999). Robert Mathieson, *The Survival of the Unfittest - the Highland Clearances and the end of isolation* (Edinburgh, 2000).

The text of the play *The Cheviot the Stag and the Black Black Oil* is contained in John McGrath, *Six Pack - Plays for Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1996). Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past* (Cambridge, 1993), is also worthy of inspection, while Ian Richardson, *One for the Pot* (Laggan, 2000) is an excellent - and rare - account of the methods and opinions of Highland poachers.

Four recent doctoral theses of particular interest are: Isobel MacPhail, *Land Crofting and the Assynt Crofters' Trust - a post-colonial geography?* (University of Wales Lampeter, 2002); Trevor Robert Pringle, *Sir Edwin Landseer and the Scottish Highland Image* (Loughborough University of Technology, 1988); Iain James McPherson Robertson, *The Historical Geography of Social Protest in the Highlands of Scotland 1914-1939* (University of Bristol, 1995); and Hayden Lorimer, *Your Wee Bit Hill and Glen - the cultural politics of the Scottish Highlands 1918-1997* (Loughborough University, 1997).

For the post- World War One period, see Leah Leneman, *Fit For Heroes - land settlement in Scotland after WW1* (Aberdeen, 1989), and Ewen A. Cameron, *Land for the People? - the British Government and the Scottish Highlands 1880-1925* (East Linton, 1996).

On the religious dimension to conflict and protest, see the following. David Paton, *the Clergy and the Clearances - the Church and the Highland Crisis 1780-1850* (Edinburgh, 2006), and Allan W. MacColl, *Land, Faith and the Crofting Community - Christianity and Social Criticism in the Highlands of Scotland 1843-1893* (Edinburgh, 2006). James Lachlan MacLeod, *The Second Disruption - the Free Church in Victorian Scotland and the Origins of the Free Presbyterian Church*, East Linton, 2000.

For biographies, see: Ewen A. Cameron, *The Life and Times of Fraser-MacIntosh MP* (Aberdeen, 2000): Roger Hutchinson, *The Soap Man - Lewis, Harris and Lord Leverhulme* (Edinburgh, 2000): and James Hunter, *For the People's Cause - from the writings of John Murdoch*, (Edinburgh, 1986).

There is a great deal of printed government material relating to land agitation matters. The most important of these is, without question, the minutes and report of the Napier Commission and the Deer Forest Commission. Slighter, or at least shorter, material can be found in material such as the official report relating to the despatch of marines to Skye. Parliamentary debates are often worth reading in full: these debates were also, of course, reported at length in the principal newspapers.

As for the various journals which concern themselves to a greater or lesser extent with Highland affairs, there is none better than the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*. In

association, see Malcolm Chapman, *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture* (London 1978): and Donald Meek (ed.), *Tuath is Tighearna - Tenants and Landlords*, an anthology of Gaelic Poetry of Social and Political Protest from the Clearances to the Land Agitation 1800-1890 (Edinburgh, 1995).

As for manuscript sources: estate and government-department material is available in the appropriate archives - principally the National Archives of Scotland in Edinburgh. Much of this material has been turned over, and much of that has appeared, in one shape or interpretation or another, in published form. But there is still plenty of material to be investigated. For example, the logs of the various naval vessels involved in crofter repression might make interesting reading. And someday someone might find the papers of Charles Guernier, the French writer who published in the 1890s material on the Highland land struggle, and which is clearly based on very close contact with Land League leaders of the period.

Newspapers remain an essential source. Indeed, for a popular perspective on events, they may be far more important than the covert and self-serving material of landlords and their various agents. Reporters generally had magnificent shorthand, and their newspapers would publish their highly-detailed verbatim reports at great length.

The Glasgow Herald and the North British Daily Mail gave much space to Highland affairs. The Oban Times and the Invergordon Times were wonderfully radical local weeklies in their day. John Murdoch's Highlander and Alexander MacKenzie's Scottish Highlander were radical weeklies of the highest quality. So too was Forward. For all of these, the published index to the Glasgow Herald (and, to a lesser extent, for The Times) can serve,

albeit in an approximate way, as an index. The Stornoway Gazette has, in the last twenty or so years, carried masses of valuable memorial material relating to land-centred conflict in the Hebrides, and especially Lewis.

Last, but by no means least, in the West Highland Free Press, whose quality of news reporting has been un-matched by any Scottish newspaper in the last quarter of a century. From its inception, it has echoed the quality and strength of purpose of The Highlander, the Scottish Highlander and Forward: and it may be said to have bettered any of them, at least in that it has retained its radical focus longest. Certainly, it is the single most essential guide - of any class of record - to Highland affairs for the last thirty years of the twentieth century. It has also published vast quantities of material relating to Highland and crofting history from a radical perspective, often drawing on hitherto unpublished archival or private manuscript material, or on hitherto unrecognised oral sources. Much (but by no means all) of this material has been collected, and is held in the Iain Fraser Grigor Papers in the library of Sabhal Mor Ostaig, Isle of Skye.