

THE URBAN AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF
KIRKWALL AND STROMNESS,
ORKNEY.

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SUMMARY:

Settlements which have developed over a long period of time inevitably reflect the environmental and historical factors which have shaped their physical and socio-economic identity. It is the purpose of this thesis to trace the influence of such factors on the development of Kirkwall and Stromness and, in addition, to examine the elements of townscape which, in view of possible economic changes within the island group, may require careful consideration if the unusual character of these burghs is not to be lost by ill-considered development.

Although lying only 8 miles from the north coast of Scotland, the Orkney Islands came under Norse influence during the earliest period of major settlement. The earldom which was created in the ninth century brought about the rationalisation of agricultural holdings throughout the isles and the foundation of an administrative capital adjacent to a sheltered lagoon towards the centre of the Orkney Mainland. Under successive earls Kirkwall developed in two distinct sections: the earl's town, a development of the shoreside fishing settlement, and the Laverock or bishop's town to the south around St. Magnus Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace.

With impignoration of the islands in 1468 the Norse culture was superseded by that of the Scots. By a series of charters King James III gained control of both earldom and bishopric properties and in 1486 established Kirkwall as a royal burgh. Fluctuations in the power of the Scottish earls and bishops affected the development of the Orcadian capital and produced repercussions throughout the landward areas and islands.

Further burgh expansion occurred, however, during the following two centuries; the diversification of the economy attracting immigrants from the outlying islands - a trend that continues at the present time. Improvements in land and sea communications increased Kirkwall's sphere of influence and encouraged both a consolidation of the administrative function of the burgh and the development of service industries. With such socio-economic changes residential development was forced into the surrounding farm land while the former dwellings of merchant lairds and ecclesiastics along the main street were converted to commercial premises.

In contrast no urban development had occurred around Hamna Voe

in the West Mainland prior to 1590. However, in the early years of the following century a few artisans seized plots of land from the bishopric on the steeply sloping ground to the west of the bay, and the trading settlement of Stromness became established.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the economy flourished as a result of contacts with the 'New World' via the rice trade, the whaling ships and the Hudson's Bay Company. The increase in wealth in the community in turn attracted a considerable number of immigrants particularly from Northern Scotland and the South Isles, the maximum population being reached in 1821. Following the decline in overseas trading the economy became oriented towards home-based industry such as spinning, straw-plaiting, boat-building and fishing. The characteristic townscape of the settlement developed during this period : shore-line dwellings being constructed with their long axis to the sea, partially on individual stone wharves to maximise the use of building land and access to the harbour.

During the present century many changes have been wrought both in the socio-economic structure and the townscape of the two burghs. The functions of Kirkwall and Stromness tend, at the present time, to be complementary and reflect local and National Government policies for development of what are essentially rural areas. However, economic expansion associated with the North Sea oil exploration is imminent - an expansion which may rapidly obliterate the historical character of both the burghs and submerge the Orcadian identity.

It is obvious that the historical factors, mentioned in the thesis, have at various times had a considerable effect on the development of both burghs. Yet detailed studies of the present state, and particularly the townscape elements, of Kirkwall and Stromness indicate that the character of the settlements is the result not only of the periods of economic expansion but also those of economic and social decline. For this reason it is necessary to trace the influence of each factor and show how the possibly detrimental effects of further economic growth and urban renewal may be limited so that the character of the Orcadian burghs may be retained for future generations.

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PREFACE.

In an age when National Government has the power to enforce the development of remote rural areas for the economic benefit of the whole nation it is important to identify the relationship between small urban settlements and the rural areas they serve. Furthermore it is necessary to analyse the physical and socio-economic structure of those settlements to ensure that the inherent character of the town and region is not destroyed by a development which may be only of short duration.

The Orkney islands are a case in point. Although both the Orkneys and Shetland have been subjected to periods of Norse and Scottish dominance they retain a character and independence unique among the Scottish isles. At the present time, however, it is debatable how long this character can survive the onslaught from North Sea oil exploration.

The development of the economy of the Orkney islands can be illustrated by a study of the Mainland burghs of Kirkwall and Stromness and to this end major documentary sources have been consulted and analysed. Although closely linked within the same historical framework the two burghs contrast in site, age, function and development pattern. It would seem essential, therefore, to investigate in detail the historical development of both burghs, analysing each phase of development and studying its effect on the socio-economic structure and the physical character of the settlement. Initially this would appear to be an easier task for Kirkwall as documentary evidence, of a primary and secondary nature, extending back to the period of the Norse earldom is extant. In the case of Stromness little research has been attempted and impressions of the trading settlement occurring in literary texts of recent centuries need to be verified from original documentation before an accurate picture of the establishment and expansion of this urban community can be built up. The secondary element involving the determination of the effect, of each factor in the development history, on the fabric of the current townscape would seem significant as the townscape of both burghs appears to be acting as a stimulus to the tourist industry at the present time.

Frequently the structure of a town is looked at purely by geographical analysis of a current plan or by an architectural appraisal of the buildings.

However, both these viewpoints fail to give an overall assessment of the contemporary character which, where the settlement has an old foundation as is the case with Kirkwall and Stromness, may be the result of many historical as well as physical factors. In planning for expansion the historical influence is often ignored and this, together with the trend towards uniformity in urban design, may lead to the total destruction of the qualities that create a good urban environment. Thus a study encompassing the historical, geographical and architectural aspects of urban development should prove to be of greater value in determining the methods by which a stimulating townscape has evolved in a relatively hostile physical environment and the right equilibrium has been achieved between a thriving urban community and its rural hinterland. Furthermore it can show how the inherent characteristics of a burgh and its community identity may be retained despite further major economic development from external sources. It is the purpose of this thesis to investigate all these aspects of urban development with respect to Kirkwall and Stromness in the Orkneys.

INTRODUCTION

Although Orkney is situated some 8 miles off the North Scottish coast it is only c. 200 miles from Norway and thus its ties with the Scandinavian Kingdoms have, throughout history, been strong. It is this marked Norse influence that, despite the pawning of the islands to the Scottish crown in the fifteenth century, sets the Orkney and Shetland islands apart from the Western Scottish isles from the point of view of culture, aspects of language and systems of land tenure.

The Orkney group comprises 47 habitable islands although many of these have been evacuated during the twentieth century when they ceased to be economically viable following a marked decline in population. The largest and most productive member is the Mainland situated in a central position between the North and South island groups. To the south the high island of Hoy, together with Graemsay, Flotta and South Walls sever Scapa Flow from the Atlantic while to the south-east the Churchill Barriers have, since their construction in the period 1940 - 41, linked the string of islands including two holms, Burray and South Ronaldsay to the Mainland. In the north an assortment of irregularly shaped islands, the largest being Rousay, Westray, Papa Westray, Eday, Shapinsay, Stronsay, Sanday, and North Ronaldsay, stretch out towards Shetland and the ancient Norse kingdoms (Fig. 1).

Despite the situation in the northern British waters the Orkney Isles benefit from the stream of warm water from the West Indies which drifts north-east across the Atlantic to bathe the western coasts of Britain and Scandinavia. This marine influence is important in producing a positive temperature anomaly during the winter months and reducing annual range of temperature to c. 8°C (14°F). Thus winters are warm but summers cool:

ORKNEY :		CLIMATIC DATA		
Month	Temp. Average	Precipitation	Hours sunshine	
	°F.	Average Inches	Average	% possible
JAN.	39.0	3.45	28	13
FEB.	38.5	3.01	52	20
MAR.	39.2	2.81	91	25
APR.	42.3	2.07	141	33
MAY	46.3	1.99	165	32
JUNE	50.7	1.84	155	28
JULY	53.5	2.57	132	24
AUG.	53.4	2.87	118	25
SEPT.	51.4	2.90	101	24
OCT.	46.9	3.97	78	25
NOV.	42.8	3.93	39	17
DEC.	40.0	4.19	19	10

Total rainfall is not high (0.90 m ; 35.6 inches) but falls on about 200 days per annum. The west Mainland with an average annual total of 1.03 m. (40.7 ins.) is slightly wetter than the east Mainland (1.00 m ; 39.5 ins.) because of the higher ground and prevailing westerly wind. Although snow falls less frequently in the islands than in the rest of northern Scotland snow may lie for many days at a time in the early part of the year. In the east Mainland snow falls on average on 45.8 days per annum.

The most significant of the climatic phenomena on the communications of the islands are wind and fog. Fogs may occur throughout the year but tend to be most frequent in July and August. Winds are often strong with the prevailing westerlies sweeping uninterrupted across the low undulating topography. Average wind speed varies from 23 m.p.h. at an elevation of 131.06 m. (430 feet) in the west Mainland to 15 m.p.h. at 39.62 m. (130 feet) in the east Mainland but gusts upwards of 80 m.p.h. have been experienced. The warm moist climate producing a growing season of 230 days encourages the development of lush pasture unrelieved by the presence of trees.

During geological history, however, the climate and vegetation have changed many times : desert conditions that laid down beds of Old Red Sandstone in the Devonian era (400 m. years B.P.) eventually giving way to a series of distinct regimes that culminated in the glacial era 1 m. years ago. This cold period has been the major agent responsible for the detailed sculpting of the Orcadian landscape. Ice flowed over the highest areas and in Hoy carved U-shaped valleys and deposited

morainic debris at points along the valley floor. Elsewhere tundra conditions existed causing subtle changes to the surface form so that today the islands possess very smooth but gently undulating topography. The former hills have been reduced to modest heights, rarely exceeding 243.84m (800 feet) O.D., while a cover of boulder clay is found in the low basins. Because of the cool moist nature of the post-glacial climates a widespread covering of peat exists on the hill-tops and in basins - a natural resource from which the Orcadians have reaped great benefit.

The pattern of solid geology (Fig. 2) is one of flagstones and sandstones forming a dissected anticline in the western part of the mainland and faulted undulating topography farther east. Dissection and ice-moulding has resulted in the formation of a number of poorly drained basins, often surrounded by low hills, which are filled with water, to form freshwater lochs such as Harray and Boardhouse, or peat and mosses. The coastal areas exhibit many features of marine erosion and deposition. Cliffs rising vertically for many hundreds of feet are fronted by wide wave-cut platforms on which large stacks frequently stand. Headlands or nesses² are separated by open sandy bays or by narrow geos³, the headlands themselves being eroded by corrasion and hydraulic action. Atlantic waves under the influence of the prevailing westerlies rapidly erode the coastline in the west and spray carried inland destroys much of the nature vegetation on the cliff top thus accelerating weathering. In the more sheltered east, however, deposition occurs in wide bays between headlands, and baymouth bars and tombolos are common features. Where a boulder clay cover, deposited during the glacial epoch, is mixed with blown sand the heavy soil is lightened and made productive.

Within this physical framework agriculture and settlement developed with comparative ease. Many ancient sites exist scattered throughout the islands, including Stone Age/Bronze Age settlements such as the agricultural village of Skara Brae, isolated stone monoliths, defensive brochs, burial cairns and earth-houses. Many of the relics found at these sites indicate periods of peaceful habitation based largely on an agricultural economy while the indented coastline was

found to provide excellent anchorages and access to the sea could provide supplements to the normal diet and facilitate communications.

With the Norse invasions of the ninth century the existing settlements became amalgamated into larger units and the odal (uthell, udal) system of land tenure was introduced into the islands. Based on a system of effective occupation, a man held in freehold, without written title, land that his forebears had broken out. Succession was by partition - all the odaller's children receiving an equal share of the property.

The establishment of the Earldom under Sigurd in A.D. 874 made the division of land necessary for taxation purposes for the upkeep of the Earl's government. This introduced a new terminology whose remnants are still in existence.

In respect of skat⁴ or tax paid to the Earl lands were either Bordland, Skatland, Quoyland or Towmale. Bordland, or mensal farms, with their Bøl⁵ or Bu' and its enclosures served as the occasional quarters of the Earl (Jarl) on his journeys around the islands and were thus exempt from the payment of skat. Similarly Quoyland⁶ paid no skat as it was a portion of land enclosed from the moor and cultivated after the assessment for taxation purposes was complete. Although the arable land was frequently repartitioned among the tenants the house, together with a small piece of land around it used for pasturing animals, remained in constant possession of the household. This land was the Towmale⁷ and like Quoyland and Bordland paid no tax to the Earl.

The Skatlands thus formed the main body of the Orkney lands already in cultivation when skat or land tax was first laid on the islands with the creation of the earldom. The divisions were made according to the value of the land and not its area. Thus a hierarchy of terms exists, the principal members being ouncelands⁸ and pennylands. The former paid annually to the Earl money or produce to the value of one ounce of silver. These ouncelands were then subdivided into eighteen pennylands paying to the Earl the value of one penny. With inheritance by partition causing the further subdivision of land new terms were

introduced as follows:

- 1 pennyland = 4 mark lands or farthing lands
- = 6 uriscops or maeliscops
- = 10 cowsworths

In addition, later earls held lands acquired by purchase or excambion⁹ and those seized or confiscated.

The third owner of land, apart from the Earl and the odallers, was, after Orkney was christianised in A.D. 995, the Church. The lands like those of the earl were scattered throughout the lower, more fertile areas and provided the revenue for the upkeep of the early churches and chapels and the later Bishopric.

The cultivated area during the Norse period, which extended into the fifteenth century, was thus divided into a number of physical and administrative units. Odal land consisted of a tun or townland with its Bøl or principal farm and was enclosed by a hilldyke which separated its garth (infield) from its Soettur (hill land). The continuation of these 'towns' into the eighteenth century is shown in the rentals as catalogued by Alexander Peterkin, although with impignoration¹⁰ the old Norse earldom was replaced by government under the Scottish crown and a feudal system replaced the odal law. With the introduction of a Scottish system the Crown laid claim to the foreshore, previously the property of the odallers, and partition as a form of succession was replaced by primogeniture¹¹ thus arresting the further division of existing land holdings. Thus in the present landscape a mixture of large and small holdings exists producing crops and providing abundant grassland on which store cattle and sheep can be raised.

From the time of the earliest settlement the elements of physiography have played an important part in influencing the development of the economy. When compared to the Hebrides and much of northern Scotland Orkney is rich economically. The igneous and metamorphic rocks are limited and thus a fertile soil has evolved under the maritime influence providing ample pasture. Agriculture developed early and provided a surplus of produce which enabled a class

of merchants and artisans to become established creating a nucleus for urban expansion. With the earldom a large non-agriculturally productive body of people was introduced to the islands and wealth accumulated from the earldom estates allowed the building of impressive edifices. It was on this foundation that Kirkwall developed as the capital of the island community and while isolated crofters struggled to maintain a subsistence economy on barren plots in the western isles the inhabitants of the Orkneys proceeded to exploit their natural advantages and forge ahead in both a cultural and economic sense.

CHAPTER I

No precise date can be given for the establishment of the parish boundaries. The early designation of lands belonging to the odallers, earl and church under the Norse undoubtedly formed the basis for the parishes. Storer Clouston, however, states that confusion exists over the term 'ounceland'. Although usually equal to eighteen pennylands, the term in its alternative spelling of eyrisland, urisland or ursland appears to have also been applied to larger districts having a greater monetary value. These districts contained early chapels which, in a number of cases, predate the parish churches and thus the ursland districts could be earlier than the parishes.

By the tenth century, however, the parish boundaries appear to have come into existence: St. Ola¹, named after a saintly Norse king, at the central 'neck' of the Mainland, while, facing the Atlantic and guarding the entrance to Scapa Flow in the west, the townships were gathered within the boundary of the parish of Stromness.² From the rentals both these parishes, in which at various dates the main urban developments in Orkney occurred, seem to comprise c. 120 pennylands and, although the percentage of ownership between odallers, earl and church varied³, the parish economy had a purely agricultural base. Pressure of population at this date was minimal and the townships and isolated farms were spread over the lower more fertile slopes.

The parish of St. Ola, centred on a narrow isthmus giving access to both North and South isles, has been extensively developed and benefits from a comparatively unrestricted site (Fig. 3). An area of faulting within the beds of Stromness and Rousay flagstones of Devonian age provides a corridor of land, nowhere rising above 15.2 m (50 feet), that extends for three miles from Scapa Bay in a north - north - easterly direction to the Bay of Kirkwall. The flagstones overlain by boulder clay, blown sand and alluvium provided an ideal site around the shores of a sheltered lagoon for the early development of Kirkwall, the Orcadian capital (Fig. 4).

To the west the land rises gently from low cliffs and rocky shores to a narrow platform around 47.7 m (150 feet). From this coastal strip slopes steepen to the peat and heather-clad summit of Wideford Hill at 225.9 m (741 feet) O.D. two miles from Kirkwall. Beyond, uncultivated moorland extends into the parish of Orphir. The remainder of the parish comprises undulating moorland reaching 76.2 m (250 feet) on the ridge of Berstane Hill one mile to the south-east of the town. On the north coast two peninsulas - Carness and Tankerness, separated by a wide sandy bay, are backed by lowlying agricultural land rising to a moorland plateau that continues into the east Mainland.

In the west Mainland the parish of Stromness and, as will be shown later, the burgh may be divided into two types of physiographic region (Fig. 5) whose boundaries result largely from contrasts in the underlying geological structure.

This part of the Mainland is noteworthy as only here are Highland rocks exposed on the surface, the steep slopes and rocky outcrops of the ridge trending north-north-east to south-south-west through Brinkie's Brae, 94.8 m (311 feet) above sea level, providing visible evidence of the existence of a granite/schist complex of pre-Old Red Sandstone age. Heavily eroded to form the trough of Stromness harbour to the east, the same rock system reappears in the triangle of low ground at the Whitehouse Rocks (Fig. 6).

Flanking this igneous core are younger strata of Old Red Sandstone age, the narrow outcrops of basal breccias and sandstone giving way to lower Stromness flags which, in the west at least, form an area of high ground terminating in the high cliffs of the Black Craig and Neban Point. Much of this area is unreclaimed moorland nursing pockets of lower, more fertile ground of the Burn of Selta, the old township of Mousland. Extensive areas of peat exist : at 47.7 m (150 feet) above sea level, to the north-west of Brinkie's Brae, and in the Moss of Quwhom, just above sea level.

The dissected upland surface, reaching 157.9 m (518 feet) in the Hill of Miffia, gradually decreases in height to the south and east, turning from heather moor to the richer, more heavily cultivated land of the townships. The separation of the farming communities is largely the result of physiographic factors and this is nowhere seen more clearly than in the case of the isolation of the townships of Inner and Outer Stromness on a fairly flat plain, possibly the remnants of a low level erosion surface, to the west of the resistant core of granite/schist. Towards the Loch of Stenness, where the Stromness flags have been more heavily eroded into an undulating lowland that rises above 60.9 m (200 feet) in only two, separated summits, Redland Hill and Bruna Fea, the latter giving probably the best-known and most impressive view of present-day Stromness, the townships are more closely linked.

In the rentals for the parish three main districts can be recognised: Inner and Outer Stromness, each comprising two ouncelands, and the twenty-seven pennylands of Cairston, containing the Earl's Bu', lying on low ground to the south-east of the parish. In addition a number of odal and quoylands are listed in the area bordering the Loch of Stenness. Each parish district included a church or chapel the earl's Bu' having an attached chapel (dedicated to the Holy Cross and in the 16th century standing as the parish church). The later parish church, St. Peter's Kirk, however, was erected at the sea shore in Inner Stromness, fragments of this church remaining within the cemetery about a mile to the south-west of the present town. Two buildings may be recognised: the gable end of one containing an eighteenth century mural monument bearing a version of the arms of Moodie of Melsetter, a landowner in the parish as early as the sixteenth century; the other, standing some twenty yards to the north, comprising the remains of a wall built without mortar. The site of the chapel and cemetery appears to have been occupied previously by a broch, and a probable link with the Celtic missionaries exists in the name 'monastery' used by the Ordnance Survey for a site locally known as the 'Monker House' and the presence of fragments of celtic jewellery found in the vicinity.

A number of other pre-Norse sites can be recognised within the fertile coastal areas of the parish. Numerous mounds of indeterminate origin have been identified and a cairn occurs on low ground in Cairston. Three other broch sites like that at the cemetery exist on defensive sites near water, those at the coast, however, having suffered partial destruction from marine erosion so that no significant constructions remain.

The only notable relic from this early period of Norse rule is the Bu' and Castle of Cairston. Although the Bu' is not actually termed 'Bordland' in the sixteenth century rentals the whole town, ie., the Bu' plus the attached farms or umbesseters, paid no skat and is described as 'old earldom'. Details in the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments suggest that some confusion exists over the dating of the fortress, known as Cairston Castle, attached to the Bu'. Orkneyinga Saga relates how, on September 22nd, 1152, Earl Erlend surprised the ships of Earl Harald off Kjarrekstead (Kjarreks-stöðum)⁴ whereupon Harald and his men took refuge in the "castle (i Kastalaun) that was then there." It is possible, however, that the saga writer confused Kjarreks-stöðum with Knarrar-stöðum, the modern Knarston, which is close to Kirkwall. Incidents associated with this battle suggest that the castle was near to Kirkwall. The remains of this old stronghold, lie to the south of the farm buildings at the Bu' on the west shore of the Bay of Ireland (Fig.7). Almost a square - measuring 70'0" north-south and 68'9" east-west -, the enclosure consists of walls, c. 4'0" thick, of rubble set in clay. Remains of domestic buildings occur against the inner sides of the north and west walls. A chamber in the north-west corner opens into a circular turret, some 9'0" in diameter which projects from the external angle. Excavation carried out in 1927 indicated a larger turret opening at the south-east angle that was probably added at a later date. A water inlet passing through the west wall of the enclosure was also exposed by excavation. The general structure and appearance is that of a sixteenth century building but when Earl Robert Stewart granted the estate in feu to William Gordon in 1587 it is possible that the new feuar merely rehabilitated and expanded the twelfth century castle. Clouston comments, however, that

'..... it had, moreover, no natural advantage of position, standing in a gently sloping field close to the beach, and was altogether a very primitive, early type of castle, ill-suited to withstand for long a determined attack by a strong force.'⁵

Apart from the stronghold and local churches the parish contained the same towns or districts with their scattered farms until the beginning of the seventeenth century. At that date the sheltered harbour, long used as an anchorage by local and foreign fleets, began to attract settlers and an urban development based on sea trade commenced on the steep east-facing slopes of the granite ridge of Brinkie's Brae.

Like the west Mainland parish, St. Ola experienced similar periods of settlement by early immigrants, notably the Picts. However, a large number of cairns, mounds and cists belonging to the Pre-Pictish era have also been excavated. These, while occurring mainly on the low-lying sites, can also be found on the uplands, an example being the chambered cairn situated at a height of 106.7 m (350 feet) O.D. on Wideford Hill (Fig. 8). Brochs, like those in Stromness are located on defensive coastal sites and thus have largely suffered from marine erosion. Other Pictish remains in the form of earth-houses are found on coastal areas where soil development is deeper allowing excavation of an underground chamber. Three examples occur within the parish boundary, one at Grain (Fig. 9), being within the burgh limits. Although no relic has ever been found in this earth-house examinations in the nineteenth century discovered masses of animal bones, ashes and shells on the top of the structure suggesting an economy based on the produce of adjacent land and sea.

In both parishes the later urban development did not occur on the site of these early settlements undoubtedly due to the need to choose a sheltered site with ample anchorages rather than the restricted defensive position of the Picts. However, unlike its younger neighbour, Kirkwall was established around the shore of a sheltered lagoon on the site of a Celtic settlement. Certainly the twelfth century records of

the Norse arrival set down in 'Historia Norvegiae' indicates that Orkney was inhabited by two classes of people, the Peti (Picts) and the Papae (Celtic clergy) and the continuation of the place-names associated with the early missionaries, particularly Papdale in Kirkwall, testify to their presence. Therefore it is likely that the presence of a small chapel built in Papdale and dedicated to a Celtic saint gave rise to the use of the name Kirkju-vágr⁶ (the creek of the Kirk) for the settlement. Certainly the parish church of St. Ola erected by a Norse Earl is likely to have been on the consecrated site of an earlier foundation.

As the largest part of the parish, some one hundred and four pennylands, was owned by the Church few individual landowners appeared in the rentals until the Bishopric estates began to be feued after 1560. A number of important odal estates can be recognised, however, at an early date and in Orkney inga Saga mention is made of homesteads at Glaitness, Gaitnip and Knarston.

With the arrival of the Norse earls in the tenth century the parish of St. Ola witnessed the expansion of the fishing and ecclesiastical settlement already established within the central lowland. The need for a seat of government and the amalgamation of the isolated self-sufficient agricultural units into an earldom brought into focus the need for an urban and administrative centre. Thus development in this location, unlike that in the West Mainland, was rapid and by A.D. 1046 the Sagas record the presence of Earl Rognvald and his troops in Kirkwall during the winter months. The invasion from Scandinavia resulted in a rapid increase in building and a hall or castle to accommodate the Earl was erected on the shore of the lagoon, to the south of the church. Many other magnificent constructions - churches and domestic buildings - followed and the small town soon became the flourishing capital of the island group.

CHAPTER II

The earliest written record of life in the Orkney Islands appears in Orkneyinga Saga. In the year A.D. 874 Earl Rogvald assisted Harald Harfager (Fair-hair) to conquer Norway, and the earls, chiefs and petty kings fled westward, principally to the islands, where they became established and, in due course, rebellious. King Harald became tired of the depredations of the exiles and sailed west to punish the Vikings. He subdued Shetland, the Orkneys and Hebrides and sailed to the Isle of Man to lay waste the Manx homesteads. It was in one of these battles that Ivar, son of Earl Rognvald, fell and the King, as compensation for the son's death, gave to his trusty earl the islands of Shetland and Orkney for his own. However, because of commitments in Norway, Rognvald proceeded to grant the earldom to his brother, Sigurd.

Thus when the earldom was established in the ninth century it is likely that Vikings had already subdued a 'Kingdom, dominion or federation of Celtic tribes whose territories included Orkney, Shetland and the northern part of Scotland'.¹ The remains of the structures built by these people - brochs, earth-houses - are found widely throughout the islands and the foundations of an extensive agricultural economy had been laid during this period of settlement as has been shown.

The form of the hamlet in the low corridor of land in the centre of the parish of St. Ola during the Pictish occupation is likely to have been simple. In this location the economy seems to have been based on the produce of the sea and it is likely that the first dwellings were erected facing north along the shore of the bay and by the edge of a large tidal basin, known in later times as the Oyce² or Peerie Sea³, separated from the open sea by a long shingle spit, the Ayre. Hossack in his volume 'Kirkwall in the Orkneys' comments that

'... such a position was highly advantageous to the primitive community, for when the outer waters were too boisterous for their frail vessels, they could launch their coracles on the lagoon, ready at all times to yield a liberal return to their primitive modes of fishing'.⁴

It was to this location at an unknown date that the Culdees, travelling north from the west coast of Scotland, came to establish a mission and chapel. The chapel seems to have been constructed in the shallow valley, known today as Papdale,⁵ beside a small stream flowing north-west into the lagoon. Even at such an early date it is likely that the dwellings were low but substantial structures made of rough stonework and roofed with turfs. The paucity of natural timber in the islands restricted its use in the construction of both buildings and boats.

The succeeding centuries witnessed many changes in Northern Europe. The Norwegian Crown held Denmark, much of Northern Scotland and, through marriage, the line continued into Normandy⁶ and so to the English throne. Despite these widespread family connections squabbles were constantly arising between minor chieftains and attempts to conquer and reconquer territory gave rise to much strife. King Harald's original gift of the Orkneys to Earl Rognvald was not least among the sources of trouble.

With the establishment of Harald on the Norwegian throne Rognvald had received the gift of lands in Möre and Romsdalen. Thus when the earldom of Orkney and Shetland was created Rognvald found himself fully occupied with affairs concerning his Norwegian property and thus his brother, Sigurd, was sent west to govern the islands. During his earldom lands were won from the Scots in Ross and Moray but in a dispute with a Celtic chief Sigurd died of blood poisoning, his leg having been pierced by the buck tooth of his slain opponent's head. Sigurd's son, Guttom succeeded to the title but died without issue, the property reverting to his uncle, Rognvald. Rognvald then gave the earldom to his son, Hallad, who settled on the Mainland, but, disliking the isolation, soon returned to Norway leaving his brother, Einar, Rognvald's youngest son, to replace him. Having defeated two Danish vikings, claimants to the isles, Einar ruled successfully for some time and taught the island inhabitants to use turf or peat as a fuel.

The ancient odal system of inheritance by partition meant, however, that the islands were often inherited jointly by several sons.

Thus on the death of Einar his three sons, Arnkell, Erlend and Thorfinn, ruled jointly and were succeeded by the four sons of Thorfinn. A period of conspiracy and murder followed but the youngest of Thorfinn's sons, Lodver, survived and was succeeded in turn by his son, Sigurd Lodverson (Sigurd II or Sigurd the Stout).

Up to this time the Vikings were pagan, believing in a number of powerful gods. However in the tenth century Olaf Tryggveson was baptised into the Christian faith in England and was burning to convert his countrymen. On his journey north to Norway in A.D. 995 to claim the kingdom he turned into the Orkneys and encountered Earl Sigurd sheltering in Osmondwall in the south isles. Olaf forced the earl to become converted by threatening to kill Sigurd's son. The son was transported to Norway where he remained until his death - an assurance of Sigurd's continued faith and loyalty.

The death of Sigurd in A.D. 1014 caused further problems as to ownership of the earldom. Four sons were left; three, Sumarled, Brusi and Einar, by the first wife, and Thorfinn by the second, the daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland. Up to the death of Sumarled the islands were divided into Trithings⁷ or Thirds among the elder brothers while Thorfinn ruled Caithness and Sutherland. However, on the death of the eldest son Einar took the spare Third although Thorfinn claimed his rightful portion. Einar thus held the Mainland and the nearer north and south isles banishing the meeker son, Brusi, to the outer isles in the north. During this period the inhabitants grew poorer and farms were neglected as Einar oppressed them with the burden of constant war expeditions forcing them eventually to complain to the local chiefs. The dispute continued even after Einar's death in A.D. 1020 at the hands of Thorfinn's foster-father and King Olaf was asked to divide the property between the two remaining earls. This he did, dividing the islands into three once more and retaining one of these Thirds for himself.

Some time later Brusi's son, Rognvald, who had been brought up at the court of King Olaf, claimed the earldom for himself. It was this earl who probably erected the church, on the site of the Celtic chapel, from which the settlement is thought to have been named.

There is no record of an earlier name in the Sagas but Mooney comments that

'... it is very improbable that such a central place as Kirkwall with its excellent outer and inner anchorages could have remained without a Norse name to the time of Rognvald Brusison'.⁸

However, on erection of this edifice in memory of his foster-father, Olaf the Holy, who was killed in the battle of Stiklestad in A.D.1030, the compound Kirku-vágr - the creek of the Kirk - was adopted.

An arched doorway, the only remains of St. Olaf's church is now found along a narrow close branching off the main street in Kirkwall. This remnant is not, however, part of the Norse kirk which seems to have been destroyed by fire in 1529, but is the entrance to the building probably erected by Bishop Reid later in the sixteenth century as the replacement for the damaged parish church. Details of this building have been recorded by Sir. H. Dryden⁹ and were printed in one of the local newspapers in the nineteenth century.

The sixteenth century structure (Fig.10) comprised a parallelogram, 35 feet x 18 feet internal dimensions, with the long axis oriented north-east to south-west. The walls varied in thickness: one to the south being 2 feet 11 inches and another, to the west, 3 feet 6 inches. The only entrance was on the south at a distance of 17 feet from the external west angle. This doorway, as can be seen in Plate 1 is 3 feet 5 inches wide with a semi-circular head and continuous mouldings, of a hollow, ornamented with four-leaved flowers and a filleted roll. It is thought that the ridge was about 24 feet high. No trace of original windows could be found in the nineteenth century and modern glass had been inserted in the east and south walls. The internal walls showed the positions of two ambries,¹⁰ both openings having an ogee arch under hood mouldings. The ambry in the north wall was more ornate than that in the east wall, being flanked by buttresses with finials. A few feet east of the entrance was a stoup or piscina¹¹. The decoration, noted by Dryden, indicates the use of a Gothic style, similar to that found in later parts of the cathedral and thus the complete rebuilding of the older church is indicated.

To the south of the chapel was the graveyard. With the adoption of the cathedral as the parish church in the late sixteenth century St. Olaf was abandoned and fell into disrepair. However, it has also been used as a poor-house, a carpenter's shop and warehouse and a dwelling-house in the succeeding centuries.

Earl Rognvald settled in Kirkwall and presumably built, in addition to the church, a castle or hall to accommodate himself and his troops. The Sagas note:

'....Earl Rognvald resided in Kirkwall, and brought there all necessities for the winter; he had a great number of men and entertained them liberally.'¹²

No detail of this structure is available although it is presumed to have been on higher ground to the south-west of the hamlet.

The Sagas indicate that at this point in history the hamlet was arranged along the shores of the bay and lagoon as described. Changes had occurred with the establishment of the earldom, however, and during the eleventh century the first of several public buildings was erected. This set the pattern to be followed by other earls during the succeeding centuries: a pattern that was to result in the development of an urban community richly endowed both culturally and architecturally. It may seem strange that, at such a comparatively early date, a commercial and ecclesiastical centre had developed in this remote island community. Similar centres, familiar enough in parts of England, were restricted in Scotland to the central lowland zone at this date. With the continued migration of Celtic missionaries northwards among the rocky promontories and islands off the west coast of Britain an awareness of a spiritual existence was brought to the isolated pagan communities. This, together with social intercourse from the voyagings of explorers and refugees within Europe led to a blossoming of cultural life. It was inevitable, therefore, that settlers in the Orkneys would bring some of this knowledge with them and in the fertile lowlands an advanced agricultural economy would be established. Within this physical environment a surplus was available from both land and sea to support a small but lively section of the community occupied with non-agricultural pursuits. With the arrival of the Norse in the ninth century the existing

settlers were organised into townships paying rent in kind and money for the support of the government as well as the church. The presence of the earl and his troops emphasised the need for a larger settlement and it is natural to suppose that one of the most attractive centres would have been the fishing hamlet in the central Mainland. Shelter and defence, plus means of escape by sea, were necessities for the earl, especially during the more troublesome periods, and these needs in turn attracted a community of craftsmen - masons, carpenters, boat-builders - to the shores of the lagoon. The wanderings of the Vikings themselves greatly enhanced the life in the islands. Christianity on a broader scale was introduced because of a chance encounter with King Olaf, and the presence of a Paris scholar was later to have an influence on the design and building of the cathedral. Individual personalities were to channel the development of the islands in succeeding centuries as will be shown but by the eleventh century the Norse influence was sufficient to provide the momentum for continued expansion.

Various earls succeeded Rognvald I and, almost a century later, his namesake was responsible for the next major development, that of the cathedral dedicated to St. Magnus.

Towards the beginning of the twelfth century Magnus returned to the islands from the Scottish court to claim his share of the earldom from his cousin, Hakon. The saintly Magnus, having refused to fight with Hakon, left to visit the English court of Henry I, returning the following year with warships armed. The councillors, however, brought about a reconciliation between the cousins and this was to be finalised at Egilshay in Easter week, each earl coming with two ships and an equal number of men. Hakon, however, summoned a greater force and Magnus, knowing himself to be outnumbered, went to the church to pray before placing himself at Hakon's mercy. When they met Magnus offered his cousin three choices: firstly, that he went south to Rome and Jerusalem to make atonement for both their souls, swearing never to return; secondly, that he be sent to imprisonment in Scotland, and, lastly, that he be maimed and thrown in a dungeon for the rest of his life. Although the Earl was satisfied with the last suggestion the

chieftains would agree to nothing short of murder and the Earl's cook was eventually persuaded to kill Magnus. Magnus prayed and issued the cook with orders to '...stand, thou before me and hew me on the head a great wound, for it beseems not to chop off chief's heads like thieves'.¹³ Magnus was murdered in A.D. 1116 and Hakon, having travelled to Rome and Jerusalem to cleanse his soul, became an excellent ruler.

Six years prior to his death Magnus' sister had married Kol, a Norwegian baron and their son, Kali, was heir to his uncle's half of the earldom. In A.D. 1129 King Sigurd of Norway confirmed the claim giving Kali the title of Earl and the name of Rognvald. Hakon's surviving son Paul, however, was allowed to remain sole earl for a number of years before, on Kol's advice, an embassy was sent to Orkney to press the claim. Paul refused to acknowledge the challenger and Rognvald's messengers continued south to seek help, for the ensuing battle, among the Scottish chiefs. Before the battle Kol gave his son the following advice:

'...Seek help whence it is abundant, for I think that he may grant thee thy realm who had it by right - I mean St. Magnus the Earl, thy uncle. I desire that, to provide for his granting thee the ancestral lands that are thine, and were his, thou make a vow to have a church of stone built at Kirkwall in the Orkneys when thou gainest that realm, so that there be not a more magnificent in the land; and let it be endowed so that the foundation may increase, and that it may be brought his relics, and with them the Episcopal Seat.'¹⁴

The vow was made firm and sure. Rognvald was successful and, without bloodshed, Earl Paul removed to Rousay, leaving the hall at Kirkwall for Rognvald.

Thus in A.D. 1137 St. Magnus Cathedral, the most considerable monument erected during the Norse occupation, was started, ranking with Glasgow Cathedral as one of the two finest and most complete of the cathedral churches in Scotland (Plates 2 & 3). Kol, the earl's father, was entrusted with the organisation of the construction of the cathedral and it was on a site on higher ground to the south of Papdale but towards

the shores of the Oyce that architects and builders gathered their materials. It is thought likely that Kol brought his builders from Norway although the cathedral displays nothing distinctively Norse either in its technique or in its design, resembling rather the work of Durham masons. This link with the south is not surprising when one considers that Bishop William the Old, a Paris scholar then resident in Kirkwall, would have undoubtedly seen some of the principle Norman churches in France and England and that Kol himself would probably be familiar with the recently completed Cathedral at Stavanger. In addition, with the introduction of Christianity to Norway English bishops had been appointed, Stavanger, for instance, having a bishop from Winchester, and Englishmen and Scotsmen were responsible for building a number of Norwegian churches and abbeys.

The original design was for a cruciform Romanesque church comprising, firstly, an aisled nave, eight bays in length; secondly, north and south transepts, each with an east apsidiole;¹⁵ and lastly, a choir of three bays, terminating in a central apse and having aisles that were square-ended externally. The choir and nave, excluding the apse was to have been 130 feet in length. It is likely that towers were planned at the west end of the nave aisles and above the crossing, and the foundations of a cloister on the south side of the nave have been discovered. The material employed on the building is the local flagstone, used as rubble, with dressings of freestone from the Head of Holland, three miles away, and from the island of Eday. The west gable, however, is mainly red ashlar although alternate red and white bands produce an interesting polychrome effect in the mouldings of the west doorways.

The foundations were laid as a single operation but work on the walls and piers commenced at the east end proceeding westward as far as the two easterly bays of the nave aisles and the two easterly piers of the nave arcade. The earliest masonry was built without a plinth and external buttresses are mainly confined to the heavy south nave wall. By the middle of the twelfth century the choir and transepts had been completed (Fig.11).

A halt in progress followed as, by A.D. 1144, available funds had been exhausted. Kol suggested that a bargain be sealed between Earl Rognvald and the landowners. Since Earl Sigurd II Orkney peasant proprietors had not been in possession of their odal rights, having to pay a casualty to the Earl on succeeding to their heritable property. Kol proposed that on payment of one merk¹⁶ for each plough's land (plough-gang)¹⁷ in the area of their respective holdings they should become freeholders enjoying the ancient odal rights independent of the earl. Orkneyinga Saga reports that:

'...All were well pleased, and thenceforward there was no lack of money for the building of the church and it became a magnificent structure'.¹⁸

When work was resumed a Transitional style had replaced the original Romanesque.

'...Rognvald's (Kol's) plan has served as a guide for the entire structural development; and, with a respect for the already existing, that is uncommon in the Middle Ages, subsequent architects, one after the other, have adapted their own style to that of the founder, without, however, to any great extent renouncing their artistic individuality'.¹⁹

The new Transitional design is found in the eastern chapels of the transepts, built A.D. 1160 - 1200, and within the same period the upper window in the north transept gable was rebuilt and the crossing was thought to have been completely reconstructed. A certain amount of conflict exists, regarding this reconstruction. Dryden and Meyer agree that the lower part of the tower is late twelfth century, and the upper part thirteenth century, but Kerr argues that

'...the removal and rebuilding of such a heavy mass of masonry as the central tower would tax the skill of the masons of that time; and unless the tower had fallen (which it did not) it seems unlikely that anyone would dream of taking it down'.²⁰

Three theories are in vogue: the first suggestion is that the Norman piers of the tower were re-chiselled with the Transitional mouldings;

the second that the old piers were encased in Transitional mouldings, and, lastly that the original Norman piers were removed and new piers erected in Transitional style upon old foundations. If this latter were the case it was a daring operation and resulted in the erection of the existing crossing piers and arches with enough of the tower to receive the roof ridges. This enabled a future extension to both choir and nave to be planned.

By A.D. 1180 work on the nave had progressed as far as the sixth bay westward from the transepts and the aisle walls had been built up to the tops of the windows. At this stage a temporary gable was erected to enable the completion of the six bays. (Fig.12).

By the beginning of the thirteenth century the aisle walls and north doorway had been completed. The nave, triforium and clerestorey had been constructed at a slightly lower level than those of the choir and transepts and six bays of the nave and aisles were covered with quadripartite vaults.²¹ The plan to include vaulting in the nave replaced the intended open wooden roof. (Plate 4).

At this time the original scheme for the west front was abandoned and a new design, eventually completed two centuries later, was commenced. A similar alteration was effected on the choir. Prior to A.D. 1250 the apse at the east end of Rognvald's choir was removed and three bays were added with a straight east gable. Like those in the nave the aisles were vaulted but the choir itself had an open wooden roof. High vaults were inserted over Romanesque bays and extended above the three new bays. Because of the change of style the wall-heads of the older section of the choir had to be raised. The Royal Commission Inventory states that "...architectural detail of the new bays suggest a design by a French architect"²² and may have been executed in part by French masons.

The succeeding century witnessed the raising of the crossing tower to the level of the bell chamber and the tower itself was probably completed with a Bartizan²³ and spire (Plate 5).

By the addition of three bays to the choir the western limb had lost its due length in proportion to the east, and when the choir

was nearing completion, extension to a new west gable was started to retain the nazareth cross plan.²⁴ It is not known how long the temporary west gable remained standing although Dryden concludes that the original west wall of the nave (built in the thirteenth century in the third style) was undisturbed and until the present gable was erected in the fourth period, outside the old one, it was left standing.

'... A considerable time elapsed between the finishing of the west face and the finishing of the insertion'.²⁵

Meyer disagrees that the old temporary west front was left standing after the new gable was completed and attributes the lower portion of the west front - possibly started in A.D. 1250 - to Bishop Henry, while the eastward extension was in progress. Although the gable was not completed until the time of Bishop Thomas Tulloch, c. 1460, the polychrome doorways are possibly thirteenth century. (Plate 6).

'...The lofty west gable rises grandly from the ground, and exhibits some later work in a glorious triple portal of thirteenth century date, and overhead a later traced window above which the gable is reared skyward'.²⁶

With the completion of this gable the two adjoining bays of the nave and aisles were built, the work proceeding from west to east. These bays plus that to the west of the temporary gable remain unvaulted, the vault having been removed from the third bay. The aisle walls were then buttressed. (Fig. 13).

The Cathedral was eventually completed some three and a quarter centuries after its foundation. Further alterations were of a minor character. In the sixteenth century the west external doorway in the south aisle was replaced while mullions were inserted in the east window of the choir, and the gablet surrounding the central doorway in the west gable was repaired. In 1671 the spire was struck by lightning, being replaced by a pyramidal wooden roof. The fabric having undergone a series of repairs and renovations, particularly in the last century, is now experiencing major repair due to excessive movement outwards of the west front and the two adjacent bays.

The effect of the erection of such a structure within the Orcadian landscape was undoubtedly dramatic. Meyer states that

'...St. Magnus Cathedral is the grandest building in the Orkneys the mightiest monument left by the Norsemen in the west, next to Trondhjem Cathedral the oldest monument of the whole of ancient Norway'.²⁷

and Kerr admits that

'...work of this order is rare in Scotland, and in Kirkwall we have the most successful treatment in the country'.²⁸

Though one of the smallest in Britain it gives at first sight an impression of immense size and in fact provides an important landmark from many points in both the north and south isles. The length and height have been exaggerated while the width is reduced to give the illusion of a towering structure. In the nave the height of the vaulting is 71 feet while the width between the pillars is less than 17 feet. It is unusual too in the use of coloured stonework. Although there is evidence that the interior was, at one time, covered with plaster on which frescoes were painted, the present exposure of the red freestone gives the Cathedral, especially with the rays of the late afternoon sun lighting the pillars, a warmth and life of its own.

The building under the direction of Kol and later under other architects and many bishops would have employed a large number of men, adding greatly to the inhabitants of St. Ola. Experienced craftsmen were imported from other parts of Britain and the continent and these included masons, hewers, carpenters, quarrymen and boatmen for transporting the freestone to the Cathedral site. It is likely, however, that all or most of the unskilled workmen would have been recruited locally.

It is thought probable that within three or four years of the foundation of the Cathedral, enough was built to allow its consecration and Bishop William had the relics of St. Magnus brought from the older cathedral in Birsay. The Short Magnus Saga records the event

'...Bishop William fared (from Birsay) east to Kirkwall with a worthy company, and brought thither the halidom of Earl Magnus. The shrine was set on the altar that is in the church there (St. Olaf's). The market town of Kirkwall had then few houses, but it has since spread out much. Thither after that fared many men and watched there in the church at the halidom and got cured for their ailments if they vowed to Earl Magnus with true faith'.²⁹

Orkneyinga Saga includes a long list of pilgrims visiting this spot and the need for accommodation for both these visitors and the men employed in the building operations gave an excellent start to the growth of the town.

With the removal of the remains of St. Magnus from Birsay to its eventual resting place near the Cathedral altar the bishopric was transferred to the bustling town of Kirkwall. The appointment by Bishop William of ecclesiastical officials for the Cathedral necessitated the construction of residential buildings for them and it is likely that, shortly after the foundations of the Cathedral had been laid, work commenced on a Bishop's Palace some forty yards to the south.

Haakon Haakonsson's Saga relates how, on his journey north after his defeat at the battle of Largs in October 1263, the King reached Kirkwall and took up residence in the Bishop's Palace for the winter. From the Saga it seems that the building consisted of a two-storeyed hall with an adjoining chamber. The Bishop's chapel, a separate building, is also mentioned. During the winter King Haakon became ill and died in the chamber attached to the Palace, his body receiving temporary burial in the Cathedral choir until it could be removed to Bergen the following spring.

An examination of the fabric reveals, in the lower levels at least, marked similarities to the Cathedral. The lower part of the rectangular hall (Fig.14) is built, except for the dressed work, entirely of regularly coursed flagstones. The narrow loopholes in the

outer wall of the Palace open towards the interior where they are built of red and yellow freestones in alternating bands. The walls of flagstones and dressed freestones, all carefully squared and arranged at the quoins or angles, are identical to the masonry in the oldest parts of the Cathedral where, as has already been noted, polychrome decoration was a feature of the early building, the technique culminating dramatically in the west doorways of the thirteenth century. Other indications of twelfth century construction are found in the occurrence of small squared holes in the outer walls. These were for the attachment of scaffolding, on completion of the building the wooden beams being sawn off inside and outside. Decay of the wood has resulted in the present openings.

By 1320, however, it is recorded that the Bishop's Palace was

'...for the most part in ruins'³⁰

due to neglect and alienation of the diocesan revenues. Periods of rebuilding followed, the most important being in 1550 under Bishop Reid and c. 1600 by Earl Patrick Stewart. The later constructions are easily recognisable from a study of the interior. The outward movement of the west wall necessitated the erection of large buttresses and the upper walling was replaced. The masonry in this section differs markedly from the basement levels. The arrangement of stones is haphazard, the stones themselves varying in shape, size and colour. At the quoins no attempt has been made to square off the stones and no regular coursing is to be seen. Remains of the vaulting carried out by Bishop Reid in the lower floors exhibit a more regular arrangement of stonework.

The most significant construction of the sixteenth century under Bishop Reid is the large circular tower at the north-west corner of the hall (Plate 7). The basement of the tower, a vaulted cellar lit only by three gunloops, is entered from the northmost cellar under the hall. There is no connection between this room and the square chamber above, the latter being approached from the main hall. This unvaulted chamber, lit by two windows, and having a fire-place, wall-presses and

a privy was probably the Bishop's private room or solar.

Communication with the upper rooms was effected by a spiral staircase enclosed in the wall at the south angle of the solar. The rooms in the upper tower are similar to that on the first floor, except that the third floor room has no fireplace. The stair continues up to a wall walk surrounding the square garret storey of the tower. This defensive parapet supported on a double row of corbels, appears to have been roofed - an extra protection against the Orcadian weather. The well-coursed exterior masonry of the tower is punctuated with embrasures for artillery, while facing Palace Road are two sculptural elements (Plate 8). The right-hand one shows a shield of arms in high relief - supposed to be those of Bishop Reid. The other sculpture is of a bishop, his mitre resting on the low desk in front of the figure. The whole is enclosed in a Gothic niche, the white freestone figure contrasting with the surrounding red freestone mouldings. The style and condition of this sculpture suggests that it is a thirteenth century creation installed in the wall by Bishop Reid.

In 1568 the Bishop's Palace came into the possession of Earl Robert Stewart by a deed of excambion with Bishop Bothwell. The Episcopal Palace was reconstructed by his son, Earl Patrick Stewart, before being transferred to Bishop James Law in 1607. The Earl was responsible for the rearrangement of the hall and its extension to the south. He further lowered the floor level of the hall which necessitated a similar lowering of two fire-places and the removal of Reid's vaulting. The hall was divided into four chambers and the upper storey, originally containing bed chambers, was likewise rearranged. It is likely that Earl Patrick also provided a garret.

To the south of the hall the Earl added an extension that originally formed an arcaded loggia of two bays with a couple of storeys of habitable rooms above. The arcade was later built up and a window and door were provided on the west side. The second floor of the extension had large oriels on either side, carried on basket corbelling similar to that found on his own Palace nearby. Gunloops were provided in the masonry of these windows. Corbels were also introduced in the main hall at this time to support Earl Patrick's later ceiling.

The hall itself was only part of the Bishop's Palace, The Sagas mention a separate chapel and the remains of a square tower have been found to the east of Reid's round tower. Belonging to the garrison side of the Palace, this tower most likely contained the Massy More or dungeon, and has bequeathed its name to the neighbouring tower in the form "Moosie Tower". The Official Guide to the monument mentions in addition to the chapel, two square towers. One, called the Mense Tower was of great size with turretted corners and was probably used as a bishop's manse.

Passing from the north gable of the hall to one of the square towers was the main entrance to the episcopal precinct. Known as the Watergate, this large round-arched opening can be seen in early engraved views of the Cathedral area. During the widening of the street in 1877, however, the arch was removed and rebuilt in the east wall of the Palace. The improvements wrought by Earl Patrick were of short duration as in the rebellion of 1614 the Bishop's and Earl's Palaces were seized by the Earl's son, Robert Stewart and were, with his removal, allowed to fall into decay.

The development of an ecclesiastical centre in the latter part of the twelfth century on higher ground to the south of the original hamlet resulted in a division of the town into two distinct districts (Fig.15). Although it is impossible to say when this was first noted, the separation between the bishopric settlements to the south of the Cathedral, in what has come to be known as the Laverock, and the earl's or king's town around the shore-line dwellings and the earl's castle, gave rise, at a comparatively early date, to a marked functional zonation. Thus the commercial centre continued to grow around the lagoon although there would have been a change in emphasis from the original fishing economy to one embracing the crafts and skills needed for the construction industry. Separated from this development by a wide stretch of shore in front of the Cathedral, on which material was assembled and blocks hewn for the building, was the ecclesiastical centre. This separation of civil and ecclesiastical power was to be found in many Scottish towns; in Edinburgh, for instance, existing into the nineteenth century. In Kirkwall this division is still celebrated in the annual Ba', a football

game commencing in front of the Cathedral and played through the streets between teams from the upper and lower town. It is certain that during this period Kirkwall flourished. In the Rognvald section of Orkneyinga Saga passages are found referring to the increase in population and in the latter part of the twelfth century an alehouse, frequented by leading men in the earldom, was in existence.

For the next two centuries little is known of the development of the town. The sequence of Norse earls continued until A.D. 1231 when a break in the male line occurred and the son of a Scotsman, an Earl of Angus who had married the daughter of an Earl of Orkney, was recognised by the Suzerain as successor. The Earls of Angus continued until A.D. 1321 when they were replaced through a similar cause by the Stratherne line. Fifty-eight years later a third line of Scottish earls, the 'lordly line' of St. Clair, inherited the title. This line continued until William Sinclair transferred his lands and rights to King James III of Scotland in A.D. 1471.

During the last period of these Scottish earls Kirkwall Castle was built by Earl Henry St. Clair (A.D. 1379-83). Although it is thought to have been erected in the vicinity of the earlier residence of the Norse earls, nothing is known of the earlier building. The St. Clair fortress was built on the west side of the principal street, to the north-west of the Cathedral, and was erected in order to provide the Earl with a place of residence equal in strength to the Bishop's Palace and having accommodation for a garrison. Under Henry II his
'...little court of Orkney was the most elegant and refined in Europe and adorned with the official services of many proud Scottish nobles'.³¹
The castle had a reputation for great strength being described in a letter written to Lord Binning by Lord Caithness in the following terms:

'...It is one of the strongest houses in Britain;
for I will bring with me to your Lordship cannon bullets
broken like golf balls upon the castle, and clovin in
twa halfis.'³²

Certainly the remains of a wall, 55 feet long by 11 feet thick, still in existence in the nineteenth century, seem to bear witness to its solidity.

The Rev. George Barry suggested that there was some connection with the church, describing the arms and mitre engraved on a stone on its front. Nothing is known of this association and it seems likely that the stone, originally incorporated in an ecclesiastical building, may have been transferred to this new situation at an unknown date.

Barry also writes that it was '... originally the ordinary residence of the royal governors, chamberlains or farmers of these islands'.³³ The Frenchman, Bonot, was governor of the Castle when the Earldom was held by Mary of Lorraine and after her death Michael Balfour was appointed to the post. It later became the property of the Stewart Earls. On the imprisonment of Earl Patrick in Dumbarton Castle, his son, Robert Stewart, was persuaded to seize the castle on behalf of the Earl. To put down the insurrection troops were sent north carrying from Edinburgh castle '... ane great cannon callit Thrawn Mouthe, markit with the porcupine, and ane battering piece, markit with the salamander'.³⁴ The commander, the Earl of Caithness, then

'...commanded the cannoneers to shute at the Castle, who did their part so well that by the second shot one of the turrets upon the head of the House was pierced and almost beaton down, to the great terror of the traitors'.³⁵

The strength of the fortress is indicated by the fact that it withstood the siege for many weeks before being surrendered. Although an order for the demolition of Kirkwall Castle was issued on 22nd October, 1614, the Sheriff Court was still sitting in the building on 5th May, 1615. However, by October, 1615, this Court had moved to the Earl's Palace probably indicating that the Castle had been cleared away. Remains of a wall, however, were in existence in 1865 when, in order to improve access to the harbour, the Earl of Zetland gave permission for the site to be levelled. A commemorative plaque was later inscribed on the front of the Castle Hotel. Other buildings connected with the Castle and the Earl's retainers arose on sites in the immediate vicinity of the Castle (Plate 9).

Undoubtedly during the three centuries following the commencement of the Cathedral great changes had taken place in the small settlement. With the introduction of a line of Scots earls and the expansion of the hamlet, often with immigrant traders and artisans, the Norse influence was considerably diluted. The great influx from Scotland brought both cultural and economic change and many of the new settlers were to become wealthy and influential members of the community. Hossack recognises that the increase in population was due largely to the presence of many immigrants who

'...brought with them from the outer world tastes which could only be gratified through a maritime trade with British and Continental ports. And the demand called forth the supply, bringing to the front quite a number of merchant sailors, many of whom, by commercial enterprise, acquired wealth.³⁶

The periods of bloodshed and violence under the Vikings in the early years of the earldom had, during the centuries, been replaced by less destructive activities. With the erection of the impressive civil and ecclesiastical buildings the community had become organised and a flourishing trading settlement had emerged.

A physical expansion of the town had also occurred during this period. Prior to the first burgh charter the dwelling houses and business premises occupied the site between the shore of Kirkju-vágr and the Castle. The Laverock, the second division of the town, extended to the south and, between the two, the Cathedral with its lofty spire kept watch over the islands, providing the focus for the isolated island communities.

While the Norse heritage was significant well into the eighteenth century, as the remains of odal land tenure and terminology indicate, the arrival of the Scots was to become an increasingly important factor in influencing the future development of the islands generally and Kirkwall in particular. In the succeeding centuries a pattern of feudal ownership was to become established, especially under the Stewart Earls, and with the impignoration of the islands in A.D.1468 the community as a whole was to become increasingly dependent on

contact with the Kingdoms to the south for its continued livelihood.

The Kingdom of ... in the ... region ...

... and ...

... and ...

... did not ...

... and ...

... and ...

... and ...

CHAPTER III

By the marriage contract of A.D. 1468 Christian I, King of three Scandinavian countries, pledged sovereign rights and possessions in the islands as the dowry of his daughter, Princess Margaret, who was betrothed to King James III of Scotland. The dowry was set at 60000 Rhenish florins¹ but because of monetary difficulties Christian could provide only 2000 florins. Thus in 1468 the impignoration of Orkney took place for the sum of 50000 florins and, a year later, Shetland was pawned for the balance of the dowry. The wording of the charter states that

'...We, Christian, King of Norway... give, grant, pledge, and place under sure hypothec² and mortgage, likeas we have mortgaged all the sundry rights, services and their just pertinents, lawfully belonging to us and our predecessors the Kings of Norway'.³

and was a temporary transaction giving James rights over the King's property, not the earldom, bishopric or udallers' lands.

James did not find this situation at all satisfactory as all his rights would need to be relinquished should King Christian pay the balance due on his daughter's dowry. Moreover, the Orkneys were of strategic importance due to their proximity to Scotland and, therefore, it was desirable to obtain a securer footing than the marriage contract permitted.

Thus by a series of transactions in 1470-71 the Crown of Scotland

'...in exchange of certain lands in Fife and a pension of 40 merks, acquired from Earl William an irredeemable title to the Earldom estate and jus Comitatus Orchadie'.⁴

This excambion took place despite the fact that a clause in the document, relating to the installation of Henry Sinclair and his successor William Sinclair as earl, forbade the alienation or sale of the Earldom of Orkney and Lordship of Shetland '... or lands or islands belonging to the said earldom'.⁵

Thus two years after the marriage the King became Earl of Orkney holding all its ancient estates and rights - a position which could not be altered even if the dowry was paid.

About the same time James arranged to have the bishopric of the islands transferred from the metropolitan See of Trondhjem to St. Andrews in Scotland - a move undoubtedly encouraged by the series of Scottish bishops appointed to Orkney at this date. The King thus gained whatever privileges the See yielded to the Crown.

There were many advantages to be gained from these transactions. Scotland became the largest landowner in the Orkneys and Shetlands and could benefit from the revenues of the rich estates and reduce the Norse influence that had disturbed the peace within the north and west of Scotland in previous centuries. In addition, however, the King was relieved of the balance of a debt owing to Norway for the lease of the Western Isles. By the Treaty of Perth, 1266, Scotland paid the Annual of Norway, a yearly rental of 100 merks, but this was cancelled and substantial arrears were wiped out by the marriage.

The stage was then set for the charter which appeared in 1486 whereby James erected the town of Kirkwall into a Royal burgh. The document confirmed to the 'Provost, Baillies, Council and Community of our Burgh and City of Kirkwall' a number of gifts of lands but opens with preliminary descriptive passages.⁶

'...For as muckle as we are really informed that there is no burgh or town within these islands of Orkney but our said burgh or city of Kirkwall'.

and considering

' it is for the present almost undone by the foreigners, extraneous forestallers and merchants that cometh from all parts, not being burgesses of the said burgh, and buys and sells all sorts of commoditys as freely in the said islands as any freeman, burgesses of our said burgh or city doeth'.

The charter continues:

'We of new again erect all an haill our said Burgh and City of Kirkwall and that part thereof called the Laverock, with all and sundry houses, biggings, tenements, ways, places, oyss (wherein the sea flows), yards, tofts, crofts, quoys, milns, milnlands, multures, sequels, lochs, watergangs, kirks, chappels, schools, lying within the territory thereof with an free port and haven, in an full Burgh Royal'.

A number of lands in the parish of St. Ola were conveyed to Kirkwall viz. St. Catherine's Quoys, Carness, ground between Carness and Weyland, Kirkwall Hill and Wideford Hill, but excluding Weyland and Papdale.

The confirmation includes:

'all and Haill the Kirk called St. Magnus Kirk, and all other kirks, chappels and chapplandries, schools, yards yr'of, right of patronage within our said Burgh, and all and sundry lands belonging to the said kirks, chappels, chapplandries and schools, provided to the same in q'tsor manner or way, also well lyand without burgh as within the samin; with full power to the said Provost, Bailies and Council of the said Burgh, and their successors, to intromit, uplift and receive the same, duties of the said lands, and to sett and raise the same in all tyme coming'.

A number of powers of administration and legislation were granted to the Town Council. These included weekly markets, annual fairs,⁷ and the power of 'Pitt and Gallows'; with customs and shore dues. The Council itself was to comprise a Provost, four bailies, dean of guild, a treasurer and council of 15 burgesses. The burgesses, as was normal in royal burghs, were given the full rights of trade in merchandise of all kinds and to export and import freely. Power was also given to the Council to receive within the burgh 'baxters, brewers, fishers, fleshers, taylors, cordinars, websters, wakers, smiths, wrights, carpenters, masons' and other artificers and craftsmen to use their respective crafts. Also a tolbooth and prison-house had to be built, together with a Mercate cross and throne or tron (official

weighing machine). It was this restriction of foreign trading to the burgesses that was to cause a violent dispute between Kirkwall and the younger settlement of Stromness in 1755.

There were, however, a number of reservations in the Charter, in particular:

- (a) the right to cut peats for their own use was reserved to the tenants of bishopric lands around Kirkwall i.e. Weyland, Grain, Hatston, Yairsay and Saverock,
- (b) the King and his successors reserved the Castle of Kirkwall and its contents, and
- (c) the Bishop's Palace was reserved to the Bishop of Orkney and Shetland.

In recent centuries the Church of Scotland has questioned the legality of ownership of St. Magnus Cathedral by the Town Council of Kirkwall. The transfer of the magnificent church, originally the property of Earl Rognvald and endowed by him, to the burgh may seem strange. However, up to the impignoration the Cathedral undoubtedly remained in the possession of the earl and was passed down to Earl William Sinclair as part of the earldom property. Thus with the excambion the Cathedral passed to King James III and he had either to keep the administration of the building and its rich endowments in his own hands or convey it to some responsible body. With the formation of the Royal burgh in 1486 it was natural, therefore, that the newly created town council should take all the responsibility for the Cathedral. For maintenance of the memorial church a number of lands were also conveyed to the burgh viz: Glaitness, St. Catherine's Quoys, Butquoy, Rowisquoy, Quoyangrie, Quoybanks, Hornersquoy, Soulisquoy, Pickaquoy, Andersquoy, Mudisquoy and the lands of the Prebend of St. John.

In the succeeding two centuries confirmation of the 1486 charter was necessary, principally because of trespass. Bishop Reid, for instance, seized the revenues of the Prebendary of St. John from the burgh in the mid-sixteenth century. In 1536 a Charter of Confirmation was given by King James V. At this date, in addition

to the attempts made to remove certain lands and privileges from the burgh, there were encroachments on the trading privileges and those that affected

'...the yearly rents and profits of all their common good
as well as their quoyes, rights of patronage, prebendaries
detained and withholden from them by some of the
 inhabitants within the said island of Orkney'.⁸

At the Scottish Reformation in 1560 the greater part of the Church's wealth was confiscated by the Crown or portioned out among aristocratic laymen, leaving inadequate stipends for the Reformed ministers. This insufficiency was partly made up by the appropriation of Kirkland revenues to which the Bishopric was not entitled. It is, however, not clear whether it was the bishops or Earl Robert Stewart who deprived Kirkwall of St. Catherine's Quoyes and other lands in St. Ola which, by the original charters, belonged to the burgh.

A few years after the Reformation Queen Mary gave her husband, the Earl of Bothwell, the title of Duke of Orkney. After Bothwell's flight, the title was bestowed on Mary's half-brother, Lord Robert Stewart, who was to hold the lands belonging to the earl, king and bishop. Earl Robert was in a position to confiscate many Kirkwall properties as he held the abbacy of Holyrood which he bartered with Bishop Bothwell for the temporalities of the Bishopric of Orkney. During his earldom he also became Provost of Kirkwall and dared to declare himself the Superior of the Royal Burgh.

Such was the influence of the first Stewart Earl that the islanders came together in the sixteenth century to list the oppressions endured under Earl Robert. There were a number of complaints, viz: that the Earl had

- (I) raised the rents to the limits of the tenants' endurance
- (II) oppressed the churchmen and others into compulsory surrender of their lands and rights
- (III) suppressed burghal liberties of Kirkwall and burned its archives
- (IV) aggravated the evils of odal subdivision by extending the sister's part to a share even of the Head Bu'.

- (V) abolished odal mills on every burn and astricted all to his own mills with new Scottish burdens,
- (VI) claimed the whole commonties, fisheries and sea beach and punished all use of them by native or stranger as a trespass,
- and (VII) laid heavy tolls or customs on numerous fleets of Dutch fishermen and Norwegian traders whose traffic to and from the islands interfered with his own monopoly, and found other illicit profits in the sale of remissions for crimes, permissions for single combat, and licences for exclusive traffic, in secret encouragement and partnership with pirates and in prohibiting assistance to wrecks as an infringement of his pretended droits of Admiralty.⁹

Little could be done to improve the situation and under Patrick, the Earl's son, the oppressions continued. The complications of land ownership were not eased by the excambion in 1614 between Bishop Law and King James VI of lands in Holm, Orphir, Stromness, Sandwick, Shapinsay, Walls, Hoy and parts of St. Ola. Because of this exchange, supposedly initiated to rationalise the division of land within the islands, the Royal Burgh was left with only two quoyes - Soulisquoy and Mudiesquoy - of the original gift of a dozen, but Kirkwall and Wideford Hills together with some other uncultivated lands likewise escaped appropriation.

On the death of James VI his successor, Charles I, appears to have assumed the title of Earl of Orkney but during the Commonwealth in the mid-seventeenth century a further attempt was made to deprive Kirkwall of its early charters and rights as a Royal Burgh.

William, Earl of Morton, not satisfied with the powers and revenues granted by Charles I in a lease of the Earldom and Crown estates of Orkney and Shetland, coveted those of the Royal burgh which were outside his lease. He thus harassed the Town Council for eight years putting the inhabitants to enormous expense, having them charged before the Privy Council as rebels and deprived of their municipal rights. Morton was a royalist and thus with the establishment of the

Commonwealth under Cromwell he invited a continental force under the Marquiss of Montrose to Orkney in an attempt at restoring Charles II to the throne. Together with a kinsman, Lord Kinnoul, Montrose brought his troops north in 1650 and succeeded in enlisting c. 2000 Orcadians to the cause. With the defeat of Montrose's army Cromwell's troops were quartered upon the burgh. The magistrates and town council then '..... ceased at once to discharge their duties. They seem to have refused to assess the people, or exert any authority whatever'.¹⁰ The persecution was so severe that, in 1657, the Burgesses resolved to petition Cromwell for recognition of the burgh rights. Cromwell reacted favourably and Bailie Patrick Craigie was sent to Edinburgh in the following year to look after the interest of the burgh. In 1658 - 59 Provost Craigie discovered proof of the burgh rights in the ancient charters and Charles II issued a Charter of Confirmation in 1661. This document confirmed

'... all other charters, infeftments, precepts and instruments of sasine, new donations, concessions, mortifications and acts of donation, and all other writings, rights, titles and securities

of whatsoever nature'

granted to the burgh together with 'profits, commodities and possessions'¹¹ enjoyed because of the previous charters. Emphasis was placed on the legality of the delivery of stone and 'verge'¹² at the market cross as a seisin for house property sales and land transactions, and the reservations affecting the Bishop's Palace and bishopric lands were confirmed.

This charter enraged Morton to such an extent that on 11th June, 1662, he petitioned the Privy Council to suppress Kirkwall Corporation, accusing the magistrates of supporting Cromwell. Morton's influence at Court was strong and a decree was issued by Parliament commanding the burgesses and inhabitants of the Orcadian capital to cease exercising '... any of the jurisdictions or power belonging or proper to a burgh royal or burgh of regality until their right and jurisdiction was cleared and decided'¹³ and summoning seven leading citizens to appear before Parliament.

Provost Craigie, however, managed at last to persuade the Lords of Treasury to issue an order prohibiting the troublesome Earl of Morton from interfering with the town of Kirkwall, or the rights of any of the inhabitants. The dispute ended in the 'Extract Act of Ratification in favour of the Burgh of Kirkwall' issued by Parliament in 1670. The original charters of the Royal Burgh were confirmed although no attempt was made to restore the lost revenues. Also contained within the document was a declaration making legal the appropriation by the bishopric of church lands and endowments originally set aside for the maintenance of the Cathedral. The burgh had won but its loss of land and revenues was to cause problems in later years especially regarding Cathedral maintenance.

In Rognvald's original vow prior to his battle with Earl Paul over his claim to the earldom he pledged to

'... let it (the Cathedral) be endowed so that the foundation may increase'¹⁴

and with the erection of the town into a Royal Burgh in 1486 a dozen quoyis plus the lands of the Prebend of St. John were granted to provide the revenues for the maintenance of the Cathedral fabric. As has been mentioned, during the succeeding centuries these lands were to be taken from the burgh by both the holders of the earldom and bishopric. The appropriation of the Prebend of St. John took place c. 1544. On the reconstruction of the Cathedral Chapter Bishop Reid managed to divert the revenues of this Prebend from the magistrates putting it to use in the support of the ministers of Kirkwall congregation. The bishop and bishopric estates were thus relieved of the burden of the payment of these stipends. Reid introduced seven new dignitaries to his Chapter, and appointed seven prebendaries, thirteen chaplains, six choristers and a sacristan, the residences of these officials being in the Laverock close to the Cathedral. In Reid's charter the burgh of Kirkwall appears to have had its responsibility for the church limited to the upkeep of the nave, the bishop having control over the choir. Mention is also made of the Prebend of St. Mary and it is possible that the revenues from land in the parishes of Evie and Rendall, that formed this Prebend, went

towards the upkeep of the roof and windows of St. Magnus.

In spite of the removal of lands from the burgh, with Reid's new scheme of administration it may be argued that the endowments were placed on a clear and proper footing for the first time. As has already been shown, Reid was also responsible for the extension of building work throughout the burgh. In addition to the work in the nave of the Cathedral he is reputed to have decorated

'the Entry with a Magnificent Porch'¹⁵.

When the ancient Norse church of St. Olaf was destroyed by fire Reid organised the reconstruction of the parish church presumably on the former site in Papdale and also renovated the collapsing Bishop's Palace, adding the round tower that dominates Palace Road to the north-west angle of the hall. In James III's original charter mention is found among the many quoyes and buildings conveyed to Kirkwall of 'schools, yards yr'of' and by 1536, the date of the first Charter of Confirmation, this had expanded to 'grammar school'. This early venture into the field of education, accompanying as it did the influx of learned dignitaries of the church, is not surprising. However, it was Bishop Reid who put the grammar school on a proper footing erecting '...a large Court of Houses to be a Colledge for the instructing of the youth of this countrey in Grammar and Philosophy'.¹⁶

This group of buildings is situated in Palace Road to the west of Reid's Palace and tower.

Although on his death in 1558 Bishop Reid left much unfinished work his contribution to the expansion of the burgh is not insignificant. Two years later, in 1560, Parliament abolished Catholicism as the state religion, and confiscated the bishopric estates leaving only thirds of benefices, including the Prebends, for the support of the reformed clergy. Because of the sudden removal of funds at the Reformation the parish of St. Magnus which had only recently been formed to serve the burgh having the Cathedral as its parish church was united with the ancient parish of St. Ola. The Cathedral became the church for the united parishes and the ancient foundation of St. Olaf was allowed to fall into decay. This union of adjacent parishes took place throughout Orkney at this period and in the west Mainland the parish of Stromness

was joined with Sandwick. The reduction in the number of parish ministers from eighteen to nine facilitated the distribution of the meagre funds.

Bothwell succeeded Reid and was the last bishop in possession of the Palace, a building made largely uninhabitable due to Reid's unfinished reconstruction. This bishop, however, required to spend much time in Edinburgh where he had a large mansion and so the excambion, previously mentioned between Bothwell and Earl Robert Stewart, occurred giving that Earl rights to the bishopric. It was not until Earl Patrick Stewart succeeded to the earldom in 1591 that the Bishop's Palace was renovated and extended once more and the Newark in the Yards, now known as the Earl's Palace, was commenced.

With the renewal of episcopacy in 1600 Law was named Bishop but on returning to the diocese he found the palace of his predecessors in ruins and the church revenues in secular hands. On 21st January, 1607, a contract was drawn up before the Bishop and Earl Patrick by which Law is given the Newark in the Yards and Patrick Stewart

'... binds himself to make the said house water thight and wind thight, and commodiously habitable'.¹⁷

and to hand it over to the Bishop before October 1st. By this contract Law resigned the whole of the bishopric lands and rents in Orkney and Shetland to the Earl for an annual payment of 4000 merks.

With the imprisonment of Earl Patrick in Dumbarton Castle and the siege of Kirkwall Castle held by the earl's son, Robert, the King confiscated Patrick Stewart's estates and Law gave up the old bishopric lands. In 1614 King James VI issued a charter to Bishop Law by which the excambion between the estates was arranged to guarantee succeeding bishops an annual income of 8000 merks.

Law soon left for Glasgow and was replaced by Bishop Graham on the 24th August, 1615. By this time he was able to state '... Quhen I receivit the bishopric I receivit the house, with some guid plenishing of beds and buirds, sick as the Earle hade.'¹⁸ Bishop Graham kept a garrison in the Palace and erected the first private seat in the Cathedral together with a gallery for his family in the south-east of the choir.

By 1633, however, the maintenance of the Cathedral had become a problem once more. In an Act of Parliament

'...Oure Soverane Lord and Estates of Parliament
Hes Remittit and recommendit And remits and
recommends

Item - Ane article givin in Parliament desyring
that the bodie of the cathedral kirk of Orkney
be upholdin and mainteined be some competent
meanes To be assignit out of the King's patrimonie
for that effect seeing the same was upholdin by the
Erle of Orkney of befor; And that the Bishope of
Orkney and his successors be ordainit to uphold the
quire of the said kirk as the forsaid articles in
themselffs mair at lenth beirs'.¹⁹

Six years later, after a meeting of the General Assembly in Glasgow, episcopacy was overthrown for the second time. The bishopric property passed to the Crown and thus there was no prelate to apply church funds for repair on the choir. Graham, no longer bishop, gave up his house.

'... I delyverit it againe, according to the inventar
I receivit it by, in omnibus to Robert Tullo, upon
a charge of the committee. I left it in better order
than he receivit it; bot now I heare it is both ruined
by the wether, and not weill used be him, qr of ye will
pardone me to be sorrie; for I was more than carefull
both of the Kirk and that house.'²⁰

The Presbyterian ministers that took over the charge were helpless, dependent as they were largely on the revenue from the Prebend of St. John for their meagre stipend. Due to financial demands from other parts of his Kingdom King Charles I was also apt to overlook the Cathedral in Orkney. However, on 7th November, 1647, the City of Edinburgh, lessees of the bishopric delivered the sum of £200 Scots²¹ to the Kirk Session of St. Magnus.

'... for repairing of the fabrick of the Quire'²².

Further applications were made to Edinburgh in 1659 for funds, the

Kirk Session and Council indicating that no income for Cathedral maintenance was available through seat rents. The complaint about lack of seat rents seems strange as it was the prerogative of royal burghs to exact such rents from the parishioners for
 '...the maintenance of the fabric and the provision of decent celebration of public worship.'²³

On the Restoration bishops were once more appointed to the diocese and for the following twenty-nine years, until Presbyterianism became the established religion of Scotland, the revenues were maintained. Money was thus forthcoming in 1669 when the Cathedral roof was repaired and two years later when lightning struck the steeple legacies were available from the bishops to ensure the fairly rapid erection of a new pyramidal roof on top of the tower. The return to Presbyterianism,, once more removing access to bishopric revenues for maintenance of the choir, led to the frequent petitioning of the Presbytery for funds in succeeding centuries.

In the Charter of Confirmation issued by James V in 1536 it is noted that

'...our said burgh and city is daily enlarged by building and repairing houses, market places and streets within the liberty and territory of the same by the said merchants, burgesses and inhabitants.'²⁴

In addition to those edifices already in existence at the date of the impignoration, viz. the Cathedral, the Castle and the Bishop's Palace or Place of the Yards, a New Work (Newark) in the Yards was started during this period and, accompanying the expansion of the Cathedral Chapter, residences for church dignitaries were also erected.

It has already been shown how Robert Stewart, the bastard son of James V, acquired the episcopal lands and revenues ruling over them as Earl of Orkney, a title bestowed on him by his half-sister, Queen Mary, until his death in 1593. He was succeeded by Earl Patrick who, like his father, was responsible for exercising extraordinary tyranny over the islands using both feudal and odal law when it suited him to exact results for his own benefit. However, this earl was responsible for the erection of the Newark or Earl's Palace which,

when finished, must have been one of the finest examples of Scots baronial architecture then in existence. At his trial in 1610, however, it became evident that Earl Patrick built his castles - the Kirkwall Palace, a tower house in Scalloway, Shetland, and parts of his father's Birsay Palace, Noltland Castle, Westray and the Bishop's Palace - with slave labour.

The remains of the Earl's Palace consist of two long ranges, set at right angles to each other, facing west and north (Fig.16). Lying to the east of the Bishop's Palace the structure together with the former building was designed to enclose a large court in which a garrison could be accommodated. Externally the building is impressive (Plate 10) with

'...tall and massive, elaborately decorated turrets which are corbelled out from the free angles, corbelled bases of the two large oriel windows (one circular and one multi-angular) on the west front, and the corbelled breast of the great hall fireplace.'²⁵

The corbelling on the turrets is ornate, the spaces between the mouldings being fashioned into dummy gunloops (Plates 11-13). Real gunloops, however, are found in the mouldings beneath all the large windows.

'...With their immense "basket" corbelling, and their mullioned and shafted windows, the oriels are unsurpassed in Scotland!'²⁶

The main entrance is found in the south wing just at its junction with the west front of the main range (Plate 14). The doorway has heavily moulded jambs with three moulded panels above a classical lintel. Although considerably worn it is known that these panels carried an inscription, the arms of Earl Patrick and the royal arms of Scotland in ascending order. A similar panel bearing an inscription, now illegible, occurs on the corbelled chimney breast just to the north of the entrance.

To the east of the main building the remains of further windows may be seen lighting both the great hall and an adjacent room. These three

superb bow windows, one round, one multi-angular and the northmost square, were later damaged, possibly in the siege of 1614. The tradesman's entrance occurs on the south face at the base of a square projecting tower.

The ground floor of the east wing of the palace is entirely occupied with large vaulted cellars and their linking corridors while to the south, beyond the stair well, is a kitchen obviously enlarged during the building to enable the extension of the Earl's hospitality. The fabric, unlike the Bishop's Palace, is uniform, the yellow freestone being carefully squared and carved throughout most of the structure. However, awkwardly placed on the ground floor at the angle of the two wings, a well has been discovered. This, lined with carefully carved stones in alternating red and yellow bands of freestone, undoubtedly belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century when it may have served out-buildings of the Bishop's Palace.

The stair-case leads off the vestibule and rises to the first floor in a series of straight flights alternating with landings. From the top landing opens a small square annexe in the upper part of the square tower. Possibly functioning as an ante-room or waiting room it is lit by three windows and has a beautiful ceiling with rib - and - panel vaults executed in fine ashlar. A stone laver is found to the right of the entrance.

Opposite this ante-room on the same landing is a small vaulted chamber containing a fireplace and two-tiered locker. With a window overlooking the main palace entrance and access to the main stair it is likely to have been occupied by the Earl's principal personal servant who could thus inspect and control the visitors to the Palace.

To the west of these two chambers and leading off a lower landing is a chamber that was probably used by guests. Although situated above the kitchen, and thus warmed by the flue from the kitchen fireplace, it was cut off from the Earl's quarters. The garret storey, reached by a spiral stair in the angle between the two wings, seems to have had 'studies' in the two round towers.

The main hall and Earl's apartments are to be found in the east wing and its adjacent north-west tower.

'...The great hall of Earl Patrick's Palace has been one of the noblest state rooms of any private castle in Scotland'.²⁷

Occupying most of the east wing and lit by two large bow windows, one of the west-facing oriels and a window of three lights, round-headed and divided into three sections by transoms, occupying most of the south gable, it is a handsome room. A magnificent fireplace occurs in the middle of the west wall (Plate 15). The jambs are richly moulded to resemble those of the entrance door while the lintel forms a straight arch, the stones being kinked to prevent slipping. Above the lintel is a relieving arch, the original masonry between this arch and the lintel no longer existing. The Earl's initials and coronet are found on the capitals of the jambs. In addition a smaller fireplace exists in the north gable. Mural lockers are placed near the entrance to the hall and the recess for a dresser or buffet is placed between the bow windows. The garret is reached by the spiral stairway mentioned previously.

To the north of the great hall is the first of the Earl's private chambers, possibly functioning as an audience chamber. Lit by the second oriel window and the square bow window opposite it has a fireplace and privy. The garret storey is entered by a small spiral stair at the junction with the north-west tower. The inner room found in the tower is another handsome apartment. Windows face north, south and west, giving views of the Cathedral and other palace buildings while further chambers known as 'studies' occur in the two bulky round turrets. A fireplace and privy are included.

The combined building which Earl Patrick constructed out of the Old Work or Place and New Work of the Yards is unparalleled in Scotland although from records it has been discovered that both the master of works and the mason were Scots. The style of the buildings and the splendour and refinement of the decorations reveal a man of cultured taste, who, while exacting great riches by oppressing his vassals, was capable of channelling his wealth into the construction of

architectural works that were to enhance greatly both the burgh of Kirkwall and more remote parts of his earldom.

The Charter of James III represents the town as comprising two distinct sections, the Burgh and the Laverock, separated by an open area in front of the Cathedral. However, as early as 13th April, 1618, a Seisin²⁸ is recorded in the Registers concerning a tenement of land 'lying in the Midtoun of Kirkwall'-that area between the bridge over Papdale Burn and the garden of the Bishop's Palace. Certainly the erection of the Earl's Palace, in what was formerly considered to be the ecclesiastical precinct would have blurred the former distinction between the earl's town and the bishop's town - a distinction that would seem unnecessary anyhow during the period when the Stewart earls dominated the bishopric and earldom lands and claimed control over the burgh administration.

Expansion of the town proceeded apace as the seisins show. The construction of the principal buildings had attracted craftsmen and artisans from both Britain and the Continent. In addition the administration of both the earldom and bishopric required the presence of a large number of learned officials and the reconstruction of the Cathedral Chapter in 1544, in particular, gave rise to considerable residential building.

The best preserved of the old ecclesiastical residences is that known as Tankerness House, a composite structure, lying in the mid-town immediately to the west of the Cathedral (Plate 16). In 1544 Bishop Reid created Magnus Strang, sub-chantor, and John Tyrie, arch-dean, but it was at the time of the Reformation, on the appointment of Gilbert Foulzie as arch-dean, that the sub-chantry and archdeanery were joined by additional buildings to form the present mansion built round an almost rectangular courtyard. The open court is entered from the street to the east through a heavily moulded round-arched gateway. Above the entrance is a corbelled balcony bearing a panel containing two coats of arms. The shields bear the arms and initials of Gilbert Foulzie and his wife, Elizabeth Kinnaird. An inscription, also included in the armorial panel, bears the date 1574; possibly the date of completion of the building.

The north wing (Fig.17) is a long oblong block, two storeys and a garret in height, presenting its crow-stepped gable to the street. Extending from the street towards the garden and projecting beyond the present west wing this block appears to be contemporaneous with the main entrance. The original entrance to the block, together with a stair, is found in a rectangular tower projecting into the north-east corner of the courtyard. The skew-puts²⁹ on the north wing bear the sacred initials IHS (a mistake for IHC) and those of archdean Foulzie and his wife. A lean-to structure of later date has been erected near the stair tower and the wing itself has been both modernised externally and remodelled internally. The modern window in the south wall beside the present entrance, however, has a sixteenth century lintel inscribed: HEIR BE GOD.

The west wing appears to have been remodelled in the eighteenth century. L-shaped in plan, it has a westward extension to correspond with that of the north wing. The south-west skew-put bears the date 1722, while on the north-west are the initials RB and MS - Robert Baikie of Tankerness and his wife, Margaret Sinclair. The south and east wings are of a later date. Hossack relates that Foulzie died sometime before 1595 and, due to debts incurred by his grandson, Gilbert Sinclair, Bishop Grahame acquired a bond over the house. This he transferred to his son-in-law, Patrick Smith of Braco, a member of a large land-owning family. In 1633 £600 was borrowed from James Baikie of Tankerness and was followed by a further sum of 1000 merks later in the same month. Thus it was inevitable that the Baikies acquired Foulzie's mansion naming it after their country estate.

On either side of Tankerness House were in the sixteenth and seventeenth century other official residences of church officers. Occupying a site to the south of the castle ruins and extending westward to the Oyce was the mansion and garden of the Provost. Demolished before 1677, it was replaced by a beautiful mansion with an oriel window overlooking the Cathedral built on the north part of the site. Immediately to the north of the sub-chantry and arch-deanery was the Thesaurerie or residence of the Treasurer. Occupied initially by Stephen Culross it ceased to function as an official residence when the post of treasurer

was abolished at the Reformation. In the following years it was in the possession of two landowning families - the Craigies of Gairsay and the Baikies of Burness - before becoming in 1700

'... totallie ruinous in Gavills and Syde - walls and wanting Roof and windows'.³⁰

The residences of the chaplains, chancellor and sub-dean of the Cathedral lay to the south of Tankerness House in the Laverock. After the Reformation none of these buildings remained in the hands of the church for very long but were instead taken over by merchants and heritors from other parts of Orkney, often as payment for a debt. James Baikie of Tankerness thus acquired the sub-dean's manse in 1689 when John Smythe of Rapness fell into debt. It is likely that all these dwellings were substantial buildings, the chancellor's residence, for instance, being described in the Valuation Roll of 1677 as '... ane great tenement³¹ under a sclaitt ruiff'.

Other important buildings, occupied principally by burgesses, were to be found scattered along the main street that paralleled the shore of the lagoon. The dwellings themselves were generally simple, undecorated structures, of two or three storeys with either one side or a gable facing the narrow street. The basic form then seems to have been

'... two rooms with a stair between and a closet behind the stair on two floors and an attic above'.³²

The roofs were generally slated, although some may have been thatched. Walls were of local flagstone rubble usually laid in clay and harled. In later seventeenth century work dressings of freestone appear and important burgesses frequently had their arms carved on lintels, plaques or putt-stones. More complex structures were built around three sides of a square, the connecting wall between the gable ends on the fourth side enclosing a courtyard. The roofs are characteristically high pitched with crow-stepped gables. Frequently offices such as a kitchen, brew-house and byre together an adjacent kailyard and peat brae were to be found at the rear of the living quarters.

Houses still in existence from the sixteenth and seventeenth century are extremely difficult to trace. The charters of the tenements, as detailed by Hossack, frequently contain references to 'ruinous' houses and it is certain that some sites have experienced a number of distinct periods of demolition and rebuilding. Thus while a site may be ancient the present dwelling on it may bear a comparatively recent date. In this northern part of the Kingdom the architectural style for domestic buildings remained unchanged over many centuries and subsequent renovation may disguise a much older structure. The armorials and dated monograms incorporated in some of the buildings may also be misleading. Often these carved freestone blocks were removed from one building to another in subsequent reconstructions. An example of this removal is found in Victoria Street where a fireplace lintel with a monogram (I) T HS for John Traill and Helen Stewart, and 1679, the date of their marriage, appears over the entrance to a close.

One structure existing from the seventeenth century, however, has been identified by J. Storer Clouston (Plate 17). The house, lying on the east side of the Laverock in what is now Victoria Street, is grouped round three sides of a courtyard. Hossack, investigating the available documents at the end of the last century, names the original owner as William Gordon who, on his death, bequeathed the property to his daughters. The building appears to have been bought by Hugh Clouston, dyer, c.1700, passing to his son, Henry, shortly afterwards. Thus the Valuation Roll of 1714 notes

'...Henry Clouston hath an double house under sclaitt roof there, very old, possest by his father, himself, and Hugh Scott. The walls, timber and roof very much faillyied'.³³

The house became ruinous and on its purchase by the Rev. William Scott was, according to Hossack, pulled down to allow the erection of a handsome double tenement with courtyard in its place.

On re-examination of the documents Storer Clouston³⁴ concludes that the original dwelling house was merely patched and re-roofed by Scott and substantiates his claim after cross-checking seisins, valuation rolls and diaries. Clouston has revised the number of tenements in the area from five to four listing the owners of 'Hugh

Clouston's House' as Thomas Main (1623), Oliver Linay and Patrick Murray.

Survey of this house indicates a building, c.55 feet x 22 feet, having the west gable abutting on the street (Fig.18). The walls are thick varying from 3 feet to 3 foot 6 inches but an enormous cross-wall or mid-gable 4 ft. 6 ins. in thickness lies towards the centre. To the east of this cross-wall is a small room without fireplace or windows. The building seems to have been built into a high bank and windows would have been unnecessary. Access to the top of the bank would have been by an outside stair, since removed, and a small door opening into the upper room exists in the east gable. The other two rooms on the ground floor - the present parlour and kitchen - are of approximately equal size and separated by a wooden stair. Two external entrances exist: a richly moulded freestone doorway, possibly erected by Rev. Scott; and a narrower door leading into the kitchen, of a later date. An old window in the parlour, facing the courtyard, has been converted into a small cupboard, leaving only two large windows facing south and a third in the west gable. The single flight of stairs leads to two of the three upper rooms above which is the attic.

This survey identified a house exhibiting many old details but which was significantly different from the normal two-roomed house that was common when William Main, father of Thomas, constructed it c.1590. In addition, an inventory of the house, dated 1657, mentioned a 'great hall', a description that could not apply to any of the surveyed rooms. Study of this inventory and the fabric seems to indicate that the present kitchen was originally the great hall, the original kitchen probably being across the court. A larger central room could have existed if the wooden stair had been nearer the west gable. The two easterly rooms called 'cellars' appear to have been used as store-rooms.

Evidence that the original building was a single storey dwelling exists in the fact that the upper walls are much thinner than those on the ground floor. There appears to have been no fireplace in either gable, the west gable showing evidence of the presence of a doorway leading on to the street. Clouston concludes, therefore, that

'...originally the whole house was only one storey high, and consisted of a hall 35 ft long, but $15\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, having a door on the west end and a fire, or fires, in the middle, with a half underground chamber at the east end divided from the hall by a thick cross wall, strongly suggesting a large "ale-hurry".'³⁵

The houses to the east and south of the close are later buildings.

The boundaries of the Royal Burgh as identified in 1486 remained constant for many centuries. Kirkwall Bay and the crofts of St. Catherine's Quoy formed the northern limits; the Oyce, Broad Sands and the Crafty those to the west, while to the east lay the lands of Papdale, Quoyangry and other quoyes bordering the Laverock; and on the south the lands of Hornersquoy, Pipersquoy and Glaitness. Thus lying within the Royal Burgh were sites along what are now known as Shore Street, Harbour Street and the east part of Ayre Road, Bridge Street, Albert Street, Broad Street, Victoria Street, and Main Street. The extent of development within the burgh at any particular date is difficult to ascertain accurately. However, reference to the evidence produced in 'Kirkwall in the Orkneys' by B.H. Hossack concerning the history of various quoyes of land and buildings does enable a picture to be built up. The results of this analysis have, therefore, been used to compile a map of the burgh in the year 1700 (Fig.19).

The map shows that fairly extensive building development had occurred along the main street. The site of the original fishing hamlet to the north of Papdale Burn, however, shows a close arrangement of tenements built gable end on to the main thoroughfare and separated one from another by a narrow lane or close. During the first period of development some of the original humble habitations had, no doubt, been demolished being replaced by grander town houses of the land-owning families. Thus in the latter part of the seventeenth century names such as Provost Baikie, Buchanan of Rusland, Rendall of Breck, Traill of Woodwick and Sinclair of Swinbrucht, the latter a son of William, Earl of Orkney, are attached to many pieces of property along the shore. Hossack records, for instance, that Patrick Smith of Braco, son-in-law to Bishop Graham, was the earliest owner of a tenement of

land on the east part of the 'Ramparts' - the present site of Kirkwall Hotel. By 1677 this property had passed to Patrick Traill of Elness who had

'...twa large double tenements under sclaitt roof,
 pntlie possess be himself, betwixt the king's
 hie street towards the pier and shoir on the north,
 the king's hie street on the east, etc.'³⁶

In 1690 David Traill, Patrick's second son, had cleared away the double tenements building one large house on the site which, regarded with disfavour by the townspeople, was given the name 'Traill's Folly'.

To the west was a large mansion regarded in the fifteenth century as being the most important house next to the Castle and Palace. It is entered in the Seisins as 'of old called the Inns'³⁷ and was constructed for Sir David Sinclair of Swinbrucht. It was too large for any normal family and appears to have been divided to accommodate the households of two wealthy burgesses in the following century. The existence of carved putt stones indicates the presence of the Moncrieffs and the Nisbet and Traill families at different times. In 1690, however, the Collector of Customs occupied the western part.

Associated as it was with the earl's government it is natural to suppose that certain minor public buildings would have occupied sites in this part of the burgh. Hossack traces a number of such buildings. To the west of the 'Inns' was in c. 1647 the King's New House or Girnell in which corn would be gathered from the estates and dried if necessary in the adjacent kiln (since removed). A small slipway opposite the Girnell is still known as the 'corn slip'. The Keeper of the King's Girnell was an important figure in the community holding, in addition, the title of Chamberlain of the Earldom. Farther east along the shore was the Butter Storehouse, a building in which skatt paid in butter from the earldom lands could be collected. Adjacent to the Butter Storehouse was a building known as Tounigar, possibly the first Tolbooth of the burgh. By 1665, however, it had been sold to Mitchell Rendall of Breck.

Moving inland from the shore to the burn, along what is now Bridge Street, a similar pattern of buildings occurred, again occupied principally by land-owning merchants. Some trades, however, are also

represented. For instance, William Covingtrie settling in Orkney in 1613 introduced a new business, that of baker, while in the same locality various merchants, weavers and skippers had their houses. In 1677 a house on the west side of the street

'...under sclaitt roofe, except the kitchie' ³⁸

had a surgeon as tenant. Despite the crowding of many of the buildings, others were of considerable size. The Irvines and later, the Sinclairs of Sabay had 'ane great ludgeing' on the east side of the street which, during an assessment for window tax in 1711, had twenty-five windows - a considerable number at that date.

'... a pt of which haveing yrin ffyftein windows
is possest by James ffea of Clestren; a pt
yrof, having eight windows, standing waste;
and a pt. yrof, haveing two windows, is
possest by John Millar' ³⁹

Evidence of infiltration into the community by Scots and English exists in many of the old records. The Drummonds of Blair-Drummond possessed a house in the burgh, one member of their family becoming a bailie in 1680. To the south of Papdale was the guard-house for soldiers doing sentry duty at Cromwell's Fort and a number of references are found to houses occupied by Cromwellians who, having married locally, set up as merchants and craftsmen in Kirkwall. Sometime in the mid-seventeenth century George Traill sold to Harry Erburie

'... ane large new tenement, sclaitt ruifed,
estimat in yearlie rent to fyftie pound' ⁴⁰

lying between the Provostrie and Thesaurerie, Erburie, one of Cromwell's soldiers, married twice, into two local families, and established himself as a wealthy merchant before finally falling into debt. If the records are correct it seems that these Cromwellians made significant contributions to local knowledge by introducing, among other things, techniques of gardening and mechanical arts such as lock construction.

To the south of Papdale Burn, in what came to be known as the 'mid-town', there was fairly rapid development during the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries. On the site of the Commercial Bank was a cluster of houses around three sides of a square enclosing a courtyard known as Parliament Close. It was here that much public business was transacted. In the surrounding houses craftsmen mingled with burgesses. Five generations of weavers occupied a house near the bridge and, in the grounds of the Dowcot - a large mansion with offices that had been allowed to fall into ruin - a number of humble thatched tenements were to be found, occupied by several people including a 'pyoner' or street cleaner and a 'borrowman'. Houses and grounds dedicated to various Cathedral altars or chapels were also in existence, an example being the house dedicated to St. Barbara's altar which stood to the south of the Long Gutter - an open drain running into the lagoon. Following the demolition of the Castle in 1614 the site was rapidly built upon, the south block house being rented in 1690 by the Town Council for use as a Fleshmarket. Access to the open site in front of the Cathedral where normal markets were held would, no doubt, have encouraged this move.

In the Laverock, the bishop's town, building development proceeded more slowly and the structures were less closely spaced. Although many of the occupants had church connections the adoption of Presbyterianism had, as has been shown, led to the abolition of the Cathedral Chapter, the old church residences being taken over by merchant burgesses.

Away from the main thoroughfare development had been sporadic. Certain buildings existing from the seventeenth century can be seen in Clay Loan and in the quoys towards Glaitness, but beyond the burgh boundaries the old farmlands remained intact for many centuries. Infilling and subdivision of quoys within the burgh continued steadily and waste ground, peat braes and kailyards were encroached upon and built over to give the almost continuous, if irregular, building line that exists in the present townscape.

Employment structure is difficult to trace. The Poll Tax Roll⁴¹ for Kirkwall in 1695 refers only occasionally to the occupation of the head of household and while charters and seisins frequently mention the trade or position held by the persons mentioned in the

document no complete picture can be built up. However, Hossack mentions that in 1677 eighty-three persons were listed as holding burgess tickets and all appear to have been engaged in business. In addition, there were ninety-four ratepayers, paying in total £2393 Scots (£199.5d) Not all the businesses succeeded and the records frequently refer to property passing from one family to another in payment of debts. It was in this manner that many merchant lairds, such as the Traills, and ecclesiastical families, like the Grahames, gained large estates and valuable house properties from their money lending practices.

Over the eight centuries since the establishment of the earldom the town had undergone considerable expansion and with the erection of the major public buildings to the south of the original fishing hamlet the focus of the settlement was to move from the shore to the Kirk Green in front of the Cathedral. It was to a house at the end of the Strynd that the Tolbooth was transferred in the beginning of the seventeenth century, before, a century or so later, a Town Hall and Guard-house was erected on the Kirk Green itself. The open space in front of the Cathedral, after the erection of the Royal Burgh in 1486, accommodated the annual fairs, of which only the Lammas Market survives. Then the Kirk Green held hundreds of 'close and open stands' where commodities of every description were exposed for sale. During the fair the stalls extended as far as the Bishop's Palace, and booths were built on each side of the lane leading down beside Tankerness House linking the Kirk Green to the livestock market on the Broad Sands. As the fair attracted a large number of people from great distances a standing army consisting of two companies of drilled and armed men was used to maintain law and order. The 'up-the-gate' company mustered on the Broad Sands while the 'down-the-gate' troops assembled on the Ayre. The common guard-house was, until the erection of the Town Hall in 1740, the nave of the Cathedral. This desecration of the church of St. Magnus greatly distressed the Cathedral dignitaries and a document dated 3rd December, 1620, records that

'... Qlk day my Lord Bishop wt the rest of the Sessione having considerit the gryt abuse that hes bene usit in the kirk be working and sawing of tymber be anie Particklar man that dwellis within the towne of Kirkwall, hes, with ane consent, ordainit that quhatsomever person or persons presumis in the contrarie shall pay 20s. to his quoties as weil thame that sawis as thame that awis the tymber.'⁴²

However, the greater scandal was the occupation by the town guard, a report of which appeared in 1690.

'...the more than barbarous practice of the town-guard of Kirkwall, at the time of the Lammas fair, their keeping guard within the church shutting of guns, burning great fyres on the graves of the dead, drinking, fidling, pipeing, swearing and cursing night and day within the church'.⁴³

With the arrival of Cromwell's soldiers in the seventeenth century further liberties were taken with the Cathedral. The 'Englises' needed to provide both accommodation for themselves and fortresses to protect the town against the Royalists, the Castle by this time having been destroyed. Thus the soldiers helped themselves to what the Cathedral could supply, viz. wood from pews and stones from the kirkyard. In 1674 an attempt was made to repair the damage.

'...The Magistrates present declared that they were willing that the church yard should be rebuilt as formerlie, Provyding that the stones of the former Dyk, which were taken away by the Englises, where with the Back Guard and forts were builded, being now in my Lord Bishope's possession, were restored for this effect.'⁴⁴

The Back Guard was at the burn of Papdale and the forts on either side of the harbour. The fort to the west has since been destroyed in quarrying activities, but the site on the opposite side of the bay remains (Plate 18). This fort was surrounded by a ditch, the harbour being defended very successfully by cannon. In more recent times guns manned by the Orkney Volunteer Army were placed on Cromwell's old fort. Although normally soldiers were quartered in the guard-house the Governor and principal persons resided in Kirkwall. Thus Governor Watson rented the old manse to the south of the Bishop's Palace from the minister, Mr. James Douglas, because it

'lay conveniently for him, being within the gates of the palace, promising to pay forty-eight pounds Scots money yearly, and to leave it in as good condition when he should be called off' ⁴⁵

The occupation of the burgh by the Cromwellians and the disturbances under the Stewart Earls did much to disrupt the normal administration of Kirkwall. Since the first charter administration and legislation had been in the hands of the Council with the burgh courts meeting regularly to dispense justice. It is possible that these courts were held in the house known as Tounigar at the shore side although no definite evidence is forthcoming. However, it is certain that the Parliament house of the Stewart Earls was immediately to the south of Papdale Burn. After the demolition of Henry Sinclair's Castle it appears that the Sheriff Court sat in the Earl's Palace for four years, then removed to the Cathedral until the Town Hall was built c. 1740. Despite the numerous privileges taken up by the Royal Burgh on receipt of James III's Charter one was totally neglected. No commissioner was sent from Kirkwall to the Convention of Royal Burghs for two centuries because until 1611 Orkney continued to 'brucike it awen lawes' as a dependancy of Denmark. However, during the proceedings against Earl Patrick the Privy Council

'... took upon itself to abrogate Scandinavian laws and usages and to declare that law of Scotland should be tolerated in Orkney and Zetland.' ⁴⁶

Although local government suffered disturbance in the two centuries up to A.D. 1700 so, as has been shown, did the Church. However, the increasing complexity of community life was to depend largely for its survival on an institution fostered under the ecclesiastical wing - the grammar school. Thought to have been founded by Bishop Bjarni (A.D. 1188 - 1223) it is likely that the classes were held in the Cathedral with certain churchmen acting as the teaching staff. In the fifteenth century few boys and no girls attended school. In 1496, however, James IV enacted that

'... all persons of means shall send their eldest sons to school from the time they are eight or nine years old till they be competently founded and perfect in Latin'.⁴⁷

On Reid's reconstruction of the Cathedral Chapter two members with special educational tasks were appointed. The first, the Chaplain of St. Peter

'... shall be a Master of Arts and an erudite Grammarian. He also shall be Master of the Grammar School'⁴⁸

The second, the Chaplain of St. Augustine, was required to be a Doctor in both kinds of song as he would be master of the Song School. This Bishop was also responsible for constructing a court of houses to be a 'Colledge' - the building being erected to the west of the Bishop's Palace at the end of a long tenement known as the 'Ludgeing'. Under both the Episcopalians and Presbyterians the grammar school continued to be run by ministers from Scotland, the town council interfering only in 1698 when strife between the ecclesiastics threatened to disrupt the school.

The Scots influence in education did much to dilute the old Norse culture while undoubtedly benefiting the community as a whole. Thus by the year 1700 the burgh of Kirkwall had largely thrown off the Viking influence and had become an important commercial centre in the north. Its influence was unchallenged. The central position within the island group facilitated its domination over the still largely agricultural community while the wealth and extravagance of its population and its edifices gave it a reputation that spread far to the south. In the west Mainland, however, a few scattered huts were multiplying beside a bay

that had long been used by shipping sheltering from the northern winds: a development that was to result in the establishment of a second important Orcadian trading settlement during the centuries that followed.

CHAPTER IV

When, sometime before 1595,¹ Robert, 'Erle of Orknay', set in feu a piece of ground measuring 'aughtscoir futtis of lenth and aughtscoir futtis of breid' to William Clark and Marion Chalmer, his s pouse,

'... with power of brewing and selling, keiping of ostlerie and bying of all things appertening thairto for furnissing of the commounes and vtheris resorting thairaway'²

the advantages of the sheltered bay for trading had obviously been recognised. However, the natural location for such an inn was not to the west of Hamna Voe, which was to become the site of the later town, but the lower more open ground to the south of the 'Myln Burne of Cairston'³ - a site at the head of the bay where a gently-sloping sandy beach allowed small tenders from schooners anchored nearby to be drawn up while the seamen sampled the local hospitality.

It may seem strange that, at this comparatively early date, such an establishment should have proved a viable economic proposition. Knowledge of the existence of discrete agricultural townships within the parish, forced into self-sufficiency by the topography and lack of adequate land communications, would indicate that the services provided at this time and place would not be required, certainly by the local inhabitants. Yet Jo Ben indicates that Hamna Voe⁴ had long been recognised as providing a safe anchorage for sailing vessels plying these northern waters and in 1529 testifies to its use by ships of many nations, especially those from France and Spain.

'... Stromness alia parochia est, et portum habet salutiferum; classi hic exitus optimus : Galli Hispanique hic tempestates saepissime evitant: Hic nulli venti naves laedere possunt: Vocatur portus hic Cairstane, quia Saxis munita est'.⁵

Orkneyinga Saga mentions Stromness only twice but shows that the favourable conditions of the waters of the bay had been recognised at an even earlier date. The references comprise an account

of the feud between Earl Harald Maddadson and his cousin, Earl Erlend, over Harald's claim to lands in Orkney. Although the name 'Kjarrekstead', associated with the castle, occurs in the account there is no mention of the parish name 'Stromness' in the Sagas. Evidence of an early settlement in this south-west corner of the Mainland of Orkney is, therefore, lacking. It seems unlikely that the Vikings had any large permanent settlement within the parish although the Earl's Bu' and its fortress would have been used as a temporary residence. In addition, few archaeological sites of note have been discovered. Four broch sites exist - at the Howe of Cairston, at Warebeth Beach and on the coast at Breckness, both facing Hoy Sound, and at Arion, to the west of the Loch of Stennes - none within the present burgh boundary. Several burnt mounds are marked on the Ordnance Survey maps but these are scattered on the edges of the higher ground towards the centre of the parish.

By the sixteenth century, however, a large number of townships had developed in the pockets of fertile ground in the western part of the parish and on the more gentle east-facing slopes towards Stennes Loch. In the early rentals seventeen entries were made for Stromness parish and although some of these would be for the lands belonging to single farms others, such as Cairston, Inner and Outer Stromness (later Innertown and Outertown) comprised a number of small farms within the township dykes. Thus there is no evidence regarding the early development of an urban centre around the shores of Hamna Voe and it would appear that prior to 1624 no land had been seised on the west side of the bay and the parish was inhabited by a scattered farming population.

Unlike the capital, Kirkwall, whose history has been documented from a very early period, Stromness has received little attention. Reference to the records that are in existence from the sixteenth century, however, exposes certain anomalies particularly regarding place-name elements within the parish. Before proceeding to study the history and development of the burgh in more detail it is necessary to attempt to explain some of these anomalies.

From the early days of the earldom when land was split into a number of fairly small administrative units, the parishes, this extreme south-west corner of the Orkney Mainland, an area of c.33 sq. kms., adopted the shore-name, 'Stromness' (Figs.20 & 21). However, early maps by Wallace and Kitchin indicate that the exact location of the promontory named 'Strom Ness' was in dispute. Wallace in his 'Map of the Islands of Orkney' identifies 'Breiknesse', and marks 'Cairston' on the site of the present burgh, but places the name 'Stromnesse' to the north of Breckness, on the west coast in the vicinity of the Black Craig. Kitchin, however, marks 'Stromness' at present-day Breckness, at the entrance to Hoy Sound.

These two cartographers obviously followed Captain Greenville Collins, hydrographer to the King, who, publishing his Coasting Pilot in 1689, also appears to be confused over the location of Strom Ness, using the two possibilities then in vogue on separate charts. (Fig.22) In his map of 'The Islands of Orkney' he indicates nine small buildings which he names 'Cairston' to the west of the harbour. He also includes soundings for the main channels and the location of safe anchorages but largely ignores the inland detail. In his second map of 'The Chiefe Harbours in the Islands of Orkney' compiled in 1688 at a larger scale, Breckness receives the shore-name 'Stromneffe' and the configuration of the whole parish changes. Another discrepancy arises from the inclusion of a slightly different set of figures for the depth of the harbour approaches. Again the name 'Cairston' is appended to the small shoreside settlement. It may be argued, however, that, as Collins' prime objective was to map and describe the harbours around Great Britain, the inclusion of bottom depths and details in the tideways necessitated the insertion of the harbour names over land areas. This positioning may then have been copied by later cartographers. By 1750, however, Murdoch Mackenzie's sailing instructions for negotiating the shoals and tides within the Sound indicate that the Point of 'Ness' was the low triangle of land immediately to the west of the harbour entrance. The 'Town of Stromness' is also mentioned in this description.

References from literature suggest more definitely that the early settlement to the west of Hamna Voe was named 'Cairston', not 'Stromness'. Wallace and Brand certainly emphasised the advantages of this the fourth harbour in the Orkneys, but also noted that this harbour was

'...at Kairston (or Kerston), a small village
at the west end of the Mainland'.⁶

De Foe, seventy-four years after Brand also lists the anchoring places around the Orcadian shores including

'...the fourth at Kerston which is very commodious,
and well-fenced against all winds'.⁷

About the same time, however, other writers such as Pococke and James Fea talk of the 'town' and the 'village' of Stromness respectively. Pococke in 1760 indicates that the inhabitants of this flourishing town were 'all (except one Factor) Publicans and Shopkeepers',⁸ while Fea, fifteen years after Pococke's visit, recognised that the increase of trade would justify the comment that

'...here (at the village of Stromness) is the principal
harbour in the country and one of the finest that
can be imagined'.⁹

It is possible that some of these writers were influenced by historical records and the original names were thus perpetuated in literature. Yet such records were limited and in the case of the legal documents regarding the transfer of land after 1617, the Registers of Seisins, the first entries were for quoyes of land and houses located 'at the shore side of Stromness'. Here 'Stromness' is undoubtedly the parish name and, on consideration of the parish, it is noticeable that little of the uncliffed littoral was not already covered by a township name at that time. Thus that piece of unclaimed land beneath Brinkie's Brae, with its sloping sandy beach, became known as 'the shore' and all land seised there was 'at the shore-side'. It is obvious from the rentals too that this descriptive term has been adopted as in 1642 an entry towards the end of the Bishopric rental covers the 'Feu dewties for Houss at the Shoir of Stromnes'.¹⁰

Writers in the nineteenth century mainly adopted the name 'Stromness'-a name that was used in 1755 in the petition to the Burgh of Kirkwall regarding the payment of cess,¹¹ and one adopted on all Ordnance Survey maps - but a few such as Fergusson and the Andersons, remind their readers that

'...formerly it (the village or town of Stromness) rejoiced in the name Cairston, and the anchorage outside the extensive harbour is called Cairston Roads'.¹²

Certainly the name 'Stromness' has been used since 1817 when the town gained its freedom from the Royal Burgh of Kirkwall itself becoming a Burgh of Barony.

The reason for the adoption of the name 'Cairston' for the early settlement, however, remains confusing. Storer Clouston has suggested that the town of Cairston, approximately 27 pennylands, comprised all the ground surrounding Hamna Voe, that is, including the eastern shores of Brinkie's Brae where the burgh developed, and that the town of Inner Stromness (36 d.land) did not extend as far as this eastern shore. If this were so, then it would seem that the poorest part of this township from the agricultural point of view would have been to the west of the harbour and settlement could take place there, under the shelter of the hill, without affecting the pastoral economy. Alternatively, from the early definition of terms used for land division under the Norse odal system, it is usual that the 'town' land comprised only the cultivated area and this would have been separated from the hill or common pasture by a hill dyke. Thus the rough ground and steep slopes of the granite/schist complex may have lain outwith the dykes of both Cairston and the town of Inner Stromness, and due to rights of common ownership could have been settled easily by persons employed in non-agricultural pursuits. Historical records do little to clarify this picture and so there remains a great deal of speculation on this point.

Apart from the confusion as to the use of 'Cairston' and 'Stromness' as town names in both the rural and urban sense, difficulties arise concerning the location of the stretch of water named 'Cairston Roads'. In this case descriptions in the Registers of Seisins

of boundaries of the quays of land clearly indicate that the water partially enclosed between the slopes of Brinkie's Brae and the Inner and Outer Holms, two low islands lying to the south of Garson Shore, was called the 'Road of Cairston'. This name appears to have remained until the nineteenth century when various writers and cartographers, including Peterkin, Tudor and Fergusson, stated that Cairston Road lay at the back of the Holms, another sheltered area where larger vessels approaching from the south and east could anchor safely without having to negotiate the tidal streams at the narrow entrance to the harbour itself. However, prior to the publication of these texts Murdoch Mackenzie recognised the difference between these two bodies of water and anchoring places:

'...The Harbour of Stromness is very safe all Weathers, though the Ground is soft and oozy, by being much plowed up. Moor to West, for the hardest Gales of Wind are from that Quarter. Kerston Road, or the Back of the Holms is all clean Ground that holds well and is deep enough at all Times for vessels of any Burden: But that Part which is most out of Tide-way, and least exposed to Westerly Wind is off a small sandy Bay westward from the Bue of Kerston'.¹³

Another significant physical feature that has changed in name during the past few centuries, but which has always dominated the development of the urban centre, is the highest point of the granite/schist complex. Presently known as Brinkie's Brae, reference is made, particularly in the Seisins, to this as the Ward or Wart¹⁴ Hill. This name, used, no doubt, because a beacon would have been lit on its summit in time of invasion, was applied to a number of Orcadian hills. Other references give the ridge as the North Hill or simply 'the hill'.

Outwith the present burgh boundary place-names have changed little over the centuries. The former township and island names surrounding the harbour are easily recognisable and may be traced into the present century through many documents with only occasional changes in spelling. Within the developing town, however, names are not

used as consistently, but tend to change as the inhabitants change.

Figure 5 shows that the boundary of the police burgh, dating from 1871, encloses a relatively small area around the shores of the bay. In 1914, due to considerable low density, linear development along the two roads leading north from the town centre, the northern boundary, which had formerly followed a straight line from Brinkie's Brae to Cooper's Slap¹⁵ on the road to Cairston, was extended to encompass the newer 'suburb'. Around 1962 this boundary was changed once more, following further development along the same routes, this time reaching the Mill of Cairston in the north.

The present boundary runs from the rocket house on the shore at the noust¹⁶ of Nethertown, facing Hoy Sound, in a north-north-easterly direction to the triangulation point on Brinkie's Brae and thence in a straight line to the Mill of Cairston. From the Mill it runs south-south-east, then south-east following the edge of a natural ridge until it reaches the road to Cairston. It then follows the Mill Burn turning south-east to the ancient farm of Navershaw and then south to the west corner of the Bay of Navershaw, including in its circuit the two holms that lie at the harbour entrance.

Within this boundary and bordering Hamna Voe are two differing types of topography. In order to analyse these with respect to their later role as sites for urban development a map showing direction of slopes was compiled from vertical aerial photography at a scale of approximately 1:7500¹⁷. Pairs of photographs were studied using both a lens stereoscope and a larger mirror stereoscope, the latter being used in the production of the hachured map (Fig.23). Under the stereoscope the landscape appeared as a three-dimensional model and the hachures used to represent the main slopes were drawn on the photographs using a chinagraph pencil. The method of viewing photographs stereoscopically also enabled the valleys on the steep slopes to be pinpointed with respect to the present building layout. This was of value in the identification of quoy's of land for the map of the settlement at 1700, and so will be discussed in greater detail later. Four main valleys were found and, as the streams are only partially piped underground, they are identifiable

in the field. Four smaller dissections have also been marked and it is possible that these minor valleys flowed with water at the date of the establishment of the village. The hachures and valley lines, having been marked on the aerial photographs, were transferred to a base map at the scale of 1:10560. The slope detail was located planimetrically by reference to the cultural features common to both map and photograph.

The completed map shows that, as was expected, the steepest slopes are closely linked with the granite/schist outcrops. In the middle section of the harbour front, opposite the two Holms, the land rises rapidly from the shore to a general level at 60.9m (200 feet), attaining 94.8m (311 feet) in Brinkie's Brae. The four main valleys dissecting this slope are steeply graded although in part the streams are now confined to artificial channels and have been piped beneath the buildings. Farther south and to the east of the bay the gently dipping Old Red Sandstone strata underlies rich farmland, the surface of which rarely rises above 15.2m (50 feet). These more accommodating slopes have not, however, formed the sites for extensive urban sprawl but remain largely in their original agricultural state. There is only one important stream in this part of the burgh, the Mill Burn, which, after flowing south-south-east behind a low ridge from the old mill, turns through ninety degrees to meander within an incised channel into the north-east corner of the bay head.

The harbour itself extends 1.8km (1.125 miles) from the Point of Ness to the shallow mud flats at the head of Hamna Voe, but is only 0.5 km (approximately 580 yards) at its broadest. The whole harbour trends south-south-west to north-north-east but has to be approached from the south-east due to the configuration of the entrance and the strength of the tidal streams in Hoy Sound. More detailed information concerning the condition of the harbour has appeared in a number of literary sources. Murdoch Mackenzie supplemented his early chart with a description of the harbour, and his words have been echoed by both James Fea and Sinclair. Sixty-one years prior to Mackenzie Greenville Collins had produced his two charts of the harbour, and, although some of his depths varied, he indicated the major shoals and rocky beaches with a fair degree of accuracy. Both hydrographers indicate a general

shallowing from about five fathoms at the harbour entrance to two fathoms opposite the Whitehouse Rocks. The only obstacle in the harbour appears to be a shoal covered by 1.5 fathoms of water extending from the Ness northward close to the shore. The harbour, however, is large enough to shelter a great many ships and Barry comments in 1805 that it has 'a depth of water sufficient for vessels of a thousand tons burden'¹⁸ - important factors in the development of the herring fishery in the nineteenth century. Barry goes on to explain that:

'...two holms guard it (the harbour) from the east, beyond which there is also, as it were, a portion of the same harbour, in which ships of still greater burden commonly ride, on account of both its easier access and superior depth of water'¹⁹.

This area, latterly called Cairston Roads, is shown clearly on Mackenzie's charts and has depths varying from three to six fathoms, the water being sheltered by a sand bank lying to the east of the Ness and the harbour entrance.

Since Clouston described the village of Stromness in the year 1700 as comprising '...half a dozen houses with slated roofs, and a few scattered huts'²⁰ considerable development has taken place within the physical framework already described. Written accounts of the state of development of this trading post in the extreme south-west of the Mainland of Orkney abound after the beginning of the eighteenth century but it is the period immediately before this that gave the initial stimulus to the commercial development. The prime objective was, therefore, the production of a map of the village in the year 1700 with the hope that on completion some light would be shed on the location of the original sites chosen for the erection of the early houses. In addition it was believed that a study of the earliest historical documents, where these were available, would be of use in compiling a record of the first inhabitants of the settlement, their place of origin and their occupations. Later literary sources remain vague on all these points.

Prior to the year 1700, that is, during the first century of the introduction of habitations onto this otherwise empty and inhospitable shore, records are available in four basic forms: Registers of Seisins dealing essentially with the transfer of parcels of land but including, in most cases, sufficient detail of the occupation of the settlers to enable a picture of the contemporary commercial activity to be built up; Parish Rentals for dates between 1490 and 1739 as contained in the publication by Alexander Peterkin entitled 'Rentals of Orkney'; Estate Papers of certain local families; and, lastly, population statistics such as those available in the Poll Tax Roll of 1694. Further investigation of these documents revealed that the Registers of Seisins were likely to prove most useful in the compilation of the early plan but, in a number of cases, details could be cross-checked through the other documents, and problems stemming from ambiguities within individual records could be eliminated.

It was, of course, necessary to read and make transcriptions of all the entries concerning the transfer of land and/or houses at the shoreside of Stromness from the Registers of Seisins for the years between 1617 and 1700. All these registers were readily available in the Scottish Record Office but because of the difficulties mentioned in the review of source material (Appendix A), the extraction of suitable data proved to be an extremely time-consuming operation. Also the volumes consulted did not cover the following dates:

July 1626 - May 1630,
 June 1656 - June 1661,
 April 1692 - July 1693,
 and Sept. 1696 - March 1697

although David Heart's Protocol Book includes some seisins during these periods. In all ninety-one entries were recorded for parcels of land seised around the shores of Hamna Voe, or Cairston Road as it was then called.

The next stage was to cross-reference all the transcriptions referring to the same plot of ground and/or houses noting when the quoy was subdivided. In a number of cases the task was accomplished easily but other entries caused problems through lack of adequate descriptive passages. The complications arising from the process of

cross-checking the seisins may be exemplified by reference to the history of the 'piece of waist ground' seised to Thomas Taylor by David Beaton, merchant, in November, 1666. This land, lying upon the shore of Stromness was delimited as follows in the original documents:

'...bounding upward from Alex. Chamber's
 (obviously a mistake for 'Chalmer') March
 on the east to Wm. Johnstoun's March on
 the west the burn on the north and Patrick
 Mowat his march on the south'²¹

In July, 1670, Thomas Taylor seises the same piece of ground '...togidder also with the tenement or new hous laitlie builded be the said Thomas upon the said waist ground'²² to James Stewart of Graemsay. Later that year Taylor seised the same ground, and new house plus yard and pertinents to his spouse, Isobell Sinclair. The year 1673 sees the transfer of the aforementioned piece of land, with the house then inhabited by Thomas Taylor, to Hugh Sinclair, indweller in Stronsay, one of the northern isles of Orkney. In the April of the following year the southern portion of the quoy was seised to John Gray, skipper in Stromness parish. This waste ground lay to the south of Thomas Taylor's dwelling and consisted of '20 faddomes of measure north to south'²³. As all succeeding entries are for seisins between Gray and another person it appears that in this case the ground was transferred for posterity to John Gray and did not continue to be held in heritable fewferme²⁴ by Taylor. Thomas Taylor 'heretable propr. and few fermor' seises the original quoy to Duncane Grahame, merchant, towards the end of 1674 and again in 1676, with a reinstatement of the document issued in 1670 to his wife in February, 1677. The last four entries for this ground testify to its further subdivision and will be quoted to illustrate the difficulty in locating the individual house sites within the quoys from descriptions contained in the seisins. In December, 1679, Thomas Taylor, skipper in Stromness, seised to Patrick Melline and Annas Louttit, his spouse:

'...Off All and Hail that the said Thomas his peice of waist ground and grein (green) at the shoirsyd of Stromness Lyand on the north-northwest pairt of the said Thomas his owne dwelling house yr. boundit and haveing the ness dyk running allongest the end of his peat brae and the said peat brae on the east and southeast pairt thairof the stank in the midle of the myre in the south and southwest pairt thairof, the great stone called Wm. Johnstones mairch stone and the end of his quoy on the west north west pairt thairof and the burne running to the sea allongest the north and northeast pairt thairof'.²⁵

The second entry appears in March, 1682, and covers the transaction between Thomas Taylor and Oliver Smith, smith in Stromness, together with Janet Beaton, his spouse. In this document Taylor seises:

'...Off All and Hail the said Thomas Tailzeor his houses built upon the southsyd of his owne dwelling house presentlie possest by Robert Meallie and Thomas Tailzeor shoemakers in Str. tennents therein'.²⁶

Oliver Smith and his wife appear in the last two seisis also. In the entry for February, 1683, he appears together with John Beaton and his wife, Marie, incomers from Utter Stromness, and receives:

'...Off All and Hail that the sd. Thomas and his said spous their dwelling houss upon both syds of the closs back and foir under and above presentlie possest be themselffs Thomas Tailzeor younger cordiner in Stromness and Annas Mealling'.²⁷

together with the quoy of land as originally mentioned in the disposition of 1666.

The last document to be found concerning the development of the same quoy during the period under study appeared on June 4th, 1698. Again the persons involved in the transaction were Thomas Taylor and

Oliver Smith with their wives. This entry is longer than those previously quoted and is of particular interest as it indicates the growth in the size of household that had occurred by this date. It reads as follows:

'...Off All and Hail that the dwelling houss upon both syds of the closs back and foir under and above with the quoy of land pertaining yrto with the kaill yaird peatt brae and haill priviledges and pertinents pertaineing and belonging to the same or whille righteouslie shall be known to pertaine and belong yrto...samen is presentlie possest and inhabited be Nicoll Johnstoun seaman Ffrancis Murray cordinar Kathrin Tulloch and James Barclay seaman and William Olsone minstrell on eastpatrick Mowat coupar his mairches on the south pairts Wm. Johnstoun seaman his mairches on the west and the burne on the north pairts'²⁸.

The seisins, such as those quoted comprising the transactions over a period of thirty-three years for the quoy originally disponded to Thomas Taylor, have been used in an attempt to recognise, within the present landscape, the buildings mentioned in the old documents.. The subdivision of the quoy appears complex because such natural features as 'Wm. Johnstone's mairch stone' and 'the stank'²⁹ in the midle of the myre' can rarely be identified. The compilation of a cartogram, however, is relatively easy and the general arrangement of features within this particular quoy can thus be seen (Fig.24). In the case of Taylor's quoy, the location of the tenement of land could be fixed with a reasonable degree of accuracy and identification of the original 'biggings' on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map of Stromness followed rapidly. Thus the existing buildings, while having undergone minor structural alteration, are basically those dating from the period 1670-1690. Similar seisins for other pieces of ground do not always provide sufficient information to allow precise identification and dating of dwellings. For instance, where a large quoy has been heavily built upon in succeeding centuries it is rarely possible to determine the position

of the first building on the site.

The process of cross-checking led to the recognition of over twenty-five individual quoyos. At first these were fitted together rather like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle to form a cartogram showing the relative position of each plot of land (Fig.25). It was possible to locate the first entry, that for the quoy seised to Alex. Chalmer in 1624, from a detailed plan executed by Joshua Johnston³⁰ in 1792. While including several inaccuracies in the orientation of boundaries, the burn, sea and crags, together with the arrangement of buildings within the quoy are clear enough on the plan to allow the land to be fixed accurately on a current 1:2500 scale base map. Once this had been plotted and the burn that formed the northern boundary determined, all succeeding transcriptions were read and the parcels of land identified and drawn on the cartogram from the descriptions of the neighbouring quoyholders and the natural features in the contemporary landscape. Some quoyos, however, could not be located in this part of the shore due to lack of detail regarding their boundaries. Others have not been included on the cartogram and map as they lie outwith the main building area and though traced through later seisins have not been subject to any permanent development. An example of the latter case exists early in the Registers. In 1622 the Church hands over to David Boswell and Marjory Gordon, his wife, a piece of waste ground lying at the head of the Road of Cairston (to the north of Hamna Voe), following it three years later with the disposition of the adjacent land. These quoyos cannot be fixed accurately although the boundary description is very detailed. The marchstones, crags and the confluence of two burns can no longer be recognised and the study of the aerial photography shows no sign of a tributary to the Mill Burn in the area. The next reference to the area is found in August, 1668, when John Boswell, 'skipper burgess of Kirkcaldie, Fife', and 'only lawfull son of David Boswell', transfers the land mentioned in the seisin of 1625 to the four daughters of the late David Beaton and Robert Halcro, husband to Elizabeth, one of the daughters. This document includes the description of the waste ground together with the 'whole houses and yards built and planted there'³¹. The land and buildings were to be divided equally

between the aforementioned persons. Although engraved views of Stromness produced a century or so later show a number of buildings, including possibly William Clark's inn, at the bay head, there is only a faint sign - a slight disturbance of turf and discolouration of the ground - of such structures in the present landscape.

Having established the rough planimetric relationship between the quoy of land the cartogram was transferred to a base provided by the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map produced in 1882. For this the dimensions of the parcels of land were taken into consideration and reference made to the exact position of natural features as shown on the Ordnance Survey sheet. In a number of instances the record referred to a burn as the boundary. Where this could not be readily identified in the field the hachured map, as described earlier in the chapter, proved invaluable. Due to the fact that breaks of slope had been plotted from aerial photography before being located on the base map the lines of apparently dry valleys were easily recognised and were used to fix some of the troublesome pieces of ground.

In most cases a close tie was found between the limits of the original quoy and the garden and field boundaries existing within the present landscape. Some difficulties arose, however, when natural features could not be identified in the field due to obliteration by later building development. This was particularly true for the marchstones that marked the corners of some of the plots of ground, and also the crags or 'craigstones'. While a number of outcrops of granite do exist, particularly under the foundations of buildings or bordering the flagstone street, it is often difficult to link a particular piece of rock with a definite seisin. Generally, however, a piece of land would be fixed between its neighbours rather than from the description of the individual quoy in question.

One quoy of land, only tentatively positioned to the north of the main settlement along the shore side, may be used to demonstrate some of the problems of interpretation of the seisins. On 1st August, 1668, the daughters of David Beaton dispon ed to Francis Marwick and his mother, Christian Work:

'..Off All and Hail ane piece of waist ground
 extending to fourttie fadomes of ground
 in bredth and also in length bounding from
 the old bow next to the deceist hugh Linkletter's
 house and marche on the north side next Clewabank
 lyand on the north hill thair within the parochine
 of Stromness'³².

Hugh Linklater's quoy can be identified as lying in the area of the present John Street to the north-west of the main pierhead. However, the exact position of the northern boundary - a burn - can no longer be traced in the landscape although reference to the aerial photography helps to fix this feature. The western boundary to the 'old bow' again causes problems. There are several possibilities: the quoy may have terminated at the narrow lane that runs from behind the church north along the hill; it may have extended to the line of the present Back Road, or, alternatively, may have reached a higher point on the hill where a rough alignment of field boundaries is seen to exist on the map. Consultation of a number of Scottish dictionaries for a definition of the term 'bow' does not help to clarify the situation. There appear to be four interpretations of the word, viz. a fold for cows, an arch or gateway, the arch of a bridge and the curve or bending of a street. The Ordnance Survey map indicates that the main road - the Back Road - has a shallow Z bend at this spot, while the presence of a stream may have necessitated the construction of a bridge. It would also be logical to have a fold for cows on the hill fairly near the village - most people at this time, although practising some sort of trade, would have retained a cow or cows to provide the family with dairy produce. Thus any of these interpretations is possible, but the exact location of the old bow cannot be proved. The inclusion of dimensions for the waste ground may initially seem helpful until an attempt is made to fit a squarish quoy 40 x 40 fathoms (240 x 240 feet) into the area. Bearing in mind that few boundary changes have taken place throughout the centuries two fields seem to be approximately the correct size and lie in the general area, although not immediately adjacent to the curving street, the stream or any apparent fold for cattle. Clewbank, although

mentioned in a number of seisins, has since disappeared from the landscape.

Many seisins include one or more dimensions in their descriptive passages but where compass directions are omitted it may be difficult to locate the quoy. In 1663 Patrick Manson, smith, dispones to his daughter and her husband Nicol Louttit, sailor,

'...Off All and Hail that his hous lyand upon the
shoir of Str. togidder with threescoir faddoms of
ground in length and twentie faddoms in breadth
perteining to the said house'³³

Lying within the area of the Town House and Stromness Hotel the quoy will fit between garden boundaries so that the long axis is either parallel to or perpendicular to the shore. An area of land belonging to the Louttit's extends from Bank Loan beside the Town House south almost to Church Road and confusion over the subdivision of this area and the transfer of quoyes between members of the Louttit family does not help the orientation of the quoyes and the compilation of an accurate map.

Most of the seisins studied between the years 1617 and 1700 refer to waste ground 'at the shore side'. As at this first stage of development of the town pressure on space and competition for land allowing access to the shore was negligible, houses nominally erected 'at the shore side' were often quite a distance upslope. Thus it appears that the 'shoreside' was regarded as comprising the whole of the slope to the east of Brinkie's Brae not merely the junction between land and water. Due to the development of the harbour and the increase in trade the following centuries were to see severe overcrowding on the steep slopes, the dwellings often being constructed gable end on to the street, to ensure maximum use of space, on their own pier or wharf.

Although the boundaries of the quoyes were originally identified on the map of Stromness in 1882 the final plan has been executed on the current outline and thus the parcels of ground may be seen superimposed on the modern shoreline and building line along the main street (Fig.26).

This enables the historical map to be compared with later maps of the burgh produced on the same base and illustrates the relationship between the site of the ancient and modern town. The plan shows the boundary of each quoy identified from the seisins, the alternative positions of Francis Marwick's quoy in the north being delimited by a pecked rather than a solid ink line. Included within each boundary is the name of the person to whom the quoy was first disposed together with the date of that seisin. In some cases the name but no date has been shown. The reason for this apparent omission is that no seisin was found up to 1700 for the particular piece of ground, the presence of the individual being ascertained from a list of the neighbours in the seisins for an adjacent quoy. The development and subdivision of the quoys can be traced through the documents and in some cases identification and approximate dating of buildings has been possible. Those dwellings that have been proved to be in existence by A.D. 1700 are shaded and comparison with the current 1:2500 plan indicates those that have not been demolished since that date. Although the number of buildings erected within each quoy is easy to calculate, due to considerable high density development in later centuries it may be impossible in some cases to give the exact location of the earliest structures. In these instances a point symbol has been used to indicate only the number of houses contained within the boundary by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The completed map contains, in addition, three small plots of land towards the northern edge of what was then the commercial centre of the districts. The description in the Register of Seisins is particularly full in this instance (Appendix B) and the dimensions given enabled the quoys to be plotted accurately at the scale of 1:2500. The house that was subsequently erected on the largest quoy is noteworthy in that, while it is not the earliest dwelling still in existence, it is the only building retaining evidence of a date. A coat of arms bearing the initials I (J)M and MN, an inscription and the date 1716 is clearly visible in the pediment on the porch over the present entrance and links it with James Miller to whom the three quoys were seised in 1711 (Plates 19 & 20).

The study of the seisins shows that by the year 1700 the village had expanded beyond the rather conservative number of houses in Clouston's description and with exploitation of the trading possibilities of the harbour was to undergo further development in the following centuries. Storer Clouston concludes that 'Stromness, in fact, owed its beginnings to the enterprise of younger sons'³⁴ and while this is undoubtedly true, as the records show, immigrants from Orkney and the Scottish Mainland also played a considerable part in forging trading links outwith the islands.

The rentals indicate that the parish comprised c.120½ pennyland of which six eyrislands were probably old skatland or earl's bordland, and the remainder old quoyland. It seems likely that about half - 60½ d. land - was odal, with 52¼d. land falling to the earl and 8d. land to the church. The Uthell Book of 1601 enters the various odal lands in the form of 59 parcels held by approximately 57 people, and in 1617 no fewer than 13 odal families appear on Suit Rolls³⁵. These were as follows: Jerome Tulloch of Quholm; two Redlands - John of that ilk and Jerome in Kirbister; Four Beatons - John of Clouk, Magnus of Pow, Thomas of Dale and Magnus of Quoy; Edward Sinclair of Ness; Clara Murray of Garth; Jerome Kirkness of Mousland; John Cursetter in Kirbister; Alex Brown in Outer Stromness; and Adam Smyth of Stove. In addition there were two owners of purely feudal estates: William Gordon of Cairston and Robert Elphinstone of Hamiger.

Despite the change in ownership of the parish from the earl to the bishop in 1614 and the introduction of another large feudal estate, owned by the Bishop's family, the Grahames, at Breckness in the west of the parish, the major landowning families remained and appear regularly in the Seisins. The earliest habitation, William Clark's inn, erected on waste ground at the head of the bay, lay within the township dyke of Cairston. Cairston at the end of the sixteenth century was still earldom property thus the feu was received from Earl Robert Stewart. By the date of the commencement of the Registers of Seisins, however, the parish had passed into the hands of Bishop Graham, the first seisins for the emerging settlement being in each case for 'the said reverand father's piece of waste land'. The first of these seisins,

that between the bishop and David Boswell, merchant burgher of Kinghorne, and Marjory Gordon, his wife, was for ground on the north side of the road of Cairston. In the year 1587 Earl Robert had granted in feu to his 'servitor', William Gordon, the whole estate of Cairston 'in consideration of our sovereign Lord's Acts of Parliament made anent the setting of fewis for bigging and beiting (repairing) of houses.'³⁶ Thus it was probably William Gordon who repaired the old castle and erected the new farm buildings. When a relation, probably a daughter, married a wealthy Scottish merchant it was natural that they should have received a tenement of land in Cairston not far from the Bu' - a site on low ground at the head of the bay. The importance of the bay as an anchorage had been recognised at an early date and thus the commercial possibilities of such a site would have undoubtedly been exploited by David Boswell. In 1668, however, the land and buildings passed from John Boswell, the only lawful son of this union, who had himself become a 'skipper burgher of Kirkcaldie', to the daughters of David Beaton. The Beaton family, holding land in Clouk, Pow, Dale and Quoy, figure prominently in the seisins, and c.75% of the quoyes shown on the map as feued on the west of the harbour were received from David Beaton or his successors. Clouston notes that on David Beaton's death in 1669 the property was divided among his four daughters and included thirteen houses apart from his landed estate in the parish. The second and more important land transaction was that between the bishop and Alexander Chalmer, smith, in 1624. It is possible that Alex. Chalmer was somehow related to Marion Chalmer who, with her husband, had settled at the bay head in the 1590's. However, the ground seised in this case is noteworthy in that it was the first on the west side of the harbour, being sited on fairly steeply sloping ground lying to the south of a burn towards the middle of the shoreside. Other land owners issuing feus along this part of the shore were the Redlands of Redland, and the Grahames of Breckness.

The first recorded visit of Bishop Grahame to Stromness was for the purpose of holding court in December, 1617. At this period in the extreme west of the Mainland crime, especially sheep stealing, appears to have been rife. It appears that the men of the west had

"grippit"³⁷ the animal crop rather promiscuously and sold them to ships calling at Stromness³⁸ and the Bishop as judge in the Bishopric, was responsible for exacting a suitable punishment. The Bishop, seeing the advantages of land purchase schemes, was encouraged to acquire lands widely throughout the Mainland, in some cases receiving property as payment for debt. Thus following visits to Stromness and Sandwick he purchased the estates of Breckness and Skail. The charters testify that in 1625

'...ane horonabell woman, Mareon Creightoun,
spse to ane Reverend father in God, George,
Bishop of Orkney'³⁹

appears as obtaining, with 'David Grahame, her sone', lands in Sandwick while in May, 1630, a bond was issued by

'...Francis Mudie of Breknes to grant charter of
confirmation to Marion Crichtoun, spse of Geo. b.
of Ork, and John Grahame, her son,...of lands in
Utter and Inner Stromness'⁴⁰.

The Mudies, originally a Caithness family who came to Hoy and Walls after the Reformation, had certainly acquired Breckness by the year 1563. It is impossible to ascertain the reasons for the choice of Breckness as the site for the Bishop's mansion house. Completed in 1633, a year after his wife's death, it would have undoubtedly provided a retreat when episcopacy was overthrown six years later and Grahame was forced to resign.

Standing beside the farm buildings on a sea cliff at Breckness, the ruin indicates that the Bishop built a substantial L-shaped building (Fig. 27). The walls are fairly complete and stand to a height of two storeys. The wallhead, where it remains, indicates the presence of a moulded eaves course and it is likely that there would have been an attic in the roof. The main block, measuring c. 41 x 22 feet, is oriented east-west with a view across Hoy Sound to the Atlantic beyond. Containing the main public rooms, the block has a massive fireplace in the west gable and an entrance to the south. The masonry in all sections is a mixture of uncoursed flagstone rubble with moulded freestones, the latter limited mainly to door and window openings. However, beside the fireplace in the north-west angle of the hall is a mural cupboard

with a moulded freestone surround adjacent to a smaller cupboard with a double lintel (Plate 21). The main entrance to the house is in the east facade at the junction of the two wings. The doorway is impressive with moulded jambs and the arms and inscription of the Bishop in the panel above the door. Immediately inside the entrance are the remains of a flight of stairs leading to the upper storey. The northern projection, c.26 x 24 ft. in size, contained the kitchens and storerooms. The room appears to have been divided into two long chambers and there are two arched fireplaces in the northern gable.

One may speculate that the presence of a Bishop in this isolated part of the Mainland encouraged an improvement in the behaviour and morals of the inhabitants of the parish. If this were the case it seems that the ecclesiastical influence did not continue into the following century as a Stromness merchant, seising in 1716 a piece of waste ground within the dyke of Hamiger, to the east of the harbour, produced a son who became notorious among the islands and farther afield as the Pirate Gow. The Grahame family, however, were to have a more positive effect on the development of both the town of Stromness and certain parishes in Orkney. On his death around the year 1644 the Bishop left his property to five sons and six daughters who, by their marriages, were to gain further extensive estates and become linked with other notable Orcadian families. For instance: Mary married Patrick Smith of Braco; Annis, Adam Ballenden of Stenness, and Marjory, George Drummond of Blair Drummond; while two sons gained Gorthie and Rothiesholm, and James became a merchant in Edinburgh.

The incomers to the village of Stromness seem to be mostly Orcadian as the frequency of names such as Louttit, Marwick and Linklater indicate. However, the advantages of the harbour were to attract a number of immigrants who were to become important and influential members of the community. Members of the Stewart and Gordon family were introduced with the Stewart Earls of the sixteenth century, while the Grahames originally proceeded north from the east coast of Scotland. There were in addition a number of families from the north of Scotland such as the Sinclairs and Moodies of Caithness and the Sutherlands of Sutherland. Other members of the community bear names

such as Elphinstone and Pollexfen that are connected more obviously with families outwith the islands. It will be seen, therefore, that although a considerable number of merchants settling along the shore of the Voe arose out of the old landed families in the neighbourhood, as noted by Clouston, a fair percentage came from outwith the parish and, in a number of instances, outwith the Orkneys themselves.

The available records, while providing evidence of the physical development of the settlement, may also be used in a study of the occupation structure that had evolved by the year 1700. The Poll Tax Roll, 1694, lists 138 male heads of household but records the occupation of only 26 of these. The subdivision of this total may be seen in the following table:

Trade	Number Employed	Location
Wobster (weaver)	9	scattered widely throughout parish
Carpenter	4	all within Inner Stromness
Smith	3	two in Inner Stromness
Taylor	3	all around Hamna Voe
Couper	2	one in Inner Stromness
Poor fisherman	2	Inner Stromness
Cordiner (shoemaker)	1	Cairston
Seaman	1	Inner Stromness
Wright	1	Inner Stromness

Of the persons named on the 1700 map, as receiving the first seisin of the demarkated quoy, the occupations of fifteen may be traced. These are listed as follows:

Seaman	↔	Nicol Louttit, John Gray, William Johnstone
Taylor	↔	John Hourstone, Robert Hutcheson, Thos. Taylor
Carpenter/ Couper	↔	William Louttit, Patrick Mowat
Landowner	↔	William Gordon (Cairston), Harry Graham (Breckness)
Merchant	↔	Duncan Grahame

Smith	- Alexander Chalmer, Oliver Smith
Cordinar	- William Melvell
Wright	- Thomas Louttit

By the year 1700, however, the total number of tradesmen that were settled along the strip of shore greatly exceeded the number indicated in the list above. As has been noted, each of the original quoy had, by the beginning of the next century undergone considerable subdivision. In the case of Taylor's quoy there appear to be at least seventeen people occupying the three houses by the year 1700, of which ten were male. The trades of these are as follows: four cordinars, two seamen, and one each of taylor, smith and minstrel. The last named as John Beaton, coming from 'Utter Stromness' was obviously one of the 'younger sons' of the landed gentry and no trade is noted for him. This accumulation of tradesmen is typical of all the large quoy. During the 83 years prior to 1700 the seisins recorded the existence of 36 persons practising a trade or profession at the shore side. This total may be analysed as follows:

Seaman	9
Cordinar	6
Merchant	6
Carpenter	5
Smith	4
Taylor	4
Minstrel	1
Wright	1

As with the Poll Tax Roll the record of occupations as gathered from the seisins is incomplete. However, the development along the shoreside of Stromness as exemplified by these records is considerable by A.D. 1700. The suitability of the bay for trading had been recognised by entrepreneurs from all parts of Scotland and the commercial potential of the settlement at the turn of the century was not insignificant. The centuries that followed were to witness the extension of this commercial activity within a broader framework with the town demanding the loosening of the bonds of control held by Kirkwall over foreign trading during the next hundred years. This was

the turning point and the expansion that was to follow brought the settlement to its zenith.

CHAPTER V

That Stromness flourished in the succeeding centuries is beyond doubt and in a letter from David Geddes, merchant in Stromness, dated 12th April, 1788, the results of that are outlined:

'...To give you an Idea of the flourishing state of our great Town; 40 years ago 150 feet of ground on the shore below the street was bought for £10 and now I pay £60 for 70 feet of the same ground, all the spare pieces of ground on the shore bear the like value'¹.

The village underwent considerable expansion and this is not only reflected in the cost of land but may be seen in a rapid increase in population, drawn from many parts of Northern Britain, and the exploitation of the trading potential of the harbour that had been recognised already by some of the earliest settlers on this stretch of shore. Thus in 1755 it could be stated that

'...the inhabitants of Stromness, by their situation upon the Pentland Frith, have been frequently under a kind of Necessity of dealing in foreign commodities, upon occasion of Ships putting into their Harbour, for want of Provisions, and other Necessaries, which the Crews of these Ships could not purchase in any other way than by Barter or Exchange of such Commodities as they have on board. And as it would have been barbarous and inhumane in the Respondents to have refused such Commerce, they came under a Necessity of disposing of such inconsiderable Quantities of foreign commodities as came into their hands'².

It was this practice of foreign trading by the growing village of Stromness that led to considerable friction developing between this western settlement and the ancient island capital during the first 60 years of the eighteenth century. In the original charter of 1486 erecting Kirkwall into a Royal Burgh it was stated that, according to tradition, the burgesses of Kirkwall would be given the full rights of trade in merchandise of all kinds and allowed to export and import freely. In 1693, however, an Act of Parliament was issued by which

'...the benefit of trade allowed to the royal burghs might be communicated in favour of burghs of regality, baronry and others, on their relieving the royal burghs of a proportion of the tax laid on them'³.

Up to this date all royal burghs had the important function of granting trade licences in the form of burgess tickets. The holder of such a ticket was taxed or stented, by the royal burgh issuing the ticket for the privilege of becoming a 'free' trader with rights to carry on his business. The total tax levied on the royal burghs provided in turn approximately one-sixth of the land tax of Scotland. Kirkwall magistrates, therefore, had the monopoly of trade regulation throughout the whole county, the Act stating that

'...Importing of all foreign commodities and merchandise, either by sea or land, doth and shall belong to the freemen inhabitants of their Majesties Royal Burghs...likeways, that the exporting by sea of all native commodities of this Kingdom doth and shall belong to the freemen inhabitants of the royal burghs only...'⁴

Other traffickers of goods were known at this time as 'unfree' traders and if caught were penalised under the Act:

'...the goods or commodities of the unfree traders shall be escheated⁵ - the one half to the King and the other half to the burgh apprehendar; and that if the said goods or commodities be apprehended within any of the said royal burghs, or the suburbs or appendices belonging to them, or within their ports or harbours, the same may be summarily seized and secured as goods escheat in manner foresaid'.⁶

As well as the confiscation of their goods unfree traders were fined and often had soldiers quartered in their houses until payment was forthcoming.

Under this definition merchants in Stromness, by provisioning the fleets that called at the harbour, were 'unfree' traders and to escape harassment by Kirkwall advantage was taken of the 1693 Act by

which trade could be extended outwith the royal burghs. Thus Stromness merchants undertook to pay a proportion of the annual taxation laid upon Kirkwall in order to have a communication of trade. The system of taxation, however, brought forth many complaints as a letter to the Magistrates from Andrew Ross in Edinburgh, dated 1700 shows:

'...I had severall accompts from your contrey of your unequall divisione of the quota imposed by decret of parliament upon the unfree traders within your precinct, and particularly upon those in Stromness paroch. What ground ye hade for porportioneing soe much upon them is unknown to me but I wished with all my heart ye hade walked more equally and justly in your divisione, soe as none might have reasone to complaine as those in the forsaid paroch most clamorously does. Therefor I most earnestly desire that ye would be pleased to reconsider your divisione and not only ease the said people in Stromness but lyckwayes Zetland'⁷.

The tax imposed on Stromness by the Magistrates in Kirkwall amounted to £204-16s Scots which was equivalent to one third of the total sum due from the Royal Burgh. Stromness merchants considered this figure to be totally unjust claiming that it was 'disproportioned to her trade and her ability'⁸ but nevertheless continued payment until 1743. At that date certain traders under the leadership of Alexander Graham refused to pay the cess and were in consequence sued for the sums due - that in the case of Alexander Graham amounting to £16 Scots. The local legal proceedings favoured Kirkwall but much expensive litigation followed bringing hardship to both towns. Eventually a compromise was suggested that there would be a 50% reduction in the tax paid by Stromness, bringing the sum to £102, in line with payments made by Wick and Peterhead. The convention of Royal Burghs, however, dismissed this suggestion, insisting that peace could be bought only by payment of all unpaid dues with a return to the arrangement of 1719 whereby it was agreed that

'...in case of increase of their trade and decrease of the inhabitants of Kirkwall to subject themselves to pay such furder proportion of cess as any ... convention shall hereafter determine'.⁹

The matter went to the Court of Session which, in 1754, declared that

'...there was no sufficient right in the burgh of Kirkwall to assess the village of Stromness, but that the said village should be quit thereof, and free therefrom, in all time coming'.¹⁰

Kirkwall appealed to the House of Lords but the original decision was confirmed in 1758 allowing Stromness, and eventually all similar towns and villages throughout Scotland, to become free and independent of the royal burghs.

Despite eventual victory the prolonged legal battle had exhausted the finances of many of the Stromness traders. Alexander Graham, at one time among the wealthier merchants who, inheriting the family property towards the centre of the burgh, controlled much of the American trade, fell into financial difficulties and attempted to sue his fellow merchants for £600. He ultimately became bankrupt, his property in Graham Place being sold to Fraser Smith, a shipmaster. However, the monetary problems of certain participants in the struggle did not have a detrimental effect upon the town and from that time

'...Stromness became a place of more note, in consequence of the freedom she had obtained, and her trade, as trade always should be, neither curbed by absurd regulations, nor shackled by the corporation spirit, will probably soon enable her in her turn to acquire an ascendant over, and prescribe laws to, her formerlordly superior'.¹¹

After the initial establishment of the town by a small number of entrepreneurs and minor traders from many parts of Scotland the improved communications, developed as a result of shipping passing through the harbour, inevitably encouraged further immigration. The exchange of goods at the port, once freed from the constraints felt during the period of domination by Kirkwall, gave rise to extensive

wholesaling and retailing. Thus in 1760, during a tour of Scotland, Pococke comments of the 200 or so families in the town that '...they are all (except one Factor) Publicans and Shopkeepers'.¹² While this is undoubtedly an exaggeration - only 55 out of a total population of 1344 being so classified in 1790 - it emphasises the importance of such services in the general economic structure at the time. Pococke also mentions that the principal trade of the Orkneys was carried out in this western harbour, not in the island capital, and comprised the export of a diversity of local produce including:

'...Barley, Kelp, Ashes, Fish oyl, Salt beef and butter. They also send out oatmeal, malt, hams, dried geese, tallow, Cod, Ling and the Skins of Calves rabbits and foxes, goose feathers, coarse frizes, fine stockings, knit gloves, and Linnen.'¹³

In the Old Statistical Account, following some 32 years later, the principal items for export remain the same and are valued at £2371.15.8d. Imports, however, comprising raw materials such as molasses, flour, wood, coal, tea and flax, manufactured articles - earthenware, cartwheels - and luxury items - snuff, drink, tobacco, powder and shot - greatly exceed this total, amounting to £4198.1.0d. The trade deficit was made up in a number of ways and the Account records that money was available in the form of remittances from seamen in the Navy, freights of vessels, money from shipping fresh provisions, or spent by seamen in public inns and in remittances from men in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Certainly the sums spent by seamen in the public inns was likely to have been considerable there being 23 retailers of ale and 7 retailers of spirits in Stromness by the end of the century. Also in time of war when shipping was forced to take the more northerly route via Stromness to escape marauding privateers and frigates the town was likely to receive an extra income in excess of £1000

Due to the incidence of war and storms in the Pentland Firth the number of vessels calling in the harbour fluctuated considerably as the records note. Prior to 1763 between 450 and 500 ships passed through per annum but in the later part of the century the production of improved surveys and charts of the northern waters, principally by Murdoch

Mackenzie, allowed the direct route through the Firth to be used more frequently reducing the shipping in Stromness to c.340 per annum. The composition of the fleets, as revealed in a table printed in the Old Statistical Account, is interesting. English and Scottish vessels used the harbour most frequently but in each year there appear to have been valuable contacts with shipping passing to and from America and parts of northern Europe.

STROMNESS :		SHIPPING			
Lists of vessels					
Year	1789	1790	1791	1792	
English	105	72	96	87	
Scottish	214	121	203	214	
Irish	7	13	19	17	
Dutch	2	0	0	0	
Swedish	5	0	5	9	
Danish	9	2	11	5	
Prussians	3	2	1	3	
Danzig ships	1	3	4	1	
Americans	0	0	1	2	
Total	<u>346</u>	<u>213</u>	<u>340</u>	<u>338</u>	

ref: Old Statistical Account: Vol XVI

In addition to the links forged outwith the islands Stromness merchants were responsible for the distribution of assorted commodities to customers all over Orkney. For instance, much coal and whisky was sent to James Robertson of Ness, while barrels of herring and quantities of tobacco went to North Ronaldsay and, on one occasion, a watch was dispatched to Stronsay. The Robertson letter book indicates the regular export of herring and kelp in the eighteenth century. However, the local fishing industry was inconsiderable at this time and Hepburn notes that

'...fishing is now only prosecuted as far as the poverty and want of the inhabitants force them, from day to day, to seek in the sea an addition to that scanty subsistence which the land affords them.'¹⁴

It is thought that the £30 or so needed for a boat and fishing equipment was in excess of the means of the majority of the inhabitants and by 1794 only two sloops from Stromness appear to have been engaged in catching herring. The exploitation of the waters by 'foreign fleets' gave rise to complaints among the Orcadians but despite suggestions that '...fisheries (the most profitable and beneficial of all trades) might be established and carried on there (Orkney) to greater advantage than anywhere else in Scotland (the isles of Zetland excepted)',¹⁵ it was not until the following century that fishing became an important component of the economy. On a small scale, however, it was pursued from the middle of the eighteenth century with two or three Stromness boats engaged in white fishing and lobsters. The latter proved to be a profitable enterprise and c. 12000 were despatched annually to London in Gravesend smacks that called in the harbour fortnightly during May and June. During the winter months between 50 and 100 men fished in the harbour, from the stone quays or small boats, for sillock which, on their sale brought a significant income into the town. Other enterprises unfortunately brought less money into the settlement. The Napoleonic Wars sent the price of kelp rocketing because foreign products were unobtainable and this encouraged local landowners to crowd their estates with people to gather tangles: the shores of Hamna Voe were adapted for burning the collected seaweed in simple kilns before the valuable ash was exported. In the 1790's weed was cut only every two or three years amounting to c.42 tons per annum, and Clouston notes that

'...it is not annually made; and when burnt the greater part belongs to heritors not resident here.'¹⁶

Among other local industries were those involving both the repair and construction of boats. Of the 493 males resident in the town at the close of the century 60 were seamen, 18 ship carpenters and a further 8 were listed as joiners. Several small ships of between 30 and 90 tons each were built in nousts bordering the harbour and appear to have been used locally. In addition, weavers, tailors, shoemakers, masons, coopers and blacksmiths were prominent members in society - type of artisans that were early settlers along the shoreline.

The women, outnumbering the men by 358, found employment as female servants, dressmakers, stocking knitters or as manufacturers of linen.

While trade appears to have undergone considerable development in the two centuries since William Clerk established his inn at the bay head to offer hospitality to passing seamen there seems to have been room for improvement:

'...It is evident, that from their Harbour, a much more honourable, as well as a more Lucrative Trade might be carried on, for everyone of the principal Inhabitants have a wharf at their own door; and the total neglect of this excellent advantage, shews that they are infected with the same indolence complained of in the Inhabitants of Kirkwall.'¹⁷

In spite of giving an impression of laziness there were in fact a number of enterprising individuals within the community. It was such enterprise that no doubt led to a noticeable increase in smuggling, especially in such luxuries as Dutch gin, tobacco, French brandies, wine, rum, tea and coffee, during this period! Others benefited the community more obviously by the example set and leadership given during their lifetime. Certain families prospered and among these are the Johnstons and Geddes, both originally incoming from Scotland.

It is thought that the earliest Johnston, a son of the Earl of Annandale, settled in Birsay, but during the next generation sons became established in estates in Stromness parish, and Richard Johnston, who married Marjorie Cursitter of Appietown, became a prominent merchant in the town itself. The Seisins show that in 1695 Richard Johnston and his wife received a disposition for a piece of waste ground in Mowat's Quoy and there set up a small shop selling mutton and veal. Those Stromnessians who fell into debt for their purchases soon found themselves obliged to hand over what assets they did possess and thus Johnston was able to acquire many small properties in payment for shop accounts. Interest in trade was encouraged within the family, particularly on the marriage of Richard's son, John, to Marjorie Crafts, the daughter of John Crafts, a London shipowner, and Marjorie Louttit of Lyking. Their son, Joshua, became an important member in the

community establishing himself as a solicitor and Notary Public in Stromness in 1745 shortly after a two-year period of indenture to John Ridock, Stewart Clerk of Orkney. Links were again forged within and outwith the islands. On his marriage in 1749 to Margaret Halcro of Coubister another valuable Orkney estate came into the family's possession while, for a time, Joshua himself was designated as a writer in Edinburgh this possibly enabling him to pursue other valuable trading contacts. Many deeds and seisins bear witness to his role as Notary Public. In 1754 a deed executed by himself on behalf of Magnus Irving, sailor in Stromness, describes the transfer of a house and quoy of land valued at £20 and a sixteenth part of the Brigantine 'Margaret' of Stromness valued at £8 to the eldest son, James Irving. Also mentioned in the deed are the second son, Magnus, a sailor in London and the younger son, Edward, who was a sailor with the Hudson's Bay Company. This emphasises the extensive trading contacts of many of the contemporary inhabitants.

By 1750 Joshua's sister, Katherine, had become linked by marriage to another notable immigrant family, the Geddes'. It is likely that David Geddes, a taxsman, arrived, probably from Peterhead, c.1716 and it was his son George who, on his wedding to Katherine Johnston, established himself in a position to inherit part of the valuable Johnston estate.

George Geddes, sailor, went to Canada with Wolfe's expedition in 1759, but, two years later, he had returned and taken a mortgage from his brother-in-law on a house then possessed by Alex McKay, tidewater, on a part of Louttit's Quoy towards the north end of the harbour. His son, David, also removed temporarily to Canada on his appointment in 1777 as Paymaster of the Army led by Lieut.-General Burgoyne. Although taken prisoner after the defeat in Saratoga he returned to Stromness in 1783, married Margaret Cruikshank and built Geddes House (1787), a notable building to the south of the Melvine property in Hellihole where he was '...to have a Dock for the Sloops, etc.'¹⁸ In 1785, Geddes, obviously somewhat dissolusioned by life in Orkney, had written that, to provide for the further increase in family size with the arrival of another child, he was preparing to

'...try my fortune in the seas this summer in a very fine sloop I have got built at Leith of near 100 Tuns burden, all oaken out and in, fitted out in the best manner.'¹⁹

Although costing £800 he entrusted the mastership of the vessel to his twenty-one year old brother-in-law, Harry Cruikshank, and planned to '...go on freight or force a Trade from the Baltic or Norway to Liverpool or Ireland',²⁰ resigning himself to the fact that 'this and the fishing is all I can attempt in this Country'.²¹ However his successes in transporting cargoes of corn to Norway and Deals to Ireland encouraged him to settle more permanently in Stromness and together with Harry Cruikshank and, later, the Irving family, he acquired an interest in 10 ships at the peak of trade, becoming engaged in numerous other shipping ventures. The widespread contacts forged in earlier years undoubtedly enabled him to use some of his ships to carry Canadian spars to British shipyards before allowing them to continue on a smuggling run with salt to Gothenburg. In addition in 1791 he was appointed the Orkney agent for the Hudson's Bay Company, a post remaining in the family until 1819. During the Napoleonic Wars David Geddes became something of a merchant banker and seems to have owned several hundred acres of land in addition to thirty houses in the town.

The effect of such families on local livelihood was considerable and when the Cruikshanks started a brewery, which was soon converted into a more profitable distillery, in the settlement, it was undoubtedly an attempt to exploit to an even greater extent the wealth brought to the area by the shipping. However, as in many Orcadian families, wealth was shortlived and David's son, George, failed to strive to maintain the trading links in the period, after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, when much shipping was being diverted to the peaceful waters of the English Channel. Business slumped, the family became insolvent, and George, stripped of his honoured position as agent for the Hudson's Bay Company fled to Lancashire with his wife.

Probably one of the most important factors leading to the development of the town of Stromness and to the fluctuating fortunes of its inhabitants was war. Between 1688 and 1815 there were six major wars, covering a period of 60 years, in which Britain was involved.

During such periods of disturbance the English Channel was not safe for merchant shipping and convoys of vessels used the more treacherous waters of the Pentland Firth. However, until the publication of a comprehensive set of charts and sailing instructions in 1750, by Murdoch Mackenzie, and the installation of lighthouses in the Firth more than half a century later, the route via the Orkney islands themselves was preferred and Stromness, at the entrance to Scapa Flow, benefited greatly from the resort of such shipping. In addition the Orkneys in general and the harbour of Stromness in particular provided the final landfall for vessels travelling west to the new colonies in America or for whaling ships proceeding to Greenland and Davis Strait. On the outward journey water, provisions and extra crew members could be acquired, while on the homeward run a call at Stromness provided the first opportunity for the sale of furs, timber and fish.

Although Canada's north-facing bay was discovered by Henry Hudson in 1610 and ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht it was not until 1670 that any trade was executed by the Hudson's Bay Company. No definite evidence exists of the first Orcadian recruits although it is possible that Captain Grimington of the ship 'Hudson's Bay' engaged ten or twelve stout able young men in 1702. Certainly two years later the Captain was asked to supply information about finding servants for the company in Orkney and to write to his contacts

'...for as many as his friends can gett not exceeding
24 in number and amongst them two taylors and
to be all young men'.²²

During peacetime three ships of between 150 and 400 tons each called at Stromness in May or June returning about November to land those men who had chosen to return home after their contracts had expired. The number of men engaged per annum fluctuated between 60 and 100 and it seems that Orcadians were preferred to workers from England or Ireland for a number of reasons, viz:

they were free of the taint of rebellion in favour of the exiled Stuarts;
they were poor so that starting wages, rising with re-enlistment, of £6 p.a. for labourers and £15.20 p.a. for craftsmen and sailors seemed princely;

and they were accustomed to great hardship and could endure the rigours of the Arctic.

Despite reports of indolence by various writers it seems that the Orcadians in the employment of the Company proved diligent and resourceful. Forming three-quarters of the employees in Canada by the end of the eighteenth century they were responsible for the introduction of agriculture in the remoter areas, quickly became skilled in travel by canoe and had, in many cases, received sufficient education to allow them to run trading posts. Thus in the years 1796-97 the Company had 506 employees in Rupert's land, stationed at posts or outposts in Albany, Moose, Eastmain, York, Severn and Churchill districts, and, of the 376 Orcadians, 48 came from Stromness.

In spite of complaints in Orkney from the low wages and the fact that there was a constant drain on the population because of the number of men engaged, the Company increased its labour force to such an extent that it could not rely on the casual contacts of shipmasters but needed to appoint an agent in Stromness. Thus in 1791 David Geddes was given the task of recruiting suitable labour, advancing wages and meeting bills, which, involving the manipulation of £2-3000, was a considerable responsibility. George Geddes succeeded his father in the post in 1811 but the wars in Europe having allowed the press-gang to remove, for military and naval duty, workers who could have been employed by the Company, together with the employment of local men in the rapidly developing inshore herring fisheries, meant that the Company's requirements could not be satisfied. Thus during the nineteenth century the links with Orkney were weakened although four agents succeeded Geddes: John Rae 1819-1834, Edward Clouston to 1867, John Stanger to 1878 and, lastly, James Spence. In spite of the continued need to obtain provisions, and water from Login's well, recruitment was from Scotland - Stromness acting as the gathering ground for workers - rather than primarily from Orkney and the merger of the Company in 1821 with its Canadian rival, the North West Company, encouraged the adoption of the policy of Canadian recruitment favoured by its partner.

Wars in the south giving rise to the use of Orcadian waters also influenced another lucrative enterprise - the Rice Trade. Between October 1757 and October 1760 the Old Statistical Account records that a total of 19 vessels carried 44, 454 cwt - 3 qt. - 9lb of rice from America. The full duty payable on such a commodity was £14,182-8-6³/₄d but this was reduced to £1419-15-2¹/₄d due to the re-export of the cargo to Holland. Thus in 1775 Fea explains that

'...some years ago, a large Wharf and Warehouse was finished by Messrs. J.G.....ns (Gordons of Cairston) at a great expense for receiving and unlading ships from America with Rice The owners of the Warehouse also received certificates from the masters of the Vessels, of the quickness of their dispatch from this Port, in order to convince strangers of its being the most eligible situation for that trade'.²³

Kirkwall, jealous of the contacts forged by the smaller settlement in the west, attempted to exert its administrative powers to remove the rice trade to its own harbour. In the ensuing arguments the dismayed vessel that lay in Stromness harbour and had been used for weighing the cargo prior to the erection of the warehouse and wharf was removed to Kirkwall and rumours were spread by merchants in the capital as to the inadequacy of Stromness harbour for such trade. The attempt failed as the enterprise of the Gordons outwitted the rivals in Kirkwall. However, Stromness itself failed to retain the trade as, with the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the American ships preferred to sail directly to the Isle of Wight where information regarding current market price could be received within 48 hours from agents in London - a considerable saving of time when compared to Stromness.

Trade associated with the whaling industry also suffered significant booms and slumps. During the revival of British whaling in the 1760's vessels from Newcastle, Whitby and Hull called at Orkney, to recruit men, in March and April each year on route for the Arctic. Apart from Stromness harbour the ships used Longhope and Widewall Bays, particularly after improvements in the navigational aids of the Pentland Firth. Although generally between twenty and twenty-five men with skill in handling small boats would be needed the numbers

fluctuated greatly and the Whaling Companies, like Hudson's Bay Company, used local agents to facilitate recruitment. Thus Mrs. Christian Robertson continued, after the death of her husband in 1811, to run one of the biggest businesses, acting for several Hull whaling houses. In 1816, twenty-five out of a total of thirty-four whaling ships originated in Hull and in the census of 1821 over fifty Stromness men are recorded as having the occupation 'Sailor-Straits'. Although at its peak some 700 men left Stromness per annum for the short season in Davis Strait, overfishing led to a decline in the industry during the nineteenth century and alternative methods of employment available to Orcadians during the same period decreased the importance of Stromness as a port of call. By 1841 the whaling industry was in decline.

In 1805 Barry is able to comment of Stromness that the
 '...inhabitants are tradesmen, shopkeepers, sailors,
 shipmasters, pilots and small proprietors of lands,
 who are in general an industrious and enterprising
 people, and in point of comfortable living, social spirit,
 and hospitality to strangers, are not inferior to those
 of the same rank, in any similar situation through Scotland,'²⁴

The increasing diversity of employment with opportunities for gaining advancement and wealth in travels to America attracted a large number of settlers into the town. Pococke visiting Stromness in 1760 notes that there were over 200 families crowded into dwellings at the shore-side, while Fea, 15 years later, mentions 600 inhabitants. Although these figures cannot be proved they do serve to denote a marked upward trend in the population total and by 1790 this had attained 1344. However, throughout the century that followed the imbalance of the population between male and female components, first noted in the Old Statistical Account, was to have a significant effect on the economic structure of Stromness. The total at the end of the eighteenth century of 493 males and 851 females - a ratio between male and female of 12:21 - was due undoubtedly to the absence of men in the Greenland fishery, the Hudson's Bay Company and His Majesty's Navy, and in the following century the herring fishing itself was to encourage the continuation of this trend. The large number of females as has been mentioned found employment

in domestic industries of various types and the linen, stockings, bonnets, etc. that were produced found markets throughout Britain. The high proportion of widows in the community is also seen as a direct result of the sea-faring occupations of the men. Thus Geddes relates a

'...loss that happened to this small place this winter from a sloop that went out to kill seals on an Island ten leagues to the westward of this, a gale of wind drove them to the Isles of North Ferro where they all perished but three young lads; they were about twenty drowned who have left a number of helpless widows and young children almost destitute and the greatest part of them within call of my Door'.²⁵

The increase in population had inevitably been accompanied by considerable building development within the town (Plate 22). The entries in the Seisins multiply and because of the restrictions of the site a phase of intensive building on large quays, seised along the shore before 1700, commences. Thus the original situation whereby a house would be erected on an extensive quay which enabled the retention, if necessary, of a cow's grass, a kail-yard, dunghill and peat braes, was replaced by close and haphazard development. Former peat braes and kail yards provided new building sites and when new structures were rented a valuable income was forthcoming for the original owner of the property. Speculative building was negligible but merchants could often gain important properties within the town by buying sites when the price was low and selling them at a later date. David Geddes, commenting on the rapidly rising cost of land, states that his grandfather, another David Geddes, had foreseen this and had picked up about a third of the most valuable spots along the shore during his lifetime as such a family investment. Other merchants, typified by the Johnstons, managed to acquire property as payment for debts thus controlling much of the wealth of the settlement at that time. In a rent book of the Johnston Estate between 1749 and 1800 there are two entries for property within the town. By 1761 Joshua Johnston had possession of Mowat's and Chalmer's quays towards the centre of the shoreline and Louttit's and Marwick's Quays farther north. The rentals for dwellings vary and

reflect both the size of the building and often the subdivision of property between several households. Thus on Mowat's Quoy John Johnston's dwelling house and offices gave a rent of £3 sterling while Joshua Johnston, George Geddes, Alex McKay and John Spence paid £2.1.8d for houses on Chalmer's and Louttit's Quoys. Other inhabitants of part of a dwelling could pay as little as 5s.10d. The rental notes, therefore, that in 1761 Mowat's Quoy, containing eight heads of households, paid £5.17.6d; Chalmer's Quoy with eight households paid £9.10.0d; Louttit's Quoy (six households) was valued at £6.3.4d. and William Wylie leased Marwick's Quoy for a rent of £0.16.1½d.

The rental following in 1774 for three of the four quoys - Louttit's Quoy being omitted - shows more clearly the complex household arrangements that could arise. While the rentals for the three quoys change only slightly during the thirteen years the number of occupiers rises markedly. Mowat's Quoy rental lists eleven household heads, while that for Chalmer's Quoy to the north has risen to thirteen. Thus in one of the houses belonging to Chalmer's Quoy - that of the late Adam or James Isbister - Margaret Matches paid £6 Scots for the upper house, George Sabiston sailor, £6 Scots for the kitchen, Elspet Wilson, £6 for the laigh (lower) room and Adam Bruce, sailor, £3.12 Scots for the little forehouse of the same building. Similarly in Mowat's Quoy one structure had a fisherman in the upper house, a weaver in the cellar and a sailor renting the byre: the money paid being proportional to the value to the part of the building rented.

By 1795 inflation of property values was significant and in a list of articles of Roup²⁶ by John Johnston, merchant in Stromness, published on 8th January of that year the following entries appear:

'... House possessed by Wm. Rendall cooper with kailyard :

Mr. David Geddes	£84 stg.
Ho. & peat braeposs. ^d by John Knarston : Wm. Halcro of Bea	£130 stg.
Ho. possd. Wm. Isbister, sailor: Da. Geddes	£100 stg.
Ho. kailyd. & byre possd. by Robt. Matches, tailor; Harry Cruikshanks	£42 stg.
Waste grd. 45' along St. x 27' towards old pier : Geo. Smith	£50 stg.'

By the turn of the century fifty-nine proprietors, many of whom such as the Johnstons' and Geddes' were considerable landowners in both town and parish, were in possession of 222 inhabited houses which were rented for a total of £561.0.0d. At that time the rental for Gordon's warehouse and wharf was £15.

The unique townscape of Stromness was to emerge during this period. The problems of the steeply sloping site have been explained but the extension of trade in the harbour meant that building development allowing maximum access to the shore became a matter of urgency. The original seisins extended, as Fig. 26 shows, from the shore upwards to the hill. The quays themselves were often large and the original dwellings were erected adjacent to and generally facing the harbour. The rapid immigration on top of the natural population increase and the formation of an economic structure heavily dependent on trade encouraged intensive shore-line development.

While local sources of timber were lacking building stone was readily available in the neighbourhood and turfs as well as slate could be used for roofing. The natural cleavage within the flagstones allowed masons to cut rough blocks for building which could be easily fitted together into a wall without the need for mortar. The availability of local building material also permitted the extension of the shoreline and it was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the individual wharfs and piers were erected along the whole length of the shore (Plate 23). Separated by slipways and boat nousts these wharfs provided the foundations for buildings erected gable end on to the harbour as mentioned previously. The stone houses themselves were thus erected partly on the wharf and partly on the natural slope of the land and, due to the change in level, had often two storeys facing the street with three on the seaward side. To facilitate access to the shore for people forced to build farther upslope there were narrow lanes and closes, paved and stepped, running between the houses and skirting the remaining peat braes and kailyards. Hugh Miller in 1847 describes Stromness as

'...a long narrow irregular strip of a town, nearly a mile long, and fairly thrust by a steep hill into the sea, on which it encroaches in a broken line of wharf - like bulwarks, where, at high water, vessels of a hundred tons burden float so immediately beside the houses that their pennants on gala days wave over the chimney pots',²⁸
(Plate 24)

In many cases buildings erected facing the shore on the original quays were found to occupy too much space when pressure on land became critical. Thus a good deal of demolition and rebuilding also occurred although on a much smaller scale than that carried out in Kirkwall. The development on Chalmer's Quoy, for instance, is exemplified in three plans executed for Joshua Johnston in 1765 and 1792 respectively (Figs. 28 and 29). The older dwellings such as David Sutherland's house (probably that erected by Alex. Chalmer soon after 1624) faced the harbour and thus occupied much space along the shore. During the early part of the nineteenth century, however, this building was demolished and replaced by four large and two smaller dwellings built with their gables to the street on the wedge-shaped site adjacent to Duncan's burn. This trend allowing maximum development of a particular site is characteristic and is seen on the 1792 plans to have already been adopted. Further infilling often of irregularly shaped sites resulted in the unusual arrangement of neighbouring buildings and the meanderings of public rights of way between the dwellings (Plate 25). Demands on land led to further infilling and on Chalmer's Quoy, for instance, the number of houses increased by 27 to a total of 51 between 1790 and 1880.

Such was the irregularity of development caused by economic expansion that by the year 1808 a visitor to the town was able to comment that

'...while much labour has been bestowed to render the town easy of access to sea, they seem not have thought access from the land of any importance.'²⁹

Although in a 1711 seisin the main street parallelling the shore is termed the 'Queen's highway',³⁰ it continued to be little more than a narrow muddy lane for many decades and even in 1822 Peterkin states that

'...the range of clustered building extends along the side of the harbour, and is connected together by a narrow lane, never exceeding 12 feet in width, and sometimes so narrow as four or five. It runs in a zig-zag direction, is ill-paved with flagstones of unequal sizes, and is usually very filthy.'³¹

The inadequacy of land communications emphasised the remoteness of the town from the rest of Orkney and particularly Kirkwall. After the abolition of cess and the freedom from control by the Royal Burgh in trading matters development continued unhampered and David Geddes reports that

'...we are all well in this remote poor hapy (sic) Country neither Gov^r Judge Lawyer or any rank above a poor Minister to disturb us, not so much as a Justice of Peace nearer than 12 miles; indeed the Customhouse folks sometimes take our good drink; but yet we are resolved never to pay any Duties let the Acts of Parlimt. be what they will'³²

Some 29 years later, however, further steps were taken to improve the status of the town and on 18th February, 1817, a petition for its creation into a burgh of barony was granted despite considerable opposition from Kirkwall. Alexander Peterkin, the Sheriff-Substitute, presided over a meeting of voters in St. Peter's Church in April 1817 during which 30 heritors and 7 tenants elected two Bailies and nine Councillors (9 merchants and 2 ministers) out of their number. The meeting also appointed Edward Clouston as first town clerk of the burgh. The Charter enabled the burgh to attract further trade by holding regular markets and an annual fair in September. The money obtained from such activities was to be used for the maintenance of law and order and improvement of the harbour. It was many years before such changes could be effected, however, due to the debts incurred by legal expenses of the petition. The Council itself was forced to use the offices or houses of its members for a considerable time. The Town Council was soon to use its power for control of law and order and in a meeting held on 9th June, 1817, it was decided to enroll all '...respectable citizens' as a police force 'against ...the outrageous

and turbulent proceedings of seamen and others who frequent the harbour'.³³ Offenders, tried before the Bailies in the Burgh Courts, were usually fined as no jail existed in the burgh for their detention. With the adoption of the Police Act in 1857 Stromness was able to levy a rate on householders. Thus money was soon available for the improvement to the insanitary condition of the street and the provision of street lighting. In due course communications within Orkney were improved and, prior to the acquisition of a mail contract for a direct Stromness-Scrabster run using a small locally-built ship, the 'Royal Mail', a post-gig travelled, when conditions were suitable, to Kirkwall.

With the independence gained by the royal charter and the introduction of the herring fishing into the economic structure of the burgh the people of Stromness became 'among the most spirited adventurers'.³⁴ Only four years later Stromness obtained its maximum population of 2236 inhabitants (940 males, 1296 females) occupying 385 houses. The settlement continued to flourish but in the nineteenth century it was local employment of men in the fisheries and women in the straw plaiting industry that was of greatest economic importance.

Although as early as 1577 it had been recorded that
'.... They take great quantities of fishe, which they
drie in the winde and sunne'³⁵

industry remained for the next two centuries in a very restricted form. Undoubtedly the poor people of the parish had long been accustomed to hooking sillocks in the harbour and using them to supplement their meagre diet, the surplus being sold for 4d. an anker. The Old Statistical Account, however, lists only two sloops fishing for herring and it was not until 1819 that an upsurge of interest was to occur and fishing became a more significant part of the economy. In that year Stromness merchants created a marketing organisation - the Stromness Herring Fishing Company - which, while dissolved only some four years later due to big losses, was to set the pattern for the future. During the decade that followed the company's collapse the local boats reverted to the traditionally profitable lobster and white fish. In the 1830's, however, the herring industry revived and between 20 and 40 Stromness boats joined the larger fleets from North-east Scotland early each summer.

Results were variable due to the erratic movements of the herring and throughout the remainder of the century the pattern of boom and slump was to continue. Thus while an average of 3-400 vessels crowded the harbour during the season this number could rise as high as 800 when shoals were large, the boats being packed so close together that it was possible to walk from the town to the holms across their decks (Plate 26). The increased landings brought north curers from the east coast of Scotland for the six or eight week season and gutting and curing stations were set up on the Point of Ness, on the holms (Plate 27), at the bay head and at practically every pier along the harbour front. The dramatic rise in population, with 4-5000 extra inhabitants, had a considerable effect on the town. While the men lived on their boats, the women who were employed as gutters and packers, together with the coopers making barrels in which the herring were transported (Plate 28), lived either in lodgings in Stromness or in large wooden huts erected at the more open areas to the north or south of the town, adjacent to the curing grounds. To service the needs of these temporary immigrants many of the inhabitants became employed as lodging-house keepers or as merchants, punching a door in the street gable of their house and converting the parlour into a shop.

The upsurge in the fishing and the need for the repair of boats, often damaged in storms during the season, encouraged a further development in ship building. The Old Statistical Account notes that several small boats had been built in the town and in 1806 the brig 'Lord Collingwood', 137 tons, was constructed for David Geddes and four partners. In the census of 1821 there appear a total of 22 carpenters, 16 boat builders, and 12 apprentices working in at least four yards. In the years 1836-9 thirty vessels were repaired at Stanger's yard at Ness, then the largest in the town, but it was not long before orders for ships were coming from as far afield as Liverpool. By 1840 twenty-three vessels are recorded as belonging to the town and it is likely that these - 2 brigs, 18 schooners and 3 sloops - were all locally built. During the mid-nineteenth century Stanger built ships speculatively, acting as a shipowning merchant until a purchaser could be found. George and Peter Copland were also building ships within the town and in 1879 received a

twenty-one year lease from the Board of Trade for land on the foreshore of Stromness harbour opposite the Ness of Garson, the old site of Hamiger. The Board reserved the right to remove 'all building works or erections which may have become dilapidated or abandoned'³⁶ at the end of the lease and the following year the Coplands were able to enclose their patent slip with a wall and gates. In 1882 Stanger's son returned to Stromness and reopened Ness Yard, which had been closed on his father's death, although fluctuations in trade had, by this time, reduced the orders for new vessels. This decline is also seen clearly in the census data. In the middle of the century there were 51 joiners, and 25 ship carpenters residing in the town but by 1891 the numbers had decreased to 26 and 13 respectively.

Occupation structure (Fig.30) as illustrated in the enumerators' books emphasises the fluctuating fortunes and occupations of the inhabitants of Stromness. The traditional links with America having been broken in the early years of the nineteenth century, employment was found in a number of home-based industries. Thus in 1851 there appear 79 seamen around the shore of Hamna Voe and while in the succeeding forty years this total was halved the number of local fishermen increased slightly - from twenty-one to thirty-three. Contact with the sea-going traditions of the population was also maintained through the ship-building industry while, in 1851, control of trade was exercised by 7 pilots, 3 tidewaiters, 2 shipping agents, 2 coastguards and 3 customs officials. The early tradesmen - shoemakers, tailors, smiths, masons - that settled in the emergent village during the seventeenth century are well represented 200 years later although their numbers fluctuate. During the latter part of the century it was the annual influx of large numbers of people associated with the fishing that had the most dramatic effect on the economic structure. The need for accommodation and provisions affected both the establishment of lodging houses and inns and the increase in retail premises within the burgh boundary. The number of bakers, grocers and drapers increased dramatically while other services such as those of a chemist, banker and accountant were introduced. The imbalance of the population between male and female continued throughout the nineteenth century; there being 773 males to 1265

females in 1851 and 661 males to 972 females forty years later. Absence of menfolk with the fishing fleets or due to loss of life at sea meant that the women in the community were often forced to become economically self-sufficient. The traditional domestic occupations of spinning, knitting, dress-making and millinery thus became important, the goods produced serving both the local and export market. In addition, as during the war years of the early nineteenth century the sources of foreign straw were removed, hatmakers were forced to depend on the British product. Large numbers of women were needed to split and plait the straw ready for the bonnet makers and in 1821 seven straw-plait manufacturers employed two men and 196 women and girls for this purpose. By 1851 the numbers had decreased to 5 manufacturers and 66 women employees and the advent of peace accompanied by the rediscovery of brighter continental rye straw killed the industry shortly afterwards.

Analysis of the household structure (Fig.31) during the nineteenth century further emphasises the imbalance of the population: in 1851 there was a total of 577 individual households in Stromness of which 40% had an unmarried or widowed woman at its head. 40 years later with 497 households this total had changed only slightly but there were fewer widows possibly due to the increased use of safety measures at sea. Certainly the number of men away at sea had decreased during the same period by 18, emphasising the trend towards home-based industry. The herring fishing accompanied by the expansion of service industries within the burgh encouraged further immigration particularly from parishes in the west Mainland (Fig.32). Contact with the South Isles and, beyond the Pentland Firth, with Scotland and England, encouraged further settlers from these areas. Often marriage gave rise to the introduction of such 'foreign' blood and it is notable that many Stromness men proceeded across the Firth to Caithness to obtain a wife rather than marry into the local families. Towards the end of the century the percentage of the inhabitants born in Scotland and the South Isles had increased and can be correlated with improvements in shipping, with the introduction of steam, and also with the boom in the herring industry which attracted a large number of extra workers into the burgh for a short period each year. Thus in the middle of the century a total of 757 persons (37.4% of total population) are recorded in the census

as having been born outwith Stromness parish and although this number had fallen to 702 in 1891, because of the general population decrease, the percentage of the total population represented by this figure had increased to 43.5%.

Although the town had undergone definite physical expansion to accommodate the increase in population there was still severe overcrowding: the New Statistical Account records 650 households occupying 500 houses but the number of dwellings appears to have been exaggerated in this record as only 10 years later the census enumerates 378 inhabited houses. The falling population (Fig.33), after the maximum of 2236 was obtained in 1821, reduced the need for further building and thus only 10 extra habitations appear to have been erected by the end of the century. However, many of the buildings were small and although statistically the household size can be calculated as 5.5 persons (1851) and 4.2 persons in 1891, the actual situation is not revealed by this average. While it was common for a number of single people to live under the same roof there is evidence of 1851 of 10 people, mostly adults, occupying a tiny cottage in a row in Queen Street - now demolished on the Back Road - while 17 persons inhabited a two-storey house in Leith's Close off the main street. This was by no means unusual. The tables (Fig.34) analysing household composition also bring to light some interesting points. The incidence of extra-marital relationships is seen clearly in the number of spinsters with children and in 1891 a bachelor is listed as having a child - possibly that abandoned by its mother. The number of legitimate children was often high per family following the trends of the Victorian age and, while one or two children per family was normal, one couple in the middle of the century had 13 offspring. A large number of dependent relatives also occurs in many of the households and when these include young relations the occupation analysis reveals that they were employed as apprentices or labourers to the head of household or, in the case of the girls, were used as domestic servants. Lodgers also were frequently employed in the trade or craft of their landlord acting as journeymen, apprentices and assistants. Servants occurred in many of the households but there was a tendency for only the incoming wealthier families, particularly the professional people, to employ large numbers of servants.

It was this body of highly educated immigrants that, in the nineteenth century, led to a diversification of the social structure and it was under their impetus that a number of amenities such as museum, banks etc. were introduced to the burgh during this period.

The presence of immigrants in the professional classes not only encouraged the development of certain social amenities within the burgh but also brought about its physical expansion on the slopes of Brinkie's Brae away from the shore-line congestion and the insanitary conditions of the narrow, ill lit street (Plate 29). Thus the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 scale plan of Stromness, produced in 1882, shows that a number of substantial detached villas had been constructed on Hillside Road and the Back Road where problems of land communication were eased (Fig.35). The expansion of trade during the nineteenth century, having encouraged the further subdivision of the already overcrowded quays, resulted in a dense and continuous development of over a mile from the head of Hamna Voe to the Point of Ness. The irregularities of the building line along the street, resulting from the haphazard building development of the previous centuries, led to severe congestion particularly during the periods when carts loaded with herring were trundled to and from the curing grounds. Although the street had been paved it narrowed so severely, in some places, for example, Graham Place where there was only four feet between adjacent buildings, that transportation by land was hampered. Public buildings were, however, erected in the main area of the town, in some cases on ground that had remained unoccupied but more often on specially cleared sites. By the middle of the century, therefore, there appear to have been 4 inns, 34 public houses, a parish church, a post office, library, 8 schools, 3 banks and a museum and town hall. The increase in correspondence, encouraging the introduction of a post office for mail delivered via the post gig from Kirkwall or the 'Royal Mail' that crossed the Pentland Firth, necessitated the formalisation of the habitations into recognisable streets. Thus at this time the Town Council set about the naming of sections of the street and the larger closes that wound from the shore upwards to the Back Road and Brinkie's Brae.

An increase in education encouraged the establishment of a library, but the influence of the church was strict and no novels were initially allowed on the shelves. There were 8 small schools in the burgh of which two were run by public subscription. The schools were often staffed by no more than one teacher, usually a woman, who gave rudimentary education and instruction in local skills. However, the dependence of the settlement on sea-going trade led to the inclusion of navigation in the curriculum of one school. At first the pupils were sons of merchants and wealthy artisans but there was soon a demand for education for the poorer children in the burgh and a Sabbath school was opened in 1830 with between 200 and 300 scholars.

The churches themselves expanded during the period. The original parish church, sited adjacent to the churchyard on the shore at Warebeth, having fallen into ruin was replaced in 1717 by a church built in the settlement. However, by the turn of the century this building could not accommodate all the worshippers from both town and parish and thus St. Peter's Church was extended in 1814 and rebuilt with 1200 sittings. During the nineteenth century other churches were built towards the centre of the burgh. Early in the Secession movement several Stromnessians started to attend the ministrations of Mr. Broadfoot in Kirkwall. Thus a catechist was stationed in Stromness in 1802 and the following year a proposal was put forward to erect a church. By 1806 the building was complete. At a cost of £600 it was designed to seat 643 and in 1806 '...30 communicants and 2 elders were disjoined from Kirkwall, and formed into a separate congregation'.³⁷ This meeting-house was a small and inelegant structure but the discomfort of the pews did nothing to stop the increase in the size of congregation. On 10th February, 1862, therefore, a meeting of the congregation made the decision that a new church should be built and the new Victoria Street United Free Church was completed shortly afterwards. In 1888 another place of worship was constructed in the same section of the town. This was a small wooden structure on the north side of Church Street and served the Episcopalians. Considerable correspondence occurred during the early years of the century regarding the separation of the parishes of Stromness and Sandwick, linked for economic reasons several

centuries earlier. The minister serving the area was forced to alternate between services in the two parishes and the increased population in Stromness felt that they were being neglected with services only once in two weeks. Thus in 1823 the Commissioners of Teinds declared that Stromness and Sandwick were separate parishes although they remained joined until the incumbency of Rev. William Clouston ceased in 1832.

Although the town flourished several problems were faced by the traders of that age the main one stemming from a serious lack of banking facilities. When money was not available hand written notes of exchange were used in commercial transactions. Chartered banks, however, would have nothing to do with bills of exchange and the trading population was forced to rely on merchant banks. Monetary transactions were often considerable and a number of merchants had accounts with Edinburgh firms. The inaccessibility of ready money proved extremely inconvenient and thus on 18th February, 1836, the demand for local banking facilities was met by the opening of a branch of the National Bank of Scotland. By 1864 the business of the branch had increased to such an extent that larger premises were required and an imposing edifice was erected near the pier head. In 1854 other banking facilities were available to the population on the erection of a branch of the Commercial Bank of Scotland in the same locality.

The increase in wealth and importance of the settlement enabled the construction of a building to be used as a town hall and museum from public subscriptions in 1858 (Plate 30). This square structure was placed adjacent to some older cottages on a pier at the mouth of the May Burn. Local interest was stimulated in the formation of a natural History Society and its members took charge of the museum development in the same building. Other public buildings emerging at the same time were the United Presbyterian Church in Victoria Street and the Drill Hall in Hellihole Road.

Towards the end of the century attempts at regulating the movement of shipping within the harbour were made following the Harbour Act of 1897. By this Act Harbour Commissioners were made responsible for the erection of navigation aids such as leading lights,

the enforcement of tonnage rates and pier construction. Earlier in the century the first deep-water pier had been constructed towards the head of the bay and this was extended and improved by the Commissioners. In addition the small rice warehouse wharf to the north of the pier was extended by the addition of a 160 foot wooden structure. Plans were also put forward by the Commissioners for the erection of a pier to the south of Hellihole to allow 500 vessels to unload herring for transport to the curing stations. This proposal was met by considerable local opposition. The site, however, was later developed as a pier for the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses.

With the establishment of light-houses on Graemsay and a beacon at the Point of Ness the need for safeguards for the large amount of shipping frequenting the harbour was realised. In addition a considerable local demand for a lifeboat arose following a shipwreck in 1866 in which several local seamen were drowned. In the following year a 33 - foot ten-oared lifeboat arrived and was installed in a shed to the west of the Point of Ness. This location proved unsuitable as the boat could only be launched down the slip at certain states of the tide and after 1891 the replacement lifeboat, the 'Good Shepherd' was anchored in the harbour. This situation continued until a new lifeboat station was built on a site in Mowat's Quay.

Although one of the original reasons for the development of the harbour as an essential port of call for shipping travelling between Europe and the new colonies in America was to allow the vessels to take on fresh water it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the local inhabitants received a piped water supply. Login's well that had supplied many vessels, including the Hudson's Bay ships from 1670-1891, Captain Cook's vessels, and Franklin's expedition, was only one among many public and private wells within the burgh. However, the general overcrowding and the existence of public middens on the site resulted in the pollution of water supplies and the insanitary nature of the burgh. The annual increase in population during the fishing season put further pressure on the limited resources and contributed greatly to the filthy state of the piers and street. The introduction of a system of refuse and sewage collection, together with a piped water supply in the settlement thus became a matter of extreme urgency.

In 1898, therefore, pipes were laid from the Yelda reservoir on the high ground to the west and the ash and offal middens were abolished.

In the three centuries since the arrival of a few entrepreneurs on the slopes adjacent to the sheltered bay considerable expansion had occurred. The trading potential of the harbour was exploited by far-seeing merchants and land-owners and the immigrant population proved adaptable in the face of the numerous economic changes that were to follow. Control over development and foreign exchange by the capital was, due to the perseverance of the early Stromnessians, quickly removed and the town became free to develop independently of Kirkwall. Yet in spite of the rapid increase in population causing the younger settlement to rival the size of the ancient royal burgh in the early nineteenth century and the erection of Stromness as a burgh of barony, the functions of the two burghs remained separate and distinct. Once the maximum population was reached in 1821 Stromness started a slow but definite decline and although trade and local fishing continued the administrative powers remained on a small scale. Kirkwall, however, during the same period had increased her contacts with the remainder of the island group and with Scotland, thus firmly establishing herself as the administrative capital and major service centre for the scattered agricultural communities of the landward areas - a function that was founded in history and one that Stromness could never hope to rival.

CHAPTER VI

By the beginning of the eighteenth century Kirkwall had become established as the Orcadian capital and, under the successive earls and bishops, had developed the administrative base to its economy. Thus unlike its neighbour to the west the following two centuries were, for the capital, ones of consolidation of function accompanied by a steady increase in population. Trade improved if not flourished during the period and there was a constant export of local produce and import of luxury goods and necessities, such as coal, hardware and cloth. Little local industry existed although a number of artisans were established and for a short time Kirkwall, like Stromness, manufactured a significant amount of kelp and straw plait. However, the impression of affluence within the Royal Burgh, apparent in the hey-day of the Norse and Scottish Earls, seems to have diminished; a number of writers noting that by 1700 all was not well within the community.

One of the more interesting documents is that relating to the state of trade at that time and contains a report on the burgh in which several significant comments are made:

'...Imprimis - It is declaired be us that wee have
no shippis belonging to the said burgh but ane
small bark about the burdein of ten lasts, with
ane other small bark about the lyke burdein;
Secundo - It is heirby further declaired that
there is no toillbuith belonging to the said
Brugh, but ane house belonging to one of the
burgesses, and for paying the mailles thereof
wee are obliged to stent the inhabitants
Tertio - It is further declaired that there is no
common good or burrows rudds belonging to the
said Brugh, but ane small cottage which is
not worth above thrie pound sterling yeirly,
and by the Stewarts of Orkney their pretending
right to the superioritie of the samen does
consume in defence thereof, if not more, yet
the value of what the samen produces

Quarto - It is further declaired that the customes of our said yeirly Lambas Merckat is aplyed for the payment of the officers and other servants belonging to the said Brugh, and all which is got yeirly will not amount above ffour pound sterling; all which holds furth the extream povertie of the said Brugh, and pleads for a considerable ease of our Taxt roll'¹

This document goes on the relate the reasons for the lack of shipping in the burgh mentioning that at the beginning of May, 1703, the only ship belonging to Kirkwall was captured by a French privateer during her passage to Leith and her cargo, together with several merchants and two magistrates who were on board, was transported to Dunkirk. Other ships hired by local merchants seem to have suffered a similar fate. Eunson, however, comments on another possible course of the lack of shipping:

'...there is a very fine harbour for shipping; but it is not much resorted to by vessels, as it lyes at an inconvenient distance from the general course in steering by'.²

During the eighteenth century the situation seems to have changed: the commerce being in 'an improving condition'³ with exports of local produce, such as animal products, linen, kelp and corn, being sent to Dumbarton, Liverpool and as far south as Bristol. The balance of trade at this time was good with the value of exports exceeding imports by as much as £9236.4.0d in 1780.

KIRKWALL : TRADE FIGURES

Years	Exports	Imports	Balance	Shipping	Tonnage	Men
1770	£12018-4	£10406-6	£1611-18	17	825	76
1780	£23247-10	£14011-6	£9236-4	20	940	90
1790	£26598-12	£20803-0	£5795-12	30	2000	170

ref: Old Statistical Account, vol. VII

While the community remained self-sufficient in many of the necessities of life the wealthier inhabitants of the capital demanded more luxurious items and the list of imports, including coal, sugar, spirits, wines, snuff, tobacco, biscuits, hardware and cottons, reflects this demand.

Apart from the produce that travelled outwith the islands there was a considerable local market supplied in the main by the transactions at the annual Lammas Fair. Extending to three days it allowed a great number of merchants to travel north to Orkney from the east coast of Scotland and became a '...great Rendezvous of the country people, who bring in black cattle for slaughter, coarse and fine linnen, Stockings, Blankets, etc. for sale'.⁴

The linen industry that was carried out on a domestic scale among the island group was introduced in 1747. For 15-20 years it was under the management of only a few business men but 25,000 spindles of yarn were exported per annum. By 1790, however, the industry had declined as more people tried to introduce flax in competition thus causing the yarn to be spun poorly and the profits to drop. Shopkeepers in both Kirkwall and Stromness gave out lint to spin and it was not unknown for landholders to exact the spinning of yarn from their tenants as part of their rent. Although spinning continued, for export to Edinburgh, and Glasgow or wherever the highest price could be obtained, it was on a small scale and when the price fell most of the yarn was manufactured into linen cloth for the English market.

The kelp industry also flourished during the century following its introduction in the 1730's. In the period 1740-60, fetching 45/- per ton, it gave an annual income of £2000 but by 1791 the market price was £6 per ton with Kirkwall benefiting to the value of £17000. Employing 3000 people during the months of June and July the industry had an important effect on the income of the poorer classes while the managers of the industry, the local lairds, found kelp making so profitable a business that they were able to built many of the finer houses in the capital on the proceeds.

Kirkwall, like Stromness, experienced the changing fortunes of this industry and with its demise the local populace turned to straw-plaiting in the succeeding century. Introduced, due to the political situation in Europe, by an English company, it employed c. 7000 women. These employees were trained to use wheat or rye straw in its green unsplit state to produce an imitation of Leghorn plait.⁵ Later the plait was treated with sulphur smoke, was bleached, and smoothed between rollers. Labour was cheap, being paid at between 4d and 6d for every 20 yards of plait, but the price raised in the Greenock and London markets was, in the better days, as much as £30,000. However, as was noted in Stromness, the restoration of peace in Europe with the defeat of Napoleon allowed the introduction of superior foreign straw and, with increasing emphasis on the centres of manufacture in the south, the industry in Kirkwall collapsed.

In spite of the activity during these periods the total effect on the burgh was small. Thus the Reverend Barry reflects

'... As trade is but small, and the manufacture still less, in proportion to the population, every year drives many of the most prominent young men abroad in search of a livelihood.'⁶

This apparent exodus was, however, concealed by the tremendous influx of poorer settlers from the outlying rural areas, forced to abandon their crofts both because of the total failure of the crops in some years and the partial suppression of smuggling. Undoubtedly the fact that alternative forms of employment in the non-agricultural sector could be found in the burgh would have provided a considerable additional incentive to migration. Thus while Fea notes that Kirkwall already is '... a populous and pretty large town, containing about 1500 inhabitants',⁷ George Barry, in writing the first statistical account sixteen years later, notes an increase in population of two hundred in only six years. Apart from the few engaged in the manufactures already noted it seems that the employment structure was based heavily on the retail trade, craft industries, the sea, and domestic service by the end of the eighteenth century.

KIRKWALL :		OCCUPATION STRUCTURE : 1790	
Occupation	Master	Journeyman	Apprentice
Weaver	53	8	14
Shoemaker	16	2	17
Tailor	15	-	11
Wright	22	1	29
Mason	7	16	6
Slater	6	-	2
Smith	4	1	4
Cooper	3	-	-
Sea	200 sailors	25 + boatmen	
Domestic Service	120 women	10-12 men	
ref. Old Statistical Account vol. VII			

In addition there appear to have been a dozen gentlemen's families in residence together with two clergy, one physician, two surgeon apothecaries and four attorneys.

By the date of the New Statistical Account the pattern of employment, while showing the same general trends, emphasises, by its inclusion of a number of bankers, lawyers, ministers, teachers and officers of customs and excise, the increasing development of the administrative powers of the capital. Shopkeepers remained numerous supplying the ever increasing population

'... almost every alternate house, in most parts of the town, containing a shop.'⁸

The principal shops were well-stocked with goods of every description, imported from Edinburgh, London and other markets, in sailing packets plying the northern waters. However, in 1836 the Aberdeen Company had given a fillip to Orcadian trade by placing a steam-driven vessel in regular passage between Leith and Lerwick, an advance over the irregular sailings of former vessels which were so dependent upon the wind.

In the remainder of the nineteenth century the pattern of employment among the inhabitants of Kirkwall can be traced through the census data (Fig.36). The crafts and professions noted by Barry continued to be represented but the numbers fluctuated. Thus while the number of weavers decreased by 49 in the succeeding fifty years the figures for shoemakers and tailors had increased approximately five-fold. Between the middle and the end of the nineteenth century other changes can be noted which indicate the development of certain sectors of the community life. While seamen remained constant in number the fishermen increased following the expansion of the herring industry that had, in the case of Stromness, provided such a valuable boost to the economy. The demands of local market further established persons involved in the curing and later retailing of the catch. The upward trend in population both from immigration and by natural means further encouraged the development of the building trade and an increase in the number of those persons providing every-day goods to the community. Thus in the forty years up to 1891 the list of millers trebled while the bakers increased from 11 to 38 and grocers rose from 20 to 95 - all trends echoed by Stromness. The building trade generally increased in importance with masons and joiners totalling 39 and 79 respectively in 1891. In addition six new hotels were opened and 29 persons are listed as keeping lodging-houses - an increase of 21 in forty years. Women in Kirkwall, like those in Stromness, found employment in knitting and dressmaking, particularly after the collapse of the straw plaiting and millinery industries, and undoubtedly provided the increasing number of drapers with many of their wares.

As the community became more sophisticated other specialised crafts and services were introduced. Many females, especially those from the country areas, went into domestic service in the town houses of the wealthy lairds and merchants or in the new hotels and lodging-houses. A number of men were also employed as gardeners, or labourers on the neighbouring farms and crofts. Craftsmen such as watchmakers, photographers and printers were introduced, the last two working principally in the offices of the two local newspapers - the 'Orkney Herald' and 'The Orcadian'. The increasing demand for literacy put

pressure on both the Church and its offspring, the Grammar School. Both institutions expanded and diversified during the century, the number of churchmen of various denominations increasing by five to a total of 12 with the corresponding figures for teaching staff rising from eleven to thirty four.

Burgh administration was in the hands of the Council comprising a number of bailies and magistrates, but the increase in lawyers to a total of 15 may have reflected a rise in the crime-rate among the cosmopolitan community. Those unfortunate enough to be captured by the single policeman and proved guilty were eventually lodged under the watchful eye of the prison officer. Harbour officials increased with the improvement of trade while many of the offices, including those of the shipping companies, found it necessary to employ a number of clerks. Expansion of trade was accompanied, like that in the western burgh, by a demand for banking and insurance facilities. In 1825, therefore, John Baikie Lieut., R.N. opened a branch of the National Bank of Scotland in the old subdean's manse near the cathedral. This was soon followed by the conversion of a house in Bridge Street to form a bank under the agency of James Spence, with a further adaptation of premises in Albert Street as a branch of the Union Bank. However, the introduction of specialised services often required the expertise of personnel from families originating outwith the islands and numerous complaints were voiced regarding the injustice that was felt from the dominance of 'foreigners' in the seats of power.

'...The inhabitants are mostly tradesmen, who are unjustly deprived from having any share in the management of public affairs, and labour under a lamentable variety of grievances, notoriously occasioned by the undue influence of a majority of the pretending nobility of Orkney; which is a degree of slavery, that ought not to be imposed upon any community of Freeborn Britons'⁹

The Census reveals how large a proportion of the population were incomers to the burgh (Fig.37). Whereas Stromness obtained most of its immigrants from the West Mainland and the South Isles, Kirkwall,

with its north-facing bay received 21.8% of its total population in 1851 from the northerly Orkney Isles. In addition the contacts forged through the preceding centuries with the south resulted in a further 6.5% of the total originating in the Scottish mainland. In the mid-nineteenth century, therefore, some 44% of the total population of 3331 souls were immigrants. By the end of the century these statistics had changed only slightly. The population had risen to 3900 by this time and although the balance between different birth places remained largely the same the percentage of incomers had, in most cases, increased. In 1891, therefore, the census indicates that less than half the population - 48% - were born within the burgh or the parish of St. Ola.

The drift from the country continued through the nineteenth century, and can still be noted in the depopulation of many of the outlying islands, causing a marked increase in population particularly between 1821 and 1881 (Fig.38). Although the numbers fluctuate slightly, possibly due to the decline of the kelp industry after 1831 which also affected house-building, the trend is undoubtedly upward and contrasts with Stromness in the west which suffered a steady decline once its maximum had been attained in the early decades of the century. The new settlers needed accommodation and this put pressure on the burgh both to infill existing sites and to expand beyond the boundaries designated in the charter of 1486. Thus the Statistical Account at the end of the eighteenth century records that

'...a good many houses have been built beyond the precincts of the burgh, though so near it as to make a part of the town; and within it a house no sooner goes into disrepair, or tumbles down, that a new one is raised in its stead, of more than double or treble its dimension. Besides, houses of every sort have become of more request of late than they used to be, from a competition among these who wish to rent them; and they cannot be obtained but with much difficulty, and at a rent more than double of that which was formerly given them'.¹⁰

By this time the focus of the town had become firmly established in and around Broad Street and the Cathedral. Thus there was undoubtedly considerable prestige to be gained among the wealthy families by the possession of one of the large houses in this vicinity. In addition, it was advantageous to locate some of the major public buildings in this area but the demand for suitable building sites was restricted and many disputes arose over the ownership of developable property.

One such house was the old manse to the south of the Bishop's Palace (Fig.39). Occupied by the Governor of Cromwell's troops, it remained vacant from 1661 to 1741, the ministers at the time preferring to inhabit their own houses within the town, and having become ruinous during that period the problem of repairs raised the question of ownership. Three years later, however, the old manse '...was repaired out of a gift from the Earl of Morton, the lessee or Donatory of the Crown'.¹¹ The Earl seems to have assumed that by this move he could establish ownership of both the Bishop's Palace and that of the Earl, the latter bordering the garden ground belonging to the manse. The building was thus reoccupied and in the early part of the nineteenth century the Rev. William Logie of Lady Parish, Sanday, was appointed to the first charge. He had not been in residence long, however, when an accident caused the old structure to be set on fire and the minister had to flee to his own property in Bridge Street. Four claimants appeared during investigations into ownership of the building, viz: the Crown, the Town Council, the Heritors¹² and Lord Dundas who had by this time succeeded the Earls of Morton. As these claims were not substantiated it was considered that the Crown probably had the best right to it and that Logie should be given £30 p.a. as rent of a house in lieu of the manse providing he gave to the Heritors all right and title he had to the property. The legal battle continued but ended with the Crown Chamberlain neatly confiscating the manse. William Logie wanted a larger house built on the site but the Chamberlain would not allow extra ground for this purpose suggesting instead that a new manse be constructed on the glebe. He further indicated that if this were done then the minister would have two manses and as he could not occupy both, the old manse should be returned to the Crown who would then repair and relet the property. No building was erected on

the glebe at this time the Rev. Logie preferring to occupy a large Georgian style house, Daisybank, built overlooking the town not far from Papdale. This dwelling designated as a manse on a number of maps in the nineteenth century during Logie's occupation was never, in fact, church property.

The increase in population and the demands for literacy put pressure on the Grammar School which, fostered under the wind of the church, had been housed by Bishop Reid in a small structure to the west of his Palace. By 1711, however, the work of the school appears to have been so unsatisfactory as to cause gentlemen to bring 'chaplains' from the south to educate their children. Fifty-three years later Reid's school buildings were condemned as unsuitable and insufficient. A committee of the Town Council thus reported that

'...it would require a very large sum of money for repairing the old school and building another new school, as the materials, in the said old school, if it was taken down, would be of very small value; and, besides, if the schools were repaired as formerly designed, by their situation would not probably answer the purposes of two schools as they would be still very damp and ill-lighted'¹³

Thus it was determined that the schools should be housed under one roof in a new building to be erected in the churchyard, facing Broad Street, and immediately to the north of the Cathedral. The new building was, however, cheap and nasty and only 14 years later the Provost stated that

'...the Floor of the Grammar School is in a bad condition and may be a great hurt to the children, as it is only covered with stones and Earth'¹⁴

The school was soon refloored after this report but the following year the school master, William Grant, complained that the part of the school occupied by him was too small and the children had suffered ill-health as a result. The remainder of the building, used as a private school for English classes, was thus cleared and Grant got possession of the entire building.

For the next twenty years problems arising from the state of the building and difficulties in appointing a suitable schoolmaster - then the duty of the Town Council - caused a marked decrease in educational standards. By 1814 the position was such that Robert Smith and others requested the use of part of the school as they intended to employ a teacher for the education of their own children. The Council unable to offer a satisfactory alternative granted their request.

Four years later the situation had become critical and the Council, suggesting that a new school should be erected and donating £300 from its own funds, called for further subscriptions to enable building. The initial idea was merely to extend the school-house in Broad Street by the addition of a ballroom as '...the Assembly Room in the Town Hall was too small for the gay and festive throng which periodically gathered there.'¹⁵ This was followed by a proposal to erect a new school and County Hall which would comprise '...a public school, a school master's dwelling house, an apartment for a public library, a county room, and the requisite accommodation for the Sheriff's Court'.¹⁶ The site, it was suggested, was to be that portion of the churchyard which, lying to the north of the Cathedral, was unoccupied by graves being merely used as a grazing ground by local inhabitants. In 1818 the plan and estimate for £686 was approved but the County Convener, desiring a Record Room and apartment for County meetings, requested the addition of a further wing to the building. However, building operations, having started close to the Cathedral, were brought swiftly to a close by an interdict issued by Sheriff Peterkin. This document prevented

'...well-meaning local Goths from rearing a huge incongruous pile against the venerable walls of the ancient church'.¹⁷

Investigation as to the rights to the property indicated that the interdict could not be removed, the new structure was cleared, and the school house was forced into continued use. However, this building was deteriorating so rapidly, 'not being wind or water tight'¹⁸ that education of the burgh children had largely been abandoned - that continuing being at severe risk to the children's health - and the erection of a new

structure on an alternative site became imperative. Two plots were suggested: the Butts, a yard lying at the rear of Victoria Street, proved inadequate in size, situation and value, while Brandyquoy, adjacent to the Cathedral, could only be acquired by the Burgh sacrificing all its rights to St. Magnus - rights entrusted to it by the Charter of James III and not to be readily relinquished. An impasse was reached. However, in a magnanimous gesture, Samuel Laing of Papdale offered a corner of his lands 'on a perpetual feu or for a trifling feu duty (£12 Scots)'¹⁹ for the new grammar school and the schoolmaster with his charge entered the new building in 1820. The Council then proposed to the Barons of Exchequer that a triangular piece of ground to the east of the churchyard be free for use as a playground for the new school. In 1830 Laing offered an adjacent part of his property for the construction of an infant school. Thus in the period 1824-40 there was a considerable improvement in education in the burgh and the numbers rose from the 20 scholars in 1790 to between 80 and 100 young boys and girls studying the traditional academic subjects including Greek, Latin, French, English, Mathematics, Arithmetic, Religion and, of local application, Navigation.

However, the attractions of sites in the centre of the burgh also led to encroachments upon the Cathedral from another direction. In 1669 Kirkwall had enrolled as a free Royal Burgh and in that year the burgh treasurer, Arthur Baikie of Tankerness, obtained a seisin from George Linay for '...the house at the foot of the Strynd with its yaird stretching to the lane leading to Papdale'²⁰, together with the contents of the house, for conversion into a Tolbooth. Within 70 years the Earl of Morton, considering that the accommodation offered by this former dwelling was insufficient for burgh needs, ordered

'...200 pound sterling of the fine decreed by the Lords of Justiciary to be payd by Sir James Stewart of Burray to the said Earle..., to be applied towards building a new Tolbooth or Prison in the Town of Kirkwall'²¹

The Earl's generosity went further, however, as he allowed the Corporation to use stones from the ruins of the King's Castle in the building and instructed his chamberlain, Andrew Ross, to unroof the

Earl's Palace, of which he was merely a tenant, and several houses in the burgh to provide slates for the town house. Undoubtedly, Morton was not a disinterested party. Acquiring the tacks of the bishopric estate via his chamberlain he had not received the £7147 sterling which was to be paid on the abolition of heritable jurisdiction by the time the proposals for the new Tolbooth were considered. It was, therefore, politic to keep on good terms with the local administrators and, in any case, he hoped to be able to look forward to being allowed the use of the Great Hall in the new building for holding courts.

Opinions on the structure after its completion vary. Fea remarked that it was 'a very neat building'²² while a later writer described it more lucidly

'...The town house, supported on pillars, forming a piazza in front, and in every respect a neat and commodious building, the first storey of which is divided into apartments for a common prison, the second for an assembly-hall, with a large room adjoining for the Court of Justice; and the highest is set apart as a lodge for the accommodation of the ancient fraternity of free masons'²³.

Contemporary views (Plate 31) indicate that the building was not unpleasing aesthetically yet other sources indignantly suggest that it marred the otherwise noble collection of structures in the ancient burgh.

'...within 10 yards of the front of the Cathedral and between it and the principal street of Kirkwall, there is situated the County Jail and Court-house, a strong and sufficient, but at the same time most unsightly modern building'²⁴

Whatever the architectural opinion may have been it certainly served an important social need in providing rooms where ladies, of 'as brilliant an appearance as any in the country', and Gentlemen, who were 'by no means inferior either in mental or bodily qualifications, when compared with any of their southern neighbours', might assemble for functions. However, when the Old Town Hall had thus served the

community for a hundred and forty years its accommodation, like that of its predecessor, was found to be too limited for the business of the time and new County Buildings '...containing a spacious courtroom with all the offices requisite for the proper administration and the conduct of County affairs'²⁵ were erected adjacent to the Earl's Palace in the garden of the old Manse. In addition, 7 years later it was decided to replace the Town Hall on the Kirk Green by new municipal buildings on the recently cleared site of the old Provostrie in Broad Street. Designed and constructed by local people they display the decoration of the Scottish baronial style (Plate 32) rather than the more restrained detail of the earlier structure which, on completion of the new building, was demolished to reveal the whole of the west front of St. Magnus once more.

Demands for new building sites with the rapidly increasing population soon resulted in the expansion of the town away from the narrows of the street onto the higher ground of the surrounding quays. By 1840, therefore, although it was still recognised that the town consisted principally of one street '...in many parts very narrow running the whole length'²⁶, a new street '...called King Street'²⁷, parallel to it on the east side of the burgh had been commenced within the previous 20 years and contained '...several neat and commodious houses'²⁸. In addition the change over of buildings along the street to a commercial function forced many people outwards into the expanding peripheral residential development.

This change of building function is exemplified in the conversion of a number of the larger town houses, especially those near Kirkwall Bay, into hostelries and hotels. Along the shore itself Traill's Folly, opposite the small pier, having fallen into ruin found its adjacent peat brae becoming the site of Kelday's Tavern (Plate 33), erected by George Omond, a local merchant. Similarly the neighbouring site known as the 'Inns' was cleared in the nineteenth century, being replaced by new buildings containing an hotel, a steamboat office, the headquarters of the Orkney Club and a dwelling house. The Ship Inn and the 'Anchor' also appeared in the same locality during the eighteenth century, while the old 'Gallery' was rebuilt by the Traill family and converted into an

hotel in the 1810's. Now occupied by the warehouses and business premises of Robert Garden, the adjacent ground still contains the summerhouse of undressed stones from Pirate Gow's ship's ballast that Traill erected in the garden next to his house. At the other end of the town a number of inns were established also in the nineteenth century, but serving, on this occasion, travellers from the landward areas rather than those arriving by sea. Thus Calder's Inn in Victoria Street was, in 1819, the principal hotel in Kirkwall.

In addition to these high-class lodging houses private enterprise introduced other commercial ventures into the street. Near the bridge over the Papdale Burn an incomer from Germany, Nathan Goldberg, erected a large warehouse and set himself up as a storeman and wholesaler. In the same area another immigrant, this time from Middlesex, introduced the craft of musical instrument making. In the Laverock the first printing business in Orkney was established at the end of the eighteenth century, the owner, Magnus Anderson, bringing a practical bookbinder from Edinburgh to set up the binding shop there. It was Magnus' grandson, who, continuing in the family business, founded 'The Orcadian' newspaper. Farther south in Victoria Street one of a cluster of small cottages, traditionally occupied by artisans, was in 1803 purchased by Robert Borwick from Harray. This man together with a neighbour and a tenant, James Knarston and Oliver Scott, completed the building on the west side of the street to Clay Loan and was responsible for establishing the straw-plaiting and distilling industries in the burgh.

The introduction of commerce on a larger scale demanded both the complete conversion of structures along the street and their extension into the surrounding garden ground and yards. On the landward side Kirkwall was bounded by a series of quoys and the farms of Papdale and Weyland. To the west Pipersquoy lay to the south of the Peerie Sea and extended to Hornersquoy through which the road to Scapa was cut. To the south of the town was the minister's glebe and from the Clay Loan north to Papdale were a series of quoys - Quoyangrie, Butquoy and Rowisquoy (now Brandiequoy) - all of which appeared in the old rentals. Many documents thus reveal this amoebic outward growth of the burgh.

In 1706 Robert Morrison, who had built some of the houses in the Strynd, acquired from the Magistrates

'...the piece of waste ground lying to the north of the old ruinous castle, 68 feet in length from east to west and 28 feet in breadth from south to north, reserving that the said Robert leave as much room upon the north side as a horse and kavet²⁹ or horses with loads can pass through consisting of 7 feet in breadth for said passage'³⁰

This property a century and a half later became the Castle Hotel (Plate 34). The houses to the north were set back from the street and had walled gardens extending into the line of the present street. Thus the profit-seeking owner removed the garden wall and built a row of one-storey shops bordering the highway. One of the trees in his garden, however, was allowed to remain and it does so today, being widely known as Kirkwall's 'Big Tree' (Plates 35 and 36). Other merchants exploited both their position on the street and the Peerie Sea. Such an individual was John Tait who, buying the property of Robert Heddle of Melsetter lying in Albert Street, demolished the structure and built a new house which, being set back from the original building line, thus widened the street. Because of this public gesture the Town Council allowed Tait to encroach on the shore of the Peerie Sea when he erected a storehouse at the foot of his yard.

Expansion also occurred into the quoyes to the east of the burgh boundary. In the early years of the last century Sheriff Robertson abandoned the enlarged property known as 'Hell', that he had purchased from the Balfours of Elwick, in favour of 'airier quarters at Butquoy'³¹ where he became the first tenant. His former home was taken over by the Customs and Excise shortly afterwards. A century earlier Andrew Strang had also moved eastward after his purchase of a part of Quoyangrie, 60 feet by 48 feet, on which he built a dye-house.

St. Catherine's Quoyes, named in the old burgh charters and wedged between the lands of Papdale and Weyland, also became the site for building development during this period. Split into two sections -

the upper and lower quoy - by a lane from the shore to Papdale, the rate of development reflects the intricacies of ownership. The lower quoy formed the garden of the 'Gallery' and even on the Ordnance Survey plan of the burgh produced in 1880 remains undeveloped. In fact it was not until the closing years of the nineteenth century when the ground had become the property of Robert Garden, a local merchant, that the site, originally the graveyard of St. Olaf's church, was built upon. Robert Garden at that time constructed rows of back-to-back terraced housing for the poorer working class in the town. On the other hand, the upper quoy had been purchased by David Drever, 'late farmer in Newark, Sanday'³² in 1804. Although owning a house at the north-west corner of the quoy he anticipated the demands, noted much later by his successor in the southern quoy, for workmen's houses and built Catherine Place on the remainder of his tenement. Thus a row of houses bordering the old lane and several small lateral streets were constructed to house many of the people drifting in from the surrounding countryside. The Census records that in 1851 the eighteen houses of Catherine Place contained 59 separate house-holds stressing the demand of the poorer sections of the community.

Adjacent to Catherine Place was an ancient site called 'Dunkirk'. It is not certain how such a name came to be attached to the property but it is suggested that the one-time owner of the land, Captain Robert Paplay, one of Earl Patrick's commanders, may have named his tenement after one of the Earl's ships. Whatever its origin the name remains and in the nineteenth century one of the whale fishing companies purchased the buildings thus enabling their employees to boil the whale oil and pack the blubber into barrels largely under cover. This connection, with oil continues today as the old 'Oily House' is now the office premises of the Kirkwall Oil Depot.

The first Ordnance Survey plan of the burgh reveals that, in addition to the sites already mentioned, development had proceeded on the borders of the old farm of Papdale (Fig.40). In 1783 Papdale was the property of Robert Laing, merchant and Dean of Guild, who appears to have secured the estate for his historian son, Malcolm. At that time the west boundary extended to the rear of the properties in Albert

Street; a narrow lane skirting the back of the houses. Ancient public rights of way, however, were maintained through the estate allowing the local populace access to the burn for washing and to its banks for bleaching.

On the death of his father in 1805 Malcolm sold his town house and occupied Papdale permanently. Encroachments on the boundaries of the estate were then beginning. About 1814 parts of the common land on the East Hill were feued and portions enclosed to allow the town to raise money for public purposes. These appear to have been the completion of the pier and harbour, the repairing and paving of the streets and the establishment of a public school. Thus the fine Georgian style villas - Daisybank, Lily Bank and East Bank - together with a terrace along East Road in the Regency idiom, were completed (Plates 37 and 38). At the same time to the south of the burn a small square of buildings was constructed. A snuff mill, driven by the water power of the burn, formed one side of the square, while opposite James Drever had, in 1816, built a brewery. When this latter enterprise failed Drever removed to a site at the junction of Catherine Place and East Road where he started the more profitable activity of whisky making.

In 1818 Malcolm Laing died and was succeeded by his brother Samuel, one of the most popular and liberal Provosts Kirkwall has possessed. It has been noted that when the Town Council was in difficulty over a site for the new Grammar School it was Laing who offered part of his estate for the building. This pattern continued. Plots were feued to both ministers of the United Presbyterian and Episcopalian congregations for the construction of their church and manse (Plates 39 and 40). Laing's sister-in-law, Miss Kelly, further encouraged development within the Papdale bounds. Thinking that in Kirkwall there was insufficient comfortable accommodation for artisans she erected houses between the burgh school and the U.P. church to supply this likely need. In the following decades further detached stone-built villas were raised along the east side of Dundas Crescent to link with residential development at Gallowha' and Warrenfield (Plate 41). This lady also replaced the old charity school that had opened in 1825 at

the foot of East Road with a new school in which free education in the three 'R's' and sewing was to be given to orphan girls and daughters of the very poor in an attempt to make them self-supporting.

To the south and south-west further building development occurred along Wellington Street, High Street and Nicolson Street - the main thoroughfares to Stromness and Scapa - but it was in the region of the Peerie Sea that changes were to have the most significant effect on the economic expansion of the burgh.

As far back as the seventeenth century records mentioned the existence of a small pier on the shore of Kirkwall Bay opposite the entrance to Bridge Street. This landing, however, appears to have been poorly constructed for trading vessels and up to the beginning of the nineteenth century passengers still had to 'either leap into the sea or be carried ashore on men's shoulders'³³. The unsuitability of the bay for anchorage at certain states of the wind and tide together with the inadequacy of wharfage undoubtedly encouraged the development of the harbour of Stromness during these centuries to the detriment of the capital. Thus until 1811 when the first substantial pier was erected it was necessary for small vessels to negotiate the narrow oyce to secure anchorage in the sheltered waters of the Peerie Sea. The proximity of the dwellings along the street to the lagoon facilitated the conveyance of goods from different parts of the Mainland direct to the tradesmen in Kirkwall and up to 1840 it seems likely that almost every farmer and merchant in the islands was a boatman and able to manage the transport of his own grain, cattle, peats, etc. (Fig.41). In addition to the shores of the lagoon boats could be drawn up on the sloping shingle ridge called the Ayre. Traditionally held in common to allow the public somewhere to promenade away from the rather insanitary conditions of the narrow street (Plate 42), the beach was also used for drying washing and for breaking up old boats and building new ones. Thus there was public outcry when suggestions were put forward for the development of the Ayre for a number of purposes, viz: in 1791 James Erskine acquired a portion of the beach for house building, while shortly afterwards Malcolm Laing applied for a site for a wind-mill.

By the early decades of the nineteenth century, however, a wind of change was blowing. At that time development outwith the ancient burgh boundary had become significant enough to expose the problem of transporting goods, especially peats, to the new dwellings lying away from the shore. It was becoming increasingly essential to offload the goods from the small boats drawn up on the shore and carry the often bulky articles by hand, on horseback or, eventually, by cart. But the streets and lanes of Kirkwall were narrow and ill-suited to this form of transport and in 1818 Robert Baikie of Tankerness proposed that a road be made from the pier to the School Wynd - Tankerness Lane - to relieve the congestion in the 'Street'. This suggestion was not implemented until 1865 when Junction Road was made, tapping the main street at every lane from the harbour to the head of the town.

In 1829 Grainbank was built to the west of the Peerie Sea by the chamberlain to the Earl of Zetland. The only contact with the town was effected by skirting the shore of the lagoon and using stepping stones across the Crafty - a small marshy croft to the south of the Peerie Sea - and the chamberlain finding this route inconvenient constructed a light wooden draw-bridge across the Oyce mouth. Thus when the bridge was raised small boats could still enter the lagoon to discharge their cargoes. However, the increase in trade encouraged the use of more substantial sea-going vessels, including those powered by steam, which were of too great a draught to negotiate the Oyce but which were sufficiently robust to endure the rougher waters adjacent to the new piers extending into Kirkwall Bay. In addition the decline in the use of water transport in favour of carts³⁴ for the general movement of peats to the dwellings within the town rendered redundant the lagoon around which the earliest settlement had been established. This removal of trade from the Peerie Sea to the larger bay thus allowed a strong wooden bridge to be built at the Oyce mouth and vehicular traffic along the Ayre was established. In 1839 Thomas Flett realising the potential of the Oyce mouth site established a saw mill at the end of the Ayre, designing a broad wheel which would rise and fall and reverse with the ebb and flow of the tide (Plate 43).

In 1857 the Orkney Road Act was passed and this enabled the

improvement and construction of roads to both the east and west Mainland thus emphasising the importance of Kirkwall as a route centre. The old hill road to Stromness was thus abandoned in favour of the shore side route which traversed the Ayre; a new stone bridge in 1858 replacing the wooden structure across the Oyce. This improvement created one of the most important traffic routes in Orkney. The closure of the Peerie Sea encouraged reclamation of the shore to provide for further building, especially for new industry. Improvements that commenced in the 1860's and continued throughout the remainder of the century thus resulted in the reclamation of about 18 acres of the lagoon, the Broad Sands and the swamps and 'iper'³⁵ of the Crafty. To relieve traffic congestion caused by the increase in wheeled vehicles negotiating the narrow street the Earl of Zetland ordered that the final remains of St. Clair's Castle be removed in 1865, two new thoroughfares - Castle Street and Junction Road - being formed to give new access to the harbour. The appointment of Harbour Trustees following the Act of 1859 further helped to focus all trade on the piers at the bayhead and in 1866 following agricultural improvements and the growth of the cattle trade³⁶ - especially for export - an iron pier was constructed. Later in the century another pier was erected to provide further berths for the steam vessels from Leith and Aberdeen that sailed on regular passage to Shetland (Fig.42).

The increasing commercial potential of the burgh accompanied as it was by a decrease in the profits to be gained from agriculture encouraged, as has been mentioned, immigration on a large scale. The pressure of population was such that by 1851 there were on average 7.3 persons per dwelling house in the burgh. Although this figure had decreased to 5.7 persons per dwelling in 1891 it was still much higher than that for Stromness at the same time and concealed much more severe overcrowding in certain sectors of the town (Fig.43). Although, as in Stromness, females exceeded males in the ratio of 1.4:1 (1851) and 1.3:1 (1891) the figures are lower than those in the western burgh possibly due to the fewer males being away from home in the fisheries, the Hudson's Bay Company and the whaling industry. Certainly in the middle of the century only 5.9% of the households in Kirkwall had the

father absent compared to 8.7% of the households in Stromness at the same date. The table (Fig.44) indicating the characteristics of heads of households follows roughly the same pattern as that for the younger trading settlement. However, it may be noted that there is a higher percentage of households headed by a married couple - approximately 50% - and a lower percentage by spinsters or widows.

If one could obtain figures on the average income of the families recorded in the Census one would undoubtedly find a marked division within the town - probably much greater than that in Stromness. The occurrence of wealthy merchants, landed gentry of old Orcadian families, and incomers in the professions obviously allowed the formation of an upper social stratum. Shopkeepers and artisans of many types would form the 'middle class' while at the lower end would be numerous servants and casual labourers. Indeed, the Census shows that, in addition, there were in the burgh a large number of persons classified as paupers and it is likely that the total of 167 in 1851 is an understatement of the true figure. Fea almost a century earlier had remarked on the occurrence of the large number from the lower classes and indicated some of the problems arising from their presence:

'...so little is Industry encouraged in our Country, that no means can be assigned, by which the lower class of people get their bread. By Reason of having no employment, they must live very wretchedly; they become indolent and lazy to the last degree, insomuch, that rather than raise Cabbage for their own use, they will steal them from others, and instead of being at pains to prepare the Turf, which they have for the mere trouble of cutting up and drying, yet, rather than do so, they will steal it from those who are richer or more industrious than themselves. Thus they pass their days in wretchedness, in ignorance, and in wickedness'³⁷.

That Kirkwall society tolerated these people is obvious in their being allowed to beg legally on Saturdays: in fact the Kirkwallians had little alternative in as much as no solution could be offered to the problem. Even when a poor-house was established in the old church of St. Olaf it was of so small a size that the effect on the burgh was negligible. The demand for suitable housing for the lower class was considerable and was by no means met by David Drever building his workers' cottages in Catherine Place. Education was also a problem, but during the latter part of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries charity schools were opened in an attempt to better the lot of the children of the poor. One such school, endowed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and situated in a small cottage at Glaitness (Plate 44), taught between 50 and 60 poor pupils, while the female charity school was improved by Miss Kelly in 1846. In addition there were three sabbath schools and an infant school, the latter adjoining the grammar school.

The ecclesiastics, at one time so important a sector of the community, did what they could but religion in Scotland generally was in a state of flux. With numerous separatist movements breaking away from the Presbyterian church there was little money from these sources to swell the funds of the poor. Anyway the Seceders were probably more inclined to filter the money from their collections into the building of large, new churches and the minister's manse. In the records it is noted that as early as 1793 Malcolm Laing had issued a charter for land adjacent to the Ba' Lea - the traditional burgh football field - for the erection of the United Presbyterian church. However, by 1805 the meeting house appears to have been inadequate for the needs of the congregation and Laing was once more approached for building land. In 1849 the old 'barn' had been demolished and a fine new church erected in its stead (Plate 39). Similarly the Congregational meeting house at the head of Laing Street became too small and, having been superseded by new premises at the Bridge, transferred to Palace Road in the mid-nineteenth century to a site obtained from Mr. Laing. Likewise the Secession Church of Kirkwall, the Free Church and the Episcopalian congregation obtained land on the estate of Papdale. In contrast the

Roman Catholic church became established at the south end of Junction Road and in fact the Laverock - the old Bishop's burgh - contained a number of religious meeting houses during these centuries.

Although funds were forthcoming for these projects the coffers remained empty for long periods when the poor needed support or the various educational establishments needed repair or renewal. In many cases, innovation was dependent upon the conscience of the wealthier members of the community. Thus it was with the foundation of a hospital in the burgh.

The land to the south of the main street remained for many years in the hands of the Richan family and by 1789 Lieut. William Richan of Rapness had possession of much of the property. Having sought permission to extract stones from the quarry alongside Scapa Road he set about the construction of a house '...suitable for the accommodation of any Orkney gentleman'³⁸. Unfortunately his wife, a woman of apparently extravagant tastes, did not like the building and forced Richan to buy from James Copland, merchant in Deerness, the house '...commonly called the Meal House'³⁹. He then set about demolishing both these dwellings and building a new mansion. Having fallen into debt the property passed from him to the Trustees and the house was sold to James Shearer, merchant, on Richan's death. About this time John Balfour of Trenabie, who had prospered in his life away from Orkney, realised Kirkwall's need for a hospital. Thus in 1836 he 'appointed trustees and gave a large portion of his fortune for building, furnishing and endowing such an institution'⁴⁰. The gift comprised £20,000 in Mexican Bonds which, due to depreciation, only realised £6,049.8.1d, on their sale. However, this money was invested and the interest allowed to accumulate until 1845 when Shearer's mansion was purchased and the General Hospital set up with a matron and voluntary staff of four local doctors. Although known originally as the 'Orkney Hospital', its name was changed in 1853 to the 'Balfour Orkney Hospital' and some years later to the 'Balfour Hospital'. Between 1845 and 1870 the Trustees used accumulated revenue to purchase adjacent property and in 1874 one house was converted into a fever hospital with a permanent nurse, but proved too small. Two other houses were used for

a hospital for infectious diseases in 1883 but six years later a new fever hospital had to be built and this was enlarged at the turn of the century.

Further improvements were forthcoming and Anderson writes in 1884 that

'...during the past few years the town has been much improved. It has a water and drainage scheme of which any town in Scotland might be proud and which has cost a sum of about £14,000'.⁴¹

This was of great benefit to the community as a whole but particularly to those poorer people who had no access to their own private well and had, therefore, been required to carry water home along the street from public pumps. Another public utility introduced in the nineteenth century was the manufacture of gas particularly for public lighting. In 1810 the First London Gas Company received a charter for the manufacture of coal gas but by 1838 a local company had been formed. In addition private individuals made gas, occasionally with disastrous results. There were successes, however, and one individual named Eunson, who was the first person to light his shop with gas lamps rather than candles, proceeded to England where he was appointed as manager of the Wolverhampton Gas Works.

'...But with all these improvements, the town when looked at from the pier, has a foreign antiquated appearance'.⁴²

The continuing existence into the succeeding centuries of many of the old public buildings that were founded in the days when the earldom flourished undoubtedly focussed the attention of the scattered rural population on the town sheltering in the low strath. But it was during these centuries, probably more than any that had gone before, that the view of the spire of St. Magnus proved to be the goal for pilgrimage for so many - a vision that offered relief from the hardships of the crofting life on a remote island and promise of employment and entertainment, of sufficient food and money to spare. Sadly, as the records relate, many of these incomers died in relative obscurity in the overcrowded hovels bordering the street. Yet progress was made and possibly the

increase in communications - by land and sea - played a major role in the creation of a symbiotic relationship between Kirkwall and the landward areas and islands and led to the establishment of an Orcadian identity at this time. The formerly isolated self-sufficient units were thus physically and psychologically linked and Kirkwall was no longer forced to remain a capital in name only but was able to implement its powers over the entire community. Thus with an increase in literacy generally, together with additional facilities for social intercourse among all strata of society, the social and economic development of the island group was largely freed from its dependence on the initiative of its wealthier members. The time was then right for the formulation of County policy to allow Orkney as a whole, and the burghs of Kirkwall and Stromness in particular, to proceed into the twentieth century.

CHAPTER VII

During the present century it has been the effect of both Kirkwall and Stromness as regional centres that has controlled the economic development of the burghs. With improvements in communications both on land and sea the towns' sphere of influence enlarged: in the case of Stromness to include much of the west Mainland and the southern isles with Kirkwall dominating the northern isles, the eastern group of the South Isles and the east Mainland. However, the importance of Kirkwall as the island capital and seat of the County Council means that despite these regional linkages Kirkwall effectively contains the whole Orcadian archipelago within its urban field. Thus with this changing emphasis the socio-economic structure is seen to reflect County policy and not merely the whims of individuals living within discrete and comparatively isolated centres.

During the previous century the island economy had developed in two important sections: agriculture and fishing. In the landward areas agricultural improvements including the re-division of farm units by landlords and the adoption of new methods of cultivation had, together with improved sea communications, encouraged the expansion of the export trade in farm produce. The industry has been further stimulated during the twentieth century by the need for food production during the two world wars, and Government policies of subsidising agriculture. The main component of the industry - livestock rearing - has thus flourished and has been accompanied by increased efficiency in cropping. However, there have been declining sectors of which probably the most significant has been the decrease in poultry and egg production in its effects, particularly on female employment. Increasing mechanisation has also had a detrimental effect on employment and by reducing the need for large numbers of farm workers has resulted in a marked depopulation of many of the islands.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the fishing industry too had begun to play an increasingly important role in the economic structure of the community and its effects particularly on Stromness had been marked. However, herring movements proved erratic and the

booms and slumps in the industry had serious repercussions on the economic stability. Thus the records note that in 1900 a disastrous season produced a landing of only 3740 crans while in the following year 43,594 crans were caught. It was this unreliable nature of the season that killed Stromness as a herring port and by 1908 numbers of curers had fallen to 5. Before the first World War the industry was dead. However fishing has continued with a reversion to whitefish, crabs and lobsters that, as the early records indicate, had long been the basis for the industry in the northern waters.

Within their regional framework Kirkwall and Stromness have, therefore, established their role to varying degrees as market centres for both these sectors of the economy. Kirkwall Auction Mart thus handles the agricultural produce from the north and east exporting principally to Aberdeen, while the West Mainland Mart in Stromness channels the stock through Scrabster and Wick - traditional points of contact for the western burgh. All produce for export from Orkney must therefore pass through Kirkwall or Stromness and stock is generally sold in one of four ways, viz:

through the Marts to buyers from the south,
shipped direct by farmers from Kirkwall to
Aberdeen to be sold at the Aberdeen Mart,
to dealers from Aberdeen who buy store cattle
on Orkney farms and arrange shipment and sale
to Aberdeenshire farmers,

or to Fat Stock Marketing Corporation who buy fat
cattle in Orkney and ship them to be slaughtered in Aberdeen.

Although the traditional export has been of store cattle and sheep the loss of revenue on beasts exported for sale in Aberdeen due to weight reduction in transit is encouraging the fattening and slaughter of beasts in the islands and the export of carcasses to the Scottish mainland. The throughput in both these marts has shown, in the post-war era, a definite upward trend although the numbers have remained lower in the western burgh - shipments from Stromness averaging less than 20% of the total - due to its restricted sphere of influence. The turnover of Kirkwall Mart, therefore, was in the region of £3m in 1972 - an increase of £800,000 on the previous season.

Throughput Kirkwall Mart:

Cattle	1971	1972	Sheep	1971	1972
Stores	17315	19018	Stores	7122	7663
Fat	1264	1024	Fat	9959	11034
Farrows	2055	1745	FMC	8337	5768
Calves	774	620			
FMC	437	273			

While figures for store cattle and fat sheep increase, the number of beasts sold to the Fatstock Marketing Corporation has shown a decline. The numbers of pigs and horses are generally small and fluctuate little. Thus in 1972 the North of Scotland Shipping Company exported totals of 23,248 cattle, 32,914 sheep, 85 pigs and 328 horses.

Associated with this export trade of animals are the processing industries involved with agricultural produce. Although there has been a general decline in the number of pigs and poultry handled in the islands - generally the result of increased competition from the south - some farms do maintain production and poultry grading and bacon processing are found in the Hatston industrial zone to the west of Kirkwall. Both poultry and eggs are now graded and packed in Kirkwall, the egg packing station in Stromness having closed several years ago following a policy of centralisation of a declining industry. In contrast, however, bacon processing appears to be an expanding industry with locally slaughtered pigs being used in the manufacture of pies, sausages, etc.

During World War II the increased demand for liquid milk occasioned by the influx of service personnel led to a greater emphasis being placed on dairy cattle. However, towards the end of the war it was realised that no outlet would be available for the milk with the reduction of the military population. The farmers, having suffered similarly after the first World War, approached the Government and began negotiations to enable a Milk Marketing scheme to be set up. On 1st July, 1946, a factory in converted nissen huts was opened to handle 500 gallons per day. An increase in intake to 2000 gallons put pressure on the premises and thus extension of facilities became essential. In 1950 the Milk Marketing Board took over

complete responsibility for the Orkney schemes and, due to further increases in surplus milk for manufacture, new specially designed premises to the south-east of the burgh were opened in 1959. The creamery, employing c.50 unskilled and semi-skilled workers, produces butter and cheese which is sold widely throughout Britain.

However, in spite of their function as marketing centres it is undoubtedly Kirkwall that has dominance as an agricultural service centre. The main processing plants for agricultural products are in the capital as has been mentioned but in addition there are firms selling and servicing agricultural machinery. This trade, situated largely in the industrial zone: at Hatston and that bordering Junction Road, has developed in importance with the increasing mechanisation of agriculture in general. Limited in its market function and contacts with the agricultural areas and large urban centres in Scotland, Stromness has no service industry of this type within its boundary.

In contrast to its agricultural importance Stromness, as of old, reflects its continuing dependence on fishing in its economic structure. With the decline of the herring the fishing industry was forced to turn principally to shellfish and the introduction of motorised boats instead of the open yawls of the past increased the efficiency of the industry. During the first half century individual fishermen were responsible for selling their catches to Meil's in Kirkwall or direct to Billingsgate. However, the time spent in transit reduced the quality of the goods and it was only in 1953 with the establishment of a processing factory in Stromness by the Orkney Fishermen's Society that the marketing side of the industry became rationalised. Thus at the present time there are somewhere in the region of 500 boats registered for fishing. Although mostly of a small size, employing a limited crew, the availability of larger boats specially designed for the lobster and crab industry is encouraging greater cooperation between individuals. Ninety per cent of the lobsters are shipped live to England and Western Europe - generally by air because of their high value. Crabs, however, are entirely processed because their value does not allow careful handling and use of the rapid transport links that would ensure their arrival at the markets in good condition. Only about one per cent of the total income from fishing is now derived from white fish and it is notable

that Kirkwall is of little importance in this industry in general when compared to Stromness.

However, the traditional sea contacts have encouraged, in both urban centres, the continuation of one branch of industry - that of boat-building. During the nineteenth century a considerable number of boats had been constructed at the yard at Garson belonging to the Copland brothers, and that at Ness belonging to J. Stanger. In addition, both Mackay's and Anderson's yards were opened in the town. Little trace is to be found of the Copland and Stanger yards at the present time; the latter, being occupied by a tangle processing company and by the army during World War II prior to its conversion by Stanley Cursiter into a dwelling house.

In 1964, however, James Anderson inheriting his grand father's firm in a small yard in the centre of town acquired a site at the Point of Ness from the Town Council. There he built a shed and launching slip, adjacent to the former yard. Although business has fluctuated the Anderson's yard, employing c.30 men, is the largest in Orkney and plans are now being put forward for expansion over the adjoining property to enable a further 250 feet of undercover building berths and a new slipway to be built to permit the construction of larger, deeper draught vessels. The firm now offers a complete design and building service, producing traditional wooden craft and completed vessels in steel and glass fibre. Steel ships are fitted out under contract with a Whitby firm who produce engined hulls. Contact with this firm alone is likely to bring in orders worth over £1m in the next few years. In addition 50 - 60 foot hulls produced by Halmatic (Scotland) Limited at Hatston, Kirkwall are finished in the yard. To lessen their dependence on the fishing industry - whose fortunes have fluctuated so frequently in the past - cabin cruisers aimed at the pleasure boat industry and craft specially adapted for sea angling are also in production. Mackay's Boatyard, sited in a shed at the pier head in Stromness, is on a much smaller scale. Employing only six men it produces smaller fishing vessels and dinghies.

In previous centuries little activity in the boat-building field was found in Kirkwall. However, in November 1971 Halmatic (Scotland) Limited, a subsidiary of Halmatic Limited, Havant, Hampshire, which pioneered

the use of reinforced plastic in the British marine industry, set up a production centre in an old hangar at the Hatston base. Their hulls are moulded to be fitted out later in the other Orcadian yards.

In June 1973 'The Orcadian' newspaper published figures for Orkney's gross County product which, amounting to £7,133,000 - an increase of 14.5% on the previous total - was broken down into a number of components. Thus agriculture, to the value of £4,400,000, was seen as the most important part of the economy, followed closely by distilling-£1,400,000. The other major components listed were fishing (£288,000), knitwear (£230,000) tourism (£548,000) and boat-building (£267,000) and emphasised the largely traditional base of the economic structure.

Unlike MacPherson's distillery, producing 'Old Orkney' whisky, adjacent to the May Burn at the south end of Stromness which was closed within the early decades of the present century, the distilleries in and around Kirkwall continue to flourish. At present the Highland Park distillery (Plate 45), founded in 1798, is not only the most northerly but one of the largest in Scotland. Now situated on an extensive site about a mile to the south-east of the centre of the burgh it comprises offices, buildings for fermenting, drying, brewing, and distilling, plus warehouses and stores. Although outwith the burgh Scapa distillery, established in 1884, also contributes to the wealth from the industry and its product, like that from its neighbour, is largely sent to Central Scotland, where it is blended and bottled. In total the two units employ about 50 men and this figure, like that for output, varies only slightly. Although the 5000 acres of Hobbister Moor provide peats and water is available from local springs, the majority of the raw materials used in the industry have to be imported. Thus coke arrives from South Scotland and North-East England, barley from Yorkshire and Morayshire and yeasts from South Scotland by arrangement with the Distillers Company Limited. Additional revenue, however, is found in the weekly sale of wet draff to dairy farmers - a supply which appears to have difficulty in meeting the demand.

The tourist industry is probably one of the most rapidly expanding industries in the County at the present time. While Kirkwall is the natural focus for visitors arriving by air, or sea from Aberdeen or Lerwick, Stromness attracts those tourists who travel north by rail and coach or by

car to Thurso and undertake the shorter sea journey from Scrabster. Both centres are important attractions in their own right both because of the charm and character of their streets and the amenities offered to tourists in the availability of hotel and boarding-house accommodation, access to sea and bus trips, and cinema shows, museums, libraries and, in the case of Kirkwall, historic monuments. Outwith the burghs other opportunities exist for pursuing outdoor sports including golf and fishing, and more specialised studies of natural history and archaeology. It is to be hoped, therefore, that in an effort to accommodate the likely increase in tourism, development within the burghs will not detract from the intimacy of the ancient settlements and their character, so much a product of historical development, will not be destroyed.

The only other sector of industry which makes a notable contribution to the wealth of the Orkney Islands is that involving textile manufacture and knitting. The main weavers - Argarden Tweeds Limited and Norsaga Tweeds - are both established in Kirkwall and manufacture cloth, rugs and ties using imported Scottish and Orcadian wool. Finishing, however, is generally carried out away from Orkney, the main centres being Stornoway and Hawick. Products are sold within the islands but the majority of the goods are marketed within Great Britain or North America. In addition a few individuals have contact with a Galashiels firm which orders tweeds, rugs and scarves.

Other manufacturing industry - essentially craft based - is on a very small scale and is generally concentrated in Kirkwall. A small firm of joiners making the traditional Orkney chair is situated in a hut on Brandyquoy to the east of the Cathedral. Wood is imported from Japan, sea-grass from London and straw from Papa Westray. The highly skilled labour force generally manufactures to order, the principal buyers being from U.S.A, the Continent and Commonwealth. Basketry also employs a few highly skilled workers and the products are sent to various markets in Great Britain. Jewellery making, another craft industry finding buyers throughout the world, uses silver imported from London and stones from the west of Scotland. Many of the designs are based on traditional Orcadian symbols yet these are employed to create interesting pieces of modern jewellery. Printing firms are found in both centres of population, those

in Kirkwall being principally associated with the local newspaper. In addition certain food manufacturing industries are located in both Kirkwall and Stromness. Including a lemonade factory and bakeries, they essentially supply the local market.

By far the largest number of employees in the two burghs are in the fields of tertiary industry - the services. Including professional services such as those of a doctor, teacher and lawyer, the industry also involves the larger mass of the working population employed, in various capacities, in shops and offices throughout the burghs and those providing building, marketing and engineering services together with public utilities.

Since the New Statistical Account commented in the first half of the nineteenth century that almost every house in most parts of Kirkwall contained a shop the commercial nature of the principal street has remained largely unchanged. Increasing population and opportunities for trade encouraged the conversion of former residential quarters at an early date and resulted in a spread of housing outwith the boundary of the old burgh. With the reclamation of part of the Peerie Sea a few shops, especially those dealing with furniture and similarly large objects, have been constructed along Junction Road. The different services offered by these retail premises, especially those for groceries and clothes, reflect the county - wide sphere of influence of Kirkwall shops: the numbers being greater than those demanded by the population of the burgh alone. In addition to the shops this part of the town contains hotels, restaurants, banks, administrative and professional offices, the newspaper office and the General Post Office. Extensive warehousing facilities, linked with the port function and need to import and export so many commodities, are also found away from 'the Street' and particularly in the Junction Road area. Emphasising its function as a regional centre many of the Kirkwall shops, banks, etc. have vans and boats that travel to service the outlying communities.

Like the capital, Stromness also contains most of its commercial premises along its main street although detailed analysis, carried out in subsequent chapters, reveals as for Kirkwall the distinct functional zonation that has developed within the burgh in recent decades. In Stromness, however, there are no branches of multiple stores apart

from the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society and the showroom of the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board; the shops being in the hands of local owners.

Building trades are represented in Kirkwall and Stromness and exist in the new industrial zones: Junction Road and Hatston in Kirkwall, and the North End in Stromness. Although principally engaged in construction within the settlements the main firms, especially those in the capital, undertake haulage work and projects throughout the Mainland and islands. Public demand for power stations, extensions to public buildings such as the local schools, and council housing, together with rural building schemes has been a stimulus for growth in the construction industry throughout the Orkneys. Associated with this industry are the quarrying enterprises and concrete block manufacture of several local firms established in both the main urban centres.

The remainder of the industrial sectors comprise garages and motor engineers, and the production plants for the Gas Companies and Hydro-Electric Board. Several firms existing in Stromness and Kirkwall are connected with the motor industry. In addition to selling, hiring and repairing vehicles, the important contact with the country districts is maintained by the bus service run by one of these firms. As well as providing a means of travel to the shopping centres for country folk the buses also run a delivery service for parcels.

The Gas installations are found in close proximity to the commercial centres of the settlements. Importing coal and coke from Scotland they provide gas throughout the main built-up areas. Kirkwall, however, also possesses a generating station run by the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board which supplies Stromness and the landward areas by cable. In the last two years a new and enlarged Power Station has been erected on a site at the eastern shore of the Peerie Sea to allow the output to be increased to meet the growing demand (Plate 46).

The expansion of Kirkwall as a commercial and distributive centre is largely the result of its accessibility and the present system of communications, developed during the last hundred years, has played an important part in this development. Prior to 1857 land transport was

limited, the sea acting as the main thoroughfare between points on the Mainland as well as between islands. However, the improvements following the Orkney Road Act changed the situation, helping to unite the scattered agricultural townships with the capital. Thus access was gained to the markets and other services provided by Kirkwall which further encouraged development of its distributive functions. In contrast Stromness remained at the end of a cul-de-sac of the Mainland road system and thus could provide no focus for development as did its eastern neighbour. However, the sea links did provide an opportunity to continue trade with Scotland thus establishing the burgh as an important transshipment point for goods proceeding to and from West Mainland townships. Undoubtedly it is the communication links that have reinforced the sphere of influence of the two burghs in the current century and have to some extent affected their socio-economic structure.

The harbour at Stromness, although lacking the contact with the North American continent that was responsible for much of the early burgh development, continues to be an important terminal for passengers and goods proceeding north from Scrabster or across Scapa Flow from the South Isles. During the early decades of the century steamers of Llanglands of Liverpool called twice weekly with passengers on route between Liverpool, Oban and Aberdeen. Also North of Scotland steamers plied the route from Aberdeen to Scalloway in Shetland - again once in either direction per week. During the summer months ships from Antrim also called in the harbour bringing tourists for a brief stay. The war, however, severed many of these links; those Llangland ships that were not lost were taken over by the Coast Lines of Liverpool and an agreement between the North of Scotland Shipping Company prevented their resuming the Llangland sailings.

The St. Ola, however, continued to run the sea crossing from Scrabster calling at Scapa pier and occasionally at Hoxa. However, the presence of the British Fleet anchored in the Flow forced, for reasons of security, the direct route to the west of Hoy to be adopted and this continues in use except when severe winds and tides make it necessary to sail the more sheltered waters of Scapa Flow. After much debate this route is being developed to provide a more frequent and rapid link with the north of Scotland on the introduction of a new Roll-on-Roll-off ferry. Due for

delivery in 1974 the 231 foot ship will be able to accommodate 400 passengers and 85 cars (or cars and heavy commercial vehicles) and includes space for 80 head of cattle or 320 sheep - an improvement on the capacity of the present boat. Thus further pier installation has been necessary adjacent to the North Pier in the harbour and the reclamation of the shore extending from the bay head - proposed originally in the nineteenth century - has been undertaken to provide a new road link to ease congestion in the narrow street.

The other sailings from Stromness are via the 'Hoy Head' and the 'Watchful' which, run by Bremner and Company, link the town with the agricultural communities of Hoy, Walls, Flotta and Graemsay. In addition the southernmost pier in the harbour belongs to the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses and accommodates the light house vessels, principally the 'Pole Star', that supply and maintain the navigation aids and lighthouses in the northern waters.

To provide extra accommodation all the piers in Stromness have undergone periods of improvement to their structure. The lighthouse pier - a timber framework erected in 1902 - was enlarged in the 1930's by the addition of a larger berth on concrete piers. The South Pier towards the bayhead was, on its construction in 1879, the first deep water pier in the harbour. It was extended and improved, however, towards the end of the last century and again in the 1950's when extra storage facilities were made available. The ice plant used by fishermen now exists at the end of this pier. A short distance to the north is the pier associated with the old rice warehouse. This has recently undergone improvements with the strengthening of its construction. The North Pier is the largest of the three piers and is used by the St. Ola and the vessels running to Hoy. A number of storage sheds exist on this pier and the new ferry terminal is being built adjacent to it.

In contrast to the sheltered berths in Stromness harbour Kirkwall's wharfage extends out into a wide and rather exposed bay. The present harbour constructed during the latter part of the nineteenth century and extended thereafter comprises a large pier of about a thousand feet in length to the east and a smaller pier of c. 350 feet to the west. These piers enclose a small roughly triangular basin adjacent to Harbour Street

(Plate 47). The entrance is from the west and approximately 500 feet of quayside accommodate vessels such as coasters, trawlers, fishing boats and yachts. The remainder of the main pier outwith the basin provides berths for the larger cargo and passenger vessels on route between Aberdeen and Lerwick - the former links with Leith being severed in the last few years. However, as in Stromness, the P. and O. Company plan to replace the 'St. Clair' on this run with a new Roll-on-Roll-off ferry service in 1975. In addition links with the North Isles are maintained by the sailings of the 'Orcadia' and similar vessels, there also being a service to Shapinsay from Kirkwall. In times of severe weather conditions foreign and Scottish vessels also seek shelter in the bay and harbour.

The wars while disrupting normal sailings principally through Scapa Flow did, however, leave a legacy that was of benefit to Kirkwall in particular. During the first World War block ships were sunk between the islands and holms to the south-east of Scapa Flow in an attempt to prevent entry by enemy submarines. This strategy was not entirely successful and so during World War II concrete barriers - the Churchill barriers - were constructed by prisoners of war to link the Mainland with Lamb Holm, Glims Holm, Burray and South Ronaldsay. Carrying a road these barriers served a dual purpose in both preventing the entry by German U-boats and replacing the ferry links previously needed between these South Isles. Thus land contact with Kirkwall was facilitated and the sphere of influence of the capital enlarged.

Because of the naval and army installations within the Orkneys during the two wars air bases were constructed over all available territory to allow air reconnaissance of enemy ship movements and contact with the military headquarters farther south. In the vicinity of Kirkwall there were two such aerodromes - at Hatston to the west and at Grimsetter to the east. Since the removal of military personnel the Grimsetter site has been developed by The British Airports Authority as the commercial airport for the Orkneys providing daily links with Shetland, Wick, Inverness, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow. In addition Loganair Limited, run under the wing of the Orkney Island Shipping Company Limited, provides short inter-island services with its 8 - seater Islander aircraft. This 'plane also provides a valuable ambulance service for patients requiring hospital-

isation in Kirkwall or Aberdeen. Again the existence of air communications in close proximity to the capital encourages centralisation of offices, services, etc. in Kirkwall. Stromness to the west has no such air link.

The differing rates of development of the two burghs has in the present century resulted in distinct and divergent population trends (Fig.45). In Stromness there has been a general downward movement from the peak figure of 2236 in 1821 to 1414 in 1961 with a period of stability from 1871-1911 during the height of the herring fishing. Kirkwall, in contrast, already slightly higher than Stromness in 1821 has continued the upward trend with a substantial increase between 1821 and 1881 and a further marked increase in the period including the Second World War - the requirements for service from the military personnel undoubtedly accelerating depopulation in certain landward areas. These trends have continued in the last decade although, like Kirkwall, the figures for Stromness display a slight upward trend. In general, however, the depopulation of the islands continues; there being a 14.3% drop between 1961 and 1971 for the landward area which accompanies a 8.9% decrease in the total island population over the same period. However, it appears that the decrease is falling off slightly as between 1951 and 1961 there was a drop of 11%. With the concentration of population in Kirkwall and its environs - some 30% of the Orcadian inhabitants - it is not surprising that there are now more people in this parish than in the North and South Isles put together. Although the capital, with its increasing numbers due principally to migration, displays a greater proportion of young people, the general trend in Stromness and the County as a whole is of an ageing population. Thus 14% of males are over 65 and 24.6% of females over 60 years of age. As in the records of the previous century males are still outnumbered by females but the imbalance has been reduced possibly due to the greater concentration on home-based industry. Analysis of place of birth statistics indicates that the proportion of foreign born, ie outwith Scotland, has been reduced to 4.3%.

The current census also shows that there has in recent years been a decrease in the number of persons per household and an increase in household amenities - undoubtedly the result of considerable house building away from the old centre during the twentieth century.

Kirkwall, the administrative, business and trading centre of the county with its historical interest and many amenities, provides the ideal centre for residential development. The changing function of the dwellings along the street encouraged the development, for residential purposes, of the ancient quays bordering the town in the nineteenth century. However, the further increase in population and the commercial development of the central zone has, within the last 70 years, brought about considerable infilling between the main routes that were laid out following the Road Act.

The period 1902-1939 was notable for the construction of both privately owned, detached villas and bungalows in ribbon development: to the east in the vicinity of Weyland (Plate 48), to the south along New Scapa Road and west towards Glaitness. The Housing Act of 1919 also enabled the Local Authority to commence council housing schemes - the first being of semi-detached houses at Carters Park. This was followed by further encroachments on the Papdale estate and in the vicinity of Laing Street. The dwellings are unremarkable in style reflecting the architectural trends and economic constraints of council house building at the time. However, including running water and gas and electricity supplies they were a definite improvement on the old dwellings along the street. The development also reduced significantly the overcrowding that had been noted in the census data of the previous century.

Since the second World War further estate building and private development has taken place while the prefabricated huts at Hatston have been utilised to accommodate families including those waiting for council housing. The atlas maps indicate the location of these main developments and further reference will be made to the residential expansion of the burgh in Chapter VIII.

Stromness like Kirkwall has undergone expansion with the infilling of sites high on the slopes of Brinkie's Brae with council houses. In contrast to the capital, however, this development, in the absence of population increase, has been largely the result of the need to reduce

overcrowding in the old dwellings along the street and to provide alternative accommodation when dwellings were converted to a commercial function.

During the late nineteenth century most of the large detached stone-built villas, including the first block of flats for the Northern Lighthouse Board, were constructed on the periphery of the burgh. Subsequent housing development in Stromness up to the outbreak of the Second World War, when there were 443 inhabited houses, consisted of a small number of private detached houses, and fifty 2 - storey terraced and semi-detached houses which were built by the Local Authority.

In the post-war period ex-army huts on the slopes behind the town were converted into temporary dwellings and further permanent houses of traditional type were constructed. The largest development has been on sites to the south of the burgh: Hoymansquoy where twenty-six dwellings were built in 1953, Faravel - 25 dwellings in 1971 - and Pumpwell Park - 12 in 1964. More limited building has occurred on the more steeply sloping sites to the centre and north of the burgh. Although some 40 houses have been closed since 1900, usually in the older part of the street, infilling of cleared sites has been only on a small scale. However, eleven dwellings in three blocks have been created in Mayburn Court on the site of the old distillery and a further four blocks are nearing completion in the Gap site to the south of the lifeboat station.

Accompanying the housing development in both burghs has been a diversification and extension of community facilities. Following the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 School Boards were elected to manage local education. These Boards thus took over control of the parish, burgh and church schools; securing trained teachers and establishing a common curriculum leading to a National Leaving Certificate. Rationalisation of the system thus occurred and in Stromness a large school building was erected with the abandonment of many of the smaller buildings. This school had a massive endowment from the Humphrey Bequest and the Hourston Bursary and this money became part of the Orkney Educational Trust. The Academy, built on the Back Road (Plate 49), has been extended in a number of phases during the twentieth century and a number of prefabricated structures have been used since 1950 to give

extra accommodation for the growing numbers of pupils. Providing primary, junior and secondary education, pupils are drawn from a wide area including the west Mainland and South Isles. In the last few years a new infant school has been built on the old bowling green behind the Stromness Hotel. Further Education classes in a number of practical subjects are also held in the school building.

A number of other community buildings exist within the burghs. The churches erected during the nineteenth century are still in existence although the old parish church of St. Peter, ceasing to be used for worship with the amalgamation of congregations in the town, has been leased as a Youth Centre. In Hellihole Road two substantial buildings - the Town Hall and the Temperance Hall - provide accommodation for dances, sales, cinema shows and theatrical performances, while the church halls, scattered throughout the burgh, are used for a variety of purposes. At the lower end of Hellihole, adjacent to Melvine Place, is a two-storey building used as a public library. The building, gifted to the town in 1905, also contains a committee room which is leased for meetings etc. A grant from the County Council is provided for the general maintenance of the building. In the mid-nineteenth century public interest in natural history brought about the formation of a local society which, as has been mentioned, was responsible for the creation of a museum in the Old Town Hall at the May Burn. With the provision of new accommodation for the Town Council the museum expanded to occupy the whole of the building. As well as a static collection exhibitions are mounted which generally reflect stages in the historical development of the burgh.

In contrast to Kirkwall the medical facilities of the burgh are limited. However, an Eventide Home, St. Peter's House, was opened at the end of Hellihole Road in 1957 (Plate 50). Incorporating St. Peter's Manse, a new wing has been built to provide extra accommodation and this is linked to the original manse by a single storey block containing a sitting-cum-dining unit. With terraced lawns dropping to the line of Duncan's Burn, the site offers magnificent views over the town and harbour. The house is administered by the Social Welfare Department of the Town Council.

Because of its inferior status with respect to Kirkwall there are few National Authority representatives in the town. However, the Town Council occupies premises in Hellihole Road and the Town House at the Pier Head. Essential services such as those of the Police and fire brigade are also in existence within the town; generally in limited accommodation towards the North End. The Post Office - originally in Alfred Street - is now towards the pier in Victoria Street and fairly convenient for mail arriving by steamer or from Kirkwall. Associated with the harbour and fishing are a number of premises : the Customs and Excise together with the Harbour Master has an office in Victoria Street ; the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen has a rest room at the pier head and the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, originally accommodated at the Ness, obtained a narrow site in Dundas Street in 1927.

Kirkwall with its population of over 4000 is the focal point for the Mainland and the Isles. Thus as well as being an important commercial and distributive centre serving the agricultural industry and marketing farm produce it is

'the seat of the County Council and of the Sheriff Court; its harbour is the largest and best equipped in the County; the local offices of the air transport service are located in the town; it is the centre for hospital services, the home of the County Community Centre and Senior Secondary School.' ¹

As in Stromness the creation of the School Boards enabled rationalisation of the educational system in the burgh and Kirkwall Educational Trust was formed to provide books and, where necessary, pay school fees. During this period it was inevitable that the adjoining Grammar, Infant and Subscription schools in the corner of Papdale estate should be the focus for development. With the abolition of the Board system and the creation of the County Education Authority in 1919 improvements in accommodation were made; and the school continues to expand. With over 1200 pupils gathered throughout the islands - one important factor in the increasing depopulation of the Orkneys and the ageing of the population structure in the islands - it has been necessary in recent years to erect special hostel

accommodation for the learners (Plate 51). This, together with a new school complex (Plate 52) including a swimming pool, has occurred on a site immediately adjacent to the old house of Papdale (Plate 53). The previous hostel accommodation for girls - a complex of single-storey flat-roofed, utility type structures owned by the Post Office and situated in old Scapa Road - suffered severe disadvantages due to distance from the school and isolation in the extreme south-west of the burgh. The new site while lying away from the centre of the town does provide a campus-type situation where land is also available for playing fields etc.

Further Education classes are held both in the Grammar School and in the Community Centre, the latter occupying premises in Broad Street. In addition, these halls, like those associated with the churches, are available for meetings of clubs and societies. A theatre exists in the town in a modern building in Mill Street, fairly near the town centre, but the cinema, since fire destroyed the old building in Albert Street, has been isolated on an open site in Junction Road.

The Bibliothek of Kirkwall, founded in 1683, was the first Public Library in Scotland and during its existence has been housed in a number of buildings including the Cathedral. The present County Library building, however, is centrally placed in Laing Street (Plate 54). Apart from the usual sections, there is a special 'Orkney Room' containing a collection of local books and records, plus an Exhibition Room. The library also provides a County family library service sending books to all the islands in the group. Unlike Stromness, Kirkwall had until recently no museum. However, the renovation of Tankerness House commencing in 1965, allowed its conversion for museum purposes and this greatly added to the tourist attractions in the Cathedral precinct.

The Balfour Hospital, founded in the mid-nineteenth century in Main Street, was transferred in the 1920's to new buildings on a site in New Scapa Road to the south-west of the burgh. The buildings comprise a series of single-storey wings erected during World War II and linked to an older two-storey stone block which was erected as a Memorial Building in 1926. At the opposite end of the burgh is the Eastbank Hospital which was founded around Eastbank House in 1934. These hospitals serve the entire County. The County Home, originally known as the Combination

Poorhouse, is situated on Old Scapa Road on a two-acre site.

Most of the National and Local Authority premises are centralised around Broad Street, although expansion has resulted in some movement away from the central zone to larger sites. Thus the Education Offices, Customs and Excise, Council of Social Service, the Municipal Buildings and the County Offices are all found along the main thoroughfare. The General Post Office situated, since the expiry of its lease of accommodation in the Municipal Buildings, in a large block on Junction Road, has other premises in Hatston, Old Scapa Road and in a new block in Brandyquoy. Government offices are housed in Brandyquoy and Junction Road. The Department of Agriculture, Agricultural advisers from Aberdeen and the County Development Department are all located in small premises within the central zone of the burgh. The Sheriff Court Building is on the site of the garden of the old cathedral manse adjacent to the Earl's Palace and the new Police Station was erected at the rear of this structure in the 1950's.

Most of the harbour officials have offices adjacent to the pier, while the Coastguard Station occupies an ample site near Cromwell's Fort overlooking the bay. (Plate 55).

During the seventy years of the present century Kirkwall, the County town, has seen a considerable socio-economic expansion, while Stromness, more limited in this field, has been in decline. There has been a tendency to centralise everything in Kirkwall and this is not only reflected in the number of people offering professional and other services to the island community, but also in the higher proportion of young people in the burgh. Stromness, its hinterland limited to the South Isles and West Mainland, still suffers somewhat from its position in the extreme west of the Mainland and like the remainder of the County exhibits an ageing population. Yet it can be seen that in the twentieth century these two burghs have adopted complementary roles. Kirkwall, while being the principal route centre and seat of administrative power, has no daily sea contacts with the Scottish Mainland and is inconveniently situated to serve the west Mainland as a market centre or to exploit the rich fishing grounds to the west. Stromness, however, does keep regular contact with the North of Scotland - a contact that is likely to strengthen with the introduction of

the new ferry -, provides essential services for the area immediately to north and south and, by virtue of its sheltered anchorage and tradition of fishing, is able to harvest the seas. It is necessary for the continuing well-being of the smaller burgh, therefore, that these complementary roles are recognised by the County Council.

The future development of Stromness and Kirkwall is uncertain - many changes have been noted during the history of both centres - yet it seems probable that the expansion of tourism and the interest in the oil potential of the northern waters will have considerable effects. Both could drastically alter the burghs. If this were to happen the essential character of the towns could be destroyed for ever and it is this character that, in itself, proves to be such a tourist attraction. Furthermore, the opportunities for self-improvement in association with the oil companies may attract many young people from the islands accelerating depopulation. The wealth of the companies channelled into the erection of terminals, docks, etc., could, unchecked, lead to the spoliation of much of the agricultural land and many scenic attractions. Yet it is important to remember that such a bonanza may be short-lived and Kirkwall and Stromness are likely to remain largely dependent on their contacts with land and sea for their economic existence. The prosperity of these areas is thus essential. As a possible safeguard for the future it is advisable, therefore, to study the present state of the burghs in detail together with the means whereby the intimate charm and distinction of the townscape of both Kirkwall and Stromness may be retained.

CHAPTER VIII

'T'is a base little borough, both dirty and mean -
 There's nothing to hear, and there's nought to be seen,
 Save a church, where, of old times a prelate haranged,
 And a palace that's built by an earl that was hanged.' ¹

When Scott wrote his poem in August 1814 he possibly little thought that much of the old structure of the town of which he so obviously disapproved would remain into the twentieth century when it would in fact become a tourist attraction. The ancient edifices produced during the earldom remain, with the Cathedral, at present undergoing restoration, situated so admirably that it forms the hub for the Orkney island group. In addition there are the noble relics of the Bishop's and Earl's Palaces, now open to the elements, but retaining much of the magnificence of past eras. Although the street plan has changed little, many of the houses bordering the thoroughfare have been rebuilt either because, at various times, they were beyond repair or because a functional change necessitated the erection of a new structure. Indeed throughout history certain sites along the street have changed many times. One example of this can be found opposite the Cathedral where, in the early part of the sixteenth century the mansion and garden of the Provost stood. Prior to 1677, however, the old Provostrie had been demolished being replaced by a 'beautiful house erected by Margaret Grott, widow of Patrick Prince'² (Plate 56). This house with its oriel window facing onto Broad Street can be seen in the earliest views of this part of the town and in fact remained unchanged until 1884 when it in turn was demolished to allow space for the new Town Hall. In some cases, as has been mentioned, removal of older dwellings allowed the building of larger town houses as more and more members of old Orkney families realised the prestige and occasionally wealth to be gained from a town house in the capital. Sometimes, however, it appears that other incentives to the construction of a dwelling in Kirkwall existed: to provide quarters for the winter social season and to allow the children of the family to receive their education in the Grammar School.³ During some instances of rebuilding the new dwelling was resited so that the street was widened at that point. In general, however, the line of the paved highway remains unchanged and is a useful indicator of the

original extent of the burgh and the Peerie Sea.

As with Stromness, Kirkwall in the early stage of its development had been dependent on communication by sea. Yet the presence of an Earl and his retinue, together with the officials associated with the bishopric, served to draw the townsfolk in a second direction. Thus the inhabitants looked to the sea for their livelihood and towards the bishops and earls, in their halls and palaces, as supreme rulers. It was probably this internal focus on power that encouraged the development and continuation of the 'Street' and other lines of communication by land outwith the burgh. This is in marked contrast to Stromness where land communication developed as a mere afterthought during the mid-nineteenth century.

Kirkwall can be said, therefore, to have developed as a route centre and an administrative capital during the earliest part of its history. As the centuries progressed the social structure, becoming less dominated by the former powers - the earldom and church -, encompassed a class of wealthy and influential merchants who, proceeding north to the islands from Scotland, brought about certain economic changes that were to set the seal on Kirkwall's future. Trade increased, the incomers exploiting contacts outwith the islands to foster this section of the economy. In addition, the knowledge and experience of life outside the Orkneys possessed by many of these wealthy entrepreneurs brought about a cultural awakening, and life in the capital, for the upper classes at least, seems to have been equal to that in the larger cities throughout the kingdom. The lowlier craftsmen and poor folk flocking from the country, however, found the social amenities and an improved standard of living much harder to procure than they had anticipated and, crowded into the small cottages sandwiched between the wealthy, they were forced into relative servitude for many centuries. This division of society is reflected in both the functional development of the burgh and in its townscape.

The mapping of Kirkwall as regards building age, style and function was carried out on a base map, at a scale of 1 : 2500, provided by the Ordnance Survey. Luckily a recent edition of this plan was available and thus only minor alterations and additions were noted during the field work. To accommodate these changes a film positive of the plan was made under licence and deletions and additions were marked on this prior to duplication

for presentation in the Atlas.

If one recalls that the shore of the Peerie Sea originally lay along the line of what is now Junction Road the map showing building style (Atlas Map 1) clearly reflects the original structure of dwellings, many of which were gable end on to the street, situated on long narrow tenements that extended to the shore on the west and to the bounds of Papdale and the ancient quoy's surrounding the burgh to the east. However, this arrangement of burghage plots is not unique but can be identified readily in many town and village centres in England, and indeed also on the continent, which were founded during the Mediaeval period. Yet in their basic form none of the buildings reflect the architectural style that was found in much of the rest of Britain, depending rather on a simple low construction of local flagstone walls punctuated with small windows and door openings. At the gables the flags were roughly arranged into a series of steps that served to prevent the slate or thatch roofs from lifting in the strong winds to which the Orkneys are prone.

Although early dwellings were likely to have been only one or one - and - a half storeys in height - as examples, from the Shore Street lanes, now demolished, indicate (Plate 57) - most of the main habitations of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries are, like those in Stromness, two-storey structures. However, the flatness of the site did not in this instance permit the considerable underbuilding that is to be found in the younger burgh. Occasionally, possibly due to the overcrowding recorded in the nineteenth century census data, considerable use is made of the attic storey and dormer windows have, in some cases, been inserted. At other points along the street, notably on the west side of Bridge Street, dwellings of three storeys were constructed.

Apart from these plain buildings the influx of wealthy families from both Orkney and Scotland encouraged the construction of the larger, more handsome residences already noted. While the finest and best preserved example is undoubtedly Tankerness House, the old ecclesiastical foundation, other courtyarded dwellings remain. Examples can thus be identified at 41 - 3 Albert Street, 5 Broad Street, and 72 - 4 Victoria Street.

The tradition of alteration and often complete rebuilding of habitations along the street makes dating of buildings in the oldest sections of the town difficult. Frequently a site is very old but the structure on it may have been partially or wholly redesigned several times during the history of the burgh. In addition, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the removal of the crowsteps, renewal of roofs and chimneys and the rendering of the surface of the stone effectively serves to conceal all trace of antiquity. Apart from those residences built for the wealthier members of society, which were undoubtedly influenced to a certain extent by the current architectural trends, the majority of houses maintained the same architectural style over many centuries. This again hampers accurate dating of the buildings although classification into general building periods is possible (Atlas Map 2). One significant example, which will be mentioned in more detail in Chapter X is the terrace, anciently known as the "Ludgeing", lying adjacent to the Bishop's Palace in Palace Road. Recently renovated, these dwellings now exhibit the detailing of a modern age and without documentary evidence their seventeenth century origins would remain unknown.

While a walk through the old street reveals many historical details significant changes - occurring for many of the reasons already stated - become apparent. This, together with the outward expansion of the burgh over the surrounding territory, proves a marked contrast to the situation found in the younger burgh of Stromness. Other differences, however, may also be noted. Kirkwall's function as the administrative capital of the Orkney islands has resulted in a greater emphasis on public building and, naturally, there are no edifices of the antiquity and magnificence of the Cathedral and adjacent Palaces in the trading settlement to the west. However, the township of both burghs remains fascinating and rewards careful study.

Having landed at the pier it is obvious to the visitor that the harbour frontage has suffered significant changes in the last two centuries. Traill's Folly and the 'Inns' have been replaced by newer structures, the impressive Renaissance bulk of the Kirkwall Hotel occupying the former site. To the west, however, the King's Girnell has been retained although minus its kiln (Plate 58). In the eastern section Shore Street shows a diversity

of building style. The old Shore Street lanes with the crow-stepped u facing the bay have been demolished to make way for the Shell Oil Company's tank farm (Plate 59). Thus only two examples remain of the traditional form of two-storey dwelling that housed the fishing population in the burgh. The remaining buildings largely conceal their origin although a study of the general proportions and window arrangement does lead one to suspect historical associations. (Photoscape 1.)

Opposite the main pier the entrance to Bridge Street occurs serving to channel traffic and pedestrians into the beginning of the commercial centre. There is no pavement in the narrower sections of the street and thus pedestrians are free to wander across the whole width of the roadway - a dangerous occupation when the thoroughfare is also crowded with vehicles. The plainer town-houses of the rich land-owning families - Craigies of Oversanday, Halcros of Crook, Mowats of Pow etc - are to be found all along Bridge Street. Two or three-storey structures, that have undergone various degrees of renovation, these former residences have their ground floors converted into shop or office premises. However, above one modern shop front is a small plaque bearing the monograms of Pottinger of Hobbister and his wife and the date 1628 indicating a former occupier. Both these old dwellings along the street and those crowded into the side lanes have fairly large windows. This serves to identify the houses of the wealthy from those of the poorer inhabitants in the burgh ; the latter occupying houses where windows were few in number and small in size. Perhaps there was a certain prestige attached to large windowed houses. Certainly crowded as they are in narrow closes little light would have been gained and in fact one might suppose that the insanitary condition of the street in past centuries would have discouraged such a development. The east side of Bridge Street has undergone more drastic alteration in its upper section at least. The old residence of the Irvings of Sebay has been replaced by a commercial building which in its upper storeys displays the pillars and entablature of a classical style. Beyond is the warehouse accommodation of R. Garden Ltd., the builder of Garden Street nearby. Although the street broadens in front of the warehousing it narrows again towards the site of the old bridge. In this section the crow-steps and flaggy nature of the stonework are again in evidence and narrow lanes

running in the direction of Papdale occur between the buildings. It is in one of these closes that the only reminder of the presence of St. Olaf's Church - the arched doorway - is located.

While many of the former dwellings of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries remain, newer structures of much later date tend by their sheer bulk to dominate the section of the street in which they have been erected. One fine example is the bank building just to the south of the Bridge (Photoscape 2). Not only is the three-storey building taller than most of the surrounding structures but in the use of the Renaissance style with its moulded window openings, strongly projecting eaves, low roof angle and emphasis on horizontality it is seen to be totally out of character. Progressing along the street the intimate character of the town returns. The street line is irregular and closes enter from both sides, those to the west giving access to Junction Road rather than, as in the past, to the shore of the Peerie Sea. Only one vehicular access occurs along Albert Street - Laing Street. Named after the family who, occupying Papdale during the early part of the last century, did so much to aid the development of the town, its most notable building is the Renaissance form of the Orkney County Library. The same mixture of old and new continues, with the 'Big Tree', occupying part of the roadway near Broad Street, serving to remind the present population that garden ground rather than commercial premises once existed in that area.

At the exit of Albert Street several notable remains occur (Photoscape 3). To the east is the narrow lane known as the Strynd, at the street end of which was, in the eighteenth century, the house occupied as the Tolbooth. To the west is the site of the old castle the existence of which is commemorated in the plaque on the side of what was once the Castle Hotel and in the name of the new vehicular link to Junction Road. Slight progress into Broad Street, once the Old Kirk Green, brings the impressive Gothic form of St. Magnus Cathedral into view. The red sandstone masonry together with the architectural style and its general size sets this building apart from its surroundings, the orientation of the lanes leading from the west together with the street itself further focusing attention on the church. Opposite are a number of buildings of varying ages, shapes and sizes. The courtyarded house of Provost Riddoch can be seen which, built in the

mid-eighteenth century, still has the carved gate posts at the entrance to the court. The dominant structure on the west side of the street is, however, the Scots baronial town hall erected at the end of the last century to replace the old town hall which stood in front of the Cathedral. Broad Street ends with Tankerness House and the 'Ludgeing' indicating the beginning of the other ancient part of the town - the Laverock.

At the entrance to the Bishop's town the street narrows once more and resumes its flagstone surface (Photoscape 4). There are a greater number of houses with their gables facing the road in this section and the narrow plots of land extending originally to the shore are not as heavily built upon as those to the north. Most houses are two storeys in height although a row of smaller cottages does exist along Gunn's Close and the Royal Hotel, occupying a site towards the middle of Victoria Street, contains four floors. Adjacent to the hotel a richly carved lintel marks the doorway of the ancient dwelling house of John Traill and Helen Stewart.⁴ Generally the structures in Victoria Street are comparatively little changed and in only two or three instances have new buildings been introduced. These, although modern in design, are of small size and thus do not detract from the antique appearance of the Laverock.

Beyond Victoria Street there are still reminders of the ancient foundation of the burgh. The quaint cottage at the end of Clay Loan (Plate 60) with its symmetrical facade - despite the introduction of one modern window - simple half dormers, crow-steps and ancient roof is one example. Others are found farther from the early centre of habitation, along the road to Glaitness, although in many of these cases the rendering of the stonework and reroofing tends to update the appearance of the structure. (Plate 61 and 62).

From the viewpoint at the top of the Cathedral tower it is possible to obtain both one of the best panoramas of the burgh, ancient and modern, and an appreciation of the functional zonation.

To the east of the present harbour the promontory on which Cromwell's soldiers built their fort is clearly identified (Photoscape 5). Now occupied by single storey villas it is part of the housing development that has occurred in the triangle of ground between Weyland and the East Hill.

Individual plots having been developed at different times there is little uniformity of design or plan. The line of Catherine Place and the oil tanks are both visible. In the centre of the view the Renaissance revival styling of the County Library with its pedimented windows stands out above other smaller and plainer dwellings. To the east the large Georgian-style villas of Lilybank and Daisybank occur, surrounded by much open ground. The estate of Papdale, although considerably reduced in size since the Laings started feuing plots for house and church building in the nineteenth century, is still recognizable. The old house - an impressive country mansion with a central pediment decorating an otherwise simple facade - still exists sheltered by its belt of trees. In fact the panorama indicates how well trees grow within the shelter of the town. The latest encroachment on the grounds of the old farm is in the form of new school buildings of which the hostel blocks, standing on the south-facing valley side of Papdale burn, form a noticeable obtrusion on the skyline. To the south of the burn more housing development has occurred. Commencing in the nineteenth century with the erection of large villas for the wealthier members of society, and the several churches, infilling continued in the twentieth century. Much of the housing development was the responsibility of the Town Council but some more interesting private residences have been constructed. Following the curve of Dundas Crescent the major modern housing estates are reached. Although different sections were developed at different times in the post-war period there is a certain uniformity of style which produces a definite monotony in the townscape.

Looking south from the tower one picks up the remains of the Earl's and Bishop's Palaces and, running upslope from the houses along Victoria Street, the lines of the original long burghage plots. Although development particularly of housing now spreads some considerable distance from the centre of the town much of the ancient farming land of St. Ola still remains in the corridor of land between Kirkwall Bay and that of Scapa.

To the west the view changes somewhat (Photoscape 6). Housing development, surrounding some importance public building in the form of Balfour Hospital and the Orkney County Home, is limited in extent being replaced by what is known as the main industrial zone of Kirkwall. With the creation of Junction Road and the reclamation of part of the Peerie Sea land

was available for uses other than housing. Indeed this area could be said to have been positively undesirable for residential use because of the increasing practice of using the Peerie Sea as a rubbish dump, whereas the flat land of low value lying adjacent to the harbour and central area of the town with good road communications could prove highly desirable for siting service industries. Structures, both large and small, were erected to serve a variety of purposes including wholesaling, small manufacturing industry, offices, repair shops, etc. The Phoenix Cinema is an important building to the south and not far away is the slaughterhouse and premises selling agricultural equipment, together with a gasholder conspicuously isolated on part of the Crafty. Some nineteenth century dwellings exist but these are restricted to two rows of terraced houses and a pair of dwellings in Tankerness Lane. The diversity of style in the industrial sector is clearly indicated in the photographs. One dominant building on the latest section of reclamation is that belonging to the Scottish Hydro-Electric Board which far exceeds the other premises in size. The areas given over to the Auction Mart and the Gas Company are also readily identifiable.

On the ground the width and diversity of building along Junction Road appears in marked contrast to the main street which it parallels (Photoscape 7). In addition, modern lighting schemes and shop and garage signs tend to give a cluttered appearance breaking up even the harmonious rhythm of the ridged roofs of many of the one-storey buildings. The main modern building is a horizontal structure housing certain Government Offices which although of a similar height blends poorly with its neighbours. Probably the most interesting views gained by a walk along Junction Road are those glimpses of the old part of the town, particularly the Cathedral, via the narrow lanes and streets.

Beyond the Ayre the old mill has been converted into a packing station for Orkney Egg Producers while the remaining hangars and prefabricated dwellings of the Hatston air base are used by small industrial concerns and as temporary dwellings prior to the acquisition of Council housing (Plate 63). It is to be regretted that this area bordering one of the main approaches to the burgh has such a dilapidated shanty-town appearance.

The map indicating building function displays many contrasts between Kirkwall and Stromness (Atlas Map 3). Possibly the most striking

distribution - mainly because of the size of the ground plan - is that for buildings providing public meeting places - churches, halls, schools, etc. - and those providing a public service - hotels, post office, garages, banks. Because of the traditional importance of the capital as an administrative and service centre, greater economic diversity has resulted and this is reflected in the greater size and percentage of such buildings. The high incidence of former residential buildings along the street that have been totally converted to commercial use, together with the smaller percentage of cases where the owners reside over the business premises can be seen. In Stromness this trend is not followed. There are, however, a significant number of the older buildings, particularly those to the south end of Victoria Street, that retain their purely residential function.

On the reclaimed shore of the Peerie Sea many of the industrial components of the economic structure are gathered but space remains available for carparking. Beyond the Ayre the Hatston industrial site, comprising about 33 acres of land, contains Halmatic - a firm building fibre glass boats; post office garages, a coal store and a poultry hatchery among its occupiers.

Within the remainder of the town industrial sites are small and scattered. For instance, in newly enlarged premises in Palace Road traditional straw plait for baskets and the 'Orkney Chair' are manufactured. Printing works are found both in Junction Road and Victoria Street while the silver jewellery industry has a centre adjacent to a dwelling house in Mount Drive. The only other major development is to be found in the extreme south-east of the burgh and includes, on separate sites, the Claymore Creamery and the Highland Park Distillery.

Although no Central Business District can strictly be said to exist, that area of the Street between the harbour and Victoria Road does contain the principal business premises (Atlas Map 4). However, there is some overspill into Junction Road with the main furniture dealers in particular seeking the more spacious premises to be found there. In contrast to Stromness Kirkwall contains a branch of Hepworths, Boots the Chemists and Woolworths, displaying its higher urban status. Otherwise the census of businesses along the street follows, in the retail sector, a similar pattern to that in the younger burgh. In addition, of course, there are the offices of two solicitors, one accountant, the Custom House, the Orkney Council of

Social Service and the Education Department within this zone.

The continuing increase in population puts pressure not only on the amenities and services provided within the burgh but also on the land available for new housing development. However, although the territory covered by residences is steadily enlarging considerable areas of open space - both public and private - remain in the capital (Atlas Map 5). Two major areas of public open space exist - at Bignold Park to the south-east of the burgh and Pickaquoy Park in a rather isolated position to the west of the Peerie Sea - providing space for football and hockey together with other grass sports. In addition Bignold Park is used as the site of the Annual County Agricultural Show. Although under the auspices of the National Playing Fields Association, Pickaquoy Park, opened in 1956 as a George V Playing Field, is used less due to its situation away from both the schools and main residential areas. A much smaller area of public open space lies in the valley of the Papdale burn. Now known as the "Willows" the records indicate that the inhabitants of Kirkwall have had traditional rights to the burn for washing and bleaching purposes from the earliest stage in the history of the burgh.

Areas of private open space tend to be very scattered throughout the capital and include the paddocks surrounding Daisybank and part of Papdale in the east, an area in Manse Park to the south and the ground owned by the Tennis Club adjacent to Main Street. Small patches of ground devoted to children's play areas and allotments are also dispersed within the main residential zones.

However, probably the most important area is that including the garden of Tankerness House, the Kirk Green and Graveyard, and the grounds of the two Palaces. Situated in the centre of the burgh these grassy areas with their numerous trees both produce a pleasing natural background against which to set off the more important of the ancient relics and provide a central 'park' where local inhabitants and visitors can gather to chat or rest on benches under the leafy canopy. The Cathedral precinct, such as it is, is thus of great amenity value and does not find an equal in Stromness.

As with Stromness, in much of the present townscape of Kirkwall, evidence exists of the historical associations of the burgh. Relics of the

Norse invasions, principally in the form of the Cathedral, which together with that at Glasgow, is one of the best examples of ecclesiastical architecture of the Romanesque - Gothic period remaining in Scotland, together with later edifices of the Scottish earldom form a focal point in the centre of the burgh. Yet away from these grand structures the character of the domestic buildings has also been shown to retain the flavour of the past. The breadth of the social structure in evidence in the diversity of building style along the street cannot be denied and much of the economic and cultural development of the town can be regarded as resulting largely from the presence of many high-born wealthy and influential residents at an early date. However, the changes instigated by many of these entrepreneurs demanded alteration of the burgh in a physical as well as an economic sense. Thus much of the present townscape reflects also the periods of instability associated with the many booms and slumps. It is this almost constant renewal in the light of the changing social and economic climate that contrasts markedly with Stromness. In the latter case there was much less social diversity and the dependence of almost the entire population on one or two enterprises at any one time produced a sort of homogeneity that is reflected in the physical structure of that town.

In Kirkwall this was never the case. In the period of church versus state - in the guise of the Earl - two distinct sections of the town were established and this affected the community development. However, the upheavals in the church from the seventeenth century onward together with the collapse of the powerful and often oppressive earldom allowed the Town Council to take over much of the control of the town and thus its role as a capital within the Orkneys could be developed. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, therefore, this new function of consolidation of administrative powers under the influence of the local inhabitants proceeds.

Whatever pressure existed to restructure the physical and human environments in the past - either from individuals or society in general - it is undoubtedly surpassed by that in the twentieth century. With the present influence of mass-media there is perhaps an understandable trend towards the updating and standardisation of the various interlocking facets of, particularly, the urban centres throughout the country. Yet emphasis

on rapid transport systems, housing improvements to meet with all the current planning regulations and Central Government control over development at all levels could, if applied unthinkingly to a town like Kirkwall, destroy its inherent character. There has always been a willingness among the citizens of the capital to adapt to the new 'climate' but this could lead to total destruction of an historic foundation upon which the position of the capital, vis-à-vis the other northern islands and the remainder of Britain to the south, is largely dependent - particularly for the development of its tourist industry. Probably the most important function of Kirkwall today is that as administrative and market centre for a thriving agricultural community. Yet the noticeable drift, especially of the young, from the land and the subsequent ageing of the remaining community often resulting in total depopulation of the outlying areas, poses important problems concerning the continuation of that function. The interdependence between Kirkwall and the islands is so finely balanced that any major change caused, for example, by widespread depopulation could seriously upset the economic equilibrium. Regarded in this light the current oil boom thus presents a certain threat to the community. If many people are attracted from the land by better conditions and higher wages offered by the oil companies the pattern that followed the Second World War may be repeated. Thus on the decline of the oil industry in the future the neglect of the old agricultural skills preventing a return to the land may further increase the depopulation and reduce the role of Kirkwall as a market centre. Its effects on the town may also result in the destruction of the character of the ancient street under the name of progress and the recent modernisation of some of the older buildings shows that this trend has already begun. However, the townscape of the Royal Burgh, like that of Stromness, could be preserved for posterity without posing too many restrictions on the emergence of the centre into the framework of the modern age - an achievement which may be desirable if not essential for the preservation of the Orcadian identity.

CHAPTER IX

Stromness 'does not depend on grand vistas but rather on an intimate charm'¹ and in its haphazard arrangement, where even 'the sea is a domestic institution',² lies its fascination. The view of the town 'is at once splendid, varied and interesting'³ with the buildings hugging the brae and extending out over the ebbing tide against the backdrop of the hills of Hoy. The mile-long harbour frontage is unique, with almost every dwelling occupying its own wharf - the creation of a community that at all levels was, ultimately, dependent for its livelihood on the sea. Stromness, unlike Kirkwall, did not provide opportunities for wealthy merchants and landed gentry to erect noble town houses of ashlar, elegantly proportioned and laid out round a courtyard. At this site the physical constraints of the steeply-sloping granite ridge were too great and the situation vis-à-vis the rest of the kingdom rendered the creation of such magnificence futile. The main concern was access to the trading vessels seeking a safe anchorage in the harbour and to this end, and to overcome the topographic problems, a wall of bulwarks was established on which the dwellings, gable end to the sea, were erected.

From the seisins it seems evident that in the decades succeeding the initial feuing of a quoy on the mid-shore to Alexander Chalmer a fairly rapid development occurred. Entrepreneurs from many parts of Orkney and indeed from much farther afield were quick to realise the potential of the otherwise neglected bay. The immigration, however, posed problems of accommodation and the seising of tenements of land on the hill for the principal purpose of house construction continued apace. The urban growth was erratic and unplanned, therefore, with quoys on some sections of the shore being subdivided many times in very few years while others, due possibly to problems of ownership, remained undisturbed for much longer. One may speculate why, in all the mile of shore, Alex. Chalmer should have settled where he did. Although adjacent to a burn which would have provided fresh water the site is steep and craggy and in its undeveloped state there is likely to have been a significant cliff falling to the rocky shore. Perhaps, however, he had no choice but received that portion of the hill which the Bishop thought the most unsuitable for any future use he himself may have conceived. The records alas throw no light on this

situation. Once delimited this quay seems to have provided the centre for future building although at a fairly early stage there were occasional dwellings lying some distance to the north and south.

While most of the initial inhabitants seem to have been firmly established in a craft or to have links with the sea - persons who had both the demand for and means to provide a fairly substantial structure - there may have been others merely squatting along the shore in turf hovels of which no trace remains. However, even for these poorer incomers the great abundance of local stone, often lying haphazardly on plots that had to be cleared anyway prior to building, would have enabled a more weather-proof habitation to be constructed on this remote shore. In the present burgh, therefore, a range of building style is evident. Occasionally one of these lowlier dwellings occurs allowing one to postulate that this was, in the absence of conclusive evidence in written documentation, one of the principal constructions in the first building period of the seventeenth century. With the increasing competition for space at the shore a second and distinct period of building commenced. Although identified both from the orientation and size of the habitations themselves and their arrangement on massive stone-built wharfs, the continuing need for access to the harbour together with the situational inhibitions on architectural detail, resulted in the propagation of the simple restrained mode of building, that composed the second period, for a long time. Thus the dating of individual dwellings remains problematic during the two centuries of major urban growth. Later styles, commencing in the Victorian era, are more readily identified and, as in most cases, the buildings include substantial villas or public edifices, documentary evidence is generally available to facilitate dating.

Contact with trading vessels plying the northern waters - the *raison d'être* for Stromness - can thus be seen as one of the dominant influences on the developing townscape. In fact so significant was the communication system by water that little regard was paid to that by land until the mid-nineteenth century. However, the establishment of an important herring industry at that period necessitated the conveyance of the catches by cart to the curing grounds at the extremities of the town and the narrow lane along the shore had to be upgraded and paved to serve as the main thoroughfare. Even in these carting days severe congestion of the

street occurred and this is more strongly felt in the present motorised age. Although the major bottlenecks were cleared at the beginning of the century there remain few points of access for vehicles from the hill, the side lanes generally being narrow and stepped. In addition the street itself, divided into a series of 'squares' or more open sections and 'narrows', zigzags between the irregular building line of the old residences and remains eminently more suitable for pedestrian traffic.

Analysis of the structure of the present town thus reveals the numerous phases of its historical growth. Although dating is difficult it is possible to place the structures in their general building period and correlation between this map and the evidence of the old seisins does allow identification of some of the earliest habitations. In addition the building function reflects the conversion of residences into partial if not wholly commercial premises - a trend, it has been stated, that began in order to fulfil the requirements of the vast number of seasonal incomers during the herring boom. Many of the old shop windows along the street - now boarded up with the re-occupation of the buildings as private dwellings - testify to this functional change. There is no Central Business District in the strict sense of the term. Commerce flowers wherever space permits, not in specific zones, along the shore although there is a tendency for larger industrial and commercial premises to congregate on the fringe of the town to the north as the map - analysed later - clearly shows.

At the time of the initial mapping the Ordnance Survey had not published their current plan of Stromness and thus it was necessary to return to the County series which, at a scale of 1 : 2500, had been produced in 1902. A number of important changes having occurred in the burgh during the twentieth century considerable revision was necessary of this base map. To this end aerial photographs were obtained from the Ordnance Survey showing the state of the town in June 1964. Revision was carried out by transfer of detail from the photographs onto a tracing of the old plan. In addition field checking procedures allowed the most modern developments up to 1972 to be plotted on the new base map. Once complete the up-to-date plan was duplicated and used in the plotting of details of style and function of the individual buildings within the current burgh boundary.

Inspection of the plans (Atlas Maps 6 & 7) depicting building age and style reveals a close correlation between the period of development and the urban density. The oldest part of the town is that bordering the street that winds from the head of Hamna Voe south towards the Point of Ness. In the central section of the shore it is seen that most of the buildings are oriented with their gables facing, on one side the street and on the other the harbour - a device employed to allow access by the maximum number of people to the shore. It is likely as some of the seisins suggest, that many of the earliest habitations were in fact set back from the shore, well above the high water mark. Thus extending westward from Chalmer's Quoy were a number of developments initiated by Thomas Taylor, William Johnstone, Oliver Smith, etc. While the occupation of Alex. Chalmer, that of Smith, had no obvious requirement for a shoreline position, other inhabitants such as William Johnstone and his neighbour to the south-east, John Gray, both skippers, had more obvious sea-going connections and yet are found some considerable distance up slope. Thus it is likely that very early in the history of the town there was a definite need to establish rights of way that led to the shore between the houses. It is this pattern, still extant, of narrow stepped lanes meandering up the hill around property boundaries that gives such charm to the townscape.

One may put forward a number of suggestions, other than the one already noted, for the adoption of the characteristic arrangement of the dwellings at this time. In Chapter V the technique of building flagstone dwelling houses partly on wharfs to extend the available building land has been described. Both to save space and, one may suggest, to reduce the amount of stone needed in the construction of the pier, the long axis would frequently be at right angles to the shore, each pier being separated by nousts and slipways. In such dwellings the shop and living accommodation was generally on the second floor i.e. that at street level, and there were stairs up to the third floor bedrooms and to attics beyond, and down to the basement which extended under part of the house on the level of the pier. Boats tying up at these piers could thus unload their cargo into the basement which was frequently used as a warehouse; the goods being later transferred to the shop or business premises above. (Fig. 46).

There were, however, several disadvantages from this type of construction. The larger windows in the main facades of the buildings faced onto the narrow closes that led to the shore and because of the high density building the adjacent dwelling was often as little as three feet away. Thus very little light filtered into the rooms. The gables themselves generally have only one or two small windows which again allow little penetration of sunlight.

In some cases, however, these problems have been eased by construction of a dwelling facing the shore. A few of these buildings are very old structures, an example being the small one-storey building at the lower end of Church Road. Containing both accommodation in an attic and, on the harbour side, in a basement the building has the street door below street level. Although no documentary evidence was found as to the actual age of the building, its orientation, size and the fact that it is significantly below the present level of the street suggests its antiquity. Further a moulded plaque exists over the door but the inscription has been erased due to the weathering of the sandstone block of which it was composed. Other houses such as that constructed by the Graham family immediately to the north of Chalmer's Quay are obviously younger and encourage one to discover other reasons for the change in building arrangement.

In this case the Graham family, descendents of the Bishop who built his palace on the isolated coast at Breckness in 1633, had much property and great wealth when compared to the normal craftsmen of the time. Thus Duncan Graham could afford to construct a larger pier, on which to build, and would undoubtedly have been eager to arrange his handsome dwelling so that a good view of the harbour and the Mainland beyond would be available and his neighbours would not crowd in on him.

Upslope from the street dwellings are oriented in a more haphazard fashion but there is a marked trend for more houses facing the street to occur. Those oriented with their long axis perpendicular to the shore thus step upslope adjacent to a lane or close and have a basement level at the lower end of the slope under the main living area. As the town developed away from the shore there was an increasing tendency to site the habitations so that the best views over the bay could be obtained. Thus the White House, supposedly one of the earliest buildings constructed using lime mortar, by

the Beatons, wealthy local landowners, still stands isolated on a knoll with excellent views to the east.

The few plans that do exist from the eighteenth century suggest further reasons for the orientation of dwellings along the shore side. On the initial seising of a comparatively large quoy of land the first owner had, apart from obvious topographic constraints, a free choice of site for his house. The rest of the quoy would then be laid out with kailyard, peat-brae, dung hill and, if bordering the shore, a boat noust. With subdivision of the quoy infilling of these sections occurred and it was usual to build within the lines of the peat brae, the kail-yard dyke, etc. Thus in the plan of Chalmer's Quoy drawn by Joshua Johnston in 1792 (Fig. 29) two long peat braes are marked immediately to the south side of a narrow lane now known as Khyber Pass leading to Taylor's Quoy. The current map indicates two semi-detached and very cramped dwellings filling this space, the builders having obviously been severely limited by the extent of the former braes.

In the newer building farther up the hill much more space was available for development and the existence of town planning regulations governing such things as right of light and position of building lines renders the townscape less interesting. Yet even in the oldest sections changes have occurred. The conversion of dwellings into commercial premises in the hey-day of the herring industry has already been mentioned. It was during this period that many occupiers punched a shop doorway in the centre of the street gable and flanked this entrance by two plate glass windows. As noted in Kirkwall, the normal pattern of renovation has led to the replacement of the old flag and slate roofs and chimneys, the building up of the crow-step gables and the rendering of much of the outer stonework. Thus while the structure is old the existence of a modern facade and details confuses attempts at dating the buildings accurately. Yet like Kirkwall the burgh retains an air of antiquity, the irregularities of the street with the constantly changing range of views experienced during a walk through the town reflecting aspects of Mediaevalism.

If one commences at the South End and walks north along the street a number of views are obtained which illustrate the points already mentioned in the text and reflect the extent to which the historical element is retained in the present townscape.

To the right-hand side of the road and extending on to the shore by means of the normal pier construction are a double set of four dwellings set back to back (Photoscape 8). The exact age of these houses is not certain from the records yet they do appear in the earliest engraved views of the town and were, therefore, in existence in the eighteenth century. Although there has been some slight alteration in the external appearance the chimney width, crow-stepped gables, slate roofs and general simplicity of the facade indicate the main characteristics of the architectural style at that period. On the opposite side of the road are two sets of single-storey terraced dwellings. Built in the inter-war period they are of no striking architectural merit.

The South End of the street as such begins with a moderately-sized clay-bound stone building built on a rock foundation and a small pier. The symmetrical arrangement of three windows on the upper floor and two windows, one on either side of a central doorway, on the ground floor, echoes that occurring on the double terrace to the south. Although the crow-steps have been removed on this building and a porch has been constructed over the front door the old stonework is still exposed.

Although the flagstone street has been repaved in many sections, and the central drain is now filled with 'cobbles' of flagstone - setts -, the absence of a pavement together with the rough appearance of the roadway is reminiscent of the condition of the old street. The central band of cobbles in addition tends to lead the eye in to the next view as the thoroughfare meanders north. The street itself is divided into a number of distinct sections, the 'squares' being separated by narrower sections which channel both pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

The first 'square' to the south occurs where the road takes two almost right angular bends in front of the museum. As one enters the square a suite of old fishermen's cottages standing, behind the museum, on their own piers comes into view. Two of these small buildings are extremely ancient and have been largely untouched for the last two centuries. Exhibiting, like the piers on which they are built, the rough stonework of the earlier building period they also retain the small windows, wide chimneys, ancient slate roofs and crow-steps that have been removed from so much of the town. On rounding the first of the bends one sees the entrance to a court of new building that has infilled the old distillery site. The second bend leads into Alfred Street.

(Photoscape 9).

Alfred Street - one of the narrow sections - leads eventually into Alfred Square, a large, anonymous open space lacking both cohesion and character. On both sides of the street the buildings are for the most part oriented north-south and generally tend to be large with a more modern appearance. On the facades emphasis is placed on string-courses, quoins and window detail and most of the stonework is rendered. Chimneys are narrower and crow-steps rare. Lying some distance south of Chalmer's Quoy where the earliest development occurred it is likely that this section of the town was not densely developed until the last century. One terrace, gable end to the street, protruding beyond the normal building line, squeezes the road shorewards before the square is reached. The open area at this point was partially created by the demolition of a series of houses, in the 1900's, that had formed a bottleneck in the former carting days.

One's eye is led by the long horizontal lines of a store belonging to the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses to the west side of the square where a nobly proportioned house with round arched doorways, one with a moulded canopy and pillars (a twentieth century affectation), stands.

The street narrows before turning into Melvine Place, the first section of the town where documentary evidence links it with the seventeenth century phase of building (Photoscape 10). Notably at this point is a small house of unusual appearance. A corner gablet has a window at street level and the doorway of the house is reached by descending a few steps. This suggests that the house is early and may have been built when the muddy street was lower. The houses on the exit from the square exhibit the adaptation to slope. Closets are stepped and at the street end of the house are windows into a basement. The main part of the dwelling is two-storey but accommodation also exists in the attic. The rough arrangement of flagstones can be seen in many of these buildings.

From this point north the street contains some of the oldest structures in the town (Photoscape 11). This is the area marked on the map of 1700 as Melvine's Quoy, Mowat's Quoy and Chalmer's Quoy and it is in the latter tenement of land that the street plunges through its narrowest⁴, most irregular section before opening into Graham Place. Nearly all the

houses in this section of Chalmer's Quoy are gable end on to the street. The slope to the shore is steep and thus steps have been constructed to lead down onto the individual piers. Although many of the gables have been rendered after conversion to commercial premises, thus obliterating the old stone work, the main facades often continue to exhibit the random flagstone construction

From this section of Chalmer's Quoy - now known as Porteous' Brae - the centre of the town is reached. In the last century a dwelling occupied most of this now open area but, leaving only c.4 feet between buildings, it posed a severe problem to traffic flow and was demolished early in the present century. The 'square' thus formed is the most cohesive of those along the street. (Photoscape 12).

On descending from the brae and crossing the old line of Duncan's Burn one's eye is both arrested by the gables of houses protruding into the street line and contained within the open space. A number of stepped closes enter the square from the hill and serve further to focus attention into the bowl-like area. Facades and gables are generally regular and largely unadorned. In exiting from the square the road narrows once more and rises slightly. The ground floor of each building is now given over to commercial use and the shop and office frontage has in many cases been modernised. Above, the simple stonework and window arrangement remains. In gaps along this section are some of the more important buildings such as Victoria Street Church and the former Union Bank - the latter adjacent to Manse Lane.

It is through the closes and lanes that new vistas and views catch the eye (Photoscape 13). Glimpses of buildings are caught from many angles and the sea suddenly will appear at the end of rows of simple cottages. Although new buildings have been erected it is often the case that old ones have merely been converted to a new function. Thus extra bedroom accommodation for the Oakleigh Hotel is found in a string of old cottages and coach houses standing on an adjacent pier. However, when the Parish Church was moved from the old kirkyard on Warebeth Beach into the town in the beginning of the eighteenth century it occupied an open and imposing site to the west of the main street in part of Louttit's Quoy. Extended and rebuilt in 1814 it has a slightly Dutch appearance particularly in the roof styling and although functioning as a Youth Centre at the present time it

still dominates Church Road, one of the few vehicular access points along the length of the main street.

The street continues north bending seawards in front of the new Post Office (Photoscape 14). There is a mixture of buildings depicting various stages of alteration but a significant development has been the introduction of bow-windowed dormers producing an irregularity of roof-line that fails to harmonise with the adjacent structures. The street soon opens into the largest and least cohesive of the spaces - that around the pier head. The buildings vary from ancient barns and storehouses and a collection of miscellaneous sheds to the well-proportioned old rice warehouse and the hotel and banks - notable Victorian edifices.

Beyond the pier head the street closes in again (Photoscape 15). This is the region of Linklater's Quoy which by 1700 had been subdivided several times. Shortly afterwards, in 1711, James Millar obtained a seisin for a small piece of ground and erected his house at the top of a stepped close. Still bearing his coat of arms above the doorway it is this house that for many years has been considered to be the earliest building in the town. As was found in the section of the street to the south of Melvine Place the dwellings in this part of the town more frequently face the shore although, occasionally, a gable is slotted into a narrow plot. Plainer dormers appear on some of these buildings and like those in other parts of the town, subsequent renovation has altered many of the details of the original design. At the North End, a large and impressive three-storey building known as 'Spedding's' occurs. Set on a pier well below the level of the street, the ground floor displays round arched openings that may have taken boats or coaches in bygone days. This building like the unique double terrace at the South End is ancient, appearing in all the early engraved views. No documentary evidence has been found to link it conclusively with particular merchant in the town although it stands in the region of the plot of land originally named as Marwick's Quoy.

From this point the street peters out. The flagstones are replaced by tarmacadam, the building development becomes sporadic and the road to Kirkwall stretches out over the brae. A set of ancient cottages borders the road at the bay head which, with the reclamation of the shore, now back onto the new road leading to the ferry. At this section of the town, however, space was available for minor industrial development and housing schemes both now

stretching along the three routes north.

Of the newer territory at the back of the town probably the most interesting area is that bordering Duncan's Burn in the centre of the burgh (Photoscape 16). The burn now largely confined and piped underground for much of its length can be traced by observation of the position of the gently sloping valley sides. From the brae to the south one's eye is drawn by the orientation of recent structures to focus on the tower of the church in Victoria Street. To the west the land rises to Grieveship Terrace, a development of the early post-war period, behind which are the prefabricated huts of the ATS Camp used as temporary dwellings. The Back Road sweeping down into the valley ascends the northern slope and, in a series of smooth curves, disappears behind the school buildings. The architectural detail is not meritorious but the concentration of vision into this small valley - which in its lower section became the focus of the early development of the shoreline - and the interplay of ancient and modern structures provides the townscape in this area too with a certain fascination.

Analysis of building function (Atlas Map 8) shows that, for the most part, the non-residential buildings i.e. offices and retail premises are strung out along the whole length of the street. In addition, however, the larger industrial concerns are situated both to the north and south end of the town where residential development thins and the slopes become more gentle and thus suitable for such development. These areas, together with the holms, were of course utilised as curing grounds during the herring fishery due to the available space.

In most cases the street shows signs of functional adaptation of the buildings. Little has been demolished the ground floor room adjacent to the street being merely converted to the changed usage. Often the basement serves as the warehouse for goods although today little is delivered by sea to the individual piers.

A census carried out in July 1971 of those buildings along the street given over to something other than a purely residential function reveals the variety of the retail premises and their crowding into certain portions of the street (Atlas Map 4). This study also notes a number of empty shops and those re-occupied as private dwellings - the relics of the herring boom. The most attractive location for retailing, therefore, appears to be that portion of

the street extending from Porteous' Brae north to include the pier head. Certainly there tends to be a distinct movement of shops from the narrow sections of the street to the more open areas - the latter enabling shoppers to stand and look in shop windows without fear of their life as vehicles swing between the building lines in the more restricted sections. To the north and south the shops thin out, those few that do occur tending to be general merchants and thus acting as the 'corner shop' found frequently among residential developments of less unusual urban areas. It is significant, however, that the inhabitants still live over their shop or office, a characteristic of the village rather than the town, and only rarely is a building completely converted for commercial use.

Apart from the open space to the north and south of the burgh the main area of functional diversity is at the pier head. Here in open ground on Louttits' Quoy the major Victorian developments occurred in the building of the Stromness Hotel (Plate 64), the Town House and the Bank buildings. Constructed of ashlar masonry they exhibit the stylised crow-steps, string-coursing, continuous hood moulding; quoins and finials that are characteristic of the architectural style at the turn of the century. Indeed the Stromness Hotel with its double bays, pillared portico and corbelled, turret-like features at the gables is reminiscent of the Scot's baronial style. At this point are not only the main public buildings, however, but also the smaller offices and larger warehouses associated with the pier head functions, a printing works, lemonade factory, etc. Composed of corrugated iron or simple masonry they are a marked contrast to the flowery Victorian developments across the street.

Apart from providing the burgh with its major areas of public open space it has been noted that the sites at the Point of Ness and those at the bay head contain the main industrial development. At the Ness in the last century was the ship-building yard owned by J. Stanger. This site is now occupied for a similar purpose - the yard owned by Anderson producing fishing boats of up to 60 feet for both the Orkney and British markets.

To the north and stretching along Cairston Road is the largest industrial zone in the burgh (Photoscape 17). Grouped around the road junction are the Gas Works, Co-operative Society bakery and coal store and the Auction Mart, all of which occupy sites of considerable size. At the bay head are a string of miscellaneous premises including the slaughter-house, workshops,

and a building formerly occupied by Orkney Egg Producers. Between the road to Kirkwall and Cairston Road are the remains of Craigmillar Camp and the surviving huts contain workshops of various sorts. The other major development at this end of the town is the yard of the major building contractor which lies at the head of Hillside Road (Plate 65).

Apart from the built-up area there exist within the burgh boundary considerable areas of open space (Atlas Map 9). Both the harbour and the upper slopes of Brinkie's Brae provide opportunities for recreational pursuits. Outwith the burgh there is opportunity for bathing on the sandy beach at Warebeth and fishing on the lochs to the north.

The main areas of public open space lie adjacent to the industrial zone in the triangular piece of ground between the main roads to Kirkwall. The site extending to some 6 acres is partly sterilised by the foundations of the military huts and roadways constructed during the war. It is used, however, principally during Stromness shopping week, and for visiting fairs, car-parking and other recreational pursuits. Adjacent to this site a swimming pool has been constructed in recent years.

Another area of public open space exists towards the Point of Ness; sandwiched between the ship-building yard and the Golf Course and supplied with water and sanitation, it is designated as the burgh caravan and camping site. Nearby is a small area used as a children's playground.

Major zones of private open space are found again lying to the south of the burgh. Here on the exposed south-facing slopes is the Stromness Golf Club occupying c.51 acres with a club-house nearby. Adjacent to this is a new recreation centre comprising tennis courts and bowling green together with provisions for indoor sports. The former bowling green situated behind the Stromness Hotel is now occupied by the new school buildings. Other private open space exists in the garden ground adjacent to the main areas of building development. In spite of the high density along the line of the street on the hill slopes to the west considerable area is available for garden development, the terraced slopes of St. Peter's House and the Stromness Hotel being particularly noteworthy.

Although considerable development and burgh improvement occurred during the centuries since its foundation, probably the major difficulty of the

site remains in its effect on the communication system. Modern architectural techniques have overcome any problems that existed in constructing dwellings on irregular, steeply sloping sites, yet the topographic constraints continue to be significant for land communication. The street, a casual conception of a pedestrian age when all focus was on the links by sea, remains an ideal subject for pedestrian - vehicular separation, so frequently advocated in new town development projects. Yet in this case there is the major question of where the vehicles are to go. The maps indicate that apart from the north and south approaches to the street vehicular access to the central area of the town is effected at only two points - Hellihole Road and Church Road. In contrast there are twelve narrow stepped closes running from different sections of the street, between the old dwellings to the upper slopes eventually terminating in the Back Road. The Back Road itself and the cul-de-sacs in the new housing areas give only limited access to the main building zones and thus delivery of goods to shops for instance would be impossible if vehicles were entirely prohibited from the street. Communication to the pier, however, has recently been facilitated by the reclamation of a portion of the shore stretching from the Auction Mart to the vicinity of the North Pier where a new landing for the proposed Roll-on-Roll-off ferry is being constructed.

'A small smug city of side-stepping streets which seemed to ignore the invention of the wheel.'

When Laurie Lee made that comment on Segovia in Spain he might equally well have been walking the flagstones of Stromness and observing the constantly changing pattern of the townscape. The serpentine nature of the street that reflects the irregularity of the buildings, 'set down as whim or conveniency directed'⁵ is retained in the modern town and creates a feeling of antiquity that is unsurpassed among the other northern burghs. That it is ill-suited to the twentieth century is beyond question yet it is debatable how far modern social and economic demands should be allowed to alter the town. The current oil boom in the northern waters may encourage substantial modernisation, yet if this happens and major redevelopment schemes are permitted in an effort to ease the problems of congestion and low-class housing that exists throughout the burgh the charm and uniqueness of the shore-side development will soon be lost. This is also true of Kirkwall where the incentives to change are possibly even stronger. However, the western

settlement continues its function - developed three centuries ago - as a trading centre. Thus its contacts with the sea both by the fishing industry and in its role as the market centre and major communication point with the North of Scotland reinforce the significance of the harbour frontage and sheltered bay. One undoubtedly needs to compromise. To maintain the character of the burgh - probably important for further encouraging the tourist industry - one needs to renovate and rebuild with caution. In the past careless designing for unsympathetic innovators has resulted in the introduction of buildings that are completely out of character with the surroundings. An awareness of the components of the townscape and an intelligent use of modern technology could facilitate the partial transition of the burgh into the mode of twentieth century life. In some schemes already completed this process of fitting the new into the framework of the old has been carried through to produce aesthetically pleasing results. In other examples, however, this has not been the case.

CHAPTER X

'Bring half a dozen buildings together and an art other than architecture is made possible.'¹

'Bring buildings together and collectively they can give a visual pleasure which none can give separately.'²

The style of domestic building found in both Kirkwall and Stromness has been mentioned and apart from one or two instances in the capital does not itself merit a great deal of attention. Yet the meandering street and the juxtaposition of structures, albeit plain and insignificant in isolation, results in a townscape of great character. Progression along the street opens up contrasting views in a series of jerks or revelations and it is this serial vision that makes the town into 'a plastic experience, a journey through pressures and vacuums, a sequence of exposures and enclosures.'³

It has long been recognised by town planners that the psychological effect of the environment on the inhabitants of a town or city can have important results on the frequency of use of shopping centres, the demand for housing, etc. Thus a townscape that provides a certain amount of variety and the element of surprise is seen as essential. A long straight road has little impact because the existing view is soon digested and, without any arresting feature along its length, will become monotonous. There is also a noticeable reaction to both the constrictions of a tunnel or narrow thoroughfare and those to a square - people tending to move quickly through the former but gathering often in large numbers for some considerable time in the latter.

If one considers the townscape of both the main Orcadian burghs this alternation of tunnel and square and its subtle effect on the reactions of the local inhabitants can be readily identified. The 'tunnels' which comprise most of the 'Street' in both towns result in fairly rapid movement. Although, particularly in Kirkwall, the street contains many shops there is little desire to linger to gaze in the windows and pedestrians so doing frequently run risk of injury from vehicles swinging from side to side across the whole width of the street in an attempt to negotiate the irregularities of the building line. In Stromness these sections, which, due to the different historical development, tend to be narrower than Kirkwall's highway, are generally lacking in retail premises and the recent movement of one shop - Orkney Television Enterprises

- from the confines of Porteous' Brae to the more open section of the street at 'Plainstones' may be a reflection of this psychological effect. Certainly the present location of this shop, adjacent to one of the main gathering grounds for the local populace, encourages interest in the window display which now may be viewed in comparative safety.

The 'squares' or more open sections of the street - more numerous in Stromness but restricted to Broad Street in Kirkwall - tend to contain a greater number of shops and offices and it is in these sections that life slows and people gather to gossip, often encouraged by the presence of public seating arrangements. The bustle of life and the constantly changing group structure provides a liveliness that cannot find expression in the more restricted portions of the thoroughfare.

It does not follow, however, that the psychological advantage of these squares is identical. For example, in Stromness the main meeting place tends to lie in the vicinity of Graham Place while Alfred Square and Hellihole to the south lack the magnetism displayed by this commercial hub. Many reasons may be identified for this : the topographic detailing, variety of building style and function and the juxtaposition of structures.

Similarly, the harbour areas in both Kirkwall and Stromness attract attention but this is mainly a result of the activity within the pier areas and the variety and disposition of the surrounding structures does not in itself provide a sufficiently cohesive atmosphere or a sense of enclosure.

It has been seen that the introduction of new and divergent structures can effectively damage the townscape and, therefore, there is a need to identify the components of that townscape in order to preserve the behavioural characteristics of the inhabitants, where these are seen as socially and economically desirable. The pace of demolition has greatly increased in recent years and although this process has been counter-balanced to some extent by the restoration of individual structures of outstanding interest, little has been done to preserve homogeneous groups of historic buildings of the second rank.

In the northern burghs - a similar example being found in Lerwick, Shetland - there are two main components : the buildings themselves, and the linking street. Photographic evidence reveals that the 'Street' was

originally paved with large flagstones with a central band of about 0.46 m. (1'6") which was of a cobbled nature to give horses a foothold which the flagstones denied them - the latter being important in leading one's eye in the correct direction to allow anticipation and then realisation of the emerging view. For much of its length the 'Street' in Stromness maintains this characteristic central band but in Kirkwall it has been replaced, although a change in colour of the flags and concrete replacements towards the centre of the 'Street' tends to provide a similar if not as powerfully eye-catching ribbon.

The sequence of views emerging during a walk through the main streets of both Kirkwall and Stromness has been exemplified in Chapters VIII & IX. The photoscapes presented there thus serve to illustrate many of the points already covered - the irregularity of the building line, the alternating sections of the 'Street' and the nature of the roadway itself - and it is largely this serial vision that provides the fascination in an exploration of the old centres. However, a similar element of interest and surprise can also occur in many of the lanes and closes running from the 'Street.' In Kirkwall unexpected views of the main public buildings, especially the Cathedral, are obtained along such narrow wynds while in the western settlement, which lacks such edifices, the lanes merely reinforce the character of the street itself.

This serial vision may be analysed by the study of one such lane in Stromness. Now known as Khyber Pass (Plate 66) in the seventeenth century it provided a right-of-way through Chalmer's Quoy to the sea for Thomas Taylor and John Gray. At the upper end of the paved close, adjacent to the residences constructed by John Gray - known as Gray's Biggings - are two ancient cottages exemplifying many of the features so characteristic of the earliest building style. From the upper lane five steps lead to the flagstone close which meanders gently down the brae (Plate 67). The initial impression is one of complete enclosure, the building at the end of the lane entirely blocking the view. Yet to the left there are three oblique planes en echelon which together with the curve in the lane serve to focus one's gaze to the right in search of an exit. Farther down the lane and filling the right-hand side a lower building comes into view which, in contrast to those at the head of the close, has its flagstone structure exposed (Plate 68). At this point the walling and the building fabric produce a certain homogeneity but the

orientation of the lower wall and the building beyond, together with the emerging gablet at the downslope corner of the house encourages further movement. Beyond the gablet the impression is again of total enclosure and there is some ambiguity in the curve of the lane suggesting movement is possible to both left and right (Plâte 69). However, the presence of the gable at one end of the building to the left and the alignment of that occupying the centre of the view, which itself reinforces the layers of stonework in the cottage wall, suggests a continuation of the lane to the left. Further progress reveals the lane descending steeply via a series of steps between tall buildings to the main street below (Plate 70). The view is again enclosed but the lack of centralisation on the opposite gable once again directs one's eyes to the left. Serial vision is thus established and the meandering nature of the 'Street' is introduced by the alignment of structures along this connecting lane.

Attempts to maintain these interconnecting planes leading down to the centre of the town can, in the case of Stromness, be found in some of the new housing development (Plate 71). Thus in the lower part of Springfield Crescent the concrete walls linking pathways, slopes and steps set up a rhythm that focuses attention on the lanes and older buildings farther down the slope.

The other major components of the townscape are the buildings themselves and thus the continuation of the burgh character in the light of re-development schemes seems to necessitate a study and appreciation of the fabric of the main residential and commercial structures. Analysis of the building style as depicted in both the photographic record of the ancient burghs and in the continuing existence of buildings in antique corners where subsequent alteration has been minimal reveals certain essentials as regards walling, roofing, windows, etc.

From the record of one of the lowliest terraces - Queen Street in Stromness (Plate 72) - it is possible to identify the original nature of the buildings in Orkney. In most stone-built structures of traditional character the masonry is either of 'dry-stone' construction - that is laid without mortar - or is bonded initially in mud or clay mortar, and later in lime mortar. In Orkney abundance of local building material in the form of flagstones - already mentioned - gave rise to significant stone structures at an early date. However, the Queen Street houses show that, in addition, use was made of the

rounded boulders of granite that possibly had been cleared from the tenement of land prior to building. These boulders often formed the lower part of the wall but occasionally were used at a higher level. Generally, however, they were, due to their irregularity, not used adjacent to window and door openings. These sections are thus more likely to be formed from the regular flagstone blocks. The spaces occurring within the wall were plugged with small stones and clay mortar. These rough walls were generally c. 2'6" (0.76 m) in width, the openings for the small, square windows and door utilising longer flagstones or, where available, driftwood as lintels and sills. Unlike the black-houses of the Western Isles which display a hipped roof there seems to have been a tradition of gable-ended buildings in Orkney. Thus with the removal of the fire from the central hearth to a fireplace, the chimney could also be incorporated in the gable. In the earliest buildings a similar flagstone construction of the same width as the supporting wall was used for the chimney.

Roof covering varied according to locality but originally thatch was most widely used. In Orkney, as the Queen Street dwellings show, the cleavage in the local flags led to the use of a flagstone roof that was partially covered by turf or thatch. This served to provide both insulation and extra protection against strong winds particularly in the less sheltered sites. Where the flagstone cover was incomplete thatch was laid upon a webwork formed by threading straw - ropes - simmons - backwards and forwards across the purlins, the area between the lower-most purlins and the wall-head still being covered with thin flagstones. The thatch was held on by ropes weighted with stones or attached to the wall-head - a technique also adopted in the Hebrides. Although flagstone and slate became, from the sixteenth century onwards, the most familiar roofing material in the Orkney Isles, thatch was retained on the houses of the poor and the outhouses of the rich. Thus in the mid-seventeenth century the records reveal that:

'... Robert and James Sinclairs of Sabay hath ane great ludgeing sometyne pertaining to the Sinclairs of Sabay - the twa pt qrof is without roofe, and the rest qrof p'tlie under theack roof and p'tlie under sclaitt roofe.'⁴

Having established the traditional form of construction it is necessary to determine how far this has been retained during the main building period up to the beginning of the present century. Although the original one-storey dwelling was superseded by that of two floors with, where adaptation to slope proved necessary, considerable underbuilding giving an additional number of storeys, many features of the simple style did continue. Both the dwellings along the Shore Street lanes, Kirkwall - now demolished - and the building at 41 - 3 John Street, Stromness, exhibit the same flagstone construction with the inclusion of larger less regular boulders particularly in the lower sections of the wall (Plates 73 - 74). Gaps between the main blocks continued to be plugged with rubble and clay mortar and it seems likely that the entire surface was, at one time, pointed and whitewashed. Certainly many travellers to these towns in the nineteenth century mention 'the white walls of the houses'⁵ and the house at the top of Khyber Pass retains this external appearance. Most of the remaining buildings in both towns, however, show only the remnants of this surface on the stonework if they have not been newly rendered. Where the old stonework is visible it appears to be fairly rough with no attempt at coursing although some of the larger flags do seem to have been arranged at the external angles to form rudimentary quoins. Windows remained small although with the introduction of sash windows towards the end of the seventeenth century there was a tendency to enlarge the opening. Throughout the main building period both window and door openings were deeply recessed within the wall, possibly for protection against the elements, and lintels continued to be formed of long flagstones where driftwood or imported timber was unavailable.

Other features of building style indicate the need to withstand local gales : the crow-stepped or corbie gable probably being the most important. If one considers the design of buildings in other parts of Europe in this and preceding architectural periods it seems that the corbie gable, so much a part of the townscape of the Low Countries, was largely a decorative feature. Certainly the Flemish gables appear in a great variety of styles from the Mediaeval period onwards. However, in these remote northern waters, cut off from the flowering of architectural talent on the continent, one is led to suppose that its introduction was as a functional device and any decorative qualities were purely incidental. In Orkney the tradition of constructing a

pitched roof with end gables necessitated the building up of the end walls to the ridge line. While the stone could be broken into blocks of virtually any length the piling of one on top of another to produce a smooth inverted V-shape at the gable was impossible. Instead a stepped outline resulted : the steps not necessarily being symmetrical about the ridge but having a depth and regularity which was dependent both on the character of the individual flags used and the skill of the builder. Obviously the thinner the flags the more nearly would the gable come to presenting a smooth edge but where the flags were thick or of irregular depth it was probably easier to pile them into more obvious steps. In the Victorian era this trend had progressed to such an extent that the crow-steps had become firmly established as a decorative device and specially carved blocks were often used in their construction. In this arrangement the flagstone, slate or thatch roofs were below the top of the gable and could, with mortar, be attached to the inner layer of stonework. This would prevent the wind getting under the roof covering and thus lifting it - a distinct advantage in such exposed territory. Thus it is very rare to find an example where the roofing material overhangs the gable. Although one such case does exist in Stromness (Plate 75) it seems that a great deal of mortar was needed on the roof to ensure the slates were not removed. Thus the crow-stepped gable, with the arrangement of so many buildings with their long axis perpendicular to the shore, became a significant part of the townscape (Plate 76). However, there were disadvantages. The tradition of creating solid stone walls encouraged water to percolate through the cracks between the stones at the wall-head and thus into the interior of the dwellings. It was often essential, therefore, to ensure that the stone was laid with a slope to the exterior surface of the wall to overcome this tendency. With time and settlement of the stonework it is possible that these spaces opened further and in subsequent renovation many such stepped gables have been built up and rendered, instead of being merely sealed, thus destroying one of the few decorative features of the buildings.

The roof covering itself has altered a number of times during the centuries. The local flagstone that could be split along lines of cleavage into fairly large but thin units provided the main roofing material in much of the early building period. These flags were placed on the roof so that there was a slight overlap lengthwise, the joints being filled with a simple mortar. Because of the size of the blocks very few layers were needed on each slope of the roof. (Plate 77). This material was later replaced by local and

eventually imported slates which were of a much smaller size. These were generally arranged in offset rows so that the upper slate overlapped two slates on the lower row. Recently modern material in the form of tiles, felts and corrugated iron has also been introduced during renovation, again altering the character of the building.

The main building style of an essentially two-storey residence proved inadequate when an increasing population put pressure on existing accommodation. Thus in most cases the attic space needed to be used as bedroom accommodation and required to be lit by sky-lights or dormers. Although sky-lights are commonly found, where the wall was carried further than the second floor of the building it was possible to introduce a half-dormer with a flat slate roof to increase the illumination of the roof space (Plate 78). In their earliest form they were usually small and square containing recessed casement windows but later developments with a sash window increased the size. Also on some occasions where a flatted interior structure of a building necessitated the opening of a door into an upper floor - reached by an outside stair - extra height would be gained by a dormer-like projection into the roof (Plate 79). Later dormers tend to be pedimented, with the most recent, completely detached from the side wall, bearing a hipped roof.

In any attempt to modernise part of an existing town it is of vital importance to consider the components of the townscape and attempt to amalgamate the new with the old in order to maintain the harmonious and unified appearance of the area. In so many cases this has not been carried out and the character of the area has been almost completely destroyed as a result. The increasing desire for premises designed especially to suit the requirements of the client or the current vogue rather than a building that is aesthetically pleasing and in keeping with the immediate environment has produced, as examples from every urban centre in Britain show, a stereo-typed and characterless association of structures. In some towns where development over a long period of time has produced a great diversity of style this may not be too significant. However, where a townscape exists that is largely dependent on the juxtaposition of similar forms a new building of a different age and style introduced within this framework can quickly destroy the rhythm set up by the surroundings. Thus having identified the essential components of the townscapes of Kirkwall and

Stromness, it is important to consider the effectiveness of certain schemes that have already been carried out as regards renovation, conversion and rebuilding along the street and point to improvements in technique, if necessary, that could be used in future work.

In the southern part of the original settlement of Stromness as it existed in the year 1700 was a quoy of land seised by Katherine Beaton to William Melvell, alias Meallie (Melvine), cordinar. The seisin of 1670 states that the quoy extended:

'... from ane litle quoy closs at the high craig stones or hammers above the said Patrick Mowat his hous and towards the Wheitt hous to ffourteen faddoms in breadth and in length from the said high craig stones or hammers down towards the sea'.⁶

Although Melvine had permission to build only a house for himself it was probably fairly early in the following century that this part of Hellihole was further subdivided. Two plans (Figs. 47 & 48) produced as evidence in a legal dispute over the ownership of a piece of shore are in existence from the early part of the nineteenth century and show ten dwelling houses plus a smithy and byre on the site. To the north was the house erected c 1660 as a residence for Patrick Mowat and across the street a building - now demolished to make way for new housing - that became known as the Britannia Inn. To the south of the burn was a small subscription school - demolished 1937 - and along the street some of the property belonging to the wealthy Geddes family.⁷

Apart from the minor alterations caused by the removal of some structures and the addition in 1905 of the public library to the south of Hellihole the old buildings plotted on the nineteenth century map all exist in the present townscape. However 'The Orcadian' dated December 26th, 1968, noted that :

'... during recent months alterations and reconstruction work have been carried out on the old house at 8 - 10 Melvine Place'.

Although marked on the plan as 'small houses' it appears to have been a substantial double residence, with a flight of outside stairs to its main entrance on one side, while another entrance opened onto the close at the

rear of the building. Survey work having revealed the roof and walls to be in excellent condition these have essentially been retained. However, it was necessary to rebuild the front wall to provide larger window openings and floor levels at a more convenient height. In addition the whole interior has been gutted.

The success of such an operation depends, however, if one regards the maintenance of the traditional character of the townscape important, on the ability of the reconstruction to blend in with the surrounding dwellings. The south-facing front facade although obviously modern in appearance does retain many of the features noted in the older buildings (Plate 80). The facade is essentially symmetrical with two windows at ground floor level, one on either side of the central door, and three windows above. The line of eaves and ridge follow through from the adjacent building and to gain additional height on the upper floor flat-roofed dormer windows, echoing those on the older dwelling, have been utilised. The simple gable end chimneys have also been retained. Although undoubtedly modern in character the regularity of fenestration and the adoption of many of the more subtle details of the traditional style produces a work that is in harmony with its environment.

In Kirkwall renovation of a terrace of dwelling houses in the lower part of Palace Road was completed in 1972. Anciently known as the 'Ludgeing or Long tenement'⁸ the buildings, lying between the round tower of the Bishop's Palace and Tankerness House, form one side of the Cathedral precinct and thus were worthy of restoration. The buildings themselves date back to the mid-seventeenth century and although some additions and alterations were made after that date the traditional building style has been retained. Originally comprising two houses, William Orem, N.P. and Town Clerk of Kirkwall, seems to have acquired the upper house from Bishop Honyman's son, Robert, and this he subsequently rebuilt and possibly extended. The lower of the present three dwellings is partly hidden behind a small one-storey extension which lies at right angles to the main facade and a two-storey house erected by Hay Elrick, watchmaker, in 1823 which 'stands in bold ugliness in front of the Old College buildings'.⁹

Adopting the style of the time the builders constructed dwellings with a regular facade, already noted in many houses built in a similar period, a steeply sloping slate roof, and corbie gables topped by

broad chimneys. The internal plan of two rooms on either side of a central scale-and-platt¹⁰ stair on each floor was similarly characteristic.

Although the essential form of the buildings has been retained - the small extensions have been removed on two of the houses - the re-introduction of a white harled surface to the stonework, which contrasts with the well-coursed blue-grey stonework of the rebuilt extension, introduces a certain liveliness that is lacking in the uniform greyness of many of the stone-built dwellings in the town (Plates 81 and 82). In addition, the retention of the crow-stepped gables encourages the play of light and shade across the mellow tones of the slates. Obviously an admirable piece of restoration and one worthy of the Civic Trust award received by the architect and contractors, it is perhaps to be regretted that projecting window sills - completely out of character with the Scottish building style of the period - were introduced into an otherwise perfect facade.

Not far from the 'Ludgeing' but facing the west front of the Cathedral is the former ecclesiastical residence now known as Tankerness House. From the historical evidence outlined in Chapter III it seems that this dwelling was built up around a courtyard in a series of distinct building periods. The sixteenth century block with its gable to the street is little changed and is thought to be contemporaneous with the round-arched gateway (Plate 83). The western range was altered during the initial period of occupation by the Baikies of Tankerness while the blocks forming the south and east sides of the courtyard appear to date from the eighteenth century. However, the continuation of the basic building style over many centuries has resulted in a certain uniformity among the components of the complete mansion.

Remaining in the hands of the Baikie family until 1951 when it was purchased by the Town Council, restoration and conversion into a museum began in the spring of 1965. Unlike the previous examples where the classic main facade was displayed the orientation of the oldest block with its gable to the street introduces a certain variety. The window arrangement is not symmetrical and old photographs show that the wider window on the ground floor of the gable was originally a doorway. The present door lying adjacent to the gateway is, together with the window above, constructed in a lean-to addition to the main block. The remainder of the street facade, has been

altered with the introduction of irregularly placed windows of varying sizes. The grey, slate roof, crow-stepped gables and broad chimneys have, however, been retained. In some respects this conversion is out of character : the harled surface and emphasis on the freestone of the window surrounds and gables being, even in the absence of red pantiles, more reminiscent of the sixteenth and seventeenth century houses of the Fife coast rather than Northern Scotland. This fact is hinted at by the Civic Trust in its commendation of the restoration in 1968 :

'... A classic example of the restoration of a fine old Scottish house with traditional detail. The quality of the craftsmanship and historical correctness of architectural detail are faultless, the courtyard and garden elevations being particularly attractive. Although the white harling on the street elevation facing the Cathedral is most refreshing, this might have been better if it had been relieved by some pointed or "bodged" stonework in a manner more traditional to this part of Scotland. Some such division might have assisted in breaking up the mass to make it more easily read as a part of the street'.¹¹

Although not part of the street and therefore standing as an example of architectural skill in its own right, probably the finest conversion of an old building is that of Stenigar towards the Point of Ness in Stromness. Originally Stanger's ship-building yard it was purchased and converted into a dwelling house in the 1940's by Stanley Cursiter. A long two-storey building it continues to display the fine stonework and slate roof of traditional character. However, the crowsteps and chimneys have been rendered and comparison with old photographs suggests that the wall has been built up and the roof raised to allow the insertion of the tall windows found on the present east facade (Plate 84). Although some of the original openings have been retained at the level of the ground floor there is, unlike the smaller domestic buildings, no symmetry in the facade. Yet the whole structure retains a certain harmony, the addition of a fine circular bay extending through two floors and a large studio window on the upper floor serving to add further interest and distinction to the building. Towards the shore the former slipways have been replaced by a fine garden which, in its informal arrangement, acts as a suitable introduction to this unique building.

Inevitably during the course of history old sites have been cleared and subsequently filled with new up-to-date buildings. During such a process there is the obvious temptation to employ a style of building that is in current use rather than amalgamate the design of the new structure with that of former ages. In the case of Mayburn Court, however, a real and extremely successful attempt was made to maintain the components of the townscape.

Bordering the May Burn on a wedge-shaped site that narrows towards the boat noust in front of the museum was until the 1920's MacPherson's Distillery producing Old Orkney '0, 0' Whisky (Plate 85). Surrounded by a stone wall punctuated by two gateways the structure comprised a jumble of buildings of which the main block was aligned with its gable to the street with a subsidiary block at right angles farther up the slope. This basic orientation of building units has been retained in the present group. The remainder of the site forms a courtyard which, enclosed on three sides, allows access to the garage accommodation at ground floor level (Plates 86 & 87). The three main blocks contain three floors : in most cases the dwelling house accommodation forming the upper floors above the garage. However, the lower floor of the block nearest the street contains single-storey flatted accommodation. Entry to the main dwelling units is effected by a railed balcony at second storey level with steps leading to the street. Like the Ludgeing which was converted by the same firm of architects these buildings display a subtle balance between the well-coursed blue-grey stonework - this is Walliwall stone which in 5 - 6 years turns brown - which is utilised in certain lower sections of the building and the light harled surface above. The grey tiled roof and subdued paintwork helps to unify the colour scheme. The facades, as is traditional, display a regularity of fenestration but in this instance the projecting sills do not seem out of place. The plainness of the buildings is, however, relieved by the rhythm of the railings and steps and the whole, forming an arresting enclave along the street, is worthy of the award received from the Civic Trust.

While it might be assumed from these examples that the preservation of the old streets in the two burghs has been of primary importance for some time the intrusion of buildings in revived Renaissance and Scots baronial idioms, mentioned in other chapters, shows that this is not so. In

fact in some sections of the street the whole character of the town has been altered, the intimate charm being replaced by an atmosphere of dull uniformity or uncomfortable variety. However, awareness of public responsibility is not enough. There is also a need to change individual attitudes to property, as small unconsidered changes can ruin the townscape. At a meeting of the Orkney Heritage Society three years ago an instance of this was cited in the blocking of a window in a property at the end of Hellihole Road, Stromness which 'has altered the character of a most interesting corner of the street.'¹²

With the present wind of economic change blowing in from the seas around the islands it would be too easy to bring about considerable redevelopment of much of the untidy street layout replacing the poorer quality dwellings with bright new habitations. However, the tourist industry is increasing in the islands and as well as the fresh air, open space and opportunities for pursuing outdoor activities or scratching among the soil for further relics of the distant past the ancient stones of the two burghs are undoubted attractions in their own right - to visitors and local inhabitants alike. It is to be hoped, therefore, that projects including the renovation of the Strynd, rebuilding of the Gap site in Stromness, and replacing of concrete slabs by flagstones along the street will be accompanied by an increased awareness of the importance of the complete townscape of Stromness and Kirkwall and that the history contained in the stones should not be destroyed for future generations.

CONCLUSION :

Undoubtedly the study of Kirkwall and Stromness, Orkney, from an historical, geographical and architectural viewpoint, as undertaken in this thesis, has proved valuable in emphasising the close relationship between these factors in the establishment and development of the two burghs. Indeed the occurrence of certain features within the present townscape would be inexplicable without a detailed knowledge of the historical phases through which the islands have passed and this in itself may justify the inclusion of so much historical data. However, while research into the evolution of the Mainland burghs proves useful in creating an understanding of the variations within the settlement history of the Orkneys it also allows certain forecasts to be made concerning the results on the urban communities of likely future development.

Both the socio-economic and physical structure of the burghs display unusual features at the present time. Often these features are remnants from a former period which have been adapted to their current use. In most instances, however, these apparent anomalies can be seen as logical developments when placed in their historical context. Within the socio-economic sector numerous examples may be cited. At present Stromness, although suffering a notable decline in population in the last 150 years, still retains fishing and boat-building industries that have formed a traditional base to the economy ever since the establishment of the settlement in the early 17th century. Contact with trading vessels plying the northern waters has also proved valuable in allowing expansion of Stromness' function as a market centre for the West Mainland and South Isles and as a passenger terminal for visitors to the islands. The introduction of a new Roll-on-Roll-off ferry emphasises this function. Kirkwall on the other hand became an administrative capital and Royal Burgh early in its history and during the present century improvements in communications have reinforced the marketing and service functions of the capital. With the reform of local government the administrative role of Kirkwall is likely to be expanded and the development of the landward areas and islands to be more closely controlled by personnel aware of and sympathetic to local conditions and needs.

While a knowledge of the historical factors acting within the islands at various times can be used to explain the economic and social characteristics it is also valuable in a study of the townscape. Initially the existence of a cathedral and the impressive remains of two palaces within what is essentially only a small burgh may seem strange. However, when the period of the Norse and Scottish earldom is examined it becomes clear that, far from being an area remote from civilisation, the Orkneys and Shetland were important as centres for colonisation and had, in addition, a strategic value. Certainly the Viking influence on agriculture and on the religious and cultural development within the islands was marked; the bishopric rivalling the earldom in power at times during the Mediaeval period. In some cases, however, it is impossible to state categorically the reasons for development although, from the historical study, tentative explanations may be put forward for consideration. The linear nature of Stromness together with the extensive wharf building, for instance, can be related to the need for access to the harbour yet no undisputable hypothesis can be presented for the choice of site in the first place. One may postulate that the steep western shore of the bay, which had for many centuries been used as a sheltered anchorage, was common land which, possibly lying outside the township dykes, was unsuitable for agricultural usage. It may, therefore, have been the only point at which artisans would be free to settle and where a water supply, adequate building material and a certain amount of protection from the prevailing winds might also be available. However, proof of this theory is lacking.

Whatever the inter-relationship between historical events and the development of the burghs in the past, the future state of Kirkwall and Stromness remains in the balance. However, it is possible to recognise certain trends and to suggest, in the light of past experience, the effect on the socio-economic and physical structure of the settlements of such likely developments. At the present time the economy seems to be taking a number of diverging paths of which probably the most important are the development of the island capital as a regional centre to the detriment of Stromness, the expansion of both Stromness and Kirkwall as transshipment points and tourist centres in their own right, and the development of the economy as a result of oil exploration. It seems logical that tourism will demand the retention of the inherent character of the townscape while

large-scale economic development supported by national Government could totally ignore the historical evolution of the relationship between the settlements, landward areas and islands bringing ultimate destruction to both rural and urban communities when the oil runs out - a similar situation has already been noted on a small scale immediately after the two world wars. For this reason changes in association with oil are likely to have the most dramatic effect on the community in each of the three main sectors under study.

Within the townscape changes can be predicted as a result of building development to accommodate the extra labour force needed for oil development. It has been noted that sections of Kirkwall's main street have lost their cohesion, from an aesthetic viewpoint, because of the introduction of large modern constructions bearing no resemblance to the characteristic building style of the capital. The twentieth century housing developments also lack character introducing a dull uniformity to the townscape principally because modern building regulations act as a major inhibitor in building design. With a significant increase in the area covered by modern residential and industrial building with respect to the ancient urban nucleus the townscape would be likely to lose much of its impact and attraction. Furthermore modern traffic demands cannot be accommodated in the narrow lanes within the commercial centres of the settlements. The situation has already become critical in Stromness yet, because of the problems of the site, the possibility of finding a solution seems remote. Road widening schemes would cause the destruction of the commercial centre itself, upset the tourist industry and negate the reasons for the introduction of improved land communications. In both cases the reduction of agricultural land with increasing urban development is likely to upset the delicate balance between the burghs and their hinterlands.

Changes in social structure resulting from large-scale economic development may also be predicted with reference to the historical evolution of the islands. Although an increasingly large number of Scots settled in the islands after impignoration their numbers were relatively small compared to the total population and the essentially Orcadian characteristics were retained and Norse culture and elements of language survived. At the present time a large influx of 'foreign' workers, including those from the United States of

America and the Continent, possibly only on a temporary basis could have dramatic effects on the community. The head of many an Orcadian girl might be turned by the wealth and experience of an oil man and it is not unknown for the illegitimacy rate to take a dramatic upward trend after such a masculine invasion as the census records of the 19th century prove. In addition, the possibilities of intermarriage arise and this would introduce completely contrasting cultural elements. Even without the oil destructive social trends can be seen. With the tendency towards the reduction of local educational facilities and the present limited opportunities for employment within the islands there is an increasing emigration of the young economically-active sector of the community which results in an ageing population. The control of this outward flow is imperative if life on the islands is to continue.

To some extent a boost to the economy such as that given as a result of investment by oil companies may turn the tide. Yet, as has been mentioned, the majority of workers for the new enterprises are likely to be brought in from other areas and only to a limited extent will training for semi-skilled Orcadians occur. However, the possibility of employment in something other than the traditional occupation is likely to be a great incentive for moving to Kirkwall and leaving the outlying islands and the agricultural way of life. Traditional skills could thus be abandoned for more than a generation causing large-scale emigration to other industrial areas when oil becomes exhausted. This has already happened after two World Wars resulting in the complete abandonment of certain rural townships and islands. Within the burghs the demands of an increasing population may result in the introduction of branches of large chain stores and the reduction, due to competition, of the local shopkeepers. Again short-term expansion of this type may have deleterious effects on the functional structure of Kirkwall and Stromness in the future.

When looking at the possible results of economic development, such as that associated with the oil industry, it is perhaps difficult to adopt anything other than a note of pessimism. Where a great deal of capital is suddenly invested in a formerly rural community such as Orkney there is little time to consider the results. Big industry generally requires an almost instant profit regardless of the cost of achieving that end. Yet

if the Orcadian identity is to be retained great care is needed in development. It will also be essential to bear in mind the future of the island community in the post-oil era. Over many centuries the Mainland settlements have evolved a functional relationship with their hinterland that could so easily be destroyed, but which could still be vital to their survival in the future. In view of this it seems preferable that local government, in particular, should attempt to accommodate all the current trends that prove to be of advantage to the islands. In this way it will, hopefully, be possible to both update the historic urban settlements so that modern development may occur and attempt to conserve the character of the burghs of Kirkwall and Stromness so that the Orcadian heritage may be retained for future generations.

APPENDIX A

A great variety of documents are in existence covering certain periods of history and while the early record is by no means complete available sources do throw valuable light on the emergent urban centres. References to the urban centres may be found in many historical texts. These vary in availability and coverage; some are generalised while others are highly specialised. Difficulties arise in the accessibility and handling of original manuscripts and due to historical accident much useful material may have been destroyed or misplaced. For convenience each type of document will be studied and appraised separately.

REGISTERS OF SEISINS:

Availability: Particular Registers of Seisins commence in A.D. 1617 and are available for public use between 1617 and 1781. Thereafter access to the Particular Registers is possible only on payment of a fee and thus these are used principally by lawyers in searches for titles to property. After 1781 abridgements may be consulted but these are much abbreviated and do not contain the details of the property boundaries that occur in the Particular Registers.

Contents of Documents: The seisin for Alexander Chalmer, smyth in Stromness, in 1624 is shown in Appendix B and demonstrates the typical condition and length of such manuscripts. Particular Registers of Seisins comprise the following main sections:

1. Date of Seisin and type of document i.e. a disposition, renunciation etc.
2. The parties involved in the transfer of the property, including the name of the Notary Public whose job it was to record the seising of land.
3. A description of the property seised:
 eg. 'quoy of land or piece of waste ground'
 'principle dwelling house together with the quoy of land, and yard thereto belonging to all other houses, buildings etc. pertaining to the same.'

4. A description of the boundaries. This may take one or a combination of the following forms.
- (a) physical boundaries, eg. a burn, the sea, a crag, marchstone, gate, etc.
 e.g. 'having the sea on the south, beginning from the sea upward to the burn to the meeting of the two little burns on the west and therefrom to the crag in the braehead where the marchstone is and from the crag eastward to the stone and stone on the west side of the crag and therefrom southward to the sea'. R.S. 43.2. p. 33
- (b) neighbours,
 e.g. 'bounded and having Patrick Mowat's house and lands on the south, the said Thomas Taylor's own dwelling house and quoy of land on the north, and the late Alex. Chalmer's house and lands on the east and William Johnston's house and lands on the west.' R.S. 45.2. p. 462.
- (c) dimensions in feet or fathoms with or without compass directions,
 e.g. 'extending in length from north to south 260 feet and from east to west 160 feet in breadth.' R.S. 45.2. p. 429
 'house lying at the shore side of Stromness together with the three score fathoms of ground in length and twenty fathoms in breadth'. R.S. 45.6. p. 39.
5. location of property,
 e.g. 'lying within the parish of Stromness, late Bishopric now Stewartry of Orkney.'
 'lying within the burgh of Kirkwall.'
6. Notes of other privileges etc. such as the winning of peats and the right to common grazing.
 e.g. 'with licence and liberty of casting and winning of peats where the rest of the commons and tenants thereabout win their fuel'. Heart's Protocol Book p. 292.

7. List of witnesses.

The Abridgements are generally typewritten and comprise:

1. date of entry in the Registers, together with the reference to the entry in the Particular Registers, including the volume and page numbers.
2. names of parties involved, occupation of the male head of the household and/or the status of the female.
3. date seised and date of the disposition.
4. brief description of the item seised.

e.g. 'a piece of land called GREENWALL, p. Str.

(parish Stromness)

'tene^{ts}. at S. end or Shoreside of STROMNESS, p. Str.'

(tenements at the south end or Shoreside of Stromness, parish Stromness).

A typical entry in the Abridgements reads as follows and may be compared with the transcription of the 1624 Seisin in Appendix B.

'98. Dec. 8. 1785. David Geddes, merch^t. Str. purchaser, gets Ren Dec. 7. 1785, by Geo. Geddes, merch^t. Str., and Ann Beaton, his spse., of a Tene^t. N^r. mid of Shoreside, STR., p. Str., & of £33, in Disp. of Wadset by Euphan Manson, relict of Thos. Linklater, carp., Str., to said Geo. Geddes and Ann Beaton. Jan. 27. 1780. P.R. 13.74.

(Translation : David Geddes, merchant in Stromness, purchaser gets Renunciation on December 7th 1785, by George Geddes, merchant in Stromness and Ann Beaton, his spouse, of a tenement near the middle of the Shoreside, Stromness, Parish of Stromness and of £33-00 in Disposition of Wadset by Euphan Manson, relict of Thomas Linklater, carpenter, Stromness, to the said George Geddes and Ann Beaton. January 27th, 1780).

Problems arising from the use of the Particular Registers of Seisins :

1. The documents are useful for tracing the development of an area only if the rural or urban town is of a comparatively late date. In the case of Stromness there is no record of any permanent dwelling erected to the west of Hamna Voe prior to 1624 and

thus the division and enclosure of the hill slope may be traced from its commencement through the seisins. For an older burgh such as Kirkwall or an ancient farming township it is more difficult and less satisfactory to attempt to follow the settlement history by this method due to the amount of building that had occurred prior to the first recorded seisins.

2. All registers are kept on a county basis and in the case of those under study for this thesis entries for Orkney and Shetland were bound together within the same cover. The registers lack any index and thus it is necessary to read every entry in order to identify those that are relevant. Unfortunately the parish name is contained towards the centre of the document and palaeography may make this difficult to recognise immediately. Also the sheer size of each volume, leading to human error due to fatigue and eye strain, may cause entries to be overlooked.
3. All early registers are in the original manuscript form which results in complications of a palaeographic nature. This may result in the omission of relevant entries as stated previously and the incorrect interpretation of details within the seisin during transcription.

e.g. 'burne' for 'barne' ; 'brayhead' for 'bayhead'

Abbreviations may also cause difficulties.

e.g. qlk - which ; umqll - the late, deceased ;

yrof - thereof.

The ink on the oldest documents is usually very faded and occasionally pages have partially disintegrated or have been torn, with the obvious loss of detail for certain parts of the entries.

Handwriting of the Notaries Public employed during the centuries varies considerably in legibility, and the formation of individual characters by a different hand may change the appearance of the whole word so significantly that deciphering each document proves to be a lengthy and tedious process.

On occasions an entry, normally that associated with the most wealthy landowners in the area, eg. the Grahames of Breckness or the Gordons of Cairston, appears in Latin. This further increases

the complications of recognising the existence of a relevant seisin and extracting the essential paragraphs from the mass of legal jargon.

4. Descriptions of the boundaries of the quoy s vary in detail as has been shown. Where only a brief statement occurs within the document, such as the inclusion of the dimensions of the plot without reference to compass bearings, neighbours or the relationship to other parcels of land, identification may be impossible. For example an entry dated 1661 reads

'Of All and Whole his house built upon the shoreside of Stromness in length and breadth with one hundred and ten fathoms of ground back and fore from the highest of the hill to the lowest of the ebb'. R.S. 45. Vol. 1.

No other reference has been found to this plot of land between 1617 and 1700 and the Humphreys, who appear to have extensive estates outwith the parish, are not mentioned again with respect to property 'on the shoreside'. The location of this house therefore remains a mystery.

5. Because they deal essentially with the transfer of land seisins cannot be used to establish accurate dates for dwellings within a town. In some cases houses, barns, etc. have been erected for some time before the landowner decides to seize the quoy and 'biggings' to another person. Thus any date given to the building that is based on the date of the seisin will be inaccurate. The reverse, of course, also holds true. Frequently a piece of waste ground is seised and the new owner receives the right to erect a dwelling at some unspecified date but chooses not to develop the land before seising to another person. In this instant the habitation that is finally erected will post-date the original entry in the registers.

RENTALS

Availability: Transcriptions from the original documents are available for various dates between 1490 and 1739 in the 'Rentals of Orkney' by Alexander Peterkin published in 1820. Peterkin notes that

'By bishopric charter 1614, the King, with consent of his officers of state, and under the authority of the Act 1612, gave, dispoed, and for ever confirmed and mortified to James, bishop of Orkney, and his successors, the whole lands in the parishes of Holm, Orphir, Stromness, Sandwick, Shappinshaw, Walls, Hoy and also certain lands in the parish of St. Olla therein enumerated, all situate in Orkney'.

As the original Bishopric records which were lodged in the City Chambers in Edinburgh have been missing for a number of years all information concerning the rents paid to King and, later, the Bishops, has been taken from the publication mentioned above :

Contents of the Documents :

1. Name of township with a statement of the extent and type of land.
e.g. 'Kirbustare : 6d. terrae, uthell.'
'Nes : ob terrae. p. Rege, Quoyland'.
'Orquile : j farding terre quoyland.'

2. Details of the rents paid in kind and Scots money.

e.g. 'Stromness Cropt 1739

Innertown : 36d. Land, 3 mk. p.d. land, 3 kth.p.mk.
John Johnstoun in Ness compts for $\frac{1}{2}$ d. land there,
ps. 6d. scat sr., 4 mk. oyle, 2m. 2 sett. malt ; It.
for 1d. last laboured by Mag. Cromarty, ps. 8 mk.
oyle, 1s scat sr., 4 sett malt ; extends to 1s 6d.
scat sr., 12 mk. oyle and 3 m. malt. Rests all is
£18-1-6d.

(translation: Stromness Account 1739 :

Innertown : 36 pennylands, 3 marks (merks) per pennyland,
3 cowsworths per mark:

John Johnstoun in Ness accounts for $\frac{1}{2}$ d. land there, pays
6d. scat silver; 4 merks oil, 2meills 2 settings malt : Item
for one penny (land) last laboured by Magnus Cromarty, pays
8 merks oil, 1 shilling scat silver, 4 settings malt; extends to
1s. 6d. scat silver, 12 merks oil and 3 meills malt. Rests all
is £18-1-6d.)

Only one entry for a house rather than a farm appears in the

Stromness rentals prior to 1642. This was for a house lying on the low ground between the township dyke of Hamiger and the mill burn of Cairston. This habitation became, at a comparatively early date in the history of development of the west Mainland, the local inn, but reference is made to it in the Rentals simply as 'Wm. Clark's house now built paying ten shillings' (Appendix C). By the 1640's some development had taken place at the shoreside and in 1642 five houses with ground were listed as paying feu-duty in chickens and capons. The householders at that time are well-known. The Beatons and Redlands held land in other parts of the parish as did William Ogilvie. Alexander Chalmer appears early in the Seisins and is most likely to have been the first entrepreneur in the area, while Mr. John Gairdyne was the minister of the then combined parishes of Stromness and Sandwick.

In the rental of 1739, however, the number of houses listed totals only eleven which seems remarkably low when one considers that in 1669, some 60 years earlier, on the death of David Beaton thirteen houses were mentioned in the will and were subsequently divided among his daughters. Evidence from the seisins also suggests that in this case the rentals as collected by Peterkin, a century later, may have been incomplete. By the year 1700 at least twenty-one individual parcels of land may be recognised along this part of the shore and most of these had also been subdivided a number of times, each subdivision bearing a dwelling which was occupied by one of the numerous smaller tradesmen who were being attracted into the area at this time.

In the rentals dated 1497 - 1503 thirteen entries are made for lands in St. Ola but by 1595 a further 38 have been added. These include a number of quoyes now enclosed within the burgh boundary and may indicate the expansion of the burgh away from the shores of the lagoon and bay. The Laverock, for instance, is recorded as paying 16 shillings in silver at this date. The largest proportion of St. Ola parish belonged, in the sixteenth century, to the bishopric and thus a number of entries appear in the rentals for lands associated with the Church and prebends. Corse, a three pennyland pertained to the Prebendarie of St. John and four named quoyes belonged to St. Katherine. Many of the larger farms can be traced through the rentals into the present day; Papdale, Weyland, Gaitnip, Wideford, etc. being familiar landmarks. Others, however, have

disappeared as development of the town encroached on their lands.

Correlation with seisins suggests that the rentals as published by Peterkin may be incomplete. Certainly discrepancies arise within the village of Stromness and for Kirkwall rentals are of limited value as so much development had occurred at an early date.

ESTATE PAPERS :

These documents suffer through diversity and lack of index for a study of this nature. In most cases the papers have been kept in slowly disintegrating bundles and the faded ink together with the state of fragility makes an association with the very precarious.

The types of documents to be found among Estate and family papers generally include letters, rentals and, occasionally, seisins. Where later members of the family have zealously catalogued some of the contents of these bundles, as is the case of the Johnstone Estate records, the task of deciphering and extracting relevant information is facilitated. Where the landowners have large estates elsewhere, however, the archives tend to comprise more general records of estate management and other business interests with detailed studies of individual houses and small parcels of land in some of the remoter corners of the estate receiving little attention. However, documents belonging to such large and important archives tend to have come, at some time, under the auspices of the guardians of the records in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, and thus whole collections may be found catalogued, indexed and, in some instances, microfilmed for easier access. This is true of the Craven Bequest, Inventory of Orkney and Shetland, Fea of Clestrain (Flett) Collection, the Scarth of Breckness Muniments and certain of the Morton Papers.

Some of these papers were of value in the compilation of an early map of Stromness as they threw additional light on the location of parcels of land and their occupants. In the Johnstone Estate records a number of seisins, that were not identified in the Particular Registers of Seisins consulted in Edinburgh, were discovered and bore witness to the further subdivision of the major quoys at the shoreside. Genealogies, together with an accumulation of seisins referring to particular quoys during a two hundred year period were also of use in tracing the expansion of the early

burgh.

Within the Johnstone collection rentals were available for the years 1761 and 1774, more than a century after the first commercial site had been settled. These listed the occupiers, with the occasional reference to the form of employment together with the rents paid in Sterling and Scots money, and were valuable in assessing the extent of development within the various quays.

Interesting comments may also be contained within private family letters. For instance, a letter dated 1788 from David Geddes, who was to become the Orkney agent for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1791, contains the following observation for Stromness :

'To give you an Idea of the flourishing state of our great Town ; 40 years ago 150 feet of ground on the shore below the street was bought for £10 and now I pay £60 for 70 feet of the same ground.'

These documents like the rentals tend to be most suited to providing evidence that is supplementary to that contained in the Registers of Seisins as in themselves they are not sufficiently complete and detailed to provide all of the information necessary for tracing the development of the urban centres.

POLL TAX ROLL 1694 - 1695 :

The Poll Tax was a tax paid on each person and for the purpose of assessment of the amount due a list was compiled of the residents of the parish of Stromness, similar to those produced throughout Orkney at the time, and the burgh of Kirkwall. Essentially this comprised a list of the heads of households and, if male, the occupation was occasionally appended.

eg. Adam Louttit wobster

Andrew Lyell Notary Public

Other members of the household were listed in abbreviated form. These included the wife, children, other relatives and servants of the householder. In the parish records at the end of each entry or at the end of the township under review a note was made concerning the persons, from whom the land was rented.

eg. 'James Sinclair + m (mother) udaller
 lab^d to himself.'
 'Adam Cromartie + w (wife) + s (son) +
 S.F. (female servant) King's tennant.'

For Stromness information is available regarding the presence of persons employed in non-agricultural pursuits, eg. smith, carpenter, tailor, but there is no indication of their inhabiting a dwelling within the village. Approximately three hundred and eighty souls were enumerated within the parish but most of the tradesmen are listed as residing within the township of Inner Stromness at this time.

Although compiled only a year later, in 1695, the record for the burgh of Kirkwall differs somewhat from that for the parish of Stromness. Six hundred and eighty six persons, including servants, are listed but children are rarely mentioned. In this case the record appears to be of adults only rather than a total census. Few occupations are mentioned for the inhabitants of Kirkwall.

A second much abbreviated roll dated 20th February, 1699, is also available for Kirkwall. Although bearing the same title, viz. Report of the Poleable Persones within the Brugh of Kirkwall, only eighteen persons are listed. No household details are recorded although the occupation of the head of the household together with the tax in Scots money does occur.

The Poll Tax Roll while giving a rough indication as to population size should be used cautiously. No definite values for the population of the small village of Stromness can be obtained although in conjunction with other documents, such as the Seisins, the location of some families can be cross-checked. As the record for Kirkwall seems to be limited to adults total population and occupation structure of the burgh cannot be determined accurately.

KIRK SESSION RECORDS

Many of the Kirk Session Records have been for some time lodged in St. Magnus Cathedral. The bound volumes covering a period extending back into the eighteenth century are in varying states of repair. The records

are not always complete, many of the earlier books having suffered torn pages and fading ink if not a more complete disintegration.

Information contained in the Minute Books varies considerably and no index is generally available. From reference to sample documents largely from the nineteenth century the business recorded most frequently seems to be that concerning the reasons for the non-attendance at church or communion of certain parishioners and the moral well-being of the general populace. Details concerning the development of the town are limited although mention may be found of church property in certain minutes. For instance on 26th May, 1841

'the Session took into consideration the inadequate accomodation furnished to the Society's school, Glaitness, and resolved to Memorialize her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests in favour of a grant of a piece of ground adjacent to the site of the school house and garden.'

The matter was still under consideration eleven years later.

Other documents include letters concerning church property, the repairs to the Cathedral fabric, and the collection of tiends from church property in the vicinity of the burgh.

In the sixteenth century, with the abolition of Catholicism as the state religion, the bishopric estates were taken by the Crown. For a time Edinburgh leased the rents of the Bishopric for the support of ministers and repair of buildings in that city. Although many of the early records of the Bishopric were lodged in the city archives in Edinburgh most of these have been lost during the succeeding centuries and those remaining are frequently incomplete or in poor condition. Information concerning lists of parish ministers, rentals and thirds of benefices are available. Of the documents still extant few shed light on the church property and rentals beyond that published by local historians or record societies.

CENSUS DATA:

Early census data was of a very rudimentary nature such as that recorded in the Poll Tax Rolls. However, after 1821 Enumerators' reports giving additional detail are available in the Scottish Record Office and may be consulted for the years up to 1891. For the purpose of the Government census each rural parish and burgh is divided into a number of smaller areal units known as the enumeration districts.

The 1821 census, the earliest available for Orkney, is of little real use in the study of the physical development of the two burghs as it merely gives names of inhabitants without reference to the location of the inhabited dwelling. From 1841 onwards, however, more detail is contained within the enumerators' documents. A typical entry includes the street or house name, names, ages and relationship of household members, together with the occupation of the working population and place of birth of each person. In the 1891 census a record of the number of windows in each building is also included.

Because of the division of the area into the enumeration districts a description of the boundaries of each district is found on the first page of the record. Thereafter a summary of the number of separate occupiers, number of buildings = inhabited, uninhabited and under construction = and total population, with a separation between male and female, is tabulated. In order to increase the accuracy of the population totals a summary of normal residents temporarily absent, and visitors, both male and female, are also found towards the front of each report.

Analysis of data extracted from these volumes can throw valuable light on the demographic and economic structure of the burghs, particularly when records from the middle and end of the century are compared. Information regarding household size and number of households per dwelling is easily extracted from the sheets, as is population structure. Occupations listed vary considerably, however, and subtle differences are noted possibly reflecting the individual's conception of his mode of employment. This type of analysis often proves interesting for the study of town structure. For instance, in Kirkwall certain occupations are closely tied to particular locations within the burgh and often close

correlations between these factors and such things as household size and composition can be recognised. Emphasis within both burghs under study is on manufacturing and service industries as might be expected. However, a reasonable proportion of the population seems to be working on the land or at sea, thus travelling beyond the burgh limits daily to pursue their employment. Because of its importance as the islands' capital, Kirkwall has a greater proportion of lawyers, doctors and other professional people.

Studies of household composition prove interesting in that they indicate the high percentage of widows and spinsters in the community, some of the latter possessing large families. This is especially true of Stromness from where, due to the opportunities offered by the Hudson's Bay Company and the whaling fleets, many men were lured away, often to their death, leaving the women to occupy their time with straw-plaiting and knitting at home.

The rapid growth of both settlements from the beginning of the nineteenth century seems to have been due largely to immigration as revealed by a study of the places of birth listed in the census. In 1851 approximately ten percent of the total population of Stromness came from the South Isles or Scotland, but forty years later this figure had risen to nineteen percent. However, in Kirkwall, the earlier census records twenty-one per cent of the population coming from the North Isles and a further six per cent from Scotland.

When examined in conjunction with the available Ordnance Survey 1:2500 plans, produced for Orkney in the 1880's, the building development of the burghs can be traced.

Undoubtedly the enumeration documents provide valuable statistical information during the nineteenth century. For the present century census data is available on a ten year basis but this occurs only in published tables for the County and does not reveal the individual details that were found in the enumerators' books.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS :

Two statistical accounts of Scotland are available, both

running to many volumes : the first, known as Sinclair's Statistical Account, published in 1795; the second, the New Statistical Account, appearing forty years later. In each case the parish ministers were charged with the collection of a set of statistics for their parish and any included burghs. Thus information concerning Kirkwall and St. Ola occurs together and in Sinclair's Statistical Account that for the combined parishes of Sandwick and Stromness was collected by the Rev. William Clouston.

The data contained in the accounts varies considerably both in amount of detail and its accuracy. The earlier account can be divided into a number of subsections. A general descriptive paragraph for each parish and burgh starts the account and, for Kirkwall, a great deal of architectural detail for the main public buildings is included in this section. Lists of heritors, rents charged and an indication as to the state of property follow. Population figures are available, these naturally predate the censuses, and occupation structure for both urban and rural areas is analysed, including the price of labour and cost of provisions. The parish economy, including rural industries, manufactures and trade, provides interesting reading and the accounts end with a section on public amenities such as number of churches and schools, and accommodation offered for the poor. The New Statistical Account is, for each of the parishes under consideration, markedly reduced in size and amount of detail. Information contained includes a descriptive introduction of the parish and burgh, lists of land-owners, the parish economy and, a final section on public amenities.

The accuracy of the parish data is difficult to determine and the eloquence of some of the writing may hide significant errors of fact. For instance, William Clouston writes of the village of Stromness in 1795 in the following terms:

'Stromness was, in the beginning of the present century, very inconsiderable, consisting only of half a dozen houses with slated roofs, and a few scattered huts, the first inhabited by two gentlemen of landed property, and two or three small traders, the last by a few fishermen and mechanics.'

Consultation of relevant seisins proves that in 1700 the town of Stromness was much larger than is suggested in this account.

On the other hand valuable statistical information may be gathered from these sources and interesting comments can be found. For example, due to the amount of shipping using the Pentland Firth and Stromness harbour there was concern in the eighteenth century that French privateers might sail north to harass the sailors and interrupt trade. Thus it was suggested that, for the safety of trade passing by Stromness, it might be necessary to erect a fort at the entrance to the harbour. It is also interesting to note that even the young settlement of Stromness was importing large quantities of luxury produce such as snuff, hats, tobacco, spirits, wines and fine cloth - not what one would expect in such an apparently isolated community.

The reports on Kirkwall follow, if not in detail, standard historical and literary accounts with an emphasis on the relics of the Norse and Scottish earldom. Trade in the eighteenth century was less at Kirkwall, vessels favouring the shelter of the western harbour, and manufactures, imports and exports were comparatively less important. However, many details are noted of services and amenities and the report on the educational state of the capital shows how well versed the young citizens were in the classics, languages and navigation.

The Statistical Accounts printed and published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are important as they are among the earliest widely available reports of the state of the parishes and burghs. While some of the material should be treated with great caution much is of value in the study of the development of the burghs.

LITERARY SOURCES :

The earliest account of the Orkney Isles can be found in a series of Norse Sagas, especially Orkneyinga Saga, although less detailed reference may be found in others such as Magnus Saga. Essentially a description of the life and times of various Orkney earls reference may be found to the places frequented by the earls and information gained as to the stages of development of Kirkwall in particular. Viking invasions and rivalries occupy much of the text but success in battle is seen to have resulted in the erection of certain notable buildings within the boundary of the capital. Thus Earl Rognvald I replaced the ancient Celtic church

with one dedicated to the saintly King Olaf of Norway, and his namesake was responsible for the erection of St. Magnus Cathedral in the twelfth century. With the removal of the Bishopric seat from Birsay to Kirkwall further development of the town ensued to accommodate church officers.

Orkneyinga Saga mentions Stromness only twice. The references comprise an account of the feud between Earl Harald Maddadson and his cousin, Earl Erlend, over Harald's claim to lands in Orkney. In September 1152, the fleet of Earl Erlend and Sweyn Asleifson met that of Earl Harald off the Bu' of Cairston. Harald surrendered and swore to relinquish his claim to Orkney before being allowed to return to his lands in Caithness. However, early the following year four small ships belonging to Harald sheltered near Graemsay before landing soldiers in Hamna Voe in a futile search for Earl Erlend.

Apart from the Sagas the main literary records commence in the sixteenth century and notable collections from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries exist when travels around Scotland were becoming popular. Detail varies considerably in these texts. General descriptions of the areas visited are intermixed with brief statements as to the economic state of the burghs. Some illuminating comments occur. For instance, in Lockharts' 'Life of Scott' published in 1900 the impressions that Stromness and Kirkwall left on Scott during his visit in 1814 are vividly recorded:

'Stromness is a little dirty straggling town, which cannot be traversed by a cart, or even by a horse, for there are stairs up and down, even in the principal streets. We paraded its whole length like turkeys in a string, I suppose to satisfy ourselves that there was a worse town in the Orkneys than the metropolis, Kirkwall.'

In some publications the author has obviously plucked detail from earlier sources and so discrepancies have been perpetuated. This occurs more often in the descriptions of Stromness where little documentary evidence has been used as proof of the statements made. Thus the comment printed in Sinclair's Statistical Account that Stromness, at the beginning of the eighteenth century consisted of half a dozen slated

houses and a few scattered huts is echoed by Barry in 1805 and Peterkin in 1822 and is quoted in descriptions of the burgh written in the present century.

Conflicting impressions also occur. In 1805 the Rev. George Barry writes

'The inhabitants (of Stromness) ... are in general an industrious and enterprising people'

but this is contradicted by Scott only nine years later

'the Orcadians seem by no means an alert or active race.'

Probably the most reliable volumes are those appearing in the last two centuries under the authorship of a series of local historians, among them J. Storer Clouston, J. Mooney and B.H. Hossack. Hossack and Mooney wrote in detail on the royal burgh of Kirkwall while Storer Clouston wrote widely on the Orkney islands. All these texts have been thoroughly researched and are based on available documentation, often in the possession of the particular author. Although frequently in book form articles also occur in a number of publications such as those of the Orkney Antiquarian Society, the Scottish Record Society, and the Viking Society for Northern Research. These volumes are of great value due to the factual basis of their material and as many of the documents referred to or transcribed in Appendices are no longer easily accessible they provide possibly the only link with the early Orcadian records.

CARTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION:

Map evidence varies in scale and thus in usefulness. Prior to the formation of the Ordnance Survey in the 1800's several atlases and navigational charts had been produced for Great Britain and it was normal to include separate maps of Scotland, often with individual county sheets, however rudimentary. Many examples exist, from the 'Isole et Hebride et Orcade' by Porcacchi and 'Orcades' by Mercator in the latter part of the sixteenth century, through the maps of Blaeu and Hondius to those of Aberdeen, Arrowsmith and Thomson in the early nineteenth century. Two sets of detailed charts are also available : those by Captain Greenville Collins under the title 'Great Britain's Coasting Pilot' appearing first

in 1689, and then in a number of later editions, and 'Orcaades : or a Geographic and Hydrographic Survey of the Orkney and Lewis Islands' by Murdoch Mackenzie following in 1750.

A study of the available maps and charts of the islands from the sixteenth century onwards shows the gradual improvement in the state of survey and cartography, and changes in both Kirkwall and Stromness can be followed. Problems arise due to changes of shape of the areas under consideration and the removal of place-names from one location to another over a period of years. A most confusing picture occurs in the map of 'Orkney and Shetland' by Henricus Hondius in 1633 - 4 as Cairston (Careftone) appears as an island in the position of Graemsay. The districts of Clumlet, Whom, Gairth, Skel, Lie, Stromness and Kirbuster are marked, together with a church and what appear to be seven houses at the south shore. Letter Gladice in 'A map of the Ailland of Orkney', 1693, indicates dwellings at Craikness on the west coast of the Mainland to the north of Breckness and marks anchorages at Kerten (Cairston). Wallace's map, appearing shortly afterwards, marks Stromness, the headland after which the parish was named, on the west coast north of Breckness but Cairston, with its houses, anchorages and soundings in fathoms occur on the site of the present burgh and its harbour. A bridge over the entrance to Loch Sterness indicates an improvement in communications with the capital, Kirkwall. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the houses and the church had acquired the name 'Stromness' and the name 'Kerston' (Cairston) was restricted to the Bu' to the east. The picture for Kirkwall is simplified because the antiquity of the burgh and the early establishment of the dominant buildings along the shore of the lagoon reduced the possibility of cartographic inaccuracies. In 1766 William Aberdeen produced a delightful oblique view of Kirkwall from the West showing clearly the public buildings dominating the line of dwellings whose gardens stretched down to the sheltered lagoon. The charts produced by Collins and Mackenzie also raise queries on detailed examination as, frequently, individual sheets occurring within the same atlas do not contain the same information in their duplicated sections. However, anomalies of nomenclature and location changes can in some cases be clarified by reference to written documentation.

Prior to the publication of large-scale plans in the nineteenth century the only detailed sources for the burghs are those drawn by local surveyors for planning purposes or as evidence in some legal dispute. Thus in 1765 Nicolas Oman produced a 'plan of a house bought by the deceased David Sutherland, and the waste ground in dispute and possessed by Isobel Manson his relict' - part of the quoy of land in Stromness seised to Alexander Chalmer, smith, by the Bishop of Orkney in 1624. In 1792 two other detailed plans of Chalmer's Quoy were drawn, the property by this time being in the possession of Joshua Johnston and forming part of his larger estate. Similarly in 1829 two plans of the area of Stromness known as Hellihole and Melvine Place were produced, one by each of the parties in a legal dispute over ownership of a piece of property on the shore.

Plans of Kirkwall are similar in that they form individual sets for planning or legal purposes. Several early nineteenth century plans exist of the area in the centre of the burgh, including Broad Street, St. Magnus Cathedral and the Bishop's and Earl's Palaces. Plans of the surrounding farming lands are also to be found in the last century and one for Glaitness, together with a table of contents, seems to have been produced four times, in 1818, 1836, 1853 and 1854. A plan drawn from a survey by James Craig in 1846 shows the commonty, lands claimed by the burgh of Kirkwall, feus granted by the burgh and encroachments. Thus some idea of the expansion of the burgh may be obtained when this plan is compared to that produced of the burgh, by the Ordnance Survey, at a scale of 1:2500.

With the large-scale mapping of the area by the Ordnance Survey in the 1880's the first detailed plans of the whole islands were available and, when used in conjunction with the census records of a similar date, could be used to study the main urban developments. Further official plans followed in the first decade of the twentieth century and parts of a more recent series have been published.

Wherever possible attempts were made to cross check the information contained in the documents mentioned. In some cases more problems arose as a result of this exercise but in others apparent discrepancies between detail contained in different sources could be explained and eliminated. In some estate papers, for instance, seisins

were recorded that were not found in the Particular Registers although, it is possible for the reasons already stated, that they may have been overlooked. Often, especially in literary sources, statements do not appear to have been based on fact but merely heresay and legend, but, for many reasons it may be difficult to prove the inaccuracies conclusively.

Using these documents, therefore, a study of the urban and economic development of the two main Orcadian burghs, emphasising the physical expansion of the centres and the townscape that resulted, could be commenced.

APPENDIX B

Transcriptions of Documents from the Particular Registers of Seisins,
1617 - 1716.

1. Transcription of the Seisin for Alexander Chalmer, 1624, for which a photocopy of the actual document is included:

At Kirkwall the first day of May the year of god 1624 years first
The letter of ratification and renunciation the three instruments of
sasine and letters of reversion underwritten were produced and received
conforming to the act of parliament of the which the follows. In
the name of god amen. By the men by their present public
instrument that upon the twenty-fourth day of april of the year of god
1624. And of the reign of our said sovereign lord James by the grace of
god king of Great Britain, France and of Ireland, defender of the faith,
the fifty four and twenty two years. In presence of our not. public and
witnesses underwritten impower personally upon the piece of waste ground
and space. An honest man Henry Beaton in Conquesquoy pro^r. and in
name and behalf of Alexander Chalmer smith of notary public
..... and with clearly understanding and Janet Firth spouse to the said
Alex. for herself holding and bearing in her hands a certain Charter of
heritable fewferme made given and granted by our reverand father in god
George Bishop of Orkney and Shetland with advice consent and assent
of the provost and remaining Chapter of the cathedral church of Orkney.
To the said Alexander Chalmer, the said Janet Firth his spouse the
of them and to the heirs lawfully gotten or to be gotten between
them. to the said Alexander his heirs and assignees whatsoever.
Of all and whole that the said reverand father's piece of waste ground
on the west side of his road of Cairston whereupon the said Alex. and his
spouse have already built and planted a house and yard with the same house
and yard built and planted by them thereupon. The said piece of waste
ground being bounded with the sea on the east and from the sea directly to
the high craigstone and therefrom to many craigstones lying together on
the west and from the said craigstones to the sink on the south side of the
burn on the north and down the said sink to the sea lying in the parish of
Stromness within the Bishopric of Orkney and of the same. Together

with power privilege and liberty to the said Alex. his spouse and their foresaids to build and plant houses and yards upon the said piece of ground as they shall think expedient and with privilege and liberty also to cast peats to there all in use upon the common moor and commonty of the said parish to be held of the said reverand father and his successors in heritable fewferme as the said and precept of sasine. In the end the said Henry Beaton pro^r. and in name and behalf of the said Alex. Chalmer and the said Janet Firth for herself with all presented and delivered by Edward Sinclair of Ness, bailie in that as specified in the said precept delivering and recognising him present the same to be a lawful exhibition and said bailie in that part the said Charter in his hands delivered it unto not. public to be published and all of the precept whereof the follows: In name Edward Sinclair of Ness and in that it is our will and you that where the exhibit, gave and delivered state and sasine actual real and corporal possessing of all and whole our said piece of waste ground with the said house and yard built and planted thereupon lying and bounded as is above specified with the said privilege and liberty of building and planting of more houses and yards upon the same and of cutting of peats upon the said common moor and commonty of our said parish in manner of foresaid. To the said Alexander Chalmer, the said Janet Firth his spouse the to them in their names hereof Be delivered of earth and stone of the ground of the said piece of waste ground as use is conform to the of the other have abovewritten the which toil we present to you and formerly our bailies in that thereof as this our present there her precept of sasine In the end whereof written by Andrew David Heart writer with other and with the hands of the said provost and remaining Chapter of our said cathedral church of Orkney All in few Together with the common few of our said chapter is appended. At Kirkwall the twenty second day of april the year of god 1624. Before the witness Adam Ballenden of Stennis David Graham only eldest lawful son and apparent heir, Patrick Smith of Braco, our son-in-law Robert Graham, Andrew Smith, George Leslie the said David Heart and Andrew his cantor M. Davidson subchantor Smith subdean M^r. James Rob M^r. Patrick Inglis prebend. of S. Adam Ballenden witness D. Graham witness, A. Smith witness, George Leslie witness, D. Heart witness, witness .

..... the reading and publication of the which charter and precept of sasine

abovewritten the said Edward Sinclair bailie in that as above specified. By virtue of his said office of bailie presented to him in the said precept exhibited gave and delivered state and sasine actual real and corporal possession of all and whole the said piece of waste ground with the said house and yard built and planted thereupon lying and bounded as is above specified with the said privilege and liberty of building and planting of more houses and yards upon the same and of casting of peats upon the said common moor and commonty of the said parish in manner foresaid to the said Henry Beaton pro^{r.} and in name and behalf of the said Alex. Chalmer and to the said Janet Firth spouse to the said Alex. for herself. The said Henry pro^{r.} and in name foresaid and the said Janet for herself being personally present and accepting the same. Be delivered of earth and stone of the said piece of waste ground as use is conform to the of the said charter and precept of sasine abovewritten in all points. Upon the which all and sundry the said Henry Beaton pro^{r.} and in name and behalf of the said Alex. Chalmer and the said Janet Firth spouse to the said Alex. for herself and recognised this present public instrument or more public instruments to be made to them by me notary public These things will upon the said piece of waste ground at the said house by the said Alex. thereupon at seven hours in the morning on the day years of god and year of our sovereign lord's reign abovewritten. In of Thomas Stromness Andrew Traill Magnus Fea David Boswell burgess of Kinghorne and Edward Laughton witness thereto etc

paragraph of Latin text ends the document.

2. David Heart's Protocol Book : Number 353

Instrument of Sasine narrating that, upon 19th. March 1628, Williame Leask in Hammegar, in Cairstane, with his own hands, gave sasine to Magnus Leask in How, his eldest son, of

All and Hail that his tenement of land, hous, yaird, towmale and pertinentis thairof presentlie inhabite and possest be Andro Mwre his sone-in-law buildit and now manurit vpoun a

peice sumtyme of waist ground contening aughtscoir futtis of lenth and aughtscoir futtis of breid set in few be vmq^{1e} Robert Erle of Orknay to vmq^{1e} Williame Clerk and Mareon Chalmer his spous thair airis and assignis heretable Boundit betuix the myln burne of Cairstane and vmq^{1e} Ranie Elphinstoune's northmost marche of Hamegar lyand in the parochin of Stromness now within the Bishoprik of Orkney and Shirefdome of the samin, with power of brewing and selling, keiping of ostlerie and bying of all thingis appertening thairto for furnissing of the commounes and vtheris resorting thairaway, with licence and libertie of casting and wyning of peattis to the saidis hous quhair the rest of the commounes and tenentis thairabout vses to win thair fewall.

3. R.S. 43 Vol. 6 : Part. Reg. Seisins : Feb. 6, 1639 - June 16, 1647 :

Feb. 7, 1643:

Rob^{t.} Hutcheon - upon the ground and the land and house of Rob^{t.} Hutcheon tailzeor in Stromness and Marion Broun his spouse having in thair hands a certain charter made and granting by Thos. Redland of Redland oldest lawful son and air of umq^{1e} John Redland of Redland heritable fewfermor of the said land and houses underwritten with advice and consent of Magnus and Hew Redland his brother to the said Rob^{t.} and the said Marion Broun his spouse their airs

Off all and hail that the said Thomas his piece sometime of waste ground covering 7 score feet in length and 7 score feet in breadth on the east side of the (north) hill of Stromness pertaining to him in heritable fewferme as heir to his said umq¹ father. Together with the house and yards biggit and plantit thairupon for brewing and selling of ale and makeing of change thereuntil having the house and piece of ground sometyne inhabited by Helen Hunter now by W^{m.} Louttit alias fea on the south the march stones input on the west and north and the narrow passage that lies along the shoir of the sea called the Vo of Cairstane on the east.

4. R.S. 45 Number 1 : Part. Reg. Seisins : June. 8, 1661 - Oct. 31, 1666 :

Sept. 11, 1662 :

David Beaton's land - before Francis Gordon mrcht Stromness pro^{r.}
to W^{m.} Johnstoun in Stromness. The said David Beaton ... exhibitit,
gave and delyverit to W^{m.} Johnstoun

Off all and hail that his balk of land and piece of waste ground
extending in breadth from the ground to the south-east to 30 faddoms
and extending in length from the stone hill to the bray on the north.

5. Aug. 18, 1663 :

From Pat. Manson smyth, indweller in Stromness to Nicol Louttit,
sailor, also indweller in Stromness and Marion Manson spse.

Of all and hail that his hous lyand upon the shoir of Stromness
togidder with threescoir faddoms of ground in length and twentie
faddoms in breadth perteing to the said hous with pairts
pertinents thairof etc.

6. Nov. 6, 1663 :

Magnus Marwick indweller in Stromness and Christian Work spse and
Ffrancis marwick sone from Magnus Moir.

Off all and Hail the said Magnus his said piece of waist ground
extending in length from his said little hous northward towards the
vo head in length to foirteen faddoms togidder with the his little
hous with pairts pertinents etc.

7. Oct. 13, 1663 :

From W^{m.} Beatoun of Clouke and Pat. Beatoun in deal his brother
to Thos. Tailyeor, tailyeor in Stromness.

Off All and Hail their little hous and quoy lyand upon the said
shoare of Stromness boundit between Hew Linklitter his dwelling
house on the south and the hous presentlie posest by Magnus Marwick
on the north pairts with yairds perts etc.

8. Dec. 15, 1663 :

Pat. Manson smyth in Stromness to Thos. Louttit wright there,

Off All and Hail the said Patrick his two pairt of an quoy of land houss and yaird formerly belonging pntlie possessed by David beaton Baillie saved and reserved to the said patrick manson and his the houss and yaird pntlie possessed by Nicol Louttit with 7 faddoms of ground from the highermost pairt of the said quoy being from the north side of sd yaird which perteins to the sd houss wadset upward and so along to the burne (?) which runs hard by the house presently possessed by hugh Linklatter.

9. R.S. 45. Part. Reg. Seisins : Nov. 1, 1666 - May 23, 1674 :

Nov. 1, 1666:

David Beaton to Thomas Tailzeor.

Off All and Hail the said David his piece of waist ground Lyand upon the schoir of Stromness bounding upward from Alex. Chamber's March on the east to W^{m.} Johnstoun's March on the west the burn on the north and Patrick Mowat his March on the south pairt Lyand within the parochin of Stromness.

10. 1666:

David Beaton to W^{m.} Louttit carpenter in Stromness.

Off All and Hail said piece of waist ground Lyand at the head of the said W^{m.} his utter dyk upwards to the hill merkit with stone stands at qlk place the said W^{m.} is to build ane head dyk bounded and haveand the moor (?) and marches of that houss allowit pertinents to umqll Robert Mansone on the north Thomas Redland of that jlk his marche to Robert hutchesones house and priviledge yrof on the south the hill on the west and the said William his quoy and houss next to the shoire on the east with pairts perts etc Lyand in the Innertoune of Stromnes.

11.1667 :

David Beaton to Majorie and Helen Linkletter lawll daughters to umqle Hugh Linkeletter.

Off All and Hail that the said David his little house and quoy of land Lyand upon the shoire of Stromnes boundit fra the shoire of Stromness to the north hill and fra umqle Robert Mansone's mairche on the south with ffiftie faddoms of ground on the north Lyand to the old bow of Clewbreck to the burn and strip yrof having the north hill on the west the sea and harbour of Cairstone on the east pairts yrof perteining to him as uddell Lands Lyeing in Stromness next to the shoire and harbore of Cairstone Lyand in the parochine of Stromness.

12. Aug. 1, 1668 :

Barbara and Marjorie beatones lawfull daughters of umqll David beaton merchand in Stromness to Ffrancis Marwick and his mother Christian Werk.

Off All and Hail ane piece of waist ground extending to fourttie fadomes of ground in bredth and also in length bounding from the old bow next to the deceist hugh Linkletter's house and marche on the north side next clewabank Lyand on the north hill thair within the parochine of Stromness.

13. May 18, 1669:

Catherine, Elizabeth, Barbara and Marjorie Beattone and Rob^t. Halcro to Thos. Louttit wright in Stromness.

Off All and Hail that thaire peice of waist ground Lyand upon the shoire of Stromnes Boundit and having W^m. Louttit his mairche on the south the umqll hew Linkletters mairche on the north extending to three scoire faddoms to the dyk pertaining to the said Thomas himselff on the east and the hill on the west extending to fourttie faddomes with pairts etc. in parochin.

14. 1670:

Kath. Beattone to W^m. Melvell alias Meallie cordiner and Janet Beattone his spouse.

Off All and Hail the s d Katherine her peice of waist ground at the shoir of Stromness Lyand and having patrick Mowat

couper his hous and ground in the north and the rest of the waist ground towards the hous pertaining to ane pas sage be the sd Kath callit the Wheitt hous on the south extending to the length and breadth as follows viz. from ane litle quoy clos at the high craigs tones or hammers above the said Patrick Mowat his hous and towards the Wheitt hous to ffourteen faddoms in breadth and in length from the said high craigstones or hammers down towards the sea having the ground passage to the sd Patrick Mowat on the north and is keeping the breadth first to thirtyeight faddoms allowit and that for building of ane hous and yaird thairupon togidder with peats etc.

15. Jan. 27, 1671 :

Kath Beaton to Rob^t. Halcro of houtone and Elizabeth Beatoune his spse.

Off All and Haill ane peice of waist ground being the remaineing of that peice ground that was merked and marched to the said Robert and his said spous which is from the burne to the boatsnoust threttie fadome and fra the garvell of the house posest be Ffrancis lord upward or westward sextein fadome fra that the sd peice ground yrof now fewferme to is ane peice ground above the said sextein fadome upward or westward to the gate that passeth fra the said Katherine her own house to the said burne and fra the said burne northward (?) to the said boatsnoust at Least even doune fra the said gaitte to the said noust as ane pairt of the said Katherin her quoy of Land yron her owne dwelling house stands Lyand in the parochin of Stromness.

16. March 1674 :

Catherine Beattone laull daughter to umql david Beattone sometyme Baillie of Stromness to harrie grahame of Breckness.

Off All and Haill that peice of waist ground perteing to her Lyand at the shoir syde of Stromness extending in length from the lowest of the ebb on the east to the lowest end of the ground sett in fewferme be her to W^m. Melvill alias Meallie cordinar on

the west and haveing the lower end of the Quoy perteing to Patrick Mowat carpenter on the north and the waist ground reaching downe from the said Catherine her dwelling house to the sea shoir on the south which peice of waste ground is called haliholl extending downward from the said W^m. Melvill his ground to the lowest of the ebbe as said is to fourteen faddomes of breidth Lyand in the said parochin of Stromness.

17. April 3, 1674 :

Thos. Tailzeor skipper in the parochin of Stromness to John Gray skipper in said parochin of Stromness.

Off All and Hail that his said peice waist ground Lyand above the shoar of Stromness consisting of 20 faddomes of measure north and south boundit and haveing Patrick Mowat carpenter his house and lands on the south, the said Thos. Tailzeor his own dwelling house and quoy of land on the north and umq^l. Alex^r. Chalmer his house and lands on the east and W^m. Jonston skipper in the sd parochin his hous and lands on the west.

18. Aug. 18, 1674 :

Pat. Beattone of Deall heretable prop^r. of peice waist ground to Francis Gordon baillie.

Off All and Hail that his said peice of waist ground Lyand above William Jonstone skipper his dwelling house consisting of faddoms in length and breadth boundit fra the said W^m. Jonstone his head dyk to the new house pntlie built be Magnus and James Beatton on the west to the runing burne upon the north faddoms to the comone slapp upon the southwest and the sd W^m. Jonstone skipper his dwelling hous upon the east Lyand within the parochin.

19. 1674:

Harie Grahame of Breckness heretable prop^r. to Duncane Grahame merchand in Stromness.

Off All and Hail his houses and yaird and quoy of land with houses biggings yeards pairts etc perteing and belonging thairto Lyand on the shoir syd of Stromness boundit from Alex. Chalmers marches on the south to Robert Hutchesones mairches on the north having the samen loan below John Hairstaines mairches on the west and the sea called Cairstane road on the east pairts yrof and the samyne is pntlie possest be Henrie Irving Lyand in the parochin.

20.

Sept. 15, 1675:

John Gordone merchand in Stromness for himselff and in name and behalf of Kath, Elizabeth, Barbara and Marjorie Beattones lawfull daughters of umq^{le} David beattone, Rob^t. Halcro of Howton spse to Elizabeth and the sd John himselff spse to sd Marjorie to Henrie Irvine alias Hollan and Janet Wilson his spse.

Off All and Hail that peice of weast ground for building ane house or houses upon with kailyard and peatyeard extending to 30 faddomes north and southward and fourtie faddoms to the hill westward Lyand and boundit betwixt the litle burne on the south the Loan above Thomas Louttit's quoy on the east the rest of the west hill on the north and the other pairt of the said west hill on the west pairts yrof Lyand within the parochin.

21.

R.S. 45. Vol. 4: Part. Reg. Seisins: Dec. 12, 1682 - April 4, 1692:
July 16, 1685:

Ffrancis Gordon baillie in Stromness and Marie Beatoun his spse with advise and consent of James Gordine only lawful sone to W^m. Gerdone of Cairstone.

Off All and Hail that their dwelling house of tenement of land with the half of the quoy pertaining yrto boundit from the shoar of Stromness to the wart hills and fra umq^l Robert Mansones mairch on the south with fiftie faddomes of ground to the north of the said tenement Lyeing to the old bow of clowbank to the burne and stryp yrof haveing the wart hill on

the west and the sea and harbour of Cairstane on the east pairts thairof with all and sundrie pairtments pertaining yrto as the samyne is possest be them.

22. R.S. 45. Vol. 7: Part. Reg. Seisins: - May, 16, 1716:

May 15, 1711:

Compeared personally at and upon yr peice of waist ground kail yaird and peat brae after men^{tt} James Gordoun of Kerstoun only law¹¹ sone to the Deceast ffrancis Gordon of Kerstoun and w^t him James Millar Burges of Kirk¹¹ Residenter in Stromnes. And there the said James Gordoun propry^r mainly out of his own ffrie proper motive with certain knowledge and deliberate minde no wayes being compelled circumvened nor seduced Exhibited Gave and delyvered here¹¹ and Irre^{tt} state and seasin actuall reall and Corporall

Off All and Hail the kail yaird presently possest by the sd James Millar extending from East to west on the southsyde to Ten faddoms and foot and half and from south to North on the west syde to Eleven ffadoms four foot And from west to east on the Northsyde to Ten fadoms and from North to south on the east syde to Ten faddoms ffoir ffoot and ane half foot Bounded as ffollowes viz Haveing the kail yaird pertaining to ye aires of M^{r.} James Strachan Late min^{r.} at Hoy and Grahamsay on ye south, apart of the tuo riggs pertaining to the aires of the sd M^{r.} James Strachan and together w^t a part of the tuo riggs after men^{tt} disponed by the said James Gordoun to the said James Millar On the west the peice of ground or riggs pertaining to the aires of the said M^{r.} James Strachan and the said James Gordon Lyand next to Magnus Sinclair's house on the north and the tuo stack hills the one belonging to the aires of the said M^{r.} James Strachan and the other ptning to the said James Gordon and presently Disponed by him to the sd James Millar On the East.

Off All and Hail a part of the tuo riggs a men^{tt} ptning to the sd James Gordoun Lyand upon the westsyde of the said kaill yaird Extending in Lenth from East to west on the southsyde to ffyfty tuo foots of rule and in breadth from south to North on y^e westsyde to ffourtytuo foots of rule and in lenth from west to east on the Northsyde to ffyftytuo foots of rule and in breadth from South to North on the east syde to thretty Eight foots eight inches of rule Bounded as ffollowes viz Haveing a part of the tuo riggs ptning to the aires of the sd M^{r.} James Strachan On y^e south, The remaining part of the tuo riggs ptning to the sd James Gordoun on the west and a part of the tuo riggs and waist ground ptning to y^e aires of the sd M^{r.} James Strachan and the sd James Gordoun on the North and y^e kaill yaird a men^{tt} presently disponed by the sd James Gordoun to y^e sd James Millar on the East.

Off All and Hail the peat ground ptning to the sd James Gordoun as it is presently possess by the sd James Millar Lyand upon y^e East syd of the sd kaill yaird extending in lenth from East to west on y^e southsyd to seven faddoms half faddom and in breadth from south to North on y^e west syd to ffour faddomes and ane half and in lenth from west to East on y^e North syde to six faddomes ffour part faddom and in Breadth from North to south on y^e east syde to ffour faddoms and ane half Bounded as ffollowes viz Haveing the peat ground pertaining to y^e aires of the sd M^{r.} James Strachan On y^e south The kaill yaird a men^{tt} on the west, the litle kaill yaird and houss pertaining to y^e aires of the sd M^{r.} James Strachan and the sd James Gordoun on the North The Queens highway the Banks and harbour of Stromness on the east parts yrof all lyand at the shoarsyd of Stromness mainland late Bishoprick and now Stewartry of Orknay disponed to the sd ffrancis Gordoun by Hellen Linklater law¹¹ daughter to umq¹¹ Hugh Linklatter in Stromness.

APPENDIX C :

Transcriptions from 'Rentals of Orkney' by Alexander Peterkin, 1820.

References to the development of the burgh of Stromness:

II. Rentale of King and Bischoppis Lands of Orkney 1595.

Hamigair ob terrae :

W^m. Clarkis house now bigged payis - - - -

IIa. The Trew and Just Rentall of all the Fermes, Debtis, Dewties, and Gersumes of the Lands of ye Parochin of STROMNES, 1614.

HAMEGER: ob terrae, pro Rege Set in few to umqle Ronald Elphinston. WILLIAM CLARKSHOWS Newbigging payis yeirlie ten shillings money.

IV. Rentale of the Landis and Dewties Thairof qlkis apperteinit to the lait Bis hoprik of Orknay 1642.

HAMMAGAIR: half d. land, fewit to Ronald Elphinstoun for payment of 43/4d. W^m. Clerkis hous fewit for 10s. money. FEWDEUTIES for Houfs at the Shoir of Stromnes.

DAVID BETOUN payis for his houss and ground yr. 6 capones
JON RIDLAND for his hous, etc 6 capones

W^m. OGILVIE for his hous, etc 6 capones

ALEX. CHALMER for his hous and ground yr 24 chickenis

M^r. JOHN GAIRDYNES Airis for a piece of ground at his hous 12 chickenis.

V. The True and Just Rentall of all the Fermis, Debtis, Dewties and Gersumes off the Bischopruck of Orknay, Stromnes.

HAMEGAIR: ob terrae fett in few To vmq^{1e} Ronald Elphinftoun for yearlie pay^t. of xliij s iiij d W^m. Clerkis houfe payis yearlie x s.

The Capones of Stromnes David bofuell payis yearlie for his feww dewtie of his houffsis vj capones

W^{m.} ogilvie payis for Tack dewtie for his lands and houffsis vj capones

Helein hunter payis for hir houffsis and lands

John Redland for his houffsis vj capones

M^{r.} John Gairney for a peice ground at his houfe xij chickens

Alex^{r.} Chalmer for his houff and ground xxiiij chickens.

VI. Donald Groat's "Bishoprick - Compt - Book, Cropt 1739".

Under the subheading

CLUCK 6d. Land, 3 mk p.d. Land

Arch. Gibson and Marjory Gordon pay for the few duetie of Hammiger £2 - 3 - 4d.

Thos. Grahame ps. feww duetie of his house 6 capons.

Rests all is £1.

W^{m.} Graham's relict ps. for the Rob^{t.} Hutcheson's house and Quoy £1. Ref^{d.} to her accot.

Geo. Dallas' relict ps. for Hellen Chamber's house 24 chickens.

Rests all is £1 - 4s.

W^{m.} Allan ps. for the half of Linklatter house 1/8d.

Jas Gordon ps. for the oyr. half Tantum. Rests all is 1/8d.

Marg^{t.} Tulloch ps. for W^{m.} Johnstoun's house 3/4d.

Marg^{t.} Fiddler ps. Tantum. Rests all is 3/4d.

John and Mag. Louttit's pay for their house Tantum - Rests all is 3/4d.

Francis Marwick ps. for feww duetie of his house Tantum.

Rests all is 3/4d.

M^{r.} Robert Honyman of Gramsay ps. for few duetie of William Mowat's house 6 capons.

W^{m.} Gordon of Kairston: It: few duetie of Thomas Spence house 10/-.

(This was originally William Clerk's house).

NOTES :

INTRODUCTION :

1. Climate data available in the Orkney Room, County Library, Kirkwall.
2. Promontory or cape : frequently used as a termination in the proper name of a headland.
3. A gully or creek.
4. (1) Tax upon all land occupied by Odal-red for the support of the Crown, and expense of the government.
(2) Land tax paid in Orkney and Shetland for the support of the Earl's government.
5. Bu', Bull, Bøl : (1) Principal farm of the Odalsjord, sometimes called the Head Bull.
(2) A term sometimes used to denote a farm house or village in conjunction with the proper name.
6. Later additions to the arable area were named quoyland and did not pay skatt : derivation : Quoy-kvi= a spot where animals are wont to congregate.
7. Towmale, Tumail, Tumale : a grass patch used for temporarily pasturing animals.
8. Ounceland, Eyrisland, Urisland, Ursland : land paying skatt to the value of one ounce of silver.
9. Legal exchange.
10. The pledging or pawning of a possession.
11. The right of the eldest son to inherit the property, title, etc., of a parent, to the exclusion of all other children.

CHAPTER I :

1. St. Ola parish was named after King Olaf, the first Christian King of Norway, who died in battle AD 1030.

2. Stromness is now both the parish and burgh name but is derived from a shore name : Strom, Straum - strong tide, ness - promontory.

3. Stromness = 120 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. lands : subdivisions = 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. odal ;
 52 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. earldom (16d. land 'auld earldom', 36 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. conquest) ;
 8d. land church (3d. bishopric, 5d kirkland).

St. Ola - c. 120 d. land : subdivisions - approx 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. odal ;
 10 = 13d. earldom ; 104d. church.

Details to be found in Clouston, J.S., The Orkney Parishes, Kirkwall, 1927.

4. Kjarreks = stadir, Kjarrekstead : stadir, stead - abode :
 thus the whole name translates as the settlement of the man called Kjarrek.

5. J.S. Clouston. A History of Orkney, Kirkwall, 1932, p.106.

6. Kirkju=vágr : vágr-creek : thus creek or bay of the church, Old Norse c.A.D. 1140.

The name alternatively appears as KYRKEWA AD 1274 - Chronicle
 of Man

KIRKAW AD 1422 - In a legal document printed in

'The Records of the Earldom of Orkney.'

KIRKWALL AD 1536 - James V's Charter.

CHAPTER II :

1. J.S. Clouston, A History of Orkney, Kirkwall, 1932, p.2.

2. An inlet of the sea.

3. Peerie-small, little : thus the little sea.

4. B.H, Hossack, Kirkwall in the Orkneys, Kirkwall, 1900, p.2.

5. The valley of the Papae or Celtic fathers.

6. The Northmen or Normans, colonists from Scandinavia who settled in Gaul, founded Normandy, adopted the French tongue and French manners, and from their new home set forth on new errands of conquest, chiefly in the British Islands and in Southern Italy and Sicily.

7. Trithings or Thirds = c. 64 eyrislands: see Clouston, J.S., A History of Orkney, Kirkwall, 1932, p. 182 fol. & map p. 36.
8. J. Mooney, The Cathedral and Royal Burgh of Kirkwall, Kirkwall, 1943, p. 93.
9. Sir Henry Dryden, Ruined Churches in Orkney, The Orcadian, 1867, 1868, 1871.
10. A closet near the altar for the sacred vessels.
11. A basin for holy water at the entrance of a church.
12. Hossack, op. cit., p.4.
13. Clouston, op. cit., p. 72.
14. Mooney, op. cit., p. 27.
15. Small apse : an extending portion of an edifice, from the interior a recess and from the exterior a projection, usually semi-circular with a half dome.
16. Merk, mark - silver coin worth 13s = 4d Scots, 13½d or 6p Sterling.
17. As much land as can be properly tilled by one plough.
18. A.B. Taylor, Orkneyinga Saga, Edinburgh, 1938, p. 261.
19. Meyer and Dietrichson, Monumenta Orcadica, Kristiania (Oslo), 1906, p. 48.
20. H.F. Kerr, St. Magnus Cathedral, Church Service Society Annual, vol. 1, 1936 - 37.
21. A simple form of ribbed vaulting, consisting of transverse, diagonal and wall ribs, dividing a rectangular vaulted space, or compartment into four segments or 'severys'.
22. Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments : Scotland, Inventory of Monuments in Orkney, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1946, vol. II, pp. 114 - 115.
23. A turret, with loopholes, jutting out from a wall.

24. A variation of the Latin cross where the choir is shorter in length than the nave.
25. Sir Henry Dryden, Description of the Church of St. Magnus, Kirkwall, 1878, p. 48.
26. Kerr, op. cit., p. 18.
27. Meyer and Dietrichson, op. cit., p. 43.
28. Kerr, op. cit., p. 22.
29. The Short Magnus Saga, p. 296. See also J. Mooney, The Cathedral and Royal Burgh of Kirkwall, Kirkwall, 1943, p. 95.
30. W. Douglas Simpson, The Bishop's Palace and the Earl's Palace, Kirkwall, Orkney, H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1965, p. 9.
31. D. Balfour, Memorial for Orkney, Edinburgh, 1860, p. 27.
32. Hossack, op. cit., p. 25.
33. Rev. G. Barry, History of the Orkney Islands, Edinburgh, 1805, p. 227.
34. Hossack, op. cit., p. 25.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., p. 19.

CHAPTER III :

1. Florin of the Rhine was a German gold coin equal in value to 2 dollars, 100d or 42p Sterling.
2. A landlord's right to the stock, crop or furniture as security for rent.
3. J. Mooney, Royal Charters and Records of the City of Kirkwall with the Danish Treaty of 1468, Aberdeen, 1948, p. 107.
4. D. Balfour, Oppressions of the Sixteenth Century in the islands of Orkney and Zetland from original documents, Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1859, pp xxxv - xxxvi.

5. J.S. Clouston, Records of the Earldom of Orkney, Edinburgh, 1914, p. 22.
6. J. Mooney, The Cathedral & Royal Burgh of Kirkwall, Kirkwall, 1943, p. 105, see also extracts from the 1486 Charter in W.R. Mackintosh, Glimpses of Kirkwall and its People in Olden Times, Kirkwall, 1887.
7. Originally there were three annual fairs each of three days in length, viz. Palm Sunday Fair; Lammas Fair, 1st August; and St. Martin's Fair, 11th November. Only the Lammas Fair is held at the present time.
8. J. Mooney, Royal Charters & Records of the City of Kirkwall, Aberdeen, 1948, p. 17.
9. Balfour, op. cit., Charter of 26th May 1565.
10. J. Mooney, The Cathedral and Royal Burgh of Kirkwall, Kirkwall, 1943, p. 154.
11. J. Mooney, Royal Charters and Records of the City of Kirkwall, Aberdeen, 1948, p. 45.
12. A clod of earth.
13. W.R. Mackintosh, Curious Incidents from the Ancient Records of Kirkwall, Kirkwall, 1892, p. 15.
14. J. Mooney, The Cathedral & Royal Burgh of Kirkwall, Kirkwall, 1943, p. 27.
15. Rev. J. Wallace, Description of the Isles of Orkney, Edinburgh, 1693, p. 58.
16. Rev. J. Wallace, Description of the Islands of Orkney, reprint Edinburgh, 1883, p. 68.
17. B.H. Hossack, Kirkwall in the Orkneys, Kirkwall, 1900, p. 75.
18. Ibid., p. 76.
19. J. Mooney, The Cathedral and Royal Burgh of Kirkwall, Kirkwall, 1943, p. 62.
20. A Peterkin, Rentals of Orkney, Edinburgh, 1820, part III, p. 22.

21. One pound Scots was equivalent to 1s =8d or 8½p Sterling, thus £12 Scots was equal to £1 or 100p Sterling.
22. J. Mooney, *The Cathedral and Royal Burgh of Kirkwall*, Kirkwall, 1943, p. 63.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
24. J. Mooney, *Royal Charters and Records of the City of Kirkwall*, Aberdeen, 1948, p. 16.
25. W.D. Simpson, *The Bishop's Palace and the Earl's Palace*, Kirkwall, Orkney, H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1954, pp. 19 - 20.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
28. Seisin, Seizin, Sasine : Scots Law - act of giving legal possession of feudal property, infeftment, a form of Seizin (Fr. saisine, saisir-occupy).
 Symbols of Sasine : in granting of sasine (i.e. the actual possession of property) it was incumbent on the seller, either personally or through an accredited agent or 'bailie in the part' to hand over to the purchaser some tangible token of ownership. In the case of land the symbols were 'earth and stone' of the land in question.
29. The corner-stone supporting the coping of a gable.
30. Hossack, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
31. (1) Anything of a permanent nature that may be held by one person of another as property, as land, houses, etc.
 (2) a house or building.
32. Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments : Scotland, *Inventory of Monuments in Orkney*, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1946, vol. II, p. 150.
33. Hossack, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
34. J.S. Clouston, *An Old Kirkwall House*, P.O.A.S. vol. V, Kirkwall, 1927, p. 9.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Hossack, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

37. A town house.
38. Hossack, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
41. A tax on a person, as distinguished from that on property, especially as a fore-requisite for voting.
42. Hossack, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 48, Session Records, 23 December 1690.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 414, Session Records, 12 October 1674.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 382.
46. A. Peterkin, *Notes on Orkney and Zetland*, Edinburgh, 1822, vol. I, Appendix 92.
47. Hossack, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
48. J.S. Clouston, *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, Edinburgh, 1914, pp. 368 - 369.

CHAPTER IV :

1. First mentioned in 'Rentale of King and Bishoppis Lands of Orkney, 1595,' *Rentals of Orkney*, Alexander Peterkin, but Earl Robert Stewart died 1593.
2. David Heart's Protocol Book, p. 292^o, No. 353, Instrument of Sasine, 19 March 1628.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Derivation of old Norse name, Hafnarvágr. Hamna Voe translates as Haven Bay.
5. Jo Ben, *Descriptio Insularum Orchadiarum*, 1529, Macfarlane's Geographical Collection, vol. III, Scottish History Society, 53.
6. J. Wallace, *A Description of the Isles of Orkney*, Edinburgh, 1693, p. 9, and J. Brand, *A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland-Firth and Caithness*, Edinburgh, 1701, p. 32.

7. D. De Foe, *A Tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, 4 vols., London, 1769, vol. IV, p. 329.
8. *Pococke's Tours in Scotland*, Scottish History Society, volume 1, 1760, p. 138.
9. J. Fea, *The Present State of the Orkney Islands Considered*, Edinburgh, 1775, p. 22.
10. A. Peterkin, *Rentals of Orkney*, Edinburgh, 1820, 'Rentall of the Landis and Dewties thair of qlkis apperteinit to the lait Bishoprik of Orknay 1642', p. 15.
11. A public rate, tax, assessment.
12. R.M. Fergusson, *Rambles in the Far North*, London, 1884, p. 62, and George and Peter Anderson, *Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1847, p. 656.
13. Murdoch Mackenzie, *Orcades or a Geographic and Hydrographic Survey of the Orkney and Lewis Islands in 8 maps*, London, 1750, p. 6.
14. Ward, wart hill - (1) a tumulus or mound thrown up on high ground in the Orkney and Shetland isles for the purpose of conveying intelligence, (2) a beacon or fire kindled on the mound.
15. (1) A narrow pass between two hills,
(2) A gap or temporary opening in a hedge, fence, etc.
16. A landing-place, an inlet for admitting a boat to approach the shore, especially where the entrance is rocky.
17. O.S./64/54 Nos. 32, 33, 34, 44, 45, 46, 47, 89, 90, 91.
18. Rev. G. Barry, *The History of the Orkney Islands*, Edinburgh, 1805, p. 33.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Rev. W. Clouston, *United Parishes of Sandwick and Stromness*, Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1795, vol. XVI, p. 437.
21. *Particular Registers of Seisins : Orkney and Zetland*, R.S. 45, 2, 1.
22. R.S. 45, 2, 169.

23. R.S.45, 2, 462.
24. The mode of possession whereby property is held of a superior on payment of a certain yearly rent.
25. R.S.45, 3, 326.
26. R.S.45, 3, 449.
27. R.S.45, 4, 10.
28. R.S.45, 6, Pt. 1, 115.
29. (1) A pool or pond,
(2) a stagnant or slow-flowing ditch,
(3) a very marshy piece of ground.
30. Register House Plan, RHP 3832, The Quoy called Chalmer's Quoy, Stromness, 1792, Surveyor : Joshua Johnston.
31. R.S. 43, 3.
32. R.S. 45, 2, 112.
33. R.S. 45, 1, 160.
34. J.S. Clouston, The Orkney Parishes, Kirkwall, 1927, p. 87.
35. Suit rolls contained the lists of all the suitors of court, usually the heads of feudal and odal estates.
36. Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments : Scotland, Inventory of Monuments in Orkney, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1946, vol. II, p. 323.
37. To seize or capture.
38. Rev. J.B. Craven, History of the Church in Orkney, 4 vols., Kirkwall, vol. II, 1897, p. 132.
39. Ibid, p. 146.
40. Scarth of Breckness Muniments, Stromness, General Titles, 30 May 1630.

CHAPTER V :

1. Letter Book of John Johnston, p. 91.
2. Kirkwall and Stromness Case, 1755, Answers for Alexander Graham and others, Inhabitants of the village of Stromness, Suspenders, to the Petition of the Magistrates of Kirkwall, 25 November 1755.
3. H. Marwick, Orkney, London, 1951, p. 141.
4. J. Flett, Kirkwall Burgess Ticket of 1734, P.O.A.S., vol. V, p. 31.
5. (1) Property that falls to the feudal lord or to the state for want of an heir or by forfeiture,
(2) to confiscate.
6. Flett, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Rev. G. Barry, The History of the Orkney Islands, Edinburgh, 1805, p. 34.
9. Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs, 1738 - 1759, p. 257.
10. Marwick, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
11. Barry, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
12. Pococke's Tours in Scotland, 1760, Scottish History Society, vol. 1, p. 138.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Rev. T. Hepburn, A Letter to a Gentleman from his friend in Orkney, Edinburgh, 1757, p. 22.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
16. J.A. Troup and F. Eunson, Stromness, Stromness, 1967, p. 17.
17. J. Fea, The Present State of the Orkney Islands Considered, Edinburgh, 1775, p. 26.
18. Letter Book of John Johnston, Stromness, 1 March 1787.
19. *Ibid.*, February 1785.
20. *Ibid.*

21. Ibid.
22. Hudson's Bay Company Archives A1/27/f.0 3d see also Troup and Eunson, Stromness, Stromness, 1967.
23. Fea, op. cit., p. 28.
24. Barry, op. cit., p. 35.
25. Letter Book of John Johnston, Stromness, 1 March 1787.
26. Public auction.
27. Stromness Estate, From an old Rent Book and a/c book former 1749 - 1800.
28. H. Miller, The Cruise of the Betsey, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 423.
29. R.E. and B.L.C. Moira, Kirkwall and Stromness in Orkney, Survey Report, 1959, p. 214.
30. R.S.45, 7, 272.
31. A. Peterkin, Notes on Orkney and Zetland, Edinburgh, 1822, vol 1, p. 15.
32. Letter Book of John Johnston, Stromness, 12 April 1788.
33. Troup and Eunson, op. cit., p. 8.
34. Peterkin, op. cit., p. 19.
35. Dionyse Settle, 1577, A True Report of the last voyage into the the west and North-West regions, etc., P.O.A.S., 35, 1901, p. 463.
36. Lease by the Board of Trade to George Anderson Copland and Peter Johnston Copland, 1879.
37. J. Smith, The Church in Orkney, Kirkwall, 1907, p. 326.

CHAPTER VI :

1. W.R. Mackintosh, Curious Incidents from the Ancient Records of Kirkwall, Kirkwall, 1892, p. 128.
2. G. Eunson, The Ancient and Present State of Orkney, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1788, p. 92.

3. Rev. G. Barry, United Parishes of Kirkwall and St. Ola, Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, Edinburgh, vol. VII, pp. 535 - 536.
4. J. Fea, The Present State of the Orkney Islands Considered, Edinburgh, 1775, p. 17.
5. Fine straw plait made in Tuscany and generally employed for straw hats. The plaits are laid edge to edge and the rows are fixed together with fine cord threaded through the loops resulting from each bend of the strand of straw at the turn of the pattern. When tightened the rows interlock in such a way as to conceal the cord entirely, forming a practically flat surface.
6. Rev. G. Barry, *op. cit.*, p. 550.
7. Fea, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
8. Rev. W. Logie and Rev. P. Petrie, Parish of Kirkwall and St. Ola, The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Edinburgh, vol. XV., Orkney, p. 6.
9. Eunson, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
10. Barry, *op. cit.*, p. 535.
11. B.H. Hossack, Kirkwall in the Orkneys, Kirkwall, 1900, p. 383.
12. Landowners in a parish who are liable to public burdens.
13. Hossack, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, p. 275.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
21. J.R. Tudor, The Orkneys and Shetland : Their Past and Present State, Kirkwall, 1883, p. 233.

22. Fea, op. cit., p. 14.
23. Rev. G. Barry, The History of the Orkney Islands, Edinburgh, 1805, p. 23.
24. R.W. Billings, Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1845 - 52, part XV.
25. Hossack, op. cit., p. 110.
26. Logie & Petrie, op. cit., p.1.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Hossack mentions that the word 'kavet' appears to mean a pannier, the word itself being allied to cubbie - a caisie with a close bottom which would carry grain.
30. Hossack, op. cit., p. 225.
31. Ibid., p. 203.
32. Ibid., p. 412.
33. R.E. and B.L.C. Moira, Kirkwall and Stromness in Orkney : Survey Report, 1959, p. 129.
34. In the 1851 Census eighteen carters/porters were recorded but by 1891 this number had risen to a total of 58.
35. Black ooze, mud, etc.
36. The number of cattle dealers in the burgh had risen from one to eleven between 1851 and 1891.
37. Fea, op. cit., p. 18.
38. Hossack, op. cit., p. 352.
39. Ibid.
40. Balfour Hospital, Kirkwall, 1923.
41. Anderson's Guide to the Orkney Islands, Kirkwall, 1884, p. 26.
42. Ibid.

CHAPTER VII :

1. R.E. and B.L.C. Moira, Kirkwall and Stromness in Orkney :
Survey Report, 1959, p. 54.

CHAPTER VIII :

1. F.G. Lockhart, Lockhart's Life of Scott : Memoir of Sir Walter Scott, 5 vols., London, 1900, vol. II, p. 468.
2. B.H. Hossack, Kirkwall in the Orkneys, Kirkwall, 1900, p. 229.
3. The Valuation Roll of 1714 states that 'Robert Baikie of Tankerness hath ane large tenement under sclaitt roof possest by himself, George Moodie and Robert Stewart of Eday's children' and tends to support this observation.
4. The monogram is I.T.H.S. - John Traill and Helen Stewart - and the date (1679) is the year in which, on the 16th of March, 'John Traill, Fiar of Elsness, was married to Helen Stewart, relict of Peitter Winchester.'

CHAPTER IX. :

1. Stromness in the Orkney Islands : Official Guide Book, p. 14.
2. D. Gorrie, Summers and Winters in the Orkneys, London, 1870,
p. 240.
3. G. and P. Anderson, Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland,
Edinburgh, 1847, p. 656.
4. The buildings approach to within 2.98m. of one another in Porteous'
Brae.
5. Rev. G. Barry, The History of the Orkney Islands, Edinburgh, 1805,
p. 34.

CHAPTER X :

1. G. Cullen, Townscape, London, 1961, p. 9.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 12.

4. B.H. Hossack, *Kirkwall in the Orkneys*, Kirkwall, 1900, p. 150.
5. E. Marwick, *Journey of an Unknown Traveller*, *The Orcadian*, 12 June 1969, p. 5.
6. R.S. 45, 2, 289.
7. This is now the site occupied by the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses.
8. Hossack, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 282. The 'old college buildings' refers to Reid's Grammar School situated at the west end of the 'Ludgeing'.
10. A stair of straight flights and landings.
11. *The Orcadian*, 6 February 1969, p. 1.
12. *The Orcadian*, 3 September 1970, p. 1.

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Plan showing Commonty, land claimed by the burgh of Kirkwall, feus granted by the burgh and encroachments, 1846.

Plan showing burgh property, the infield properties and the commonty, n.d. (19th cent.)

Plan of the lands of Brandyquoy and other lands belonging to the Crown including St. Magnus Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace and the Earl's Palace, 1836.

Plan of part of Kirkwall, showing St. Magnus Cathedral and adjoining properties including the lands of Brandyquoy and the Churchyard, n.d. (19th cent.)

Plan of Broad Street, Kirkwall, showing St. Magnus Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace and Earl's Palace, n.d. (19th cent.)

Plan of Glaitness, with table of contents, 1818.

Manse of Kirkwall adjoining the Bishop's Palace, 1827.

Photostat copy of a plan of Grain belonging to Sir Laurence Dundas of Kerse, 1766, Original penes County Library Kirkwall.

Plan of Kirkwall Pier, 1891.

STROMNESS:

Plan of a house bought by the deceased David Sutherland and the waste in dispute and possessed by Isobell Manson his relict, 1765.

Plan of the property in Stromness belonging to Joshua Johnston, 1792.

The Quay called Chalmer's Quay, Stromness, 1792.

Photocopy of Sketch (of part of Stromness) produced by the Advocate, Mrs. Spence now Mrs. Smillie, 1829, Original M.S. Acc. 4065 (1)
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Stromness Harbour, Plan of Proposed Extension of Pier, 1893.

Plan Stromness Pier, Board of Trade, 1896.

Stromness Harbour. Plan showing proposed reclamation at the head of the Voe and roadway and Quay on the North shore, 1896.

Figure 1 : Location map of the Orkney Islands.

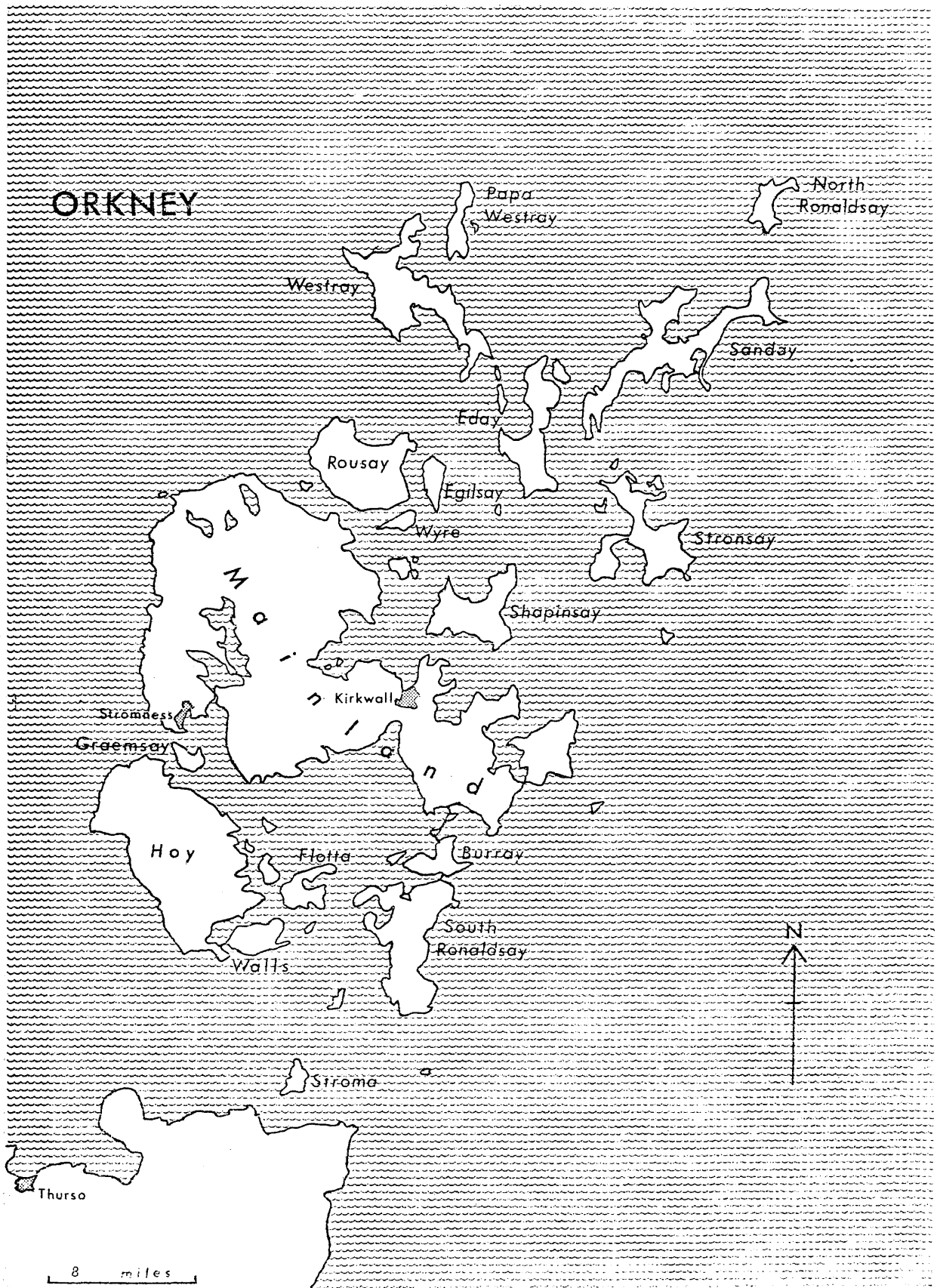


Figure 2 : Geology of the Mainland.

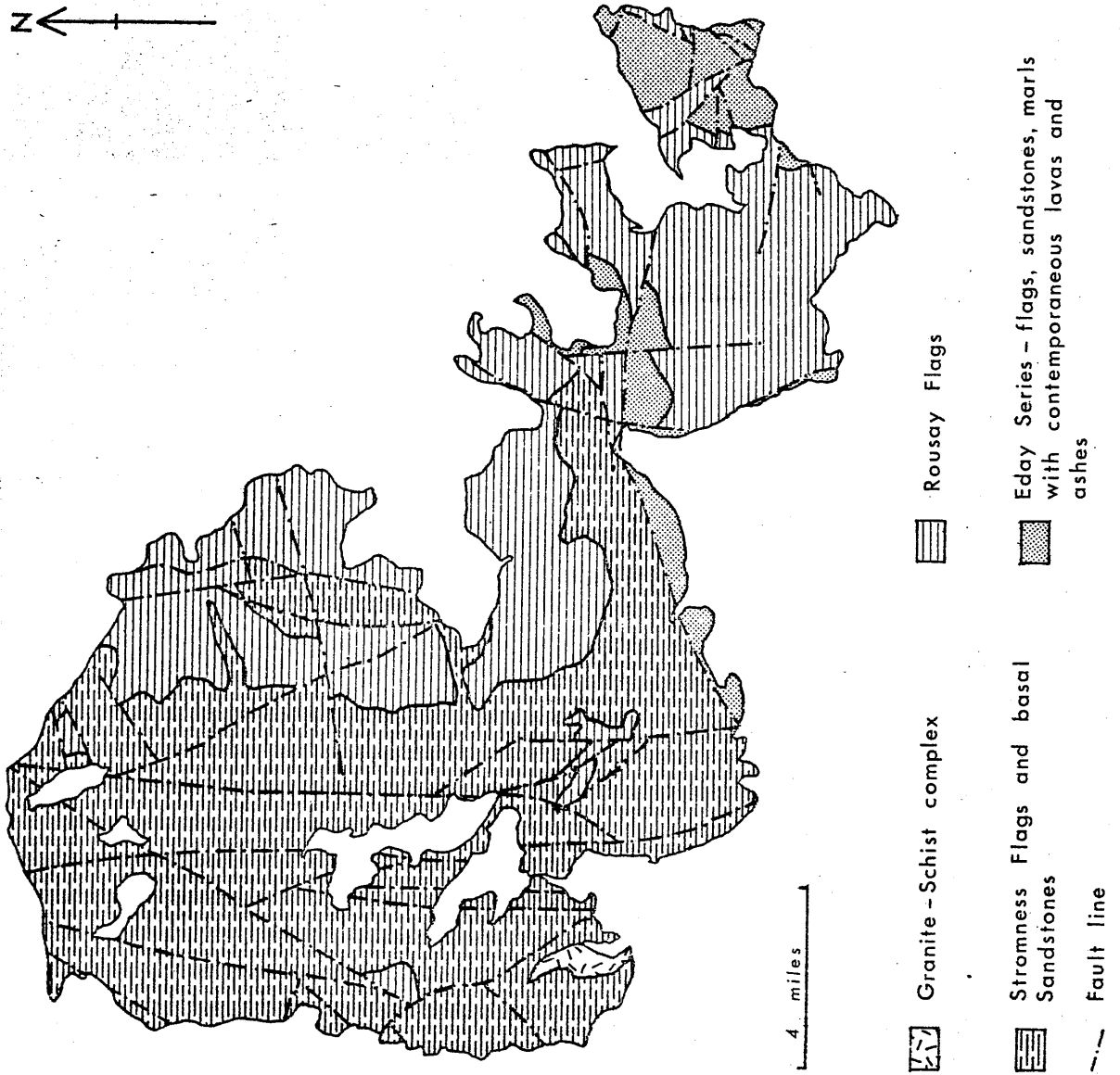


Figure 3 : St. Ola : Parish map.

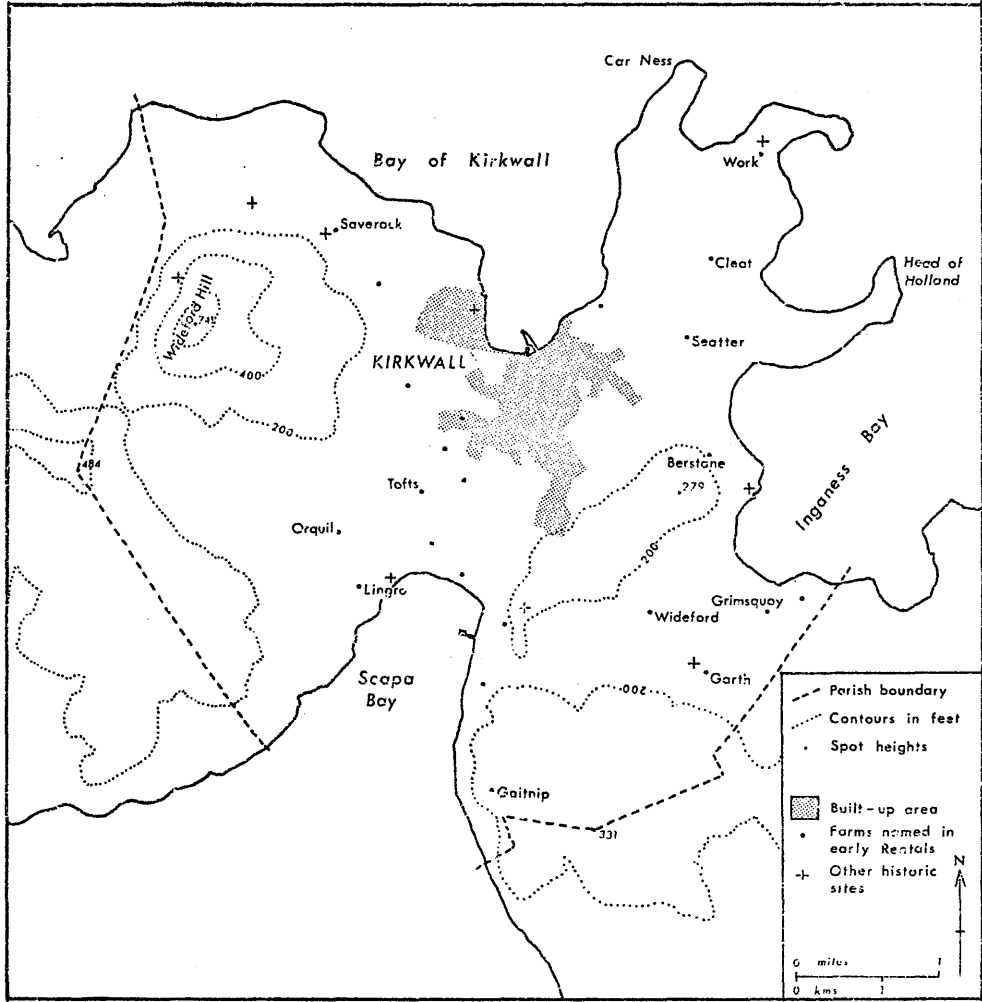


Figure 4 : Kirkwall : Geology.

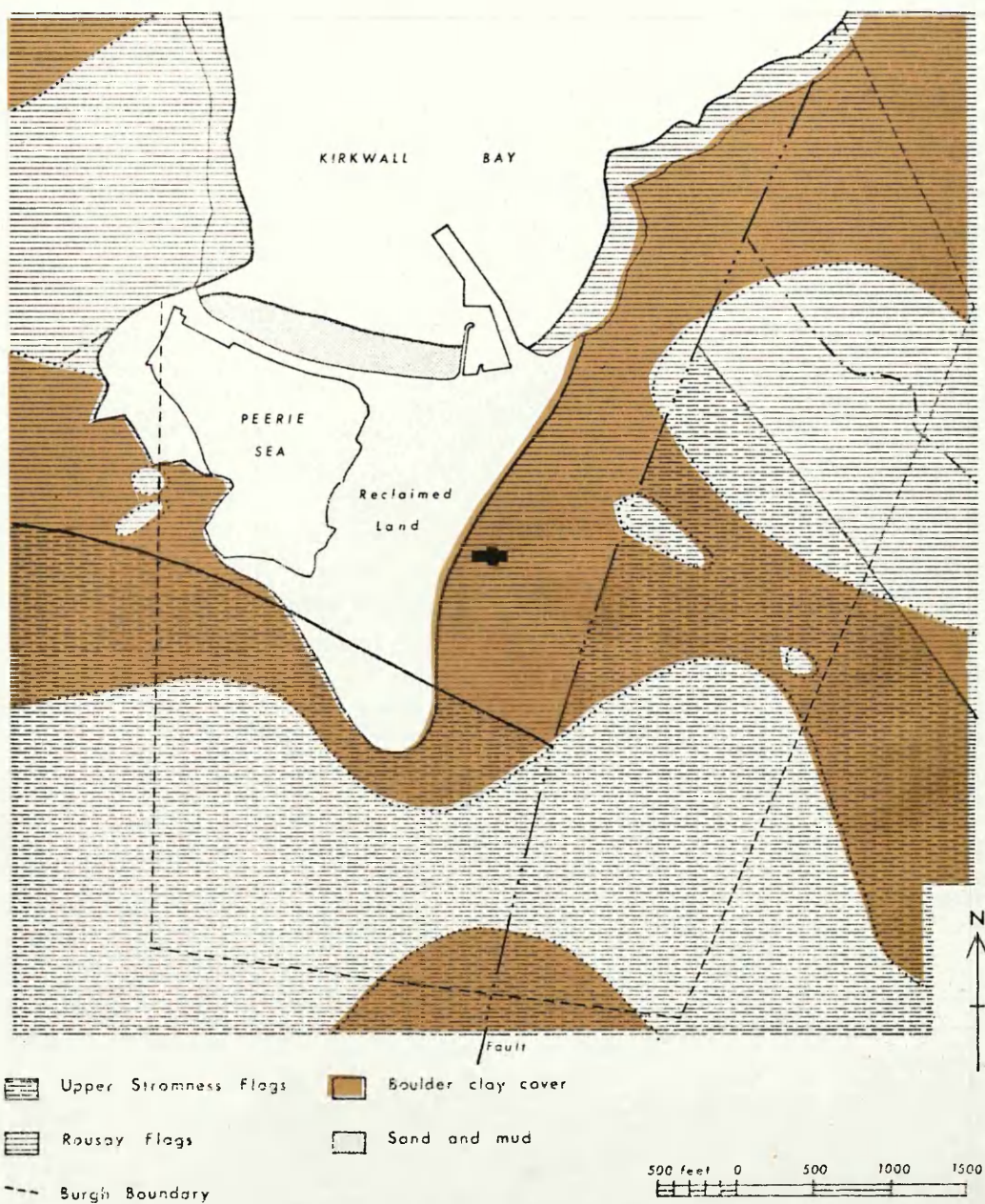


Figure 4 : Kirkwall : Geology.

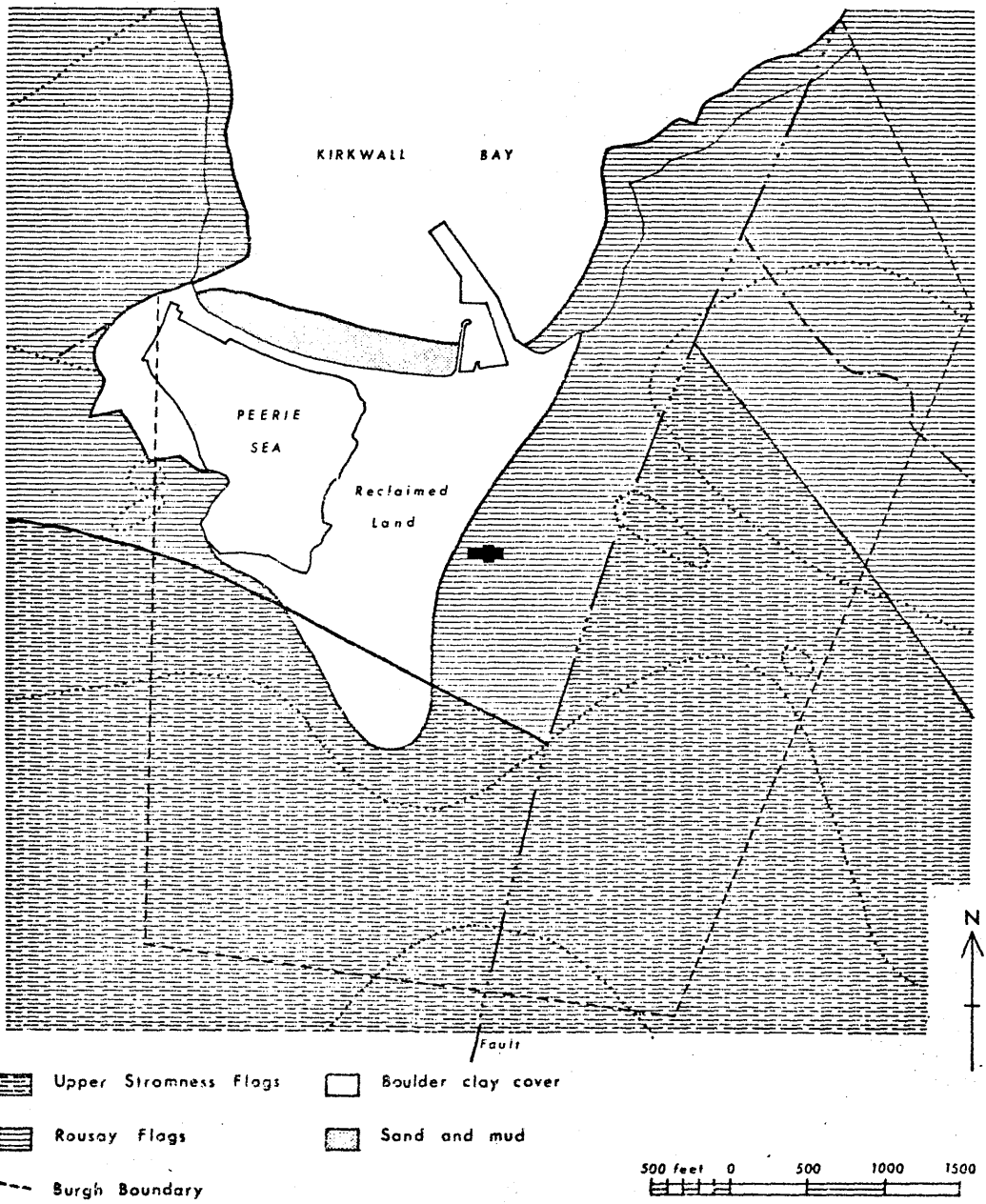


Figure 5 : Stromness : Parish map.

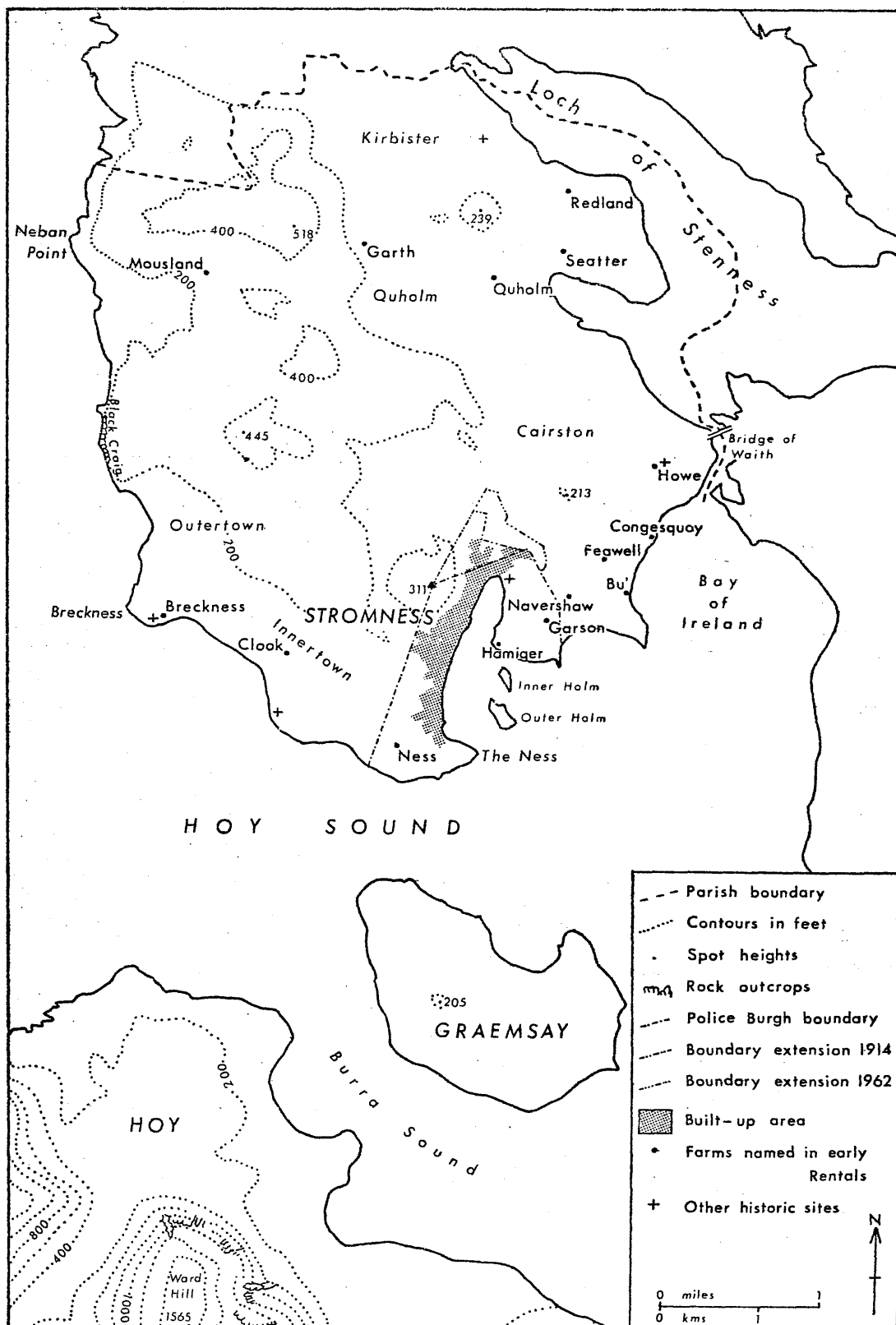


Figure 6 : Stromness burgh : Geology.

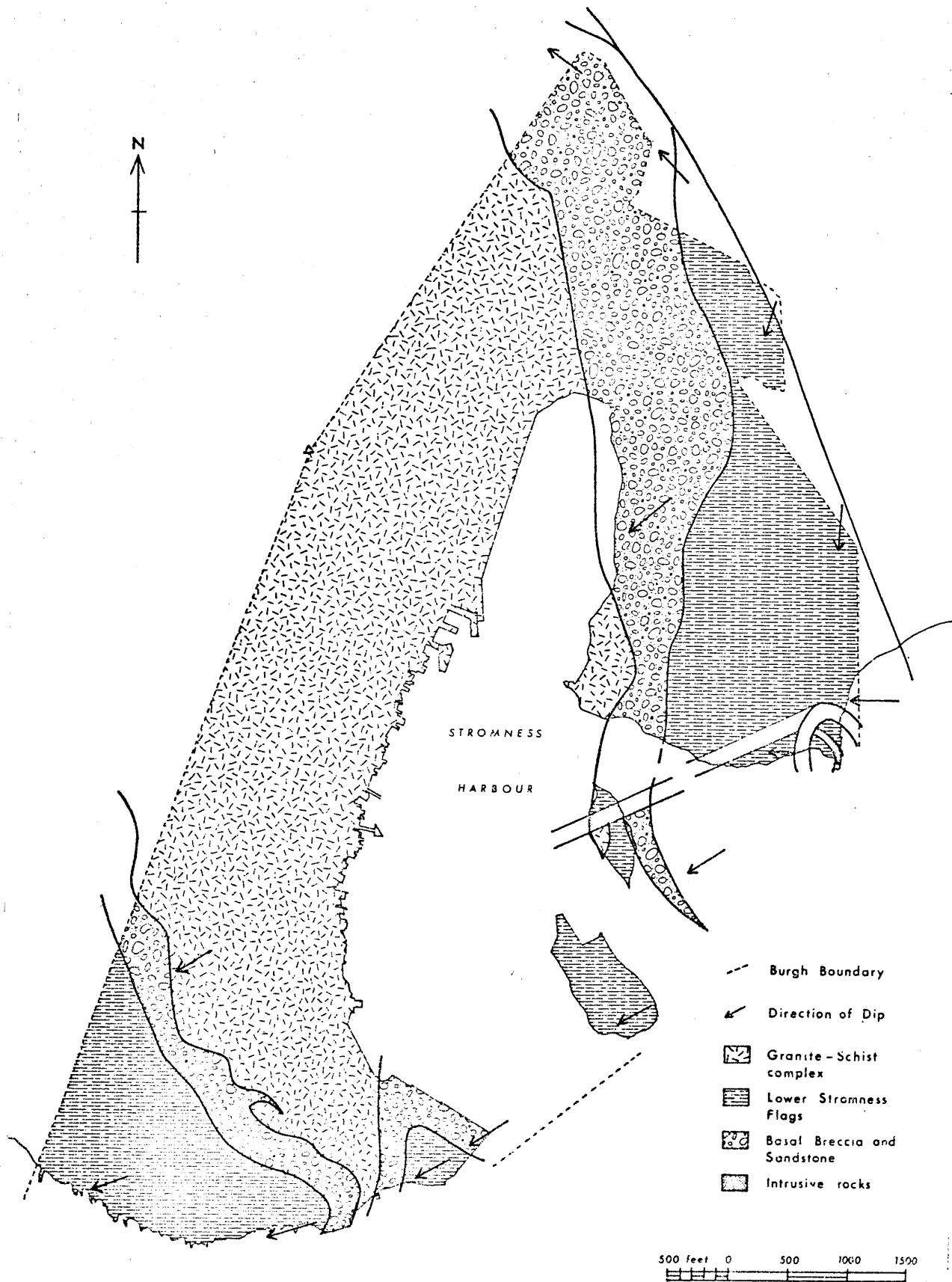


Figure 7 : Stromness : Cairston Castle : plan.

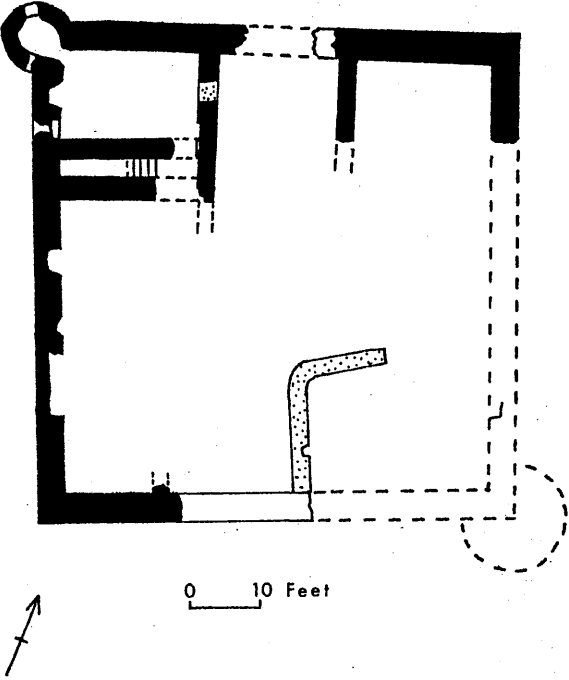
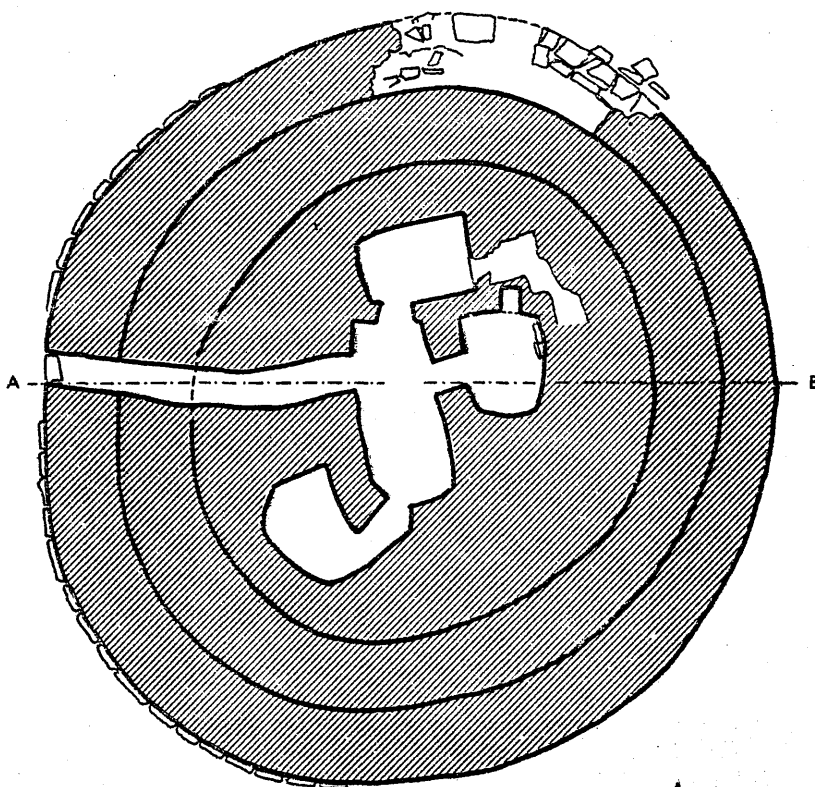


Figure 8 : Kirkwall : Wideford Hill : Chambered Cairn.



SECTION A - B



PLAN

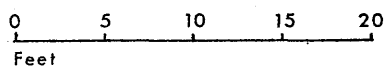
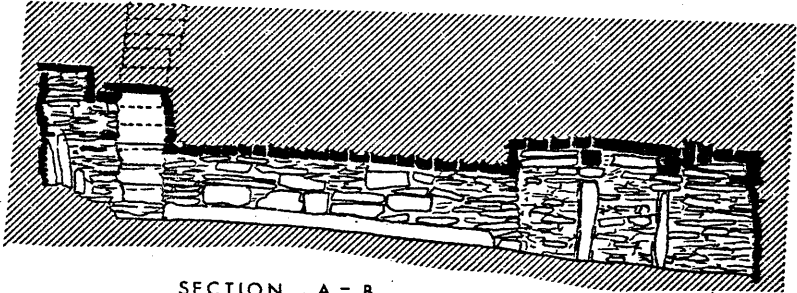
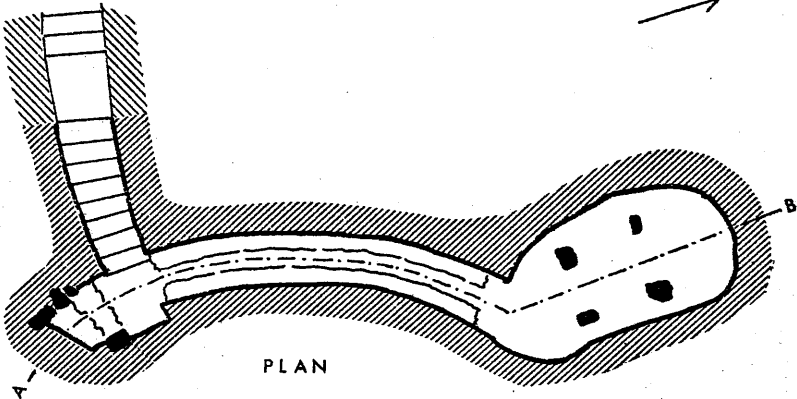


Figure 9 : Kirkwall : Grain earth-house.



SECTION A - B

0 5 10 15 Feet



PLAN

Figure 10 : Kirkwall : St. Olaf's Church : Sketch plan.

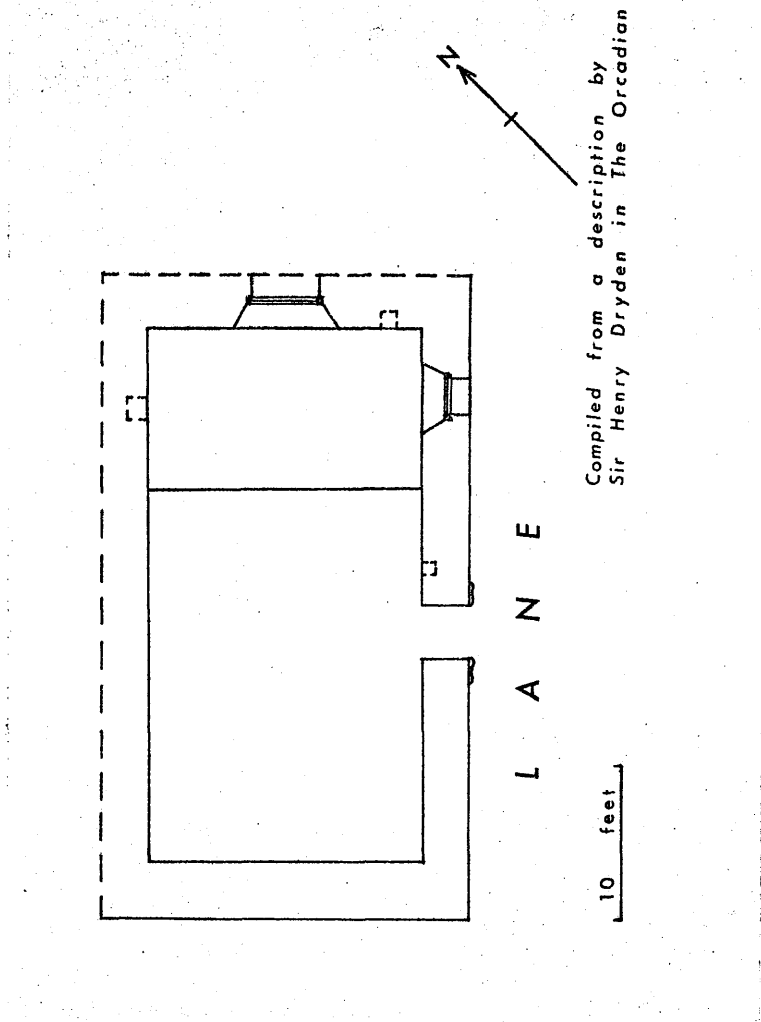


Figure 11 : Kirkwall : St. Magnus Cathedral : plan showing building periods.

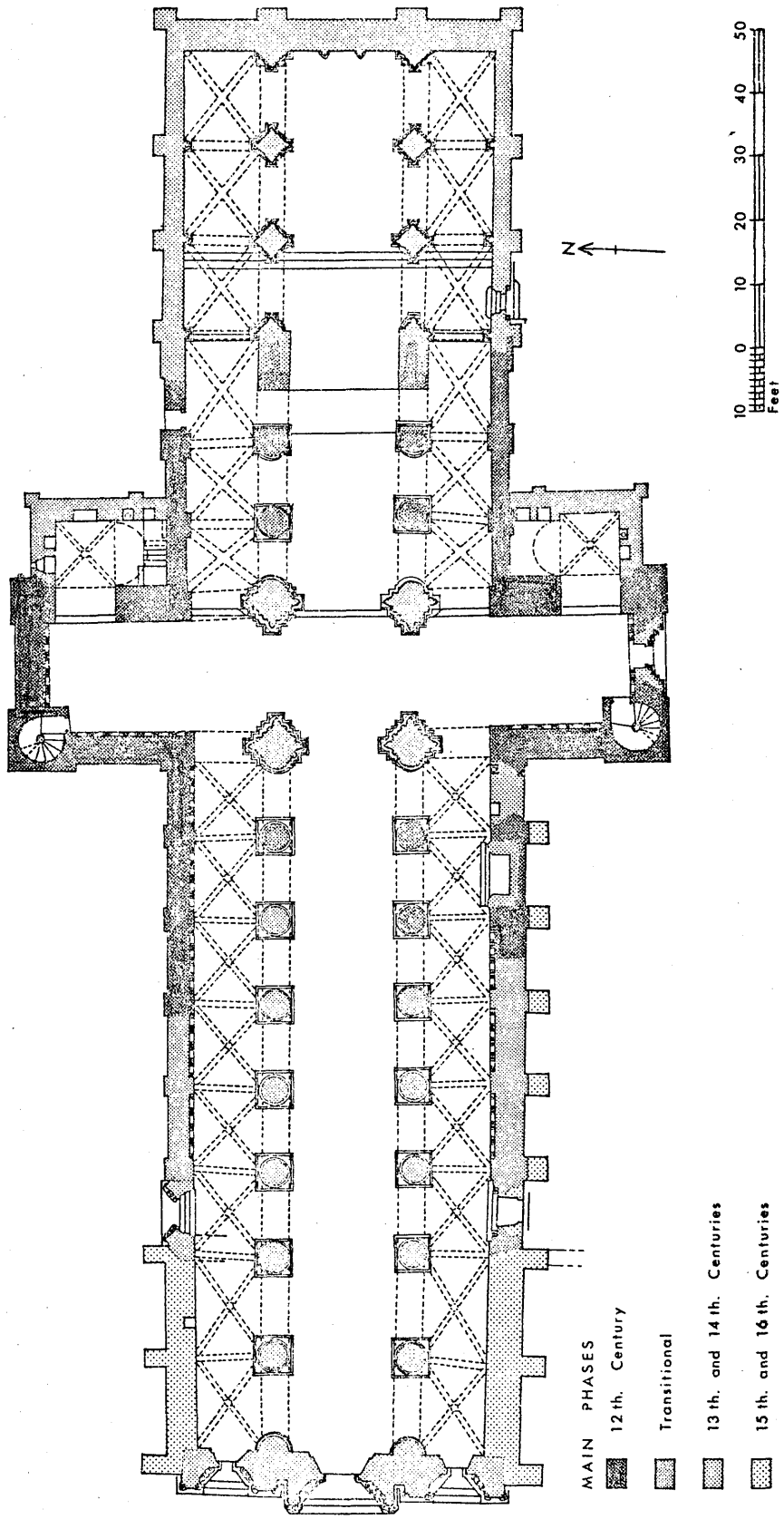


Figure 12 : Kirkwall : St. Magnus Cathedral : section.

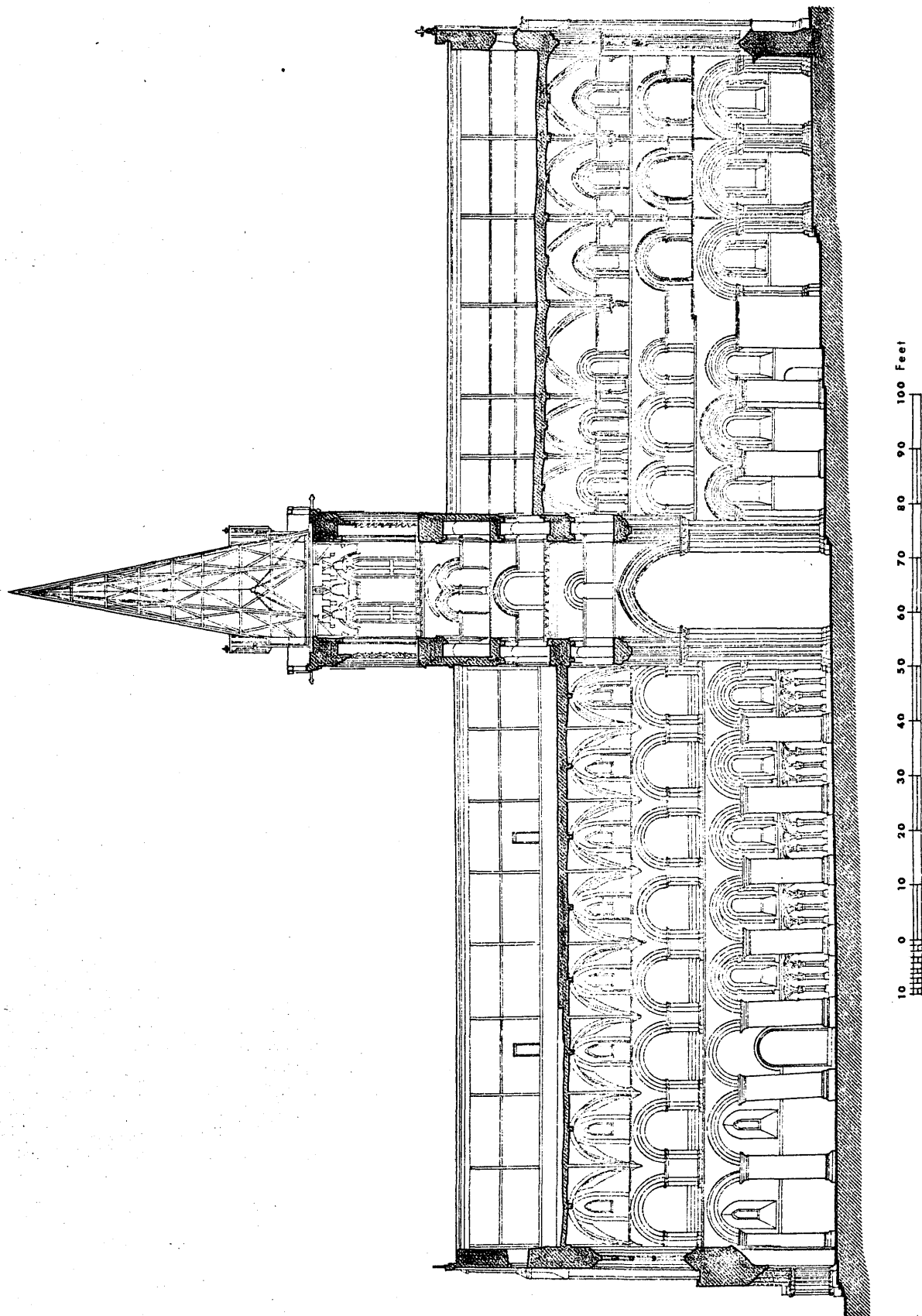


Figure 13 : Kirkwall : St. Magnus Cathedral : elevation.

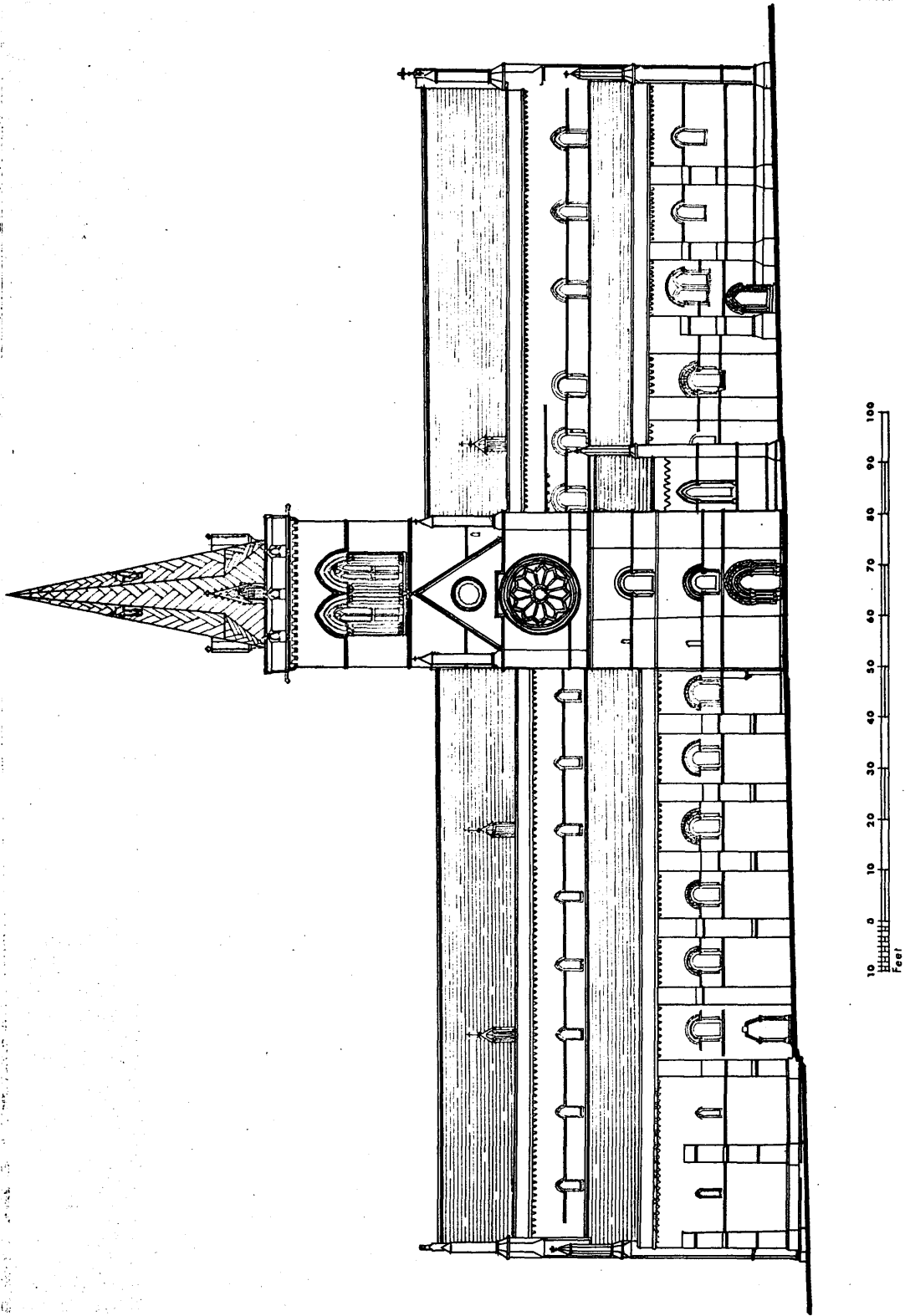
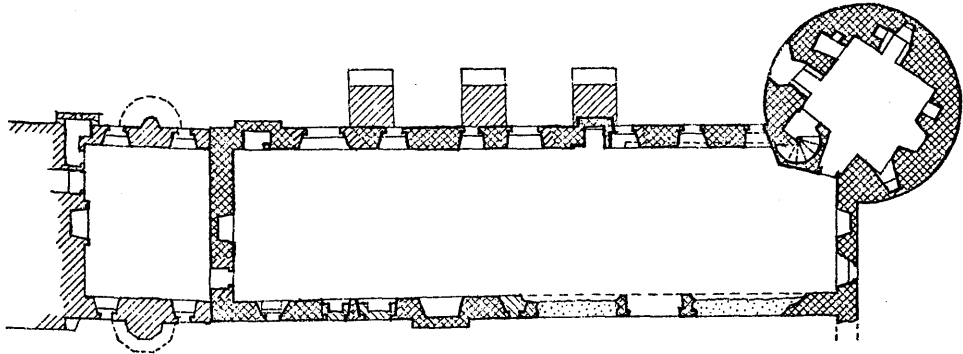
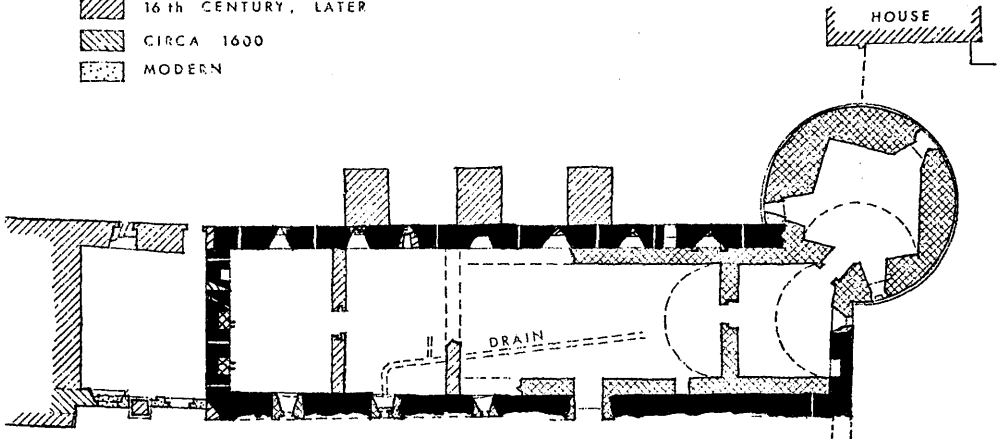
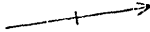


Figure 14 : Kirkwall : Bishop's Palace : plans.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

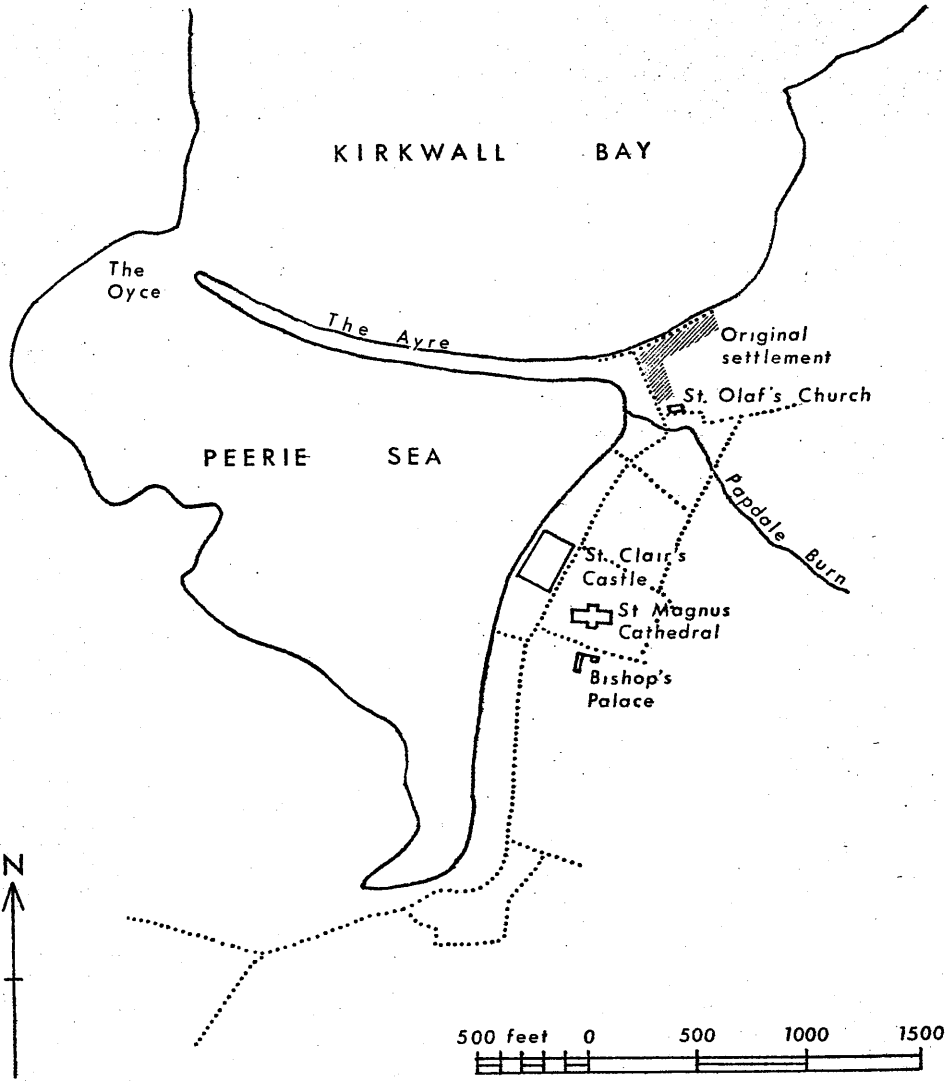
- 12th - 13th CENTURY
- 16th CENTURY
- 16th CENTURY, LATER
- CIRCA 1600
- MODERN



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

Figure 15 : Kirkwall : 1468 : Cartogram.



Compiled from descriptions of the settlement in Kirkwall in the Orkneys by B H Hossack

Figure 16 : Kirkwall : Earl's Palace : plans.

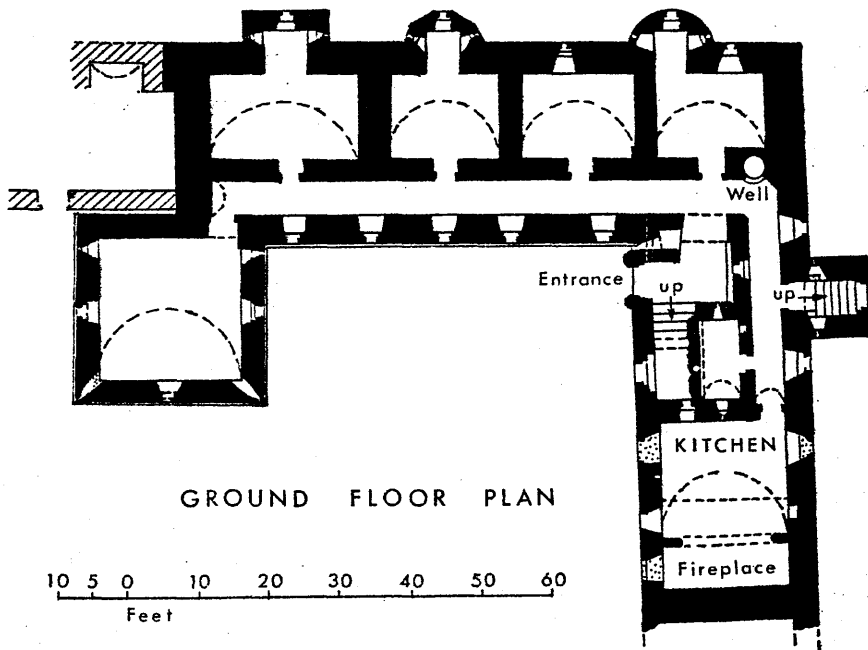
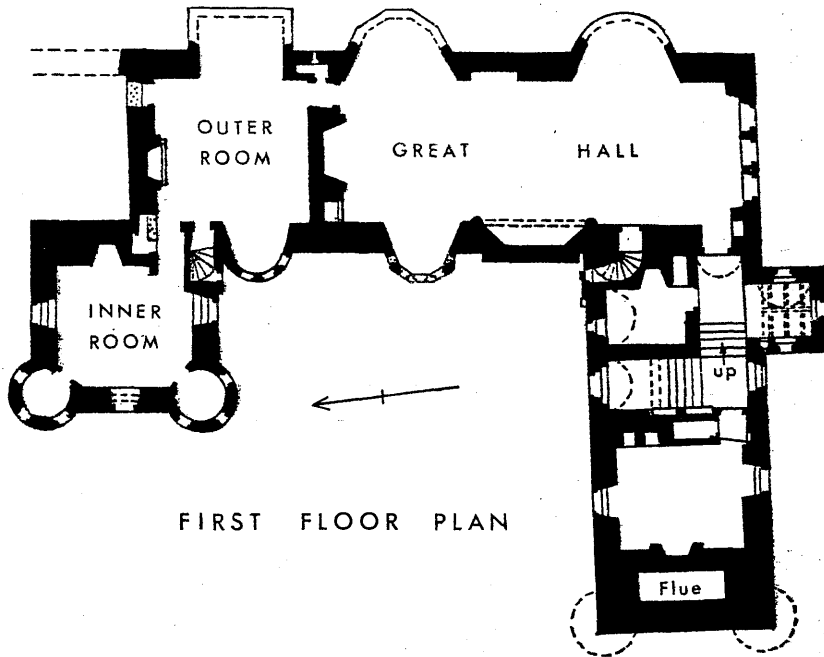


Figure 17 : Kirkwall : Tankerness House : plan.

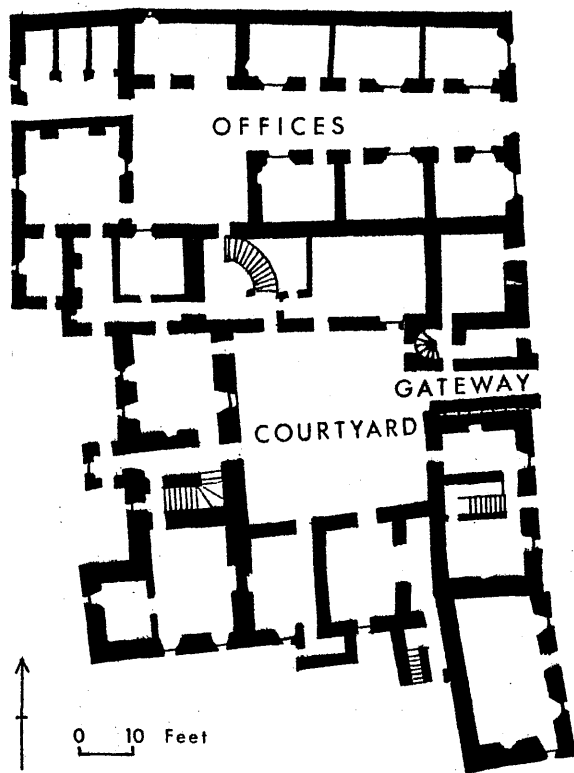


Figure 18 : Kirkwall : 72 Victoria Street : house : plan.

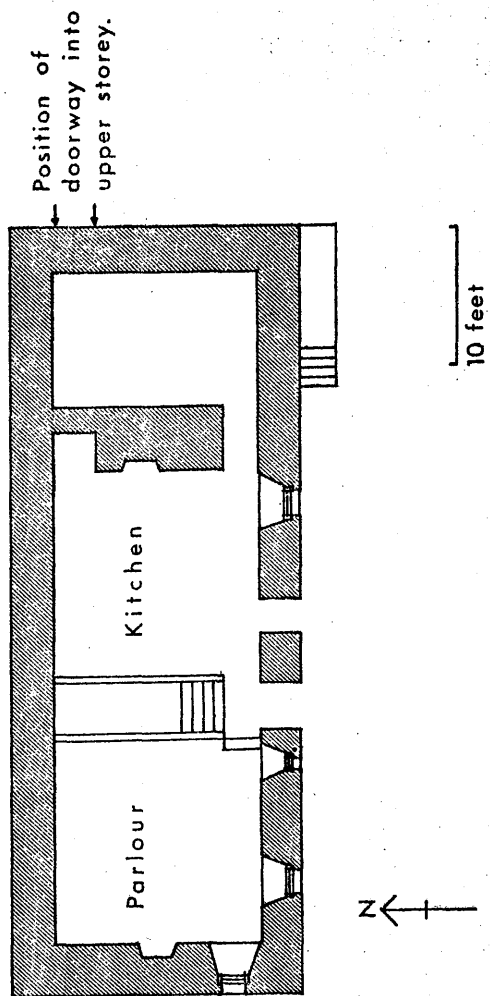


Figure 19 : Kirkwall : 1700 : Cartogram.

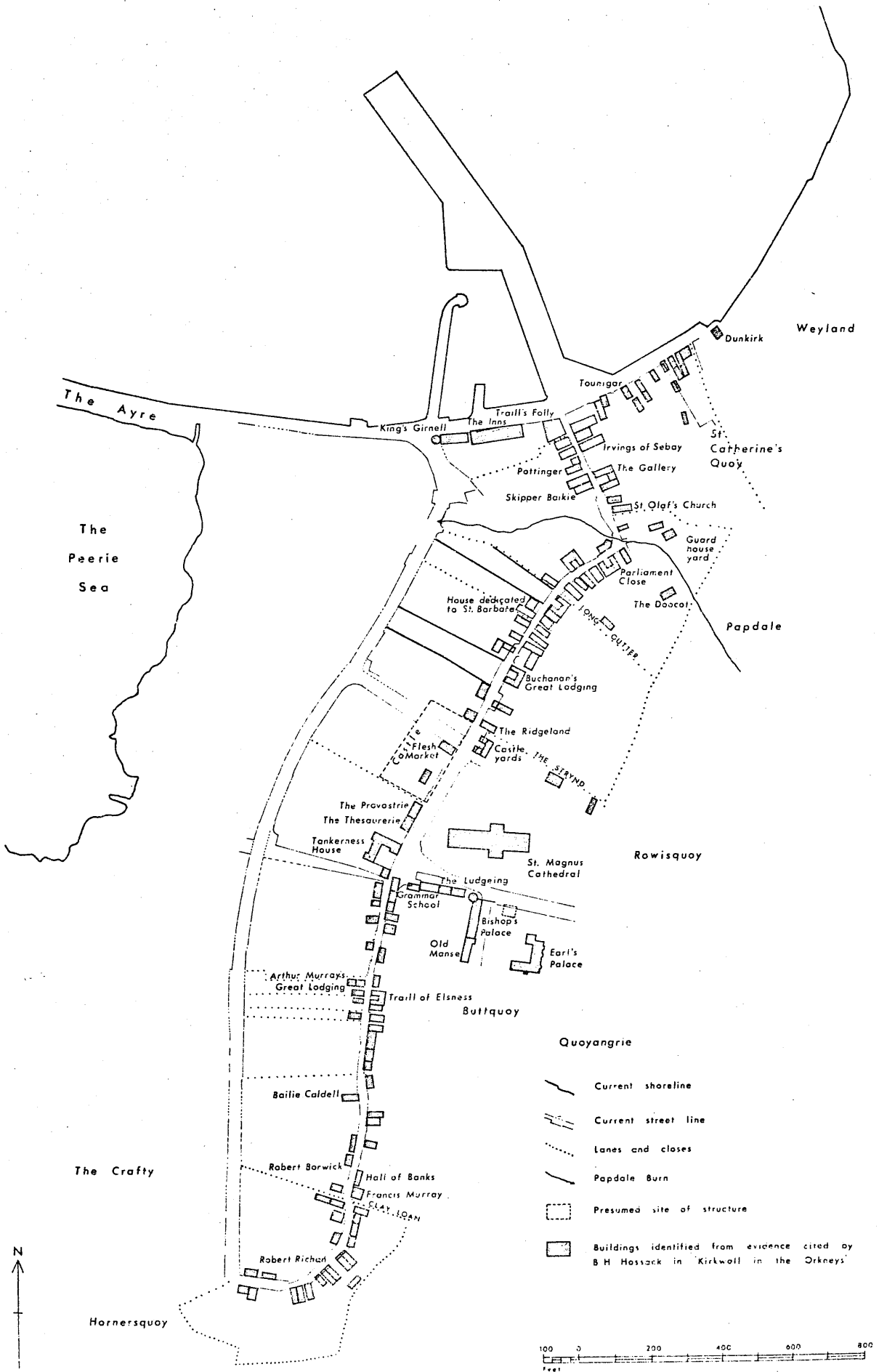


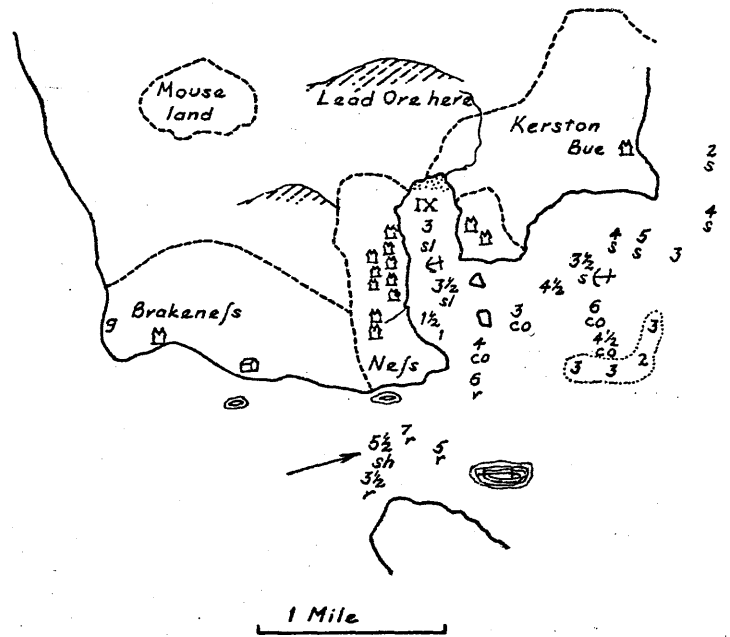
Figure 20 : Stromness : reproductions of ancient maps.

MAP OF ORCADES
1750

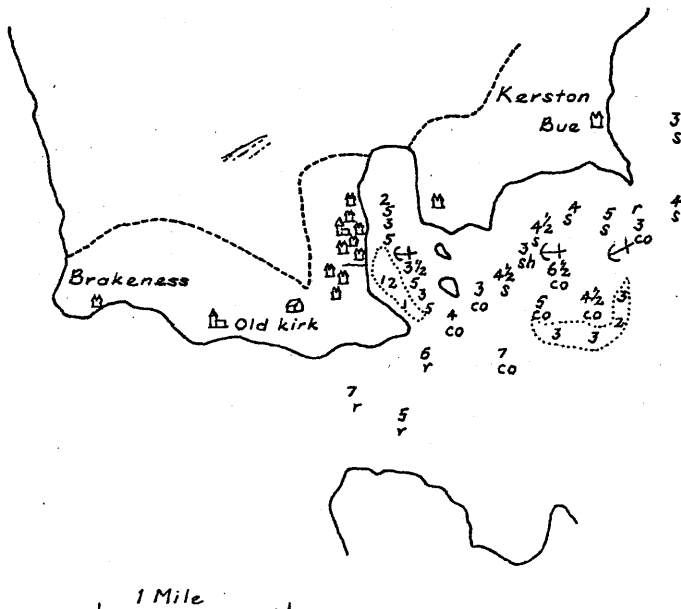


Murdoch Mackenzie :

MAP OF POMONA
1750



THE SOUTH ISLES
1750

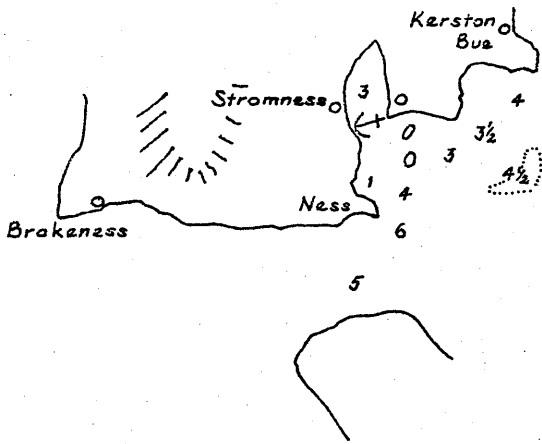


Small figures show least water in fathoms.
Near the small figures the letter (co) signifies small coral; (s) fine sand; (sh) shell sand; (g) gravel; (r) rocky ground.
⌚ A remarkable or Gentlemans House
⌚ A Farmers House
⌚ A Church

Figure 21 : Stromness : reproductions of ancient maps.

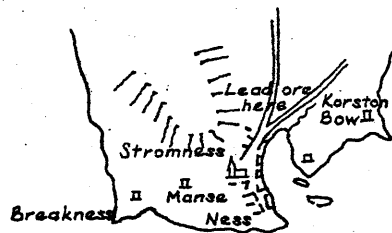
ARROWSMITH

1807



THOMSON

1822



THE ORKNEY ISLES
W. & A. K. JOHNSTON

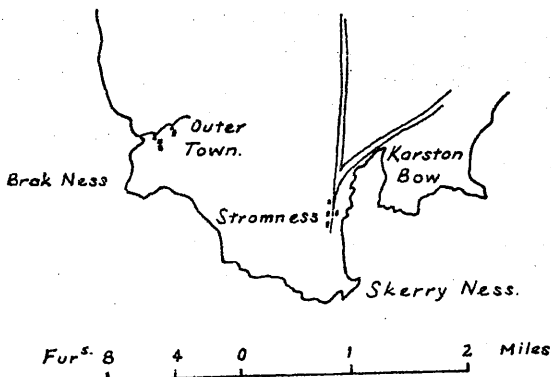


Figure 22 : Greenville Collins' charts.

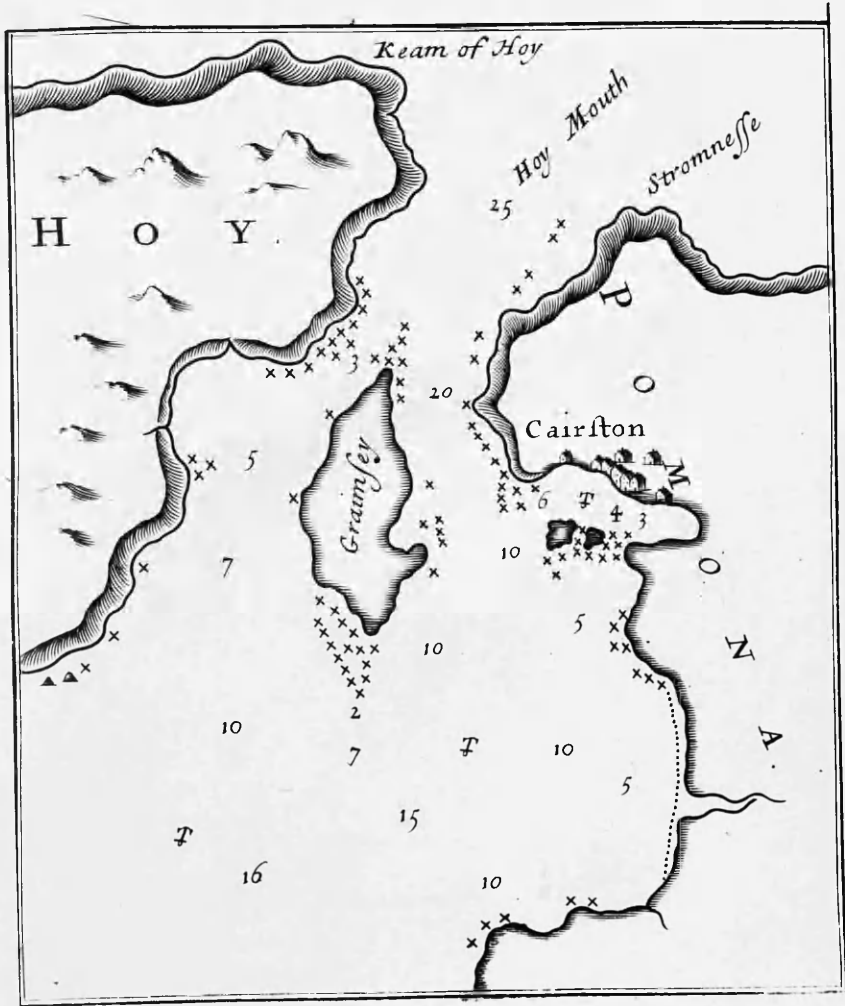
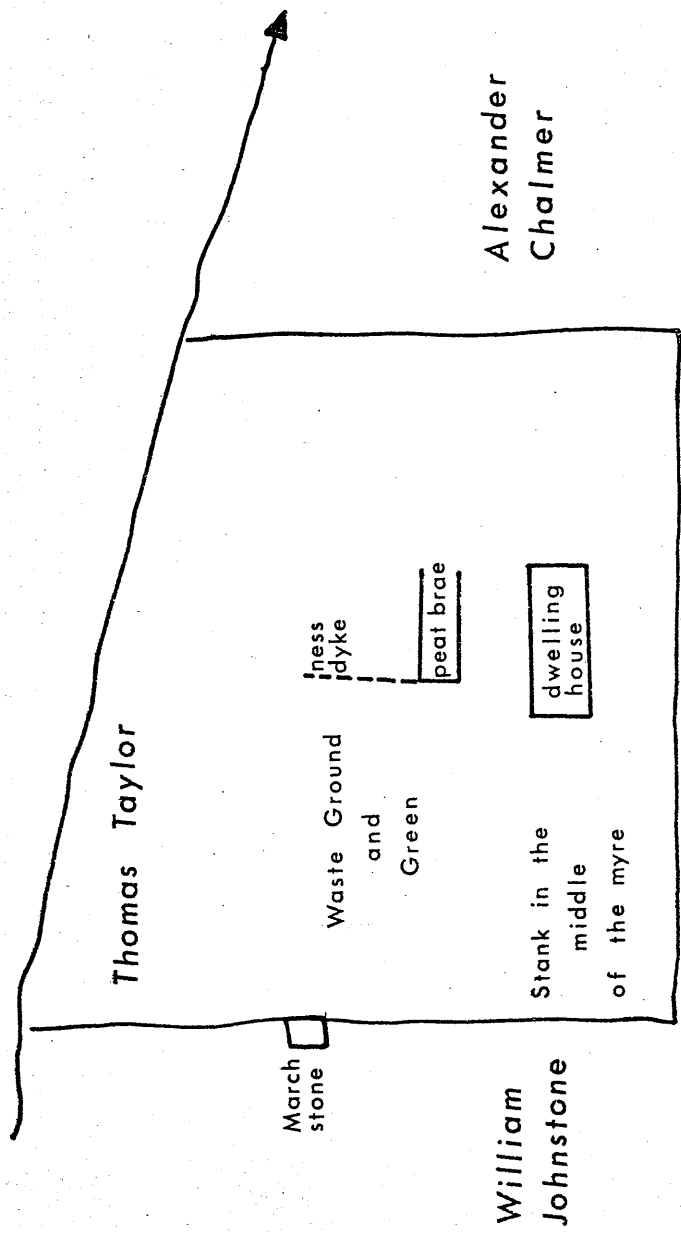


Figure 23 : Stromness : burgh : hachured map.



Compiled from Ordnance Survey aerial photography 1964 : 1:7500 scale :
Frame Nos. 032-034, 044-047, 067-091.

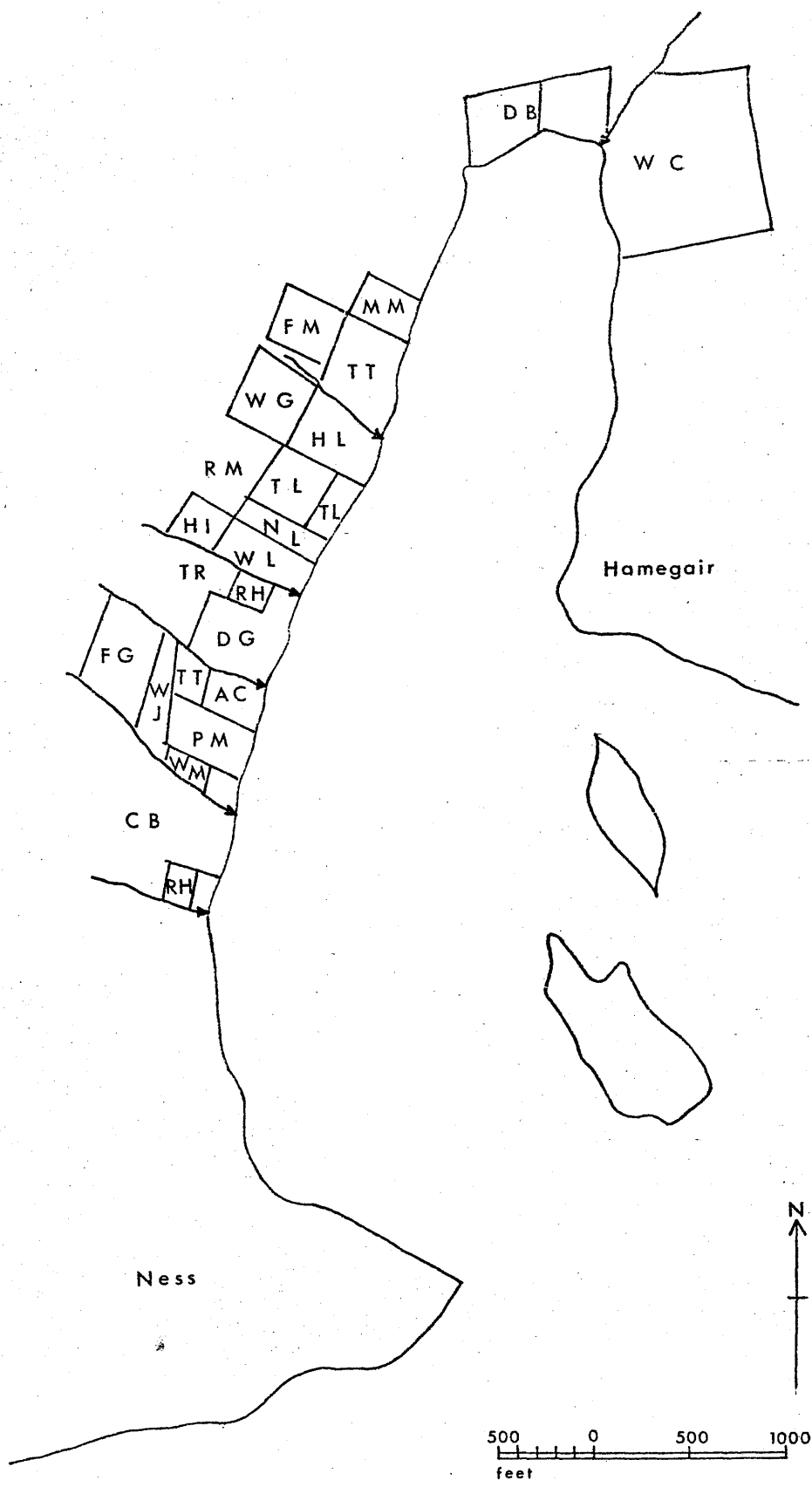
Figure 24 : Stromness : Taylor's Quoy : Cartogram.



John Gray

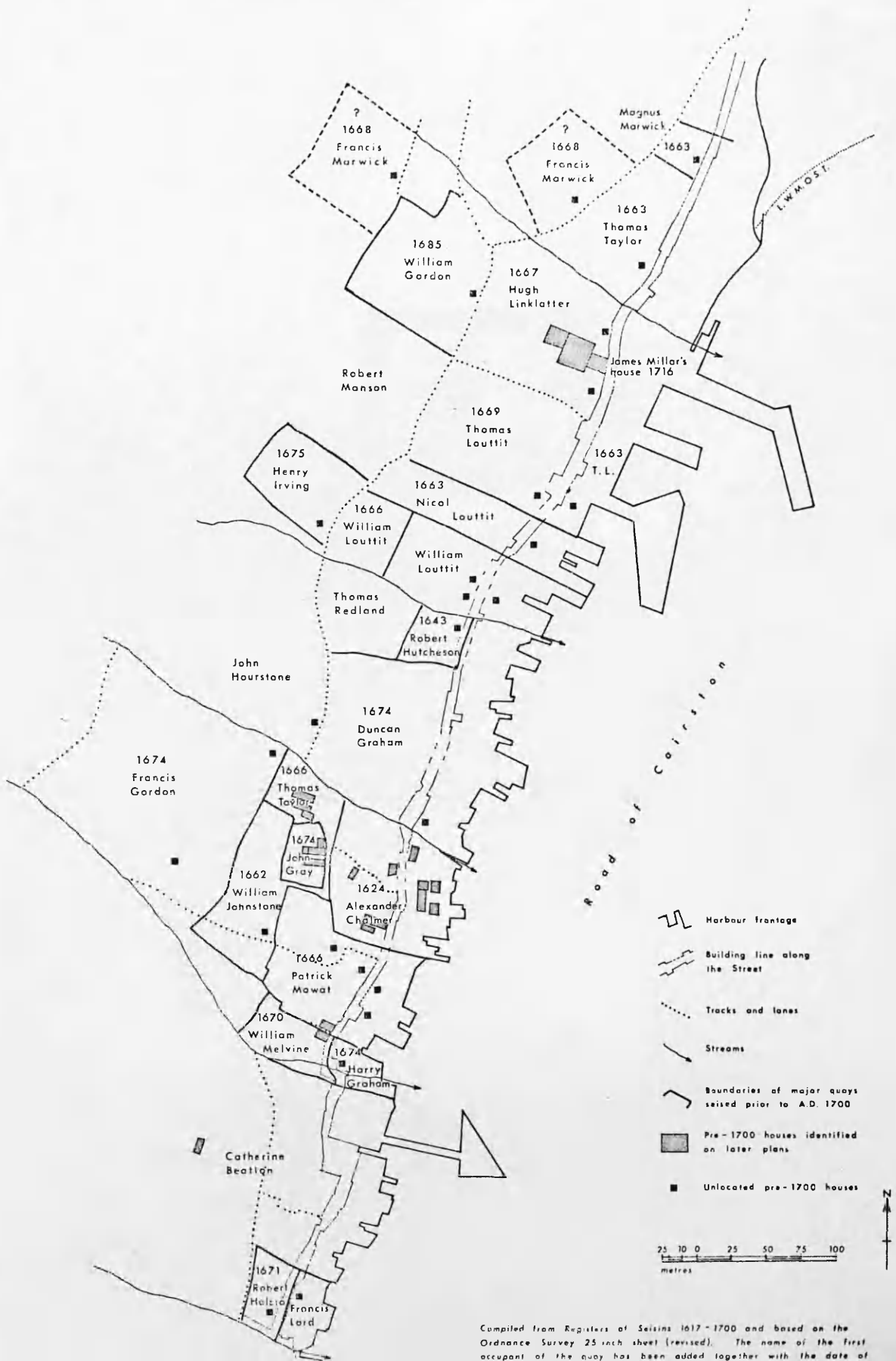
Compiled from the description of the quoy in the seisin of 1679
RS45, 3, 326

Figure 25 : Stromness burgh : 1700 : Cartogram.



Compiled from descriptions in Registers of Seisins, 1617-1700. Initials of original quoyholders are inserted within boundaries.

Figure 26 : Stronness burgh : 1700 : plan



Compiled from Registers of Seisins 1617-1700 and based on the Ordnance Survey 25 inch sheet (revised). The name of the first occupant of the quay has been added together with the date of first entry in the Registers.

Figure 27 : Stromness : Breckness House : plan.

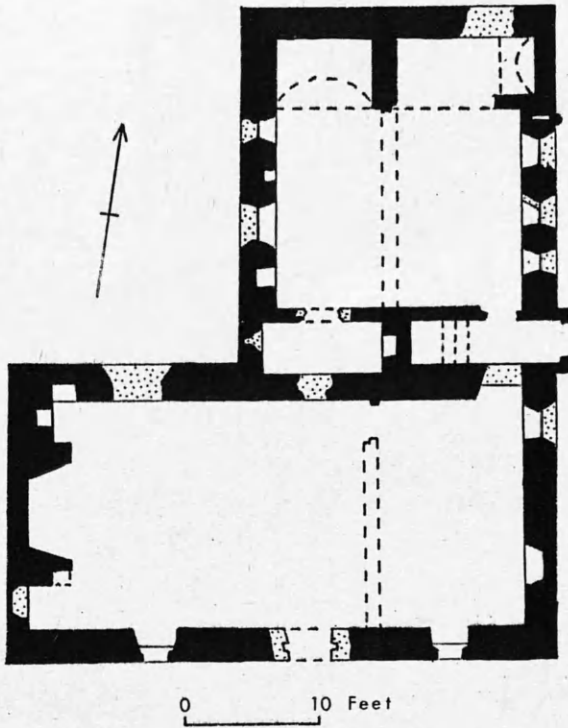


Figure 28 : Stromness : Chalmer's Quay : plan : 1765.

Plan of the House bought by the deceased David Sutherland and the waste ground in dispute and possessed by Isobell Manson his Relect Measured and this 23rd day of May 1765 Nicholas Oman teacher of Mathematics in Stromness and set off by scales and Compasses.

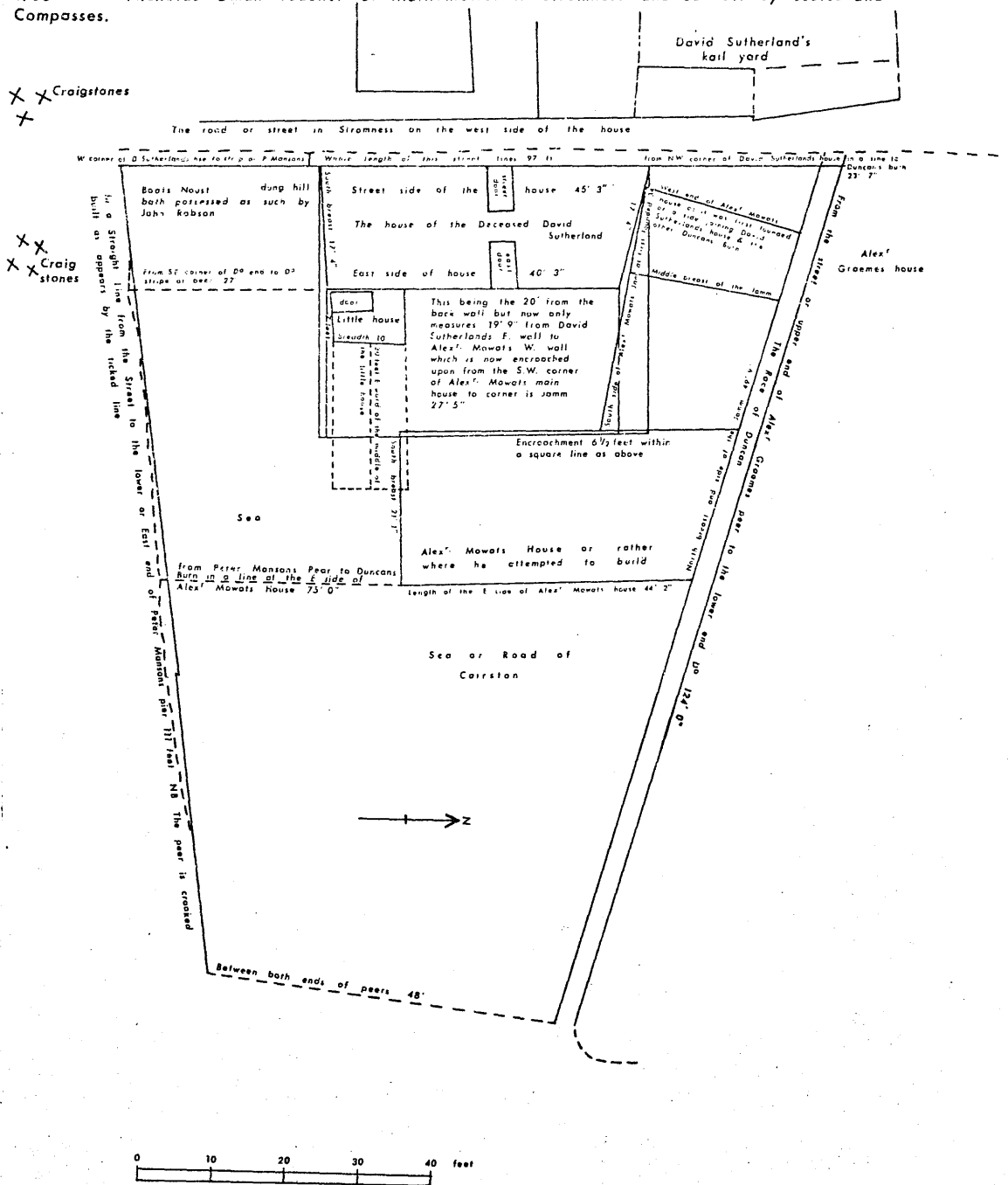


Figure 30 : Stromness : Occupation Structure 1851 & 1891.

OCCUPATION	NUMBERS EMPLOYED		OCCUPATION	NUMBERS EMPLOYED	
	1851	1891		1851	1891
PRIMARY OCCUPATIONS:			TERTIARY OCCUPATIONS (cont.)		
Farmer	7	10	Medical Services	3	6
Farm-worke	30	12	Bank Agent	1	3
Straw Plaiter	71	-	Post Office services	2	4
Spinner	9	2	Solicitor	2	1
Other	1	7	Photographer	-	1
Seaman	47	21	Lodging House keeper	7	9
Fisherman/Curer	20	33	Washer woman	10	10
SECONDARY OCCUPATIONS:			Domestic servant	53	39
Food and drink manufacturer	5	18	Teacher	17	16
Watchmaker	3	7	Minister	2	4
Shoemaker	53	14	Insurance broker	-	-
Knitter	129	78	J. P., Police, etc.	4	2
Tailor	34	27	RETAIL TRADES:-		
Dressmaker	79	77	Grocer	19	41
Milliner	22	4	Butcher	4	7
Mason	6	10	Draper	7	24
Joiner	54	26	Chemist	-	3
Other building tradesmen	-	-	Leather merchant	2	5
Cartwright	1	-	Ironmonger	1	1
Cooper	4	1	Gas manager	-	1
Ship carpenter	27	13	Wood/slate merchant	-	1
Blacksmith	10	10	Book seller	1	3
Printer	-	2	General merchant	15	6
TERTIARY OCCUPATIONS :			OTHERS:-		
Clerk	7	7	Writer/Painter	2	1
Carter	1	5	Hotel keeper	-	-
Labourer	22	30	Librarian	-	-
Harbour Services	17	5			

Figure 31 : Stromness : Heads of Households 1851 & 1891.

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	
	1851	1891
SPINSTER	15.0	18.3
BACHELOR	3.8	9.7
WIDOW	25.0	22.7
WIDOWER	4.3	4.6
COUPLE	42.5	37.8
COUPLE (Father absent)	8.7	6.4
COUPLE (Mother absent)	0.7	0.4

Figure 32 : Stromness : Place of Birth 1851 & 1891.

PLACE OF BIRTH	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION	
	1851	1891
EAST MAINLAND	1.28	0.37
KIRKWALL AND ST. OLA	2.07	3.72
WEST MAINLAND	20.04	14.01
SOUTH ISLES	5.48	9.48
NORTH ISLES	1.33	2.85
SCOTLAND	5.33	8.80
ENGLAND	1.09	2.91
ELSEWHERE	0.74	1.36
TOTAL	37.36%	43.50%

Figure 33 : Stromness : Population Graph : 19th century.

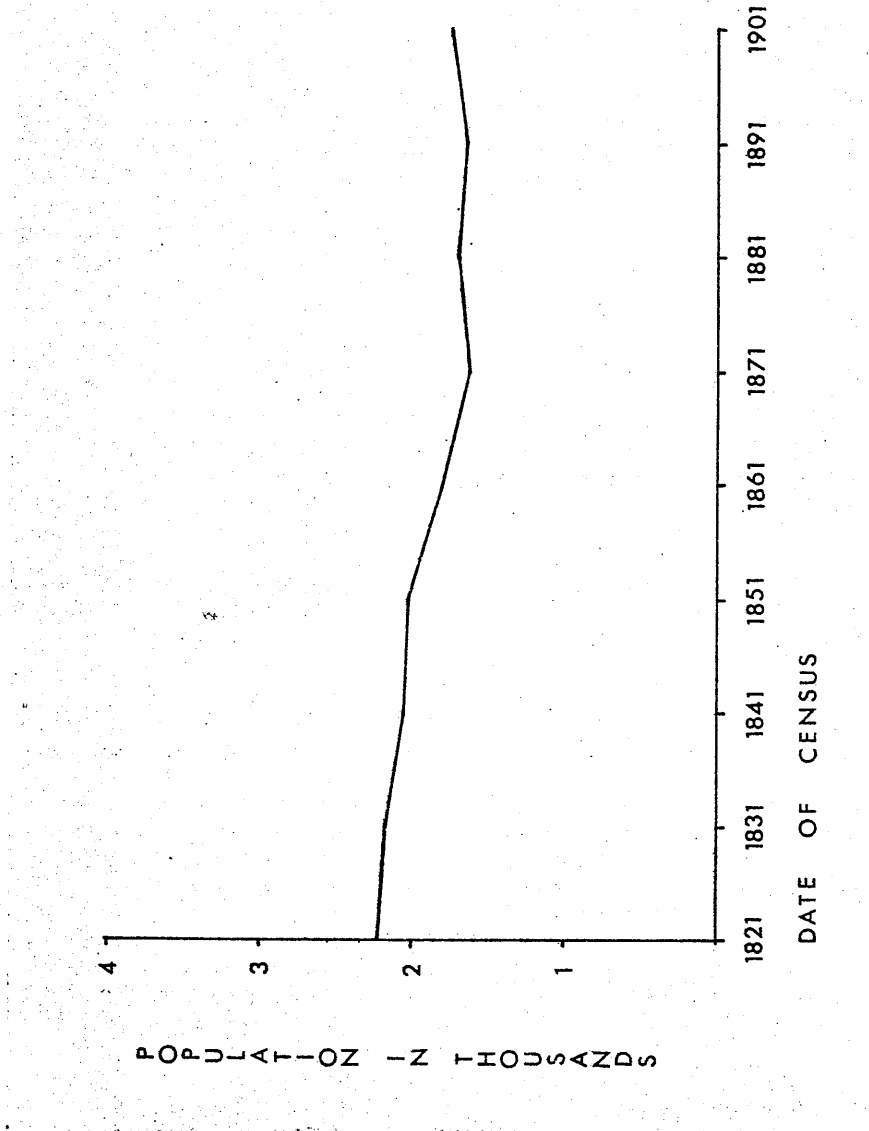


Figure 34 : Stromness : Household Structure : 1851 & 1891.

1851

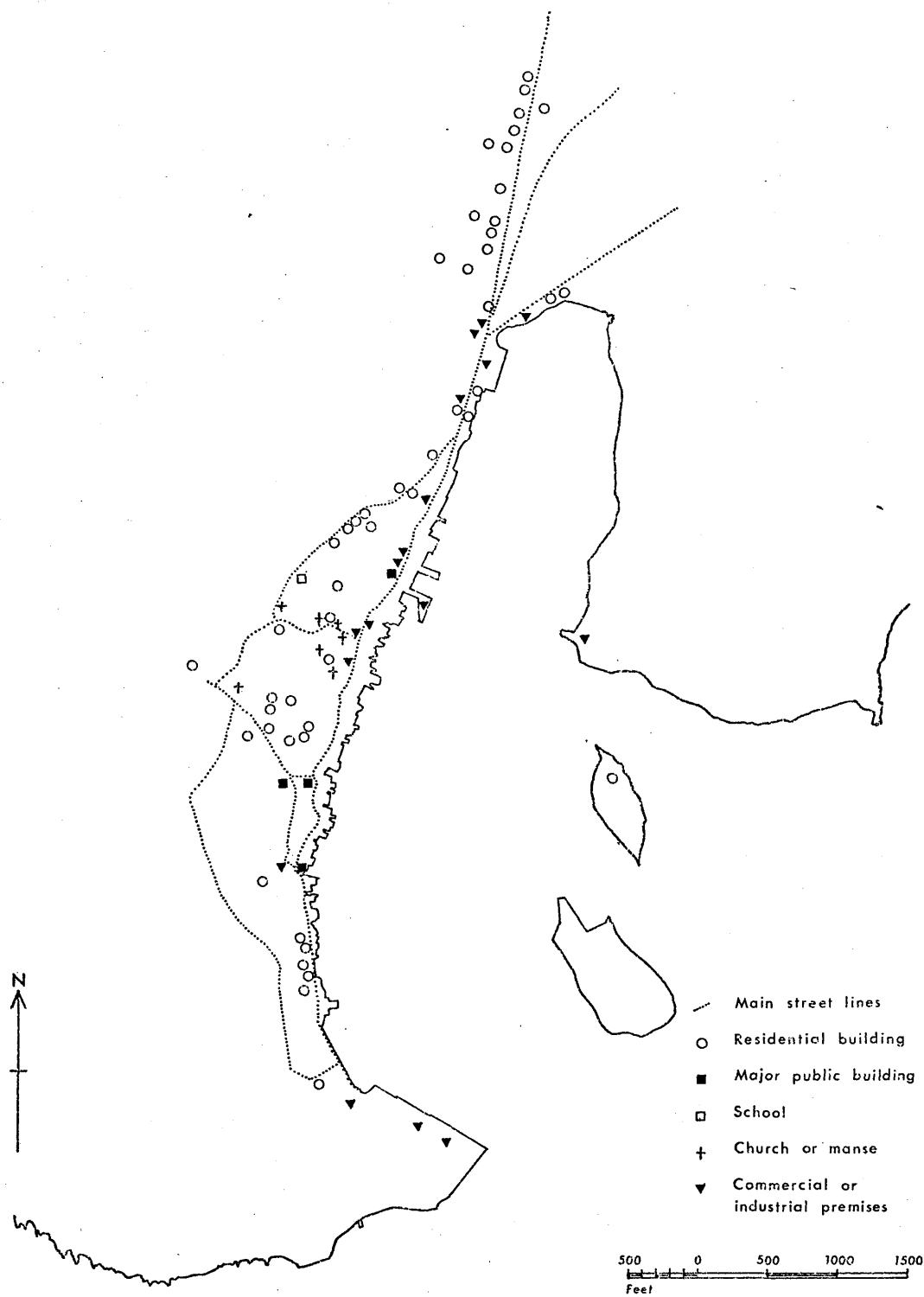
HOUSEHOLD HEAD	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS														TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS						
	LIVING ALONE	CHILDREN										DEPENDENT RELATIVES				LODGER		SERVANT			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3		1	2	1	2		
SPINSTER	52	5	2											16	6	1	7	2		87	
BACHELOR	7													9	1	1	3	4	1	22	
WIDOW	32	53	23	7	2	3	1							31	2	2	10	2	10	2	144
WIDOWER	5	8	6	1			1							8	2		8	1	8	1	25
COUPLE	43	35	49	33	24	19	9	7	3	2	-			29	9	2	21	2	25	6	245
COUPLE (Father absent)	5	12	14	12	3			2						7	3		2		4		50
COUPLE (Mother absent)	2	1												(4)							4

FIGURES ENCLOSED WITHIN BRACKETS ARE NUMBERS OF RELATIVES, SERVANTS, ETC. WHEN THOSE NUMBERS EXCEED THOSE AT THE HEAD OF THE COLUMN.

1891

HOUSEHOLD HEAD	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS														TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS						
	LIVING ALONE	CHILDREN										DEPENDENT RELATIVES				LODGER		SERVANT			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3		1	2	1	2		
SPINSTER	58	5	2		1									16	6	1	2	6		91	
BACHELOR	28	1												12	3			6		48	
WIDOW	35	43	14	7	3	2	2							17	9	2	6	5	4		113
WIDOWER	6	9	3	2	1	1		1						2		1			1		23
COUPLE	30	41	29	26	19	9	14	2	4					19	3	2	9		23	4	188
COUPLE (Father absent)	1	5	9	8	2	1	1	1						9	1	1	3				32
COUPLE (Mother absent)		2																	1		2

Figure 35 : Stromness : 19th century building development.



Compiled from O.S. 1:2500 scale plans, 1882 & 1902.

Figure 36 : Kirkwall : Occupation Structure 1851 & 1891.

OCCUPATION	NUMBERS EMPLOYED		OCCUPATION	NUMBERS EMPLOYED	
	1851	1891		1851	1891
PRIMARY OCCUPATIONS:			TER TIARY OCCUPATIONS (Cont.)		
Farmer	13	10	Harbour Services	10	16
Farmworker	55	49	Medical Services	8	20
Straw Plaiter	81	-	Bank Agent	2	4
Spinner	26	7	Post Office Services	9	10
Other	8	26	Solicitor	6	15
Seaman	59	63	Photographer	-	11
Fisherman/Carpenter	19	73	Lodging House keeper	8	29
SECONDARY OCCUPATIONS:			Washer woman	13	41
Food and drink manufacturer	20	55	Domestic servant	155	276
Watchmaker	8	19	Teacher	11	34
Shoemaker	66	22	Minister	7	12
Knitter	35	94	Insurance broker	-	6
Tailor	87	55	J.P., Police, Sheriff Officers, etc.	17	12
Dressmaker	41	128	RETAIL TRADES:-		
Milliner	29	10	Grocer	20	95
Mason	22	39	Butcher	8	10
Joiner	53	74	Draper	10	53
Other building tradesmen	11	18	Chemist	2	4
Cartwright	14	5	Leather Merchant	7	18
Cooper	6	3	Iron monger	-	14
Ship carpenter	5	4	Gas manager	-	2
Blacksmith	18	20	Wood/slate merchant	-	10
Printer	2	29	Book seller	9	13
Hawker, etc.	3	22	General Merchant	26	19
TERTIARY OCCUPATIONS:			OTHERS:-		
Clerk	22	51	Writer/Painter	1	8
Carter	18	58	Hotel keeper	3	9
Labourer	78	51	Librarian	-	1

Figure 37 : Kirkwall : Place of Birth : 1851 & 1891.

PLACE OF BIRTH	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION	
	1851	1891
EAST MAINLAND	4.79	3.48
WEST MAINLAND	5.67	7.13
STROMNESS	1.18	1.20
SOUTH ISLES	2.98	5.14
NORTH ISLES	21.80	20.80
SCOTLAND	6.57	9.94
ENGLAND	0.27	1.84
ELSEWHERE	0.60	2.45
TOTAL	43.86%	51.98%

Figure 38 : Kirkwall : Population Graph : 19th century.

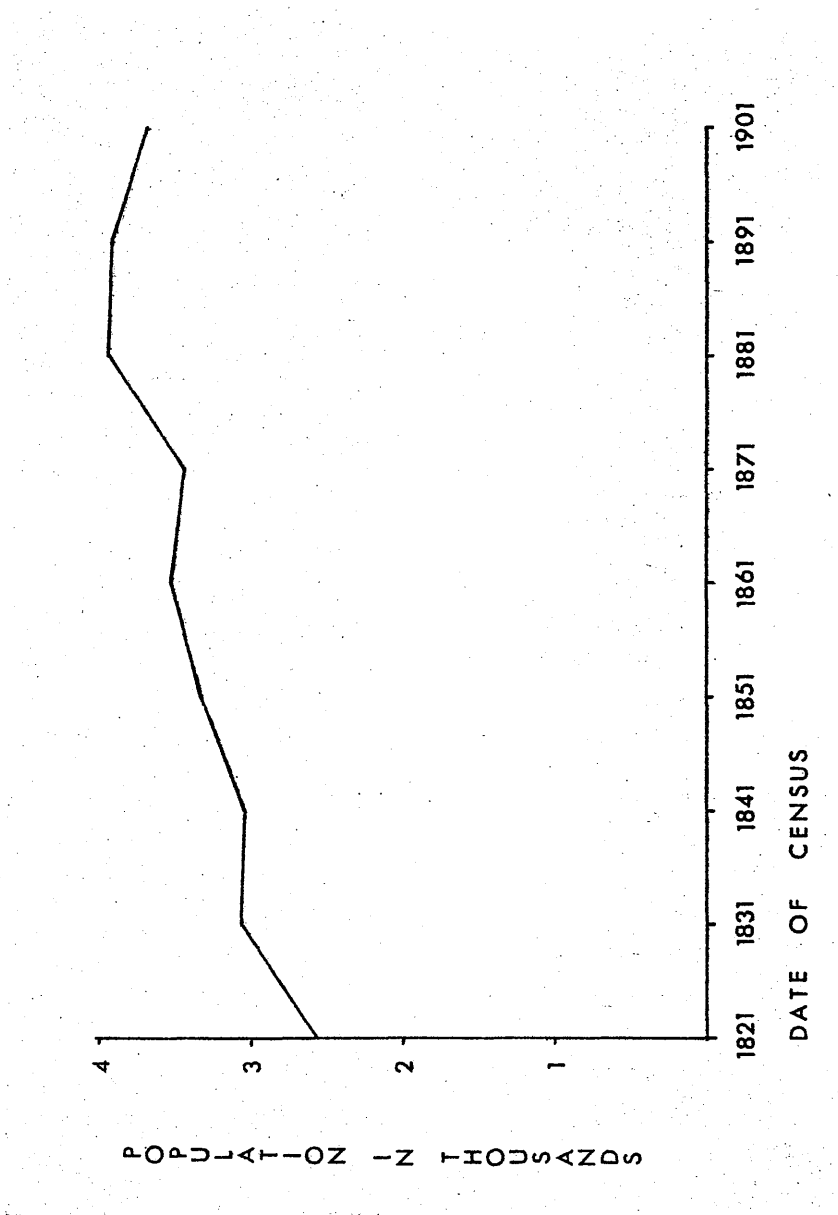


Figure 39 : Kirkwall : Old manse : elevation and plans.

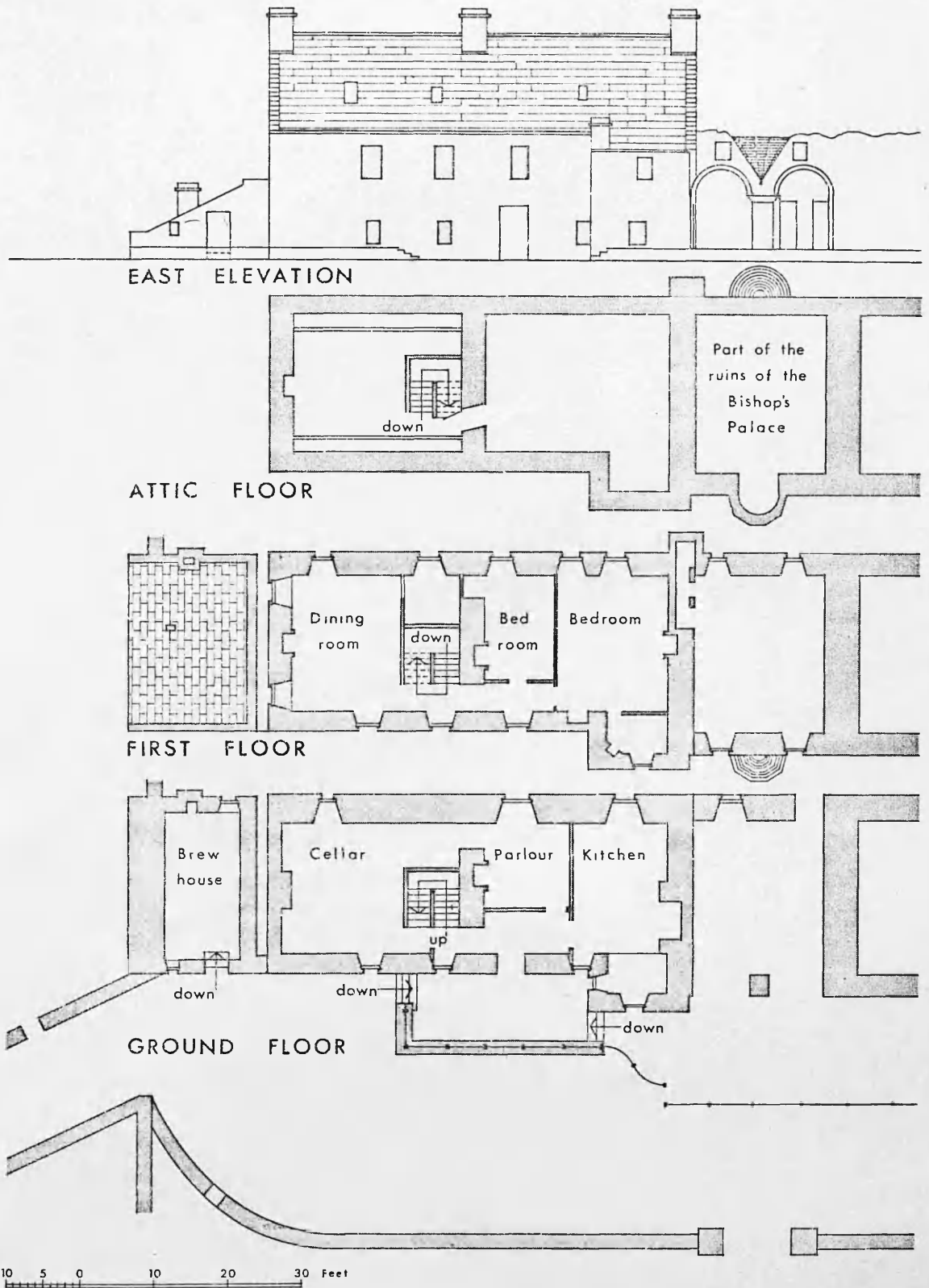
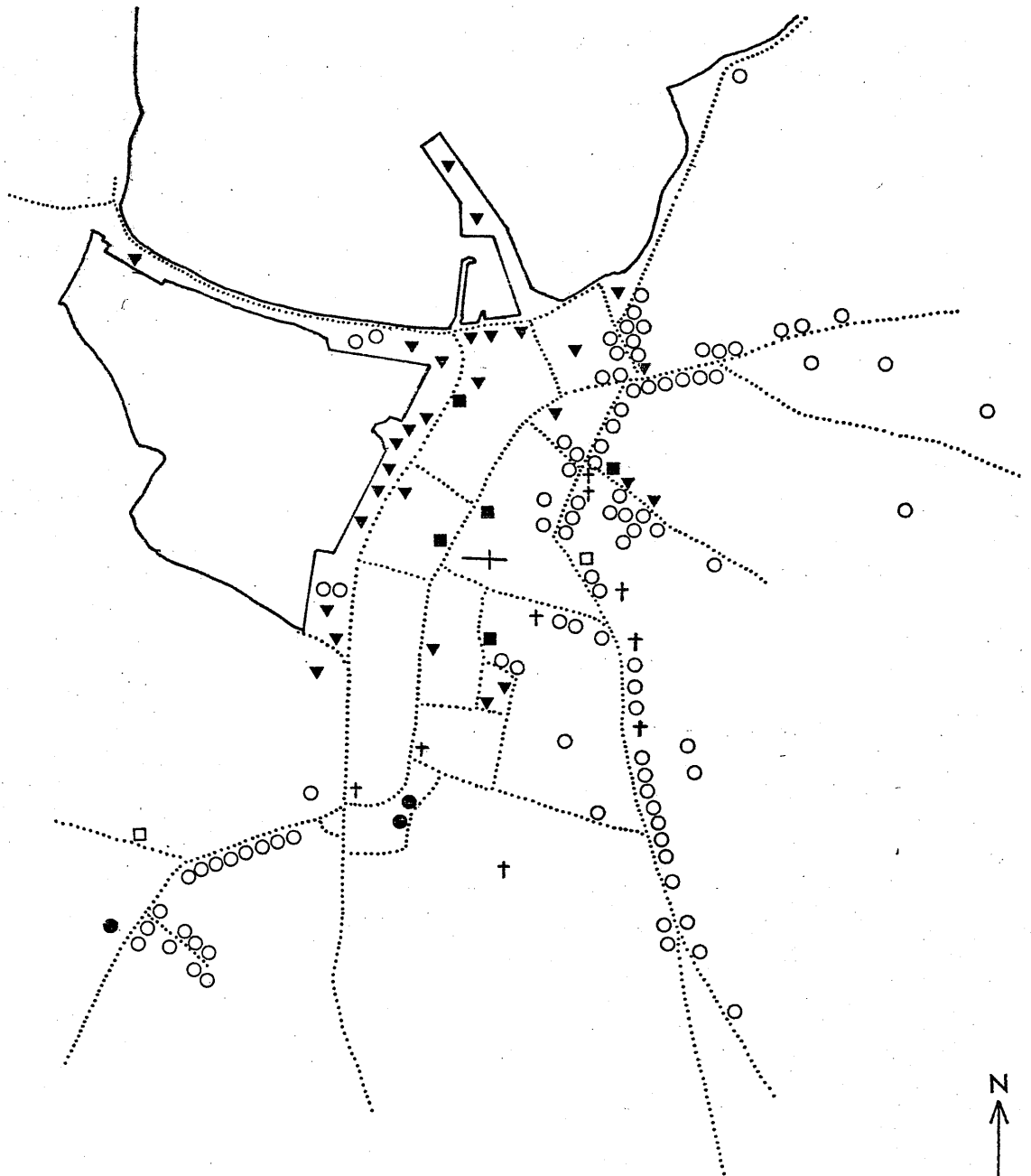


Figure 40 : Kirkwall : 19th century building development.



- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| | Main street lines | ● | Institution |
| ○ | Residential building | + | Church or manse |
| ■ | Major public building | ▼ | Commercial or industrial premises |
| □ | School | | |

Compiled from O. S. 1:2500 scale plans, 1881 & 1902.

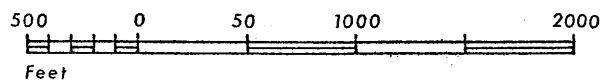


Figure 41 : Kirkwall : Aberdeen's view of burgh 1766.



Figure 42 : Kirkwall : plan of pier : 1891.

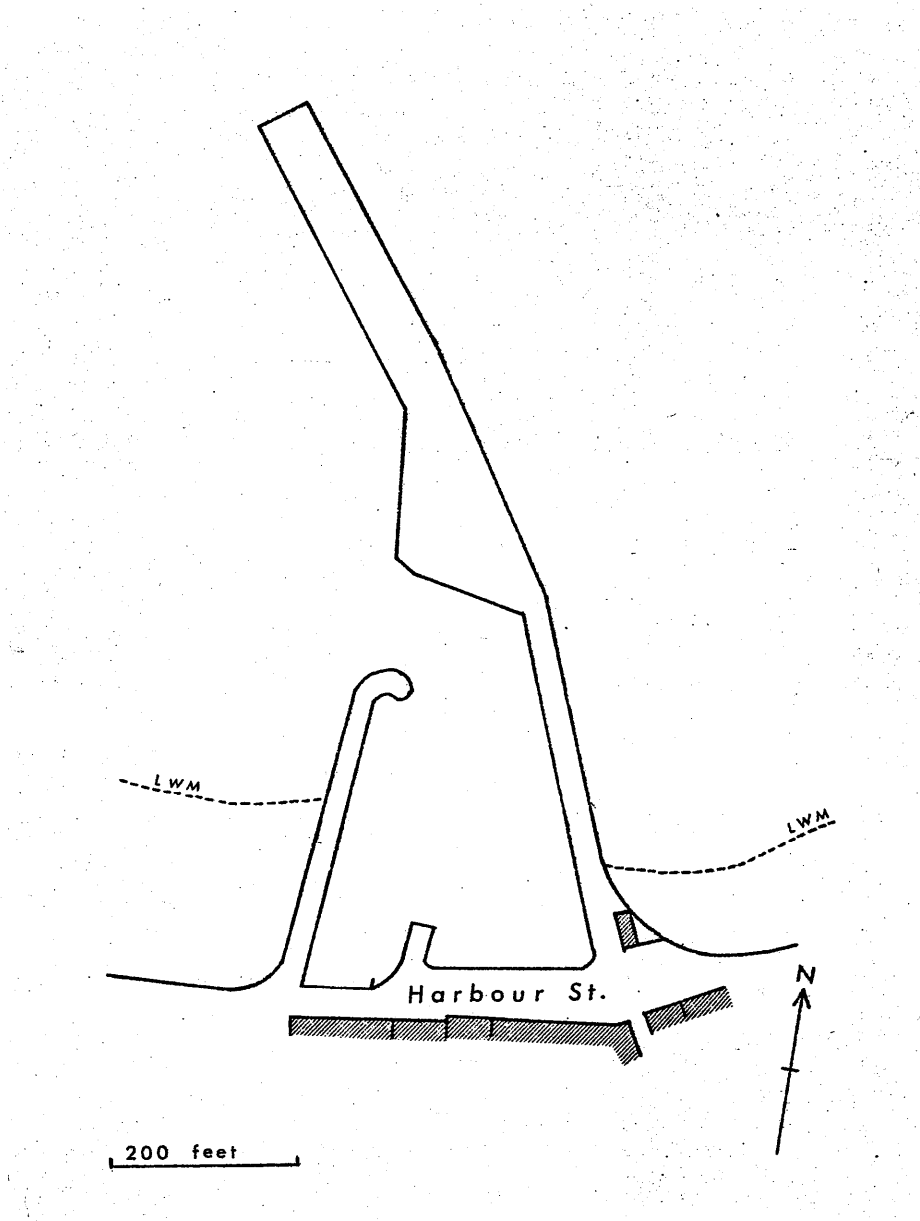


Figure 43 : Kirkwall : Household Structure 1851 & 1891.

1851

HOUSEHOLD HEAD	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS															TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS										
	LIVING ALONE	CHILDREN										DEPENDENT RELATIVES			LODGER		SERVANT									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	1		2	1	2							
SPINSTER	53	11	4												29 ³ ₍₅₎₂	8 ⁽³⁾ ₁	4			106						
BACHELOR	18														20	6	3	6	6	5	56					
WIDOW	56	51	28	12	6	5									25 ⁴ ₍₄₎₂	4	4	10 ² ₍₃₎₃	16 ⁽³⁾ ₃	1	179					
WIDOWER	9	21	7	5	1		1								18	2		2 ⁽³⁾ ₁	11 ⁽³⁾ ₁	56						
COUPLE	79	126	81	63	38	29	11	4	3	1										59 ⁷ ₍₄₎₂	7 ⁽⁵⁾ ₁	2	37 ⁹ ₍₃₎₂	40 ¹⁷ ₍₅₎₅	17 ⁽⁴⁾ ₍₅₎₂	468
COUPLE (Father absent)	7	13	12	7	5	5	2	1	1											7			7	1	2 ⁽³⁾ ₂	55
COUPLE (Mother absent)		1	1		1													1	1		4					

FIGURES ENCLOSED WITHIN BRACKETS ARE NUMBERS OF RELATIVES, SERVANTS, ETC., WHEN THOSE NUMBERS EXCEED THOSE AT THE HEAD OF THE COLUMN.

1891

HOUSEHOLD HEAD	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS															TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS											
	LIVING ALONE	CHILDREN										DEPENDENT RELATIVES			LODGER		SERVANT										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	1		2	1	2								
SPINSTER	85	11	7	2	3										27	3		7 ⁽³⁾ ₁	3	9	2	148					
BACHELOR	16														14 ⁶ ₍₄₎₂	6 ⁽⁵⁾ ₃	2	2	2 ⁽⁴⁾ ₁	5 ⁽³⁾ ₁	2 ⁽⁹⁾ ₁	49					
WIDOW	57	44	21	9	9	4	2								28 ⁴ ₍₄₎₁	4	1	11 ⁵ ₍₃₎₆	5 ⁽⁴⁾ ₍₇₎₁	8	2	162					
WIDOWER	13	22	13	7	2	2	3	1							11	6	1	2	2	5 ⁽³⁾ ₂	2	68					
COUPLE	69	102	73	74	62	29	24	9	10	2										52 ¹⁰ ₍₄₎₁	6 ⁽⁶⁾ ₂	3	35 ¹³ ₍₃₎₆	13 ⁽⁴⁾ ₍₇₎₁	38 ⁽³⁾ ₆	11 ⁽⁴⁾ ₍₁₀₎₁	500
COUPLE (Father absent)	3	11	12	13	12	5	3	1							5	1		3	1	2	61						
COUPLE (Mother absent)	1	2	2																	3	1	5					

Figure 44 : Kirkwall : Heads of Households 1851 & 1891.

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	
	1851	1891
SPINSTER	11.44	14.79
BACHELOR	6.05	4.90
WIDOW	19.33	16.18
WIDOWER	6.05	6.49
COUPLE	50.54	49.96
COUPLE (Father absent)	5.94	7.39
COUPLE (Mother absent)	0.43	0.50

Figure 45 : Kirkwall & Stromness : Population Graphs : 20th century.

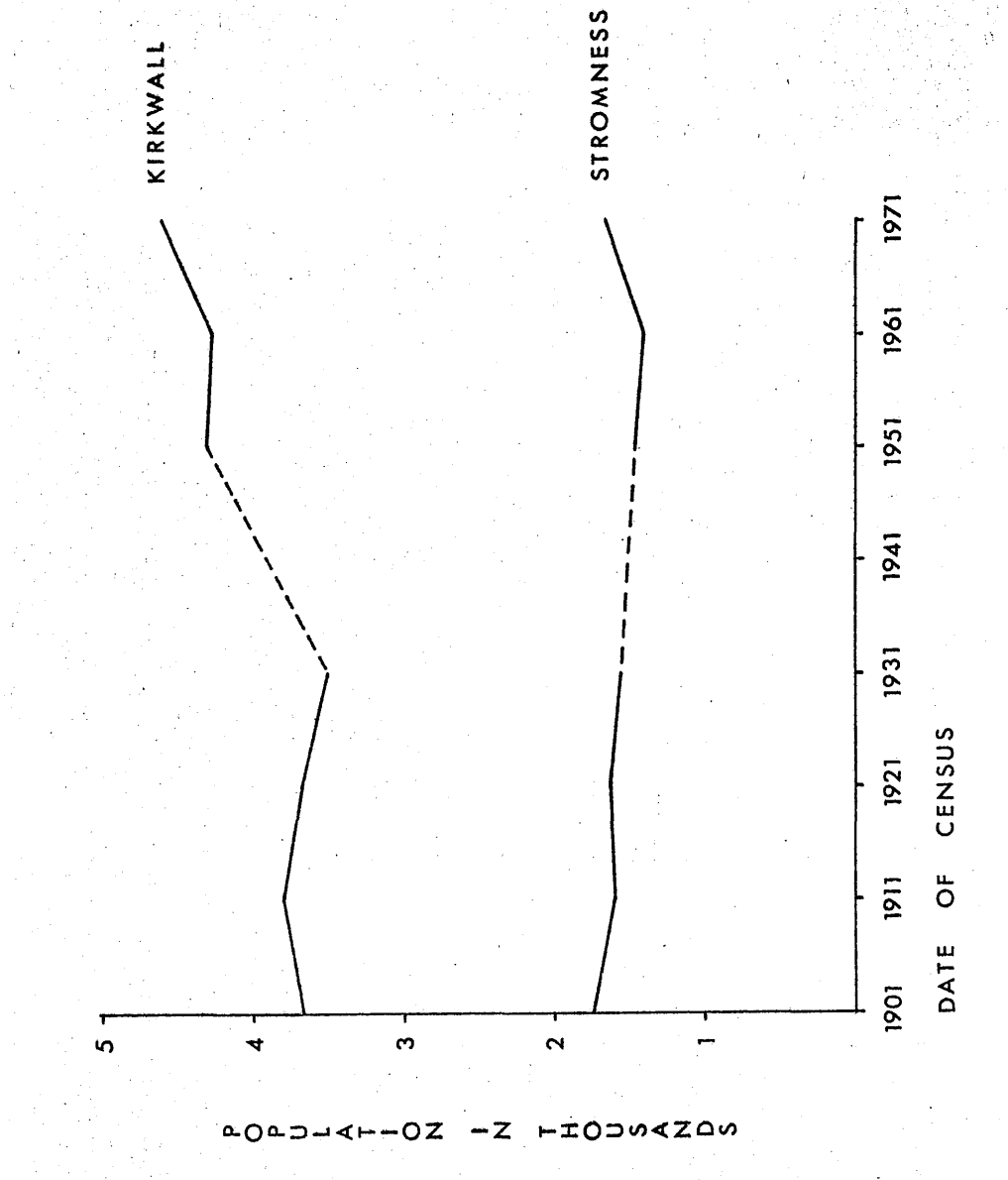
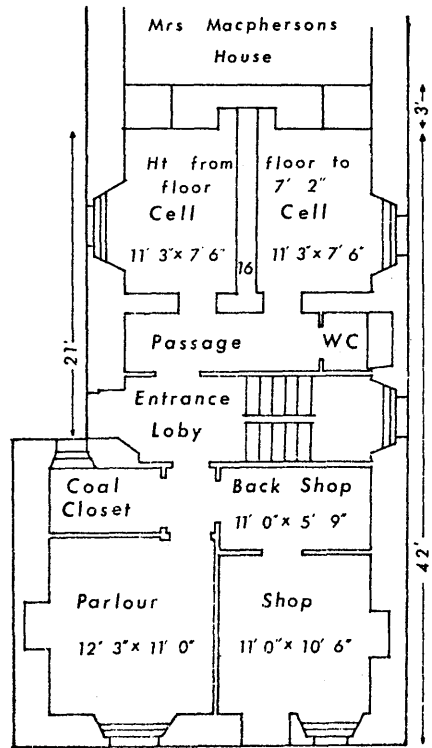
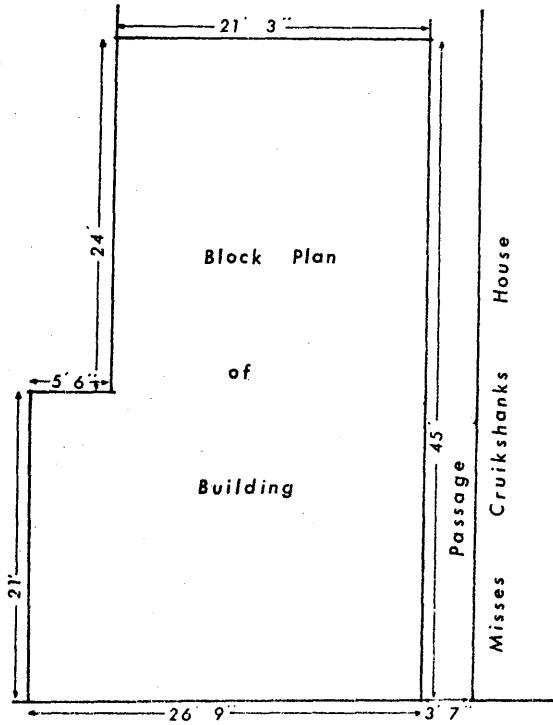
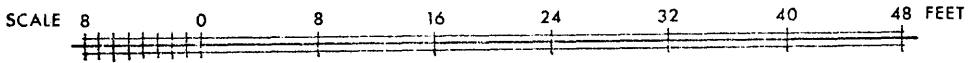
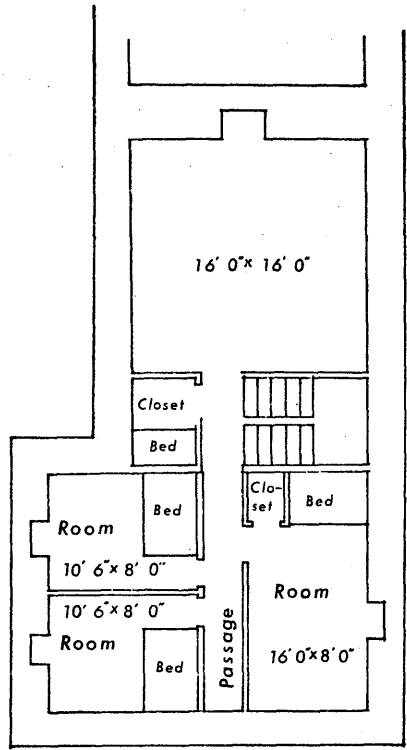
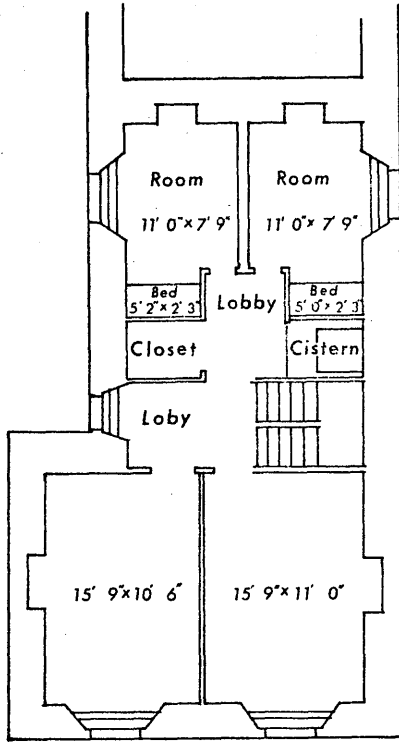


Figure 46 : Stromness : house : Albert Street : plan.



GROUND FLOOR

Figure 48 : Stromness : Melvine Place plan : early 19th century.

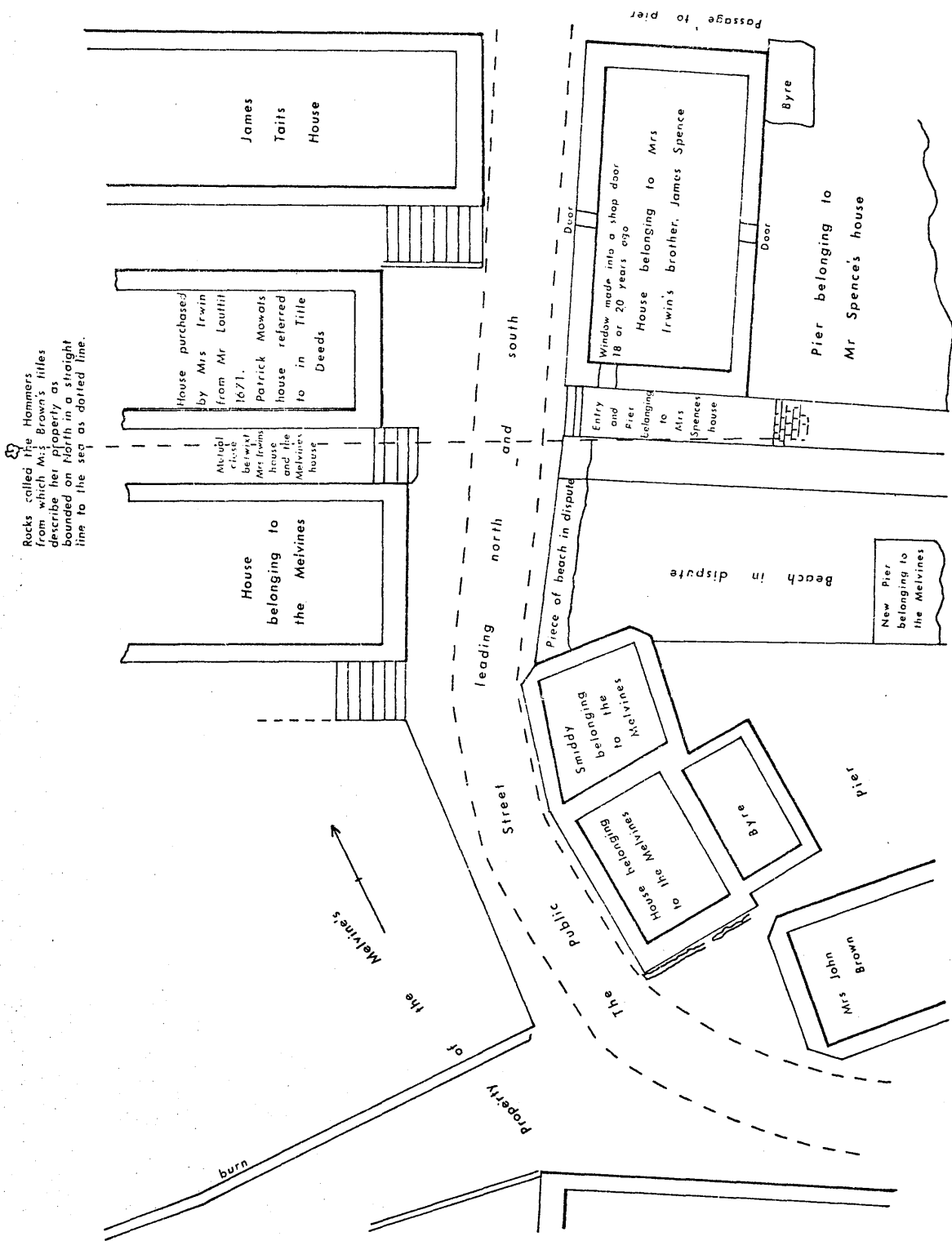


Plate 1 : Kirkwall, St. Olaf's Church, sketch of doorway.



Plate 2 : Kirkwall, St. Magnus Cathedral, exterior from the west.



Plate 3 : Kirkwall, St. Magnus Cathedral, south elevation.



Plate 4 : Kirkwall, St. Magnus Cathedral, nave looking east, 19th century engraving.



Drawn by R. W. Bellamy

Engraved by John Smith

THE NAVE, LOOKING EAST

Plate 5 : Kirkwall, St. Magnus Cathedral, south transept.



Plate 6 : Kirkwall, St. Magnus Cathedral, west front, doorway details.

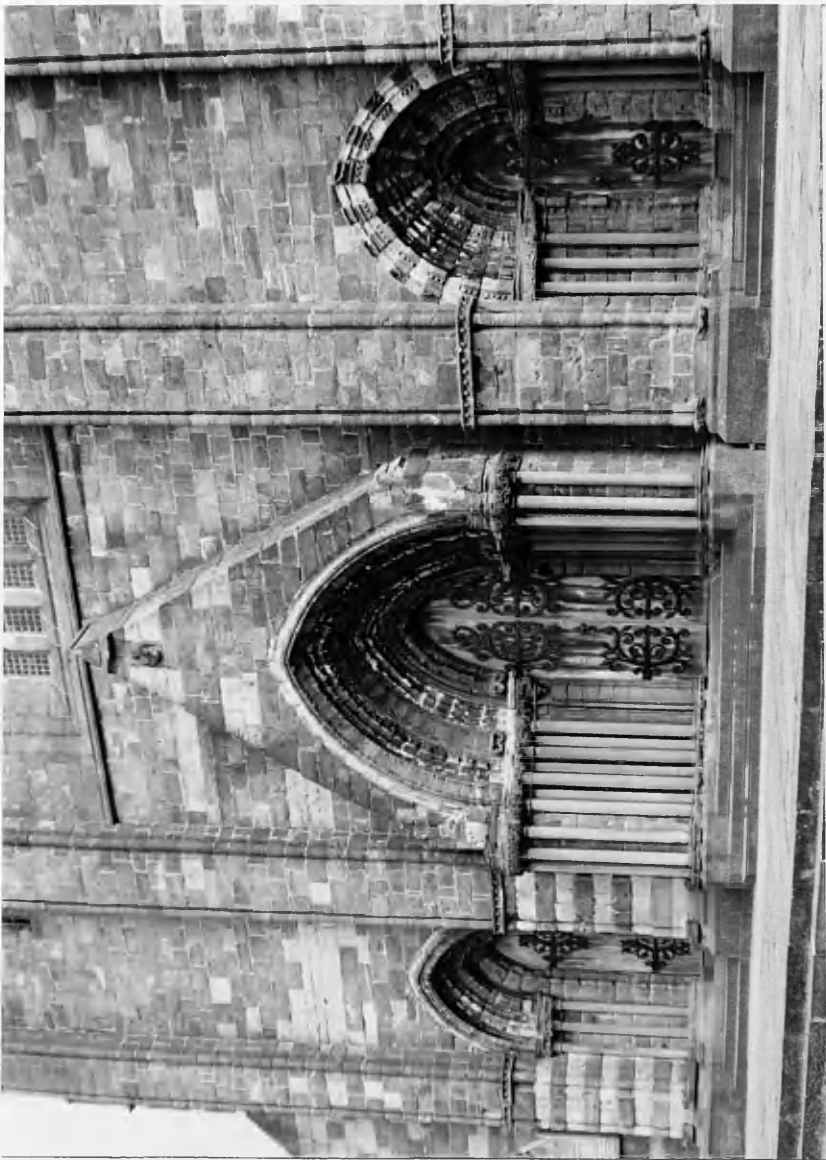


Plate 7 : Kirkwall, Bishop's Palace from the Cathedral tower.



Plate 8 : Kirkwall, Bishop's Palace, details of effigies on Reid's tower.



Plate 9 : Kirkwall, plaque commemorating the site of the castle.



Plate 10 : Kirkwall, Earl's Palace, west elevation.

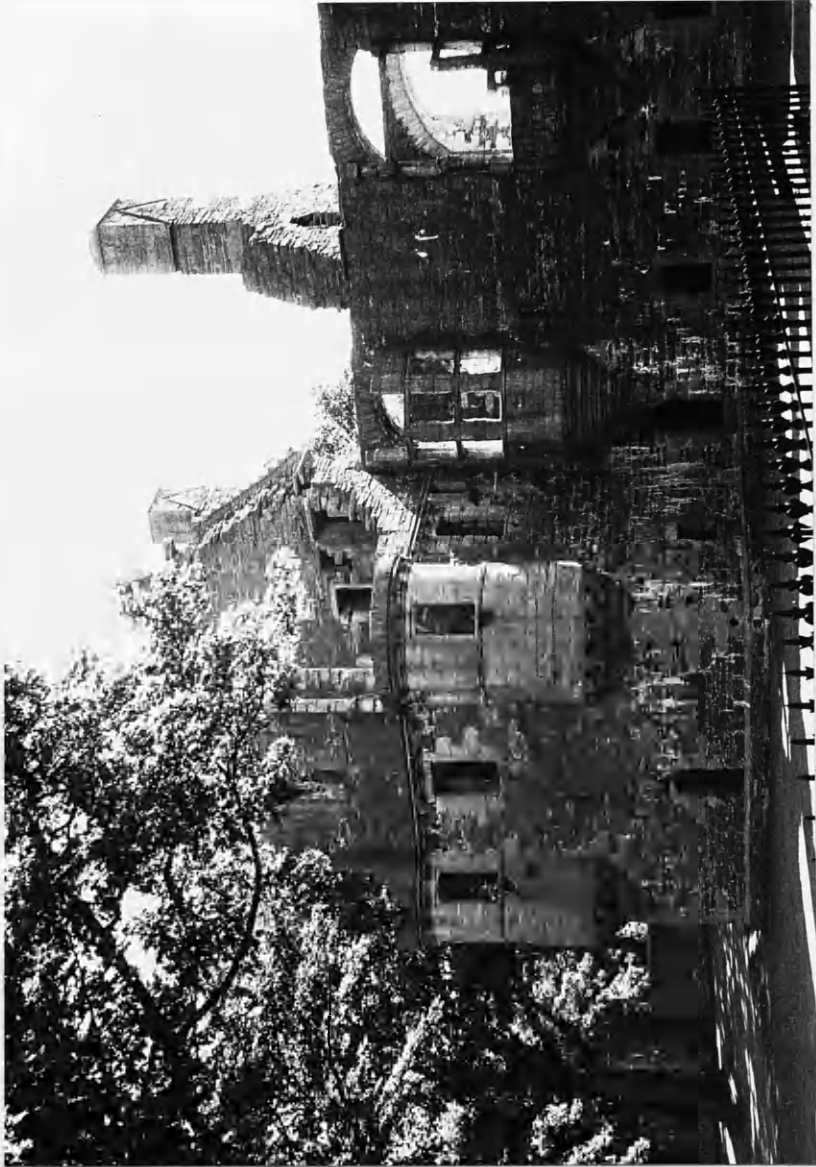


Plate 11 : Kirkwall, Earl's Palace, circular corbelling.



Plate 12 : Kirkwall, Earl's Palace, Multi-angular corbelling.



Plate 13 : Kirkwall, Earl's Palace, corbelling on turret.



Plate 14 : Kirkwall, Earl's Palace, main entrance.



Plate 15 : Kirkwall, Earl's Palace, fireplace in the Great Hall.



Plate 16 : Kirkwall, Tankerness House, east elevation.

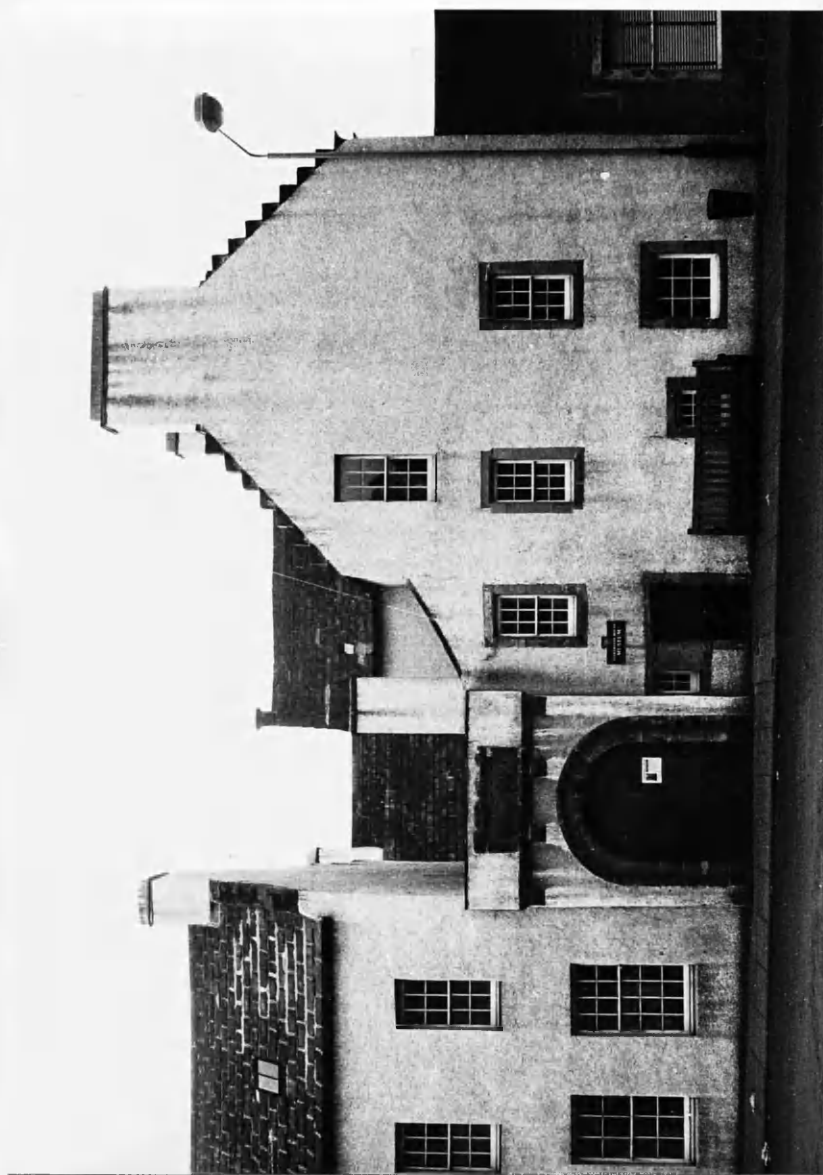


Plate 17 : Kirkwall, 72, Victoria Street.



Plate 18 : Kirkwall, site of Cromwell's Fort.



Plate 19 : Stromness, House built by J. Millar, 19th century view.



Plate 20 : Stromness, Millar's house, detail of inscription over the porch.



Plate 21 : Stromness, Breckness House, Sketch details of cupboard and fireplace.

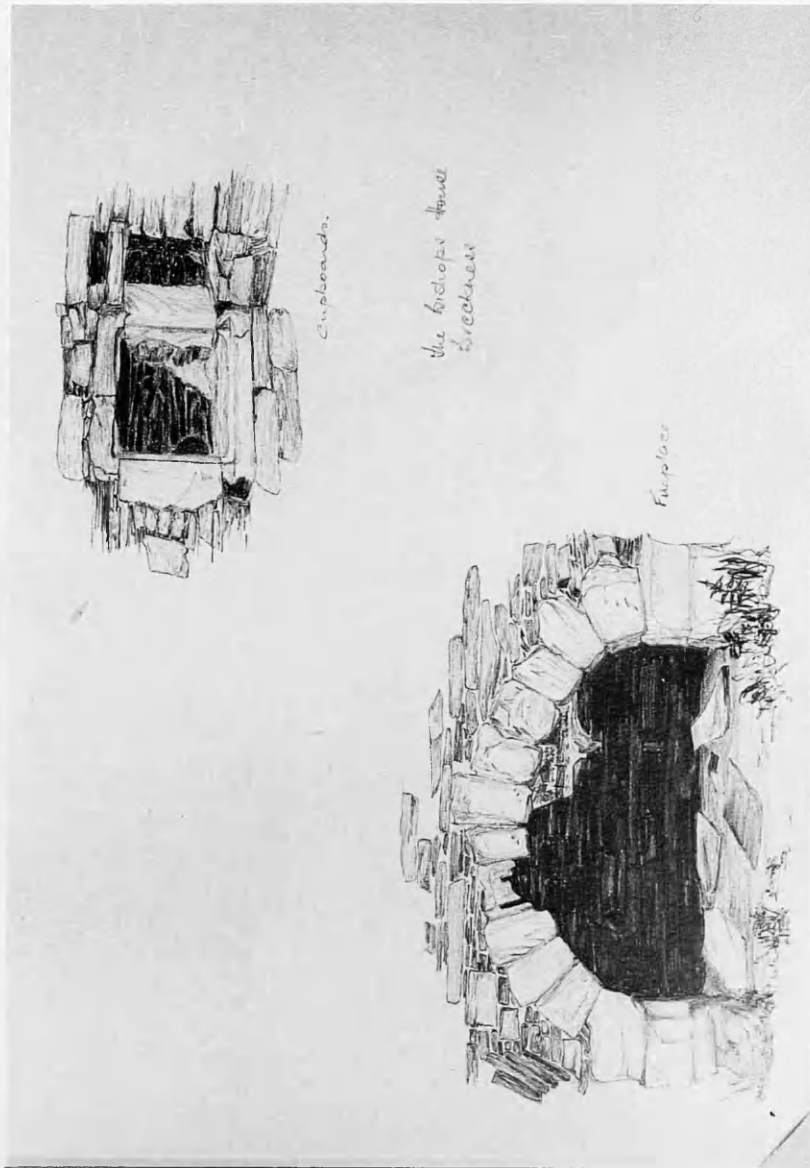


Plate 22 : Stromness, eighteenth century engraving.



STROMNESS

Plate 23 : Stromness, house at the north end, early 20th century.

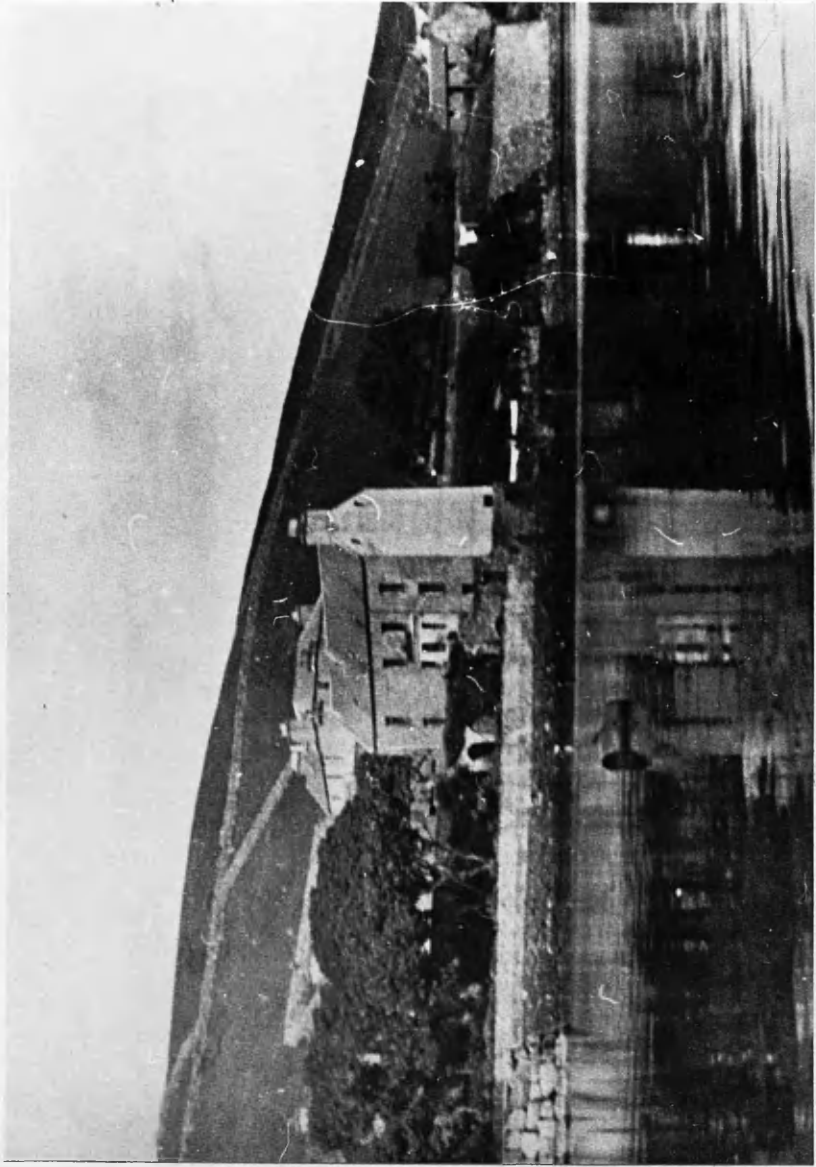


Plate 24 : Stromness, view of harbour, late 19th or early 20th century.

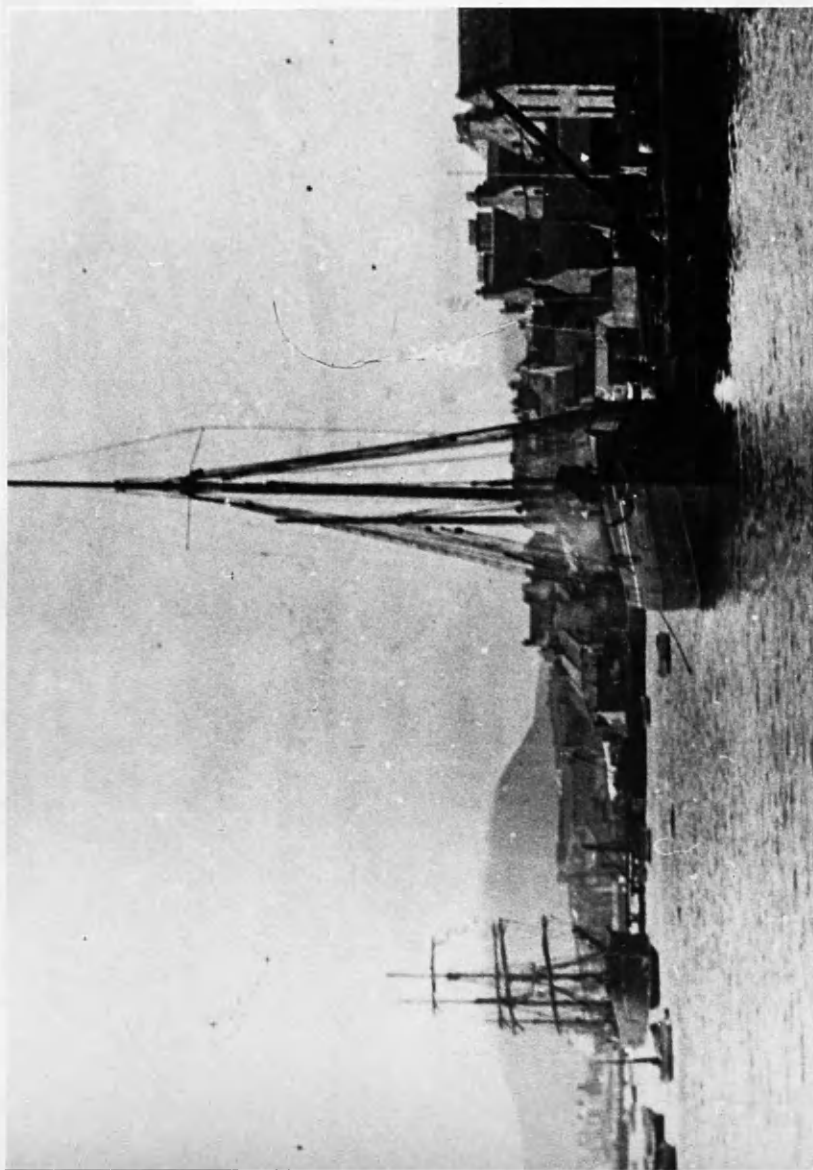


Plate 25 : Stromness, Porteous' Brae, late 19th century.





Fishing Time, Stromness

*Oh it's grand to sit & see the sheeps
come in,*

Plate 27 : Stromness, curing on the Holms, late 19th century.



Plate 28 : Stromness, coopers on the pier, late 19th century.



Plate 29 : Stromness, view from the Holms, late 19th century.



STROMNESS SEEN FROM THE HOLMS

Plate 30 : Stromness, Old Town Hall and museum.



Plate 31 : Kirkwall, Broad Street with old Town Hall, 19th century.

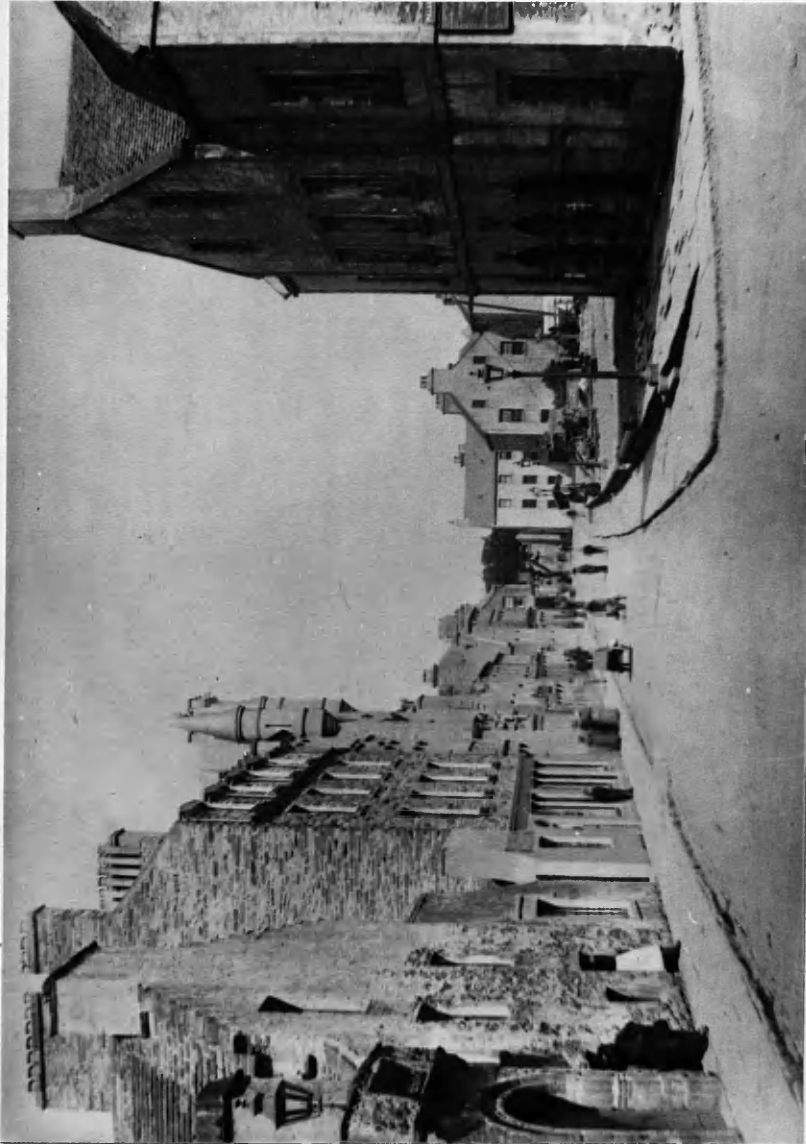


Plate 32 : Kirkwall, New Town Hall from the Cathedral tower,

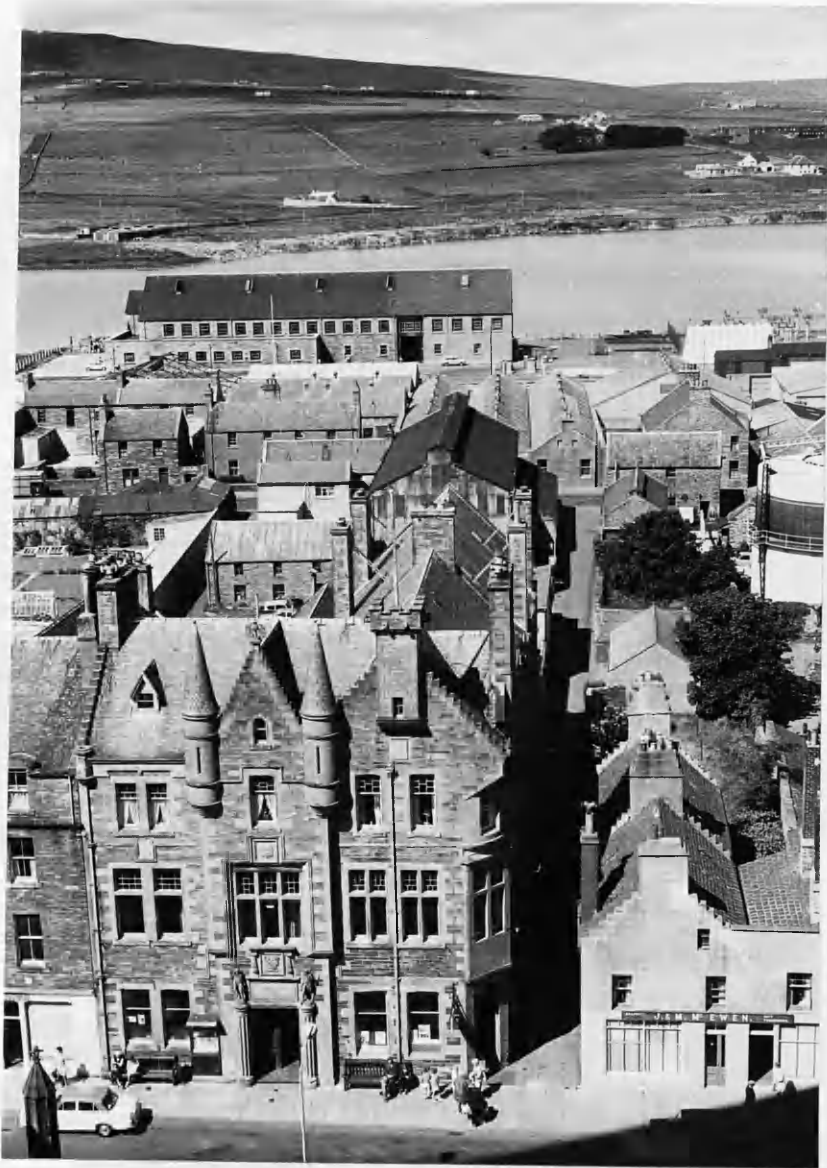


Plate 33 : Kirkwall, Harbour Street, 19th century.

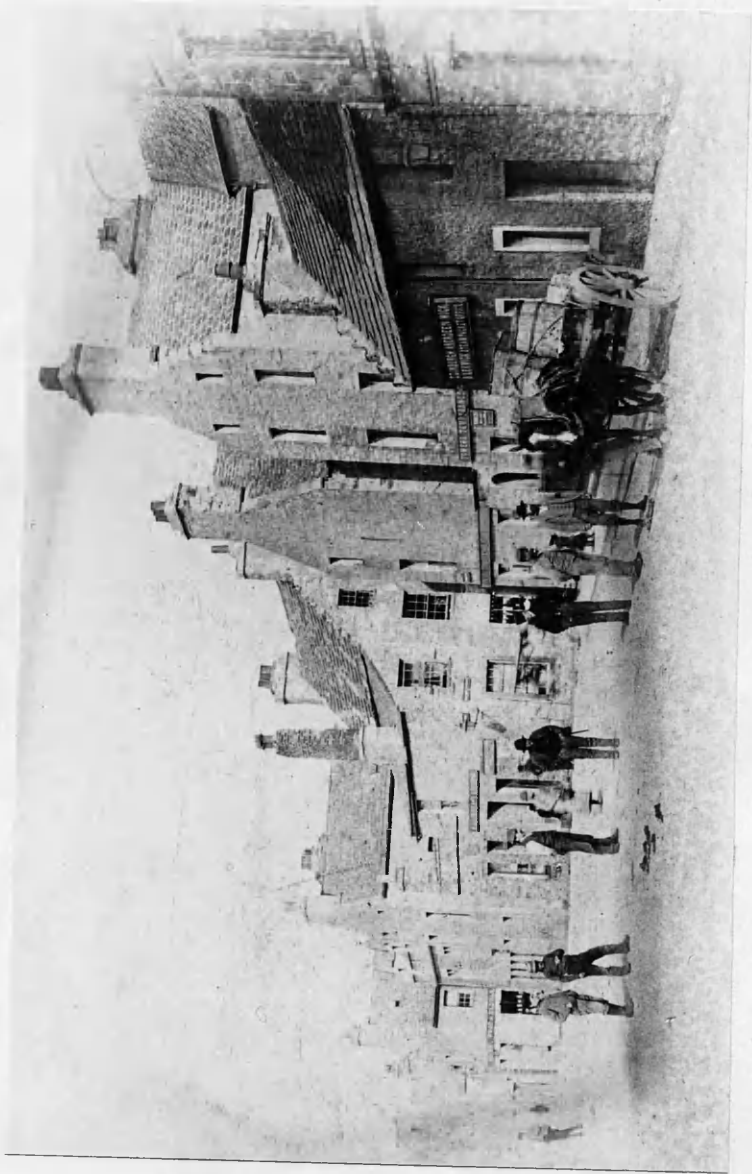
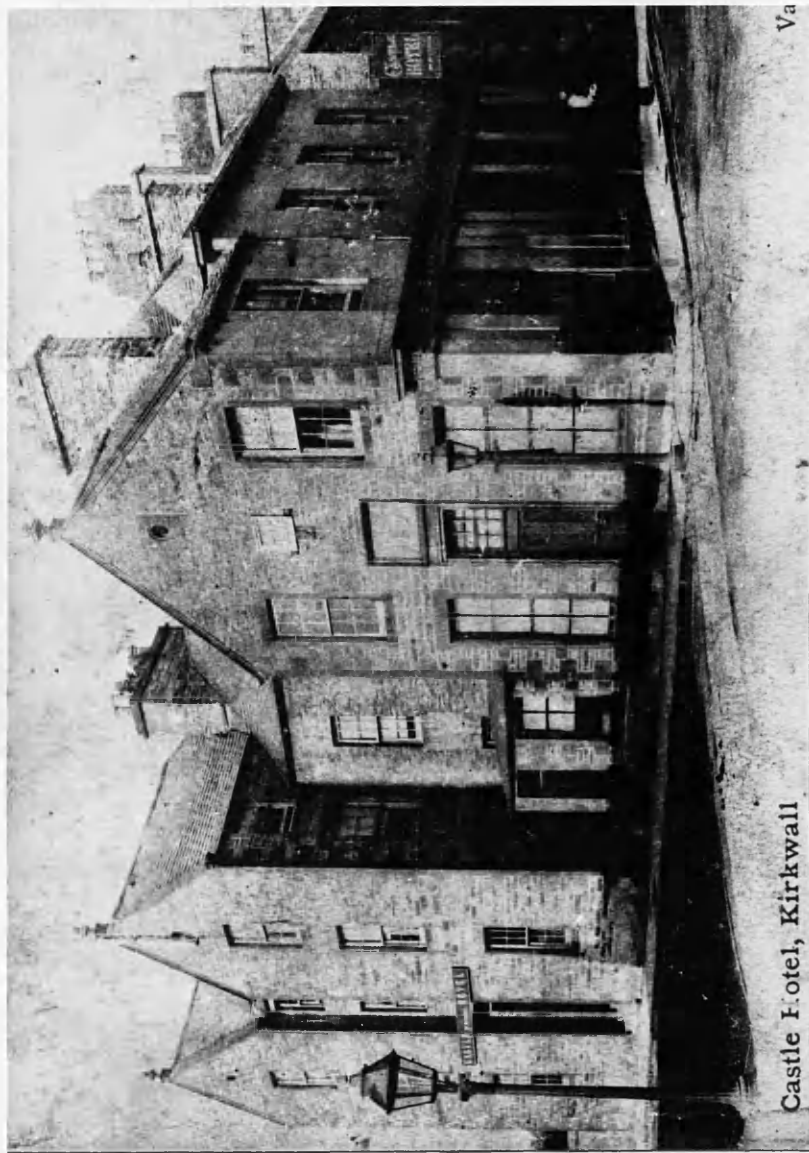


Plate 34 : Kirkwall, Castle Hotel, early 20th century.



Castle Hotel, Kirkwall

Va

Plate 35 : Kirkwall, 'Big Tree', 19th century.



Plate 36 : Kirkwall, 'Big Tree', 1970.



Plate 37 : Kirkwall, 'Daisybank.'



Plate 38 : Kirkwall, 19 - 21 East Road.



Plate 39 : Kirkwall, United Presbyterian Church, Dundas Crescent.



Plate 40 : Kirkwall, St. Olaf's Church, Dundas Crescent.



Plate 41 : Kirkwall, Dundas Crescent, late 19th century.

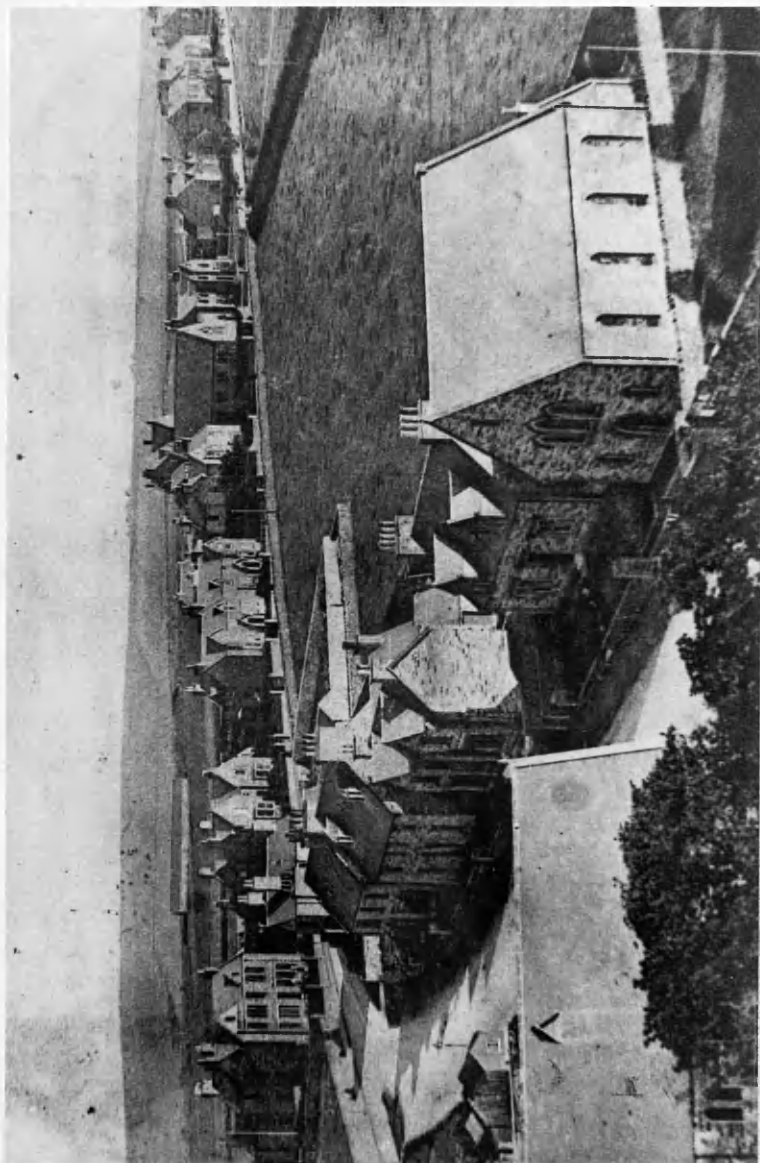


Plate 42 : Kirkwall, Volunteer Review on the Ayre, early 20th century.



Plate 43 : Kirkwall, Ayre Mill and stone bridge.



Plate 44 : Kirkwall, Glaitness School,



Plate 45 : Kirkwall, Highland Park Distillery.



Plate 46 : Kirkwall, Power station,



Plate 47 : Kirkwall, Harbour basin.

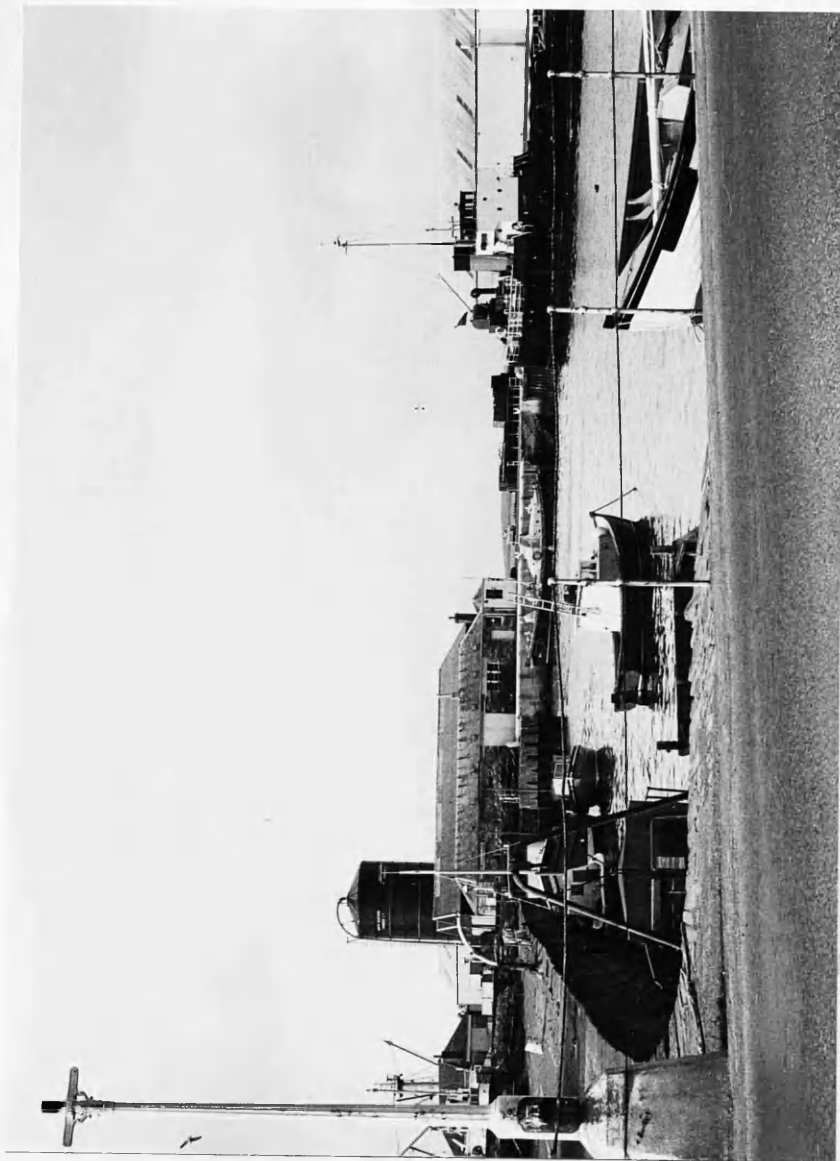


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Plate 49 : Stromness, The Academy.



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Plate 53 : Kirkwall, Infant School with Papdale House.



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Plate 55 : Kirkwall, Coastguard buildings,



Plate 56 : Kirkwall, Broad Street, 19th century view.



BROAD STREET, KIRKWALL. 1866.

Plate 57 : Kirkwall, Shore Street lanes.



Plate 58 : Kirkwall, King's Girnell and site of the 'Inns'.



Plate 59 : Kirkwall, Shore Street from Cromwell's Fort, early 20th century, photographed at midnight in Midsummer.

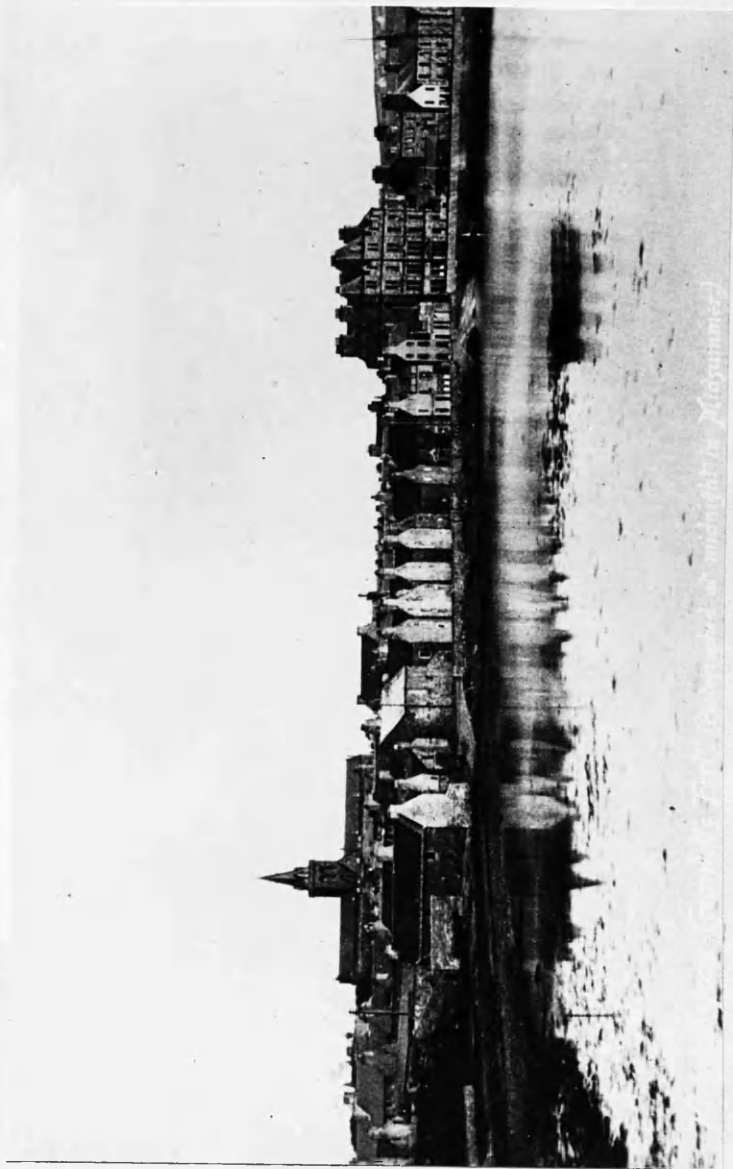


Plate 60 : Kirkwall, 8, Clay Loan.



Plate 61 : Kirkwall, Wellington Street.



Plate 62 : Kirkwall, Wellington Street.



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Plate 64 : Stromness, Stromness Hotel,

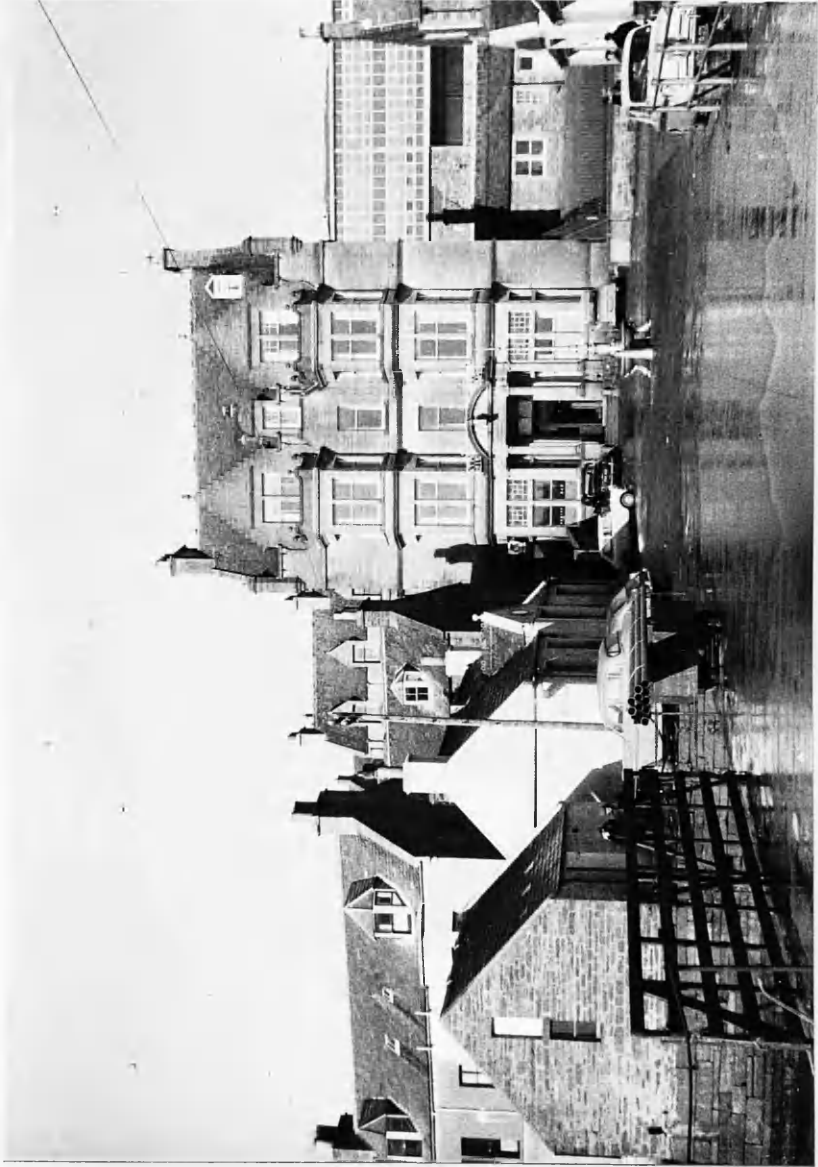


Plate 65 : Stromness, Building contractors.



Plate 66 : Stromness, Grays Biggings and Khyber Pass, sketch.



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Plate 68.



Plate 69.



Plate 70.



Plate 71 : Stromness, Paplay's Park, Walkways.

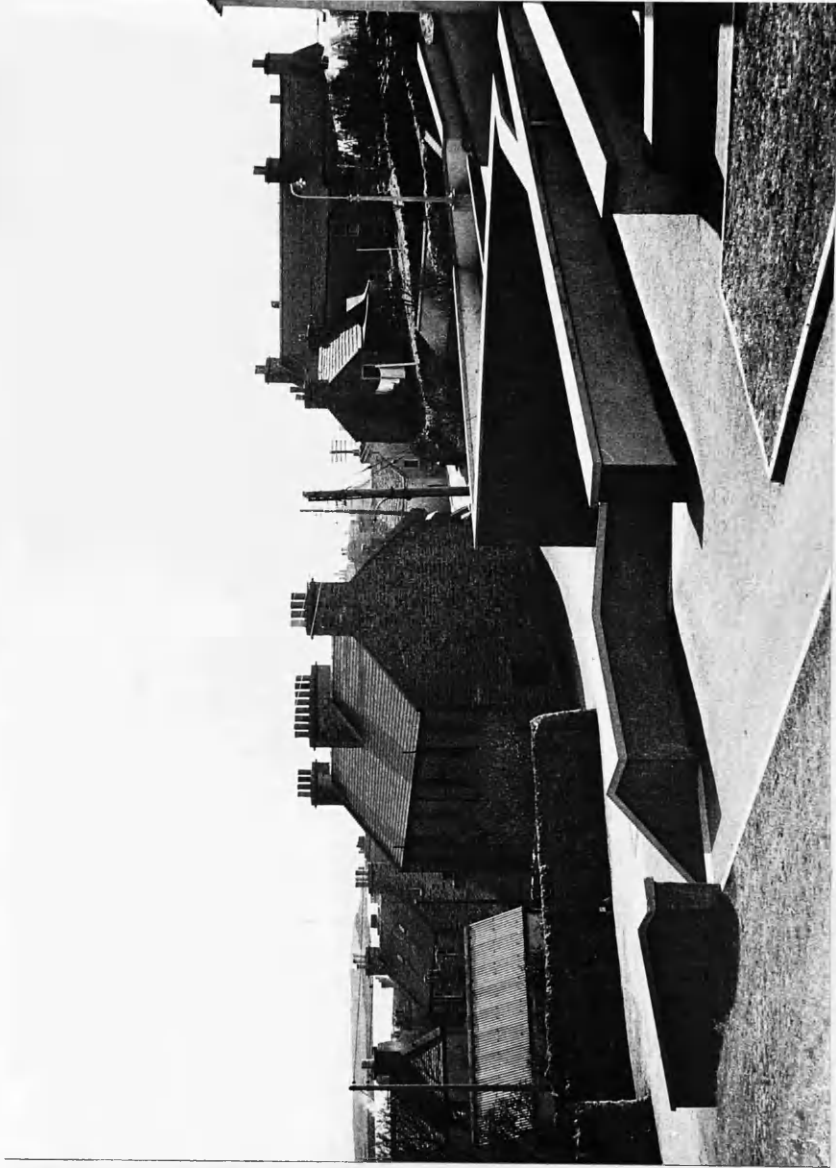


Plate 72 : Stromness, Queen Street, early 20th century.

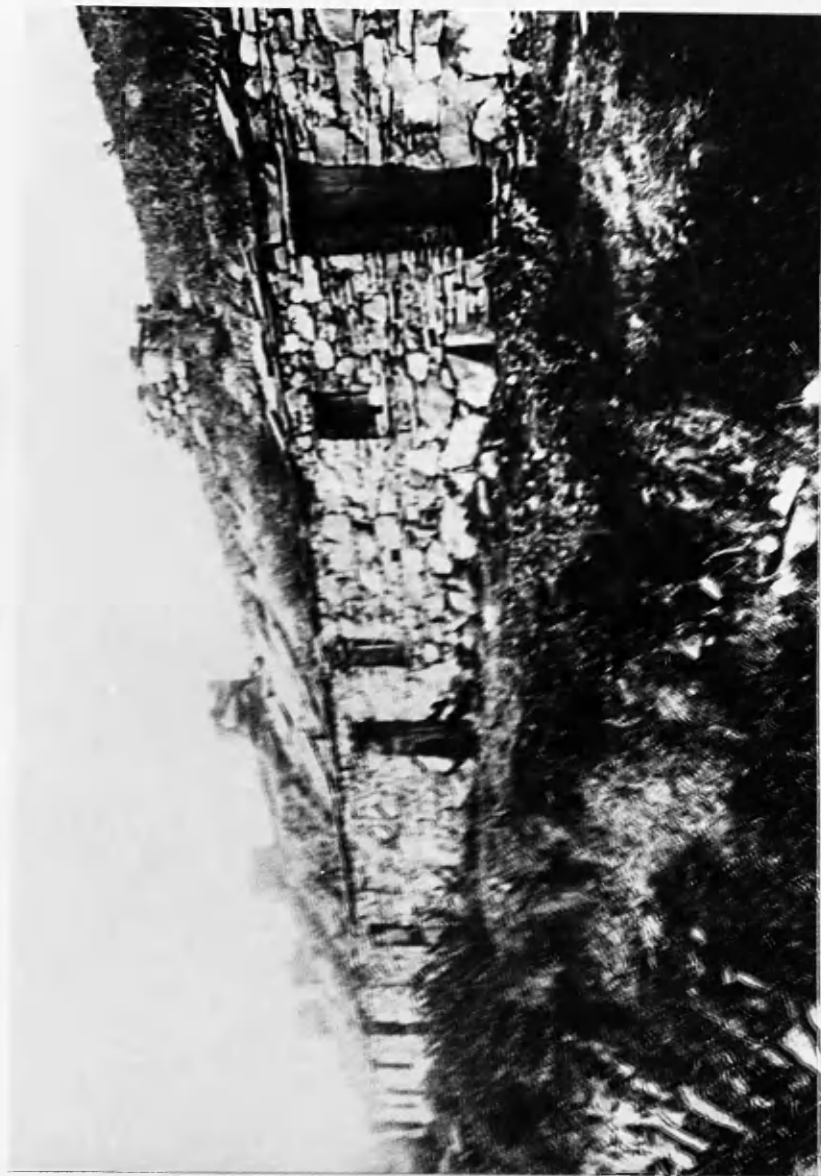


Plate 73 : Kirkwall, Shore Street lane, 20th century.



Plate 74 : Stromness, 41 - 43 John Street.



Plate 75 : Stromness, detail of cottage, Alfred Street.



Plate 76 : Kirkwall, Shore Street, 20th century.

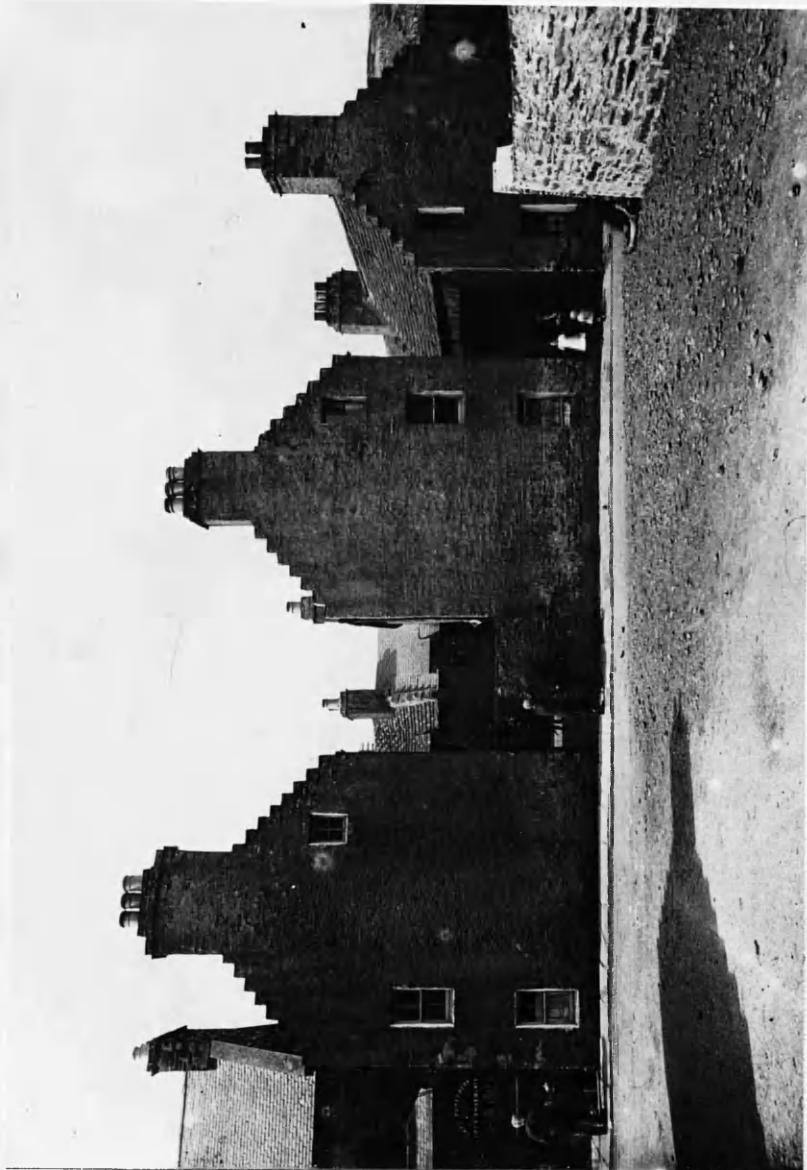


Plate 77 : Stromness, detail of flagstone roof, Alfred Street.

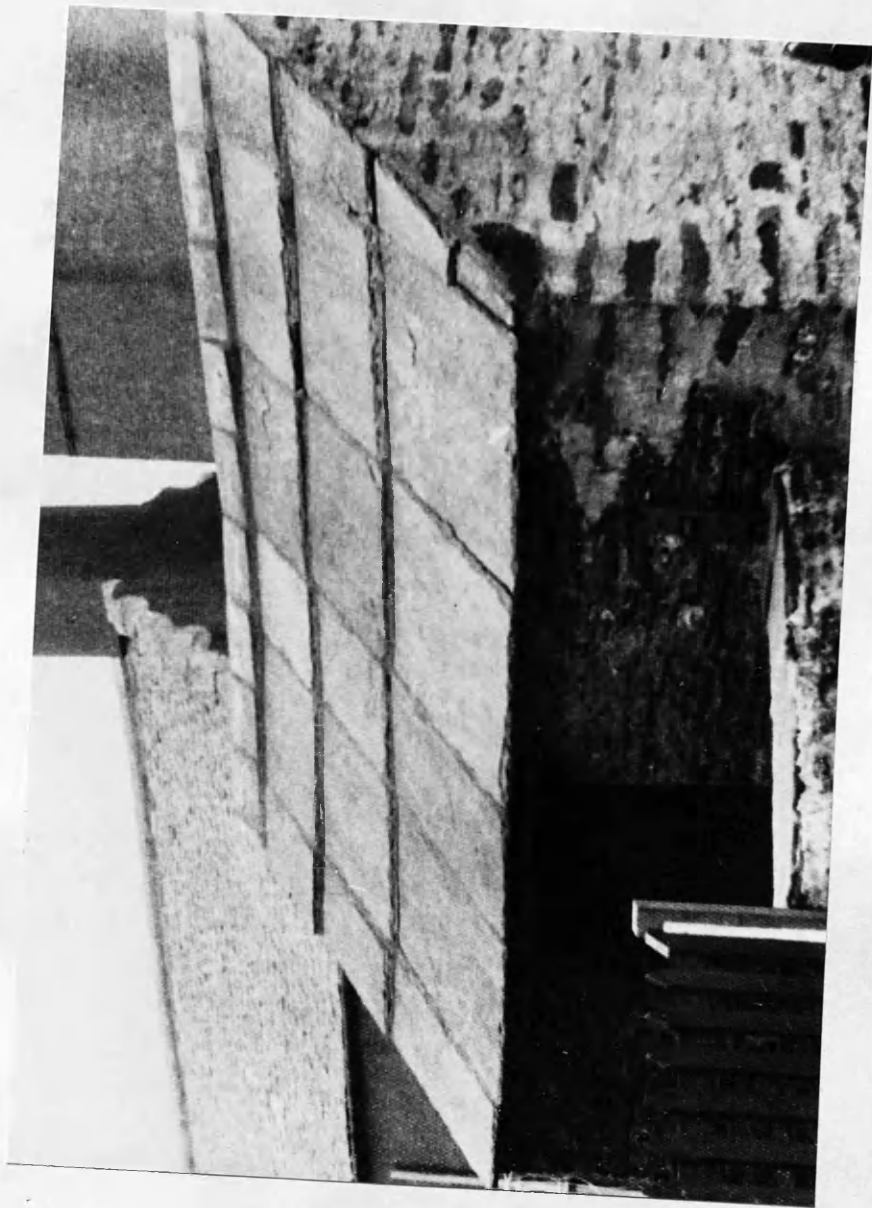


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Plate 82 : Kirkwall, The 'Ludgeing' from the Cathedral.



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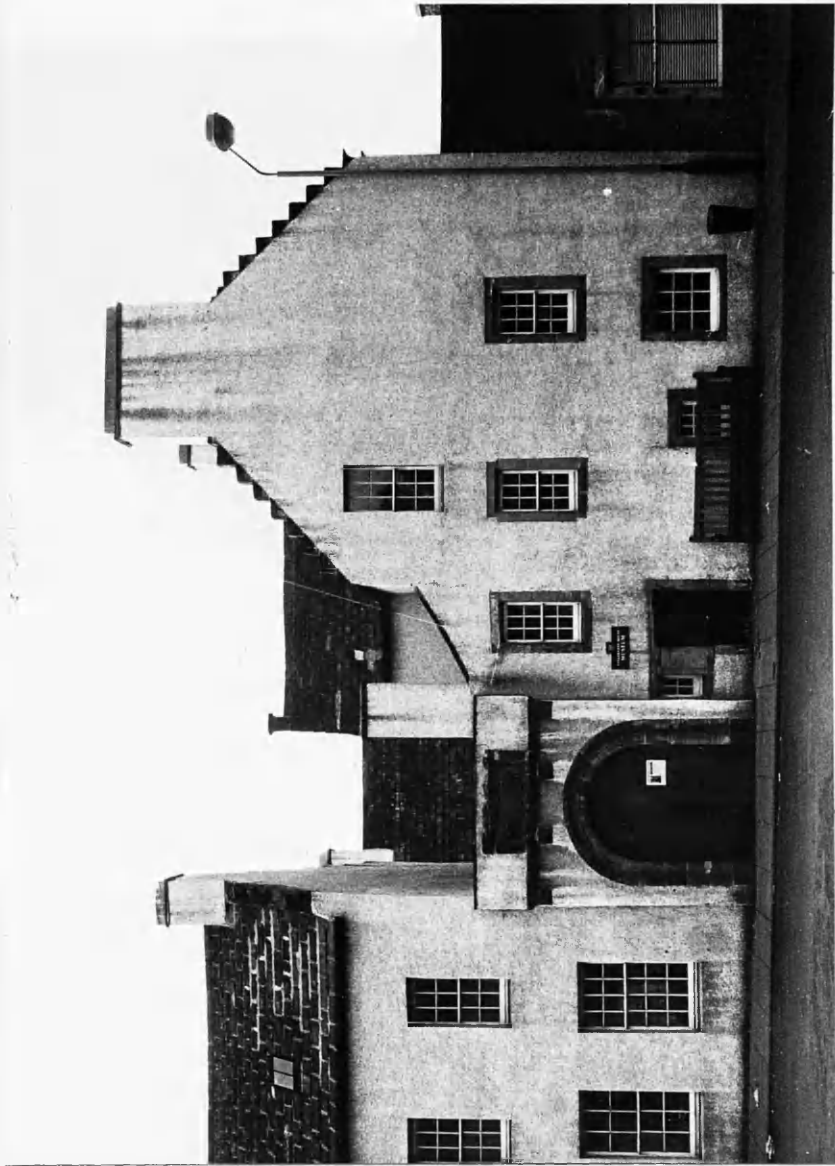


Plate 84 : Stromness, Stenigar, originally Stanger's shipyard.



Plate 85 : Stromness, 'Old Orkney' Whisky distillery.

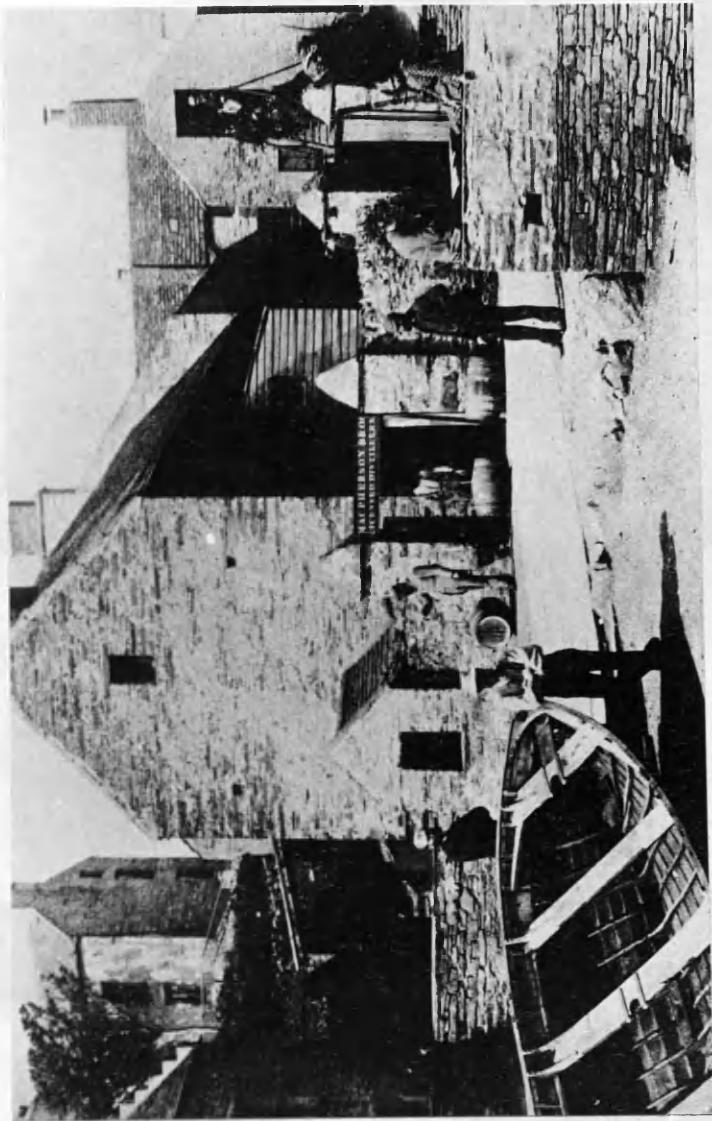


Plate 86 : Stromness, Mayburn Court,



Plate 87 : Stromness, view from Mayburn Court.



Glasgow
University Library



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KIRKWALL : BUILDING STYLE

MAP 1A



LEGEND

- One storey building
- Two storey building
- Three storey building
- Four storey building
- Other buildings
- Dormer
- Basement

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets HY 4409-4411 and 4509-4511, published 1966, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from fieldwork carried out during 1970 and 1971.



LEGEND

- One storey building
- Two storey building
- Three storey building
- Four storey building
- Other buildings
- Dormer
- Basement

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets HY 4409-4411 and 4509-4511, published 1966, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from fieldwork carried out during 1970 and 1971.



KIRKWALL : BUILDING AGE

MAP 2 A



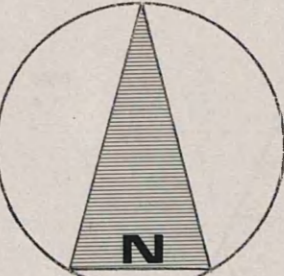
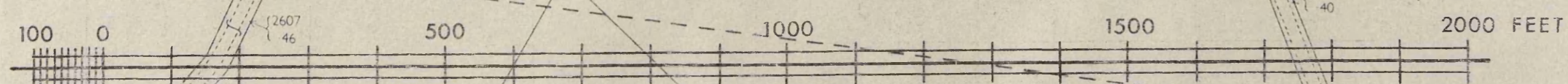
KIRKWALL BURGH

KIRKWALL AND ST OLA PH

LEGEND

- Pre 1700
- 1700 - 1880
- 1880 - 1900
- 1900 - 1940
- Post 1940

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets HY 4409-4411 and 4509-4511, published 1966. 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from fieldwork carried out during 1970 and 1971.

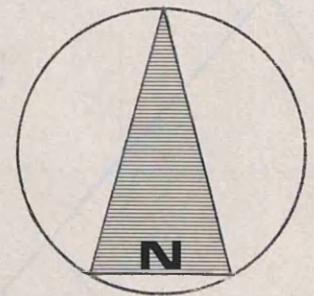



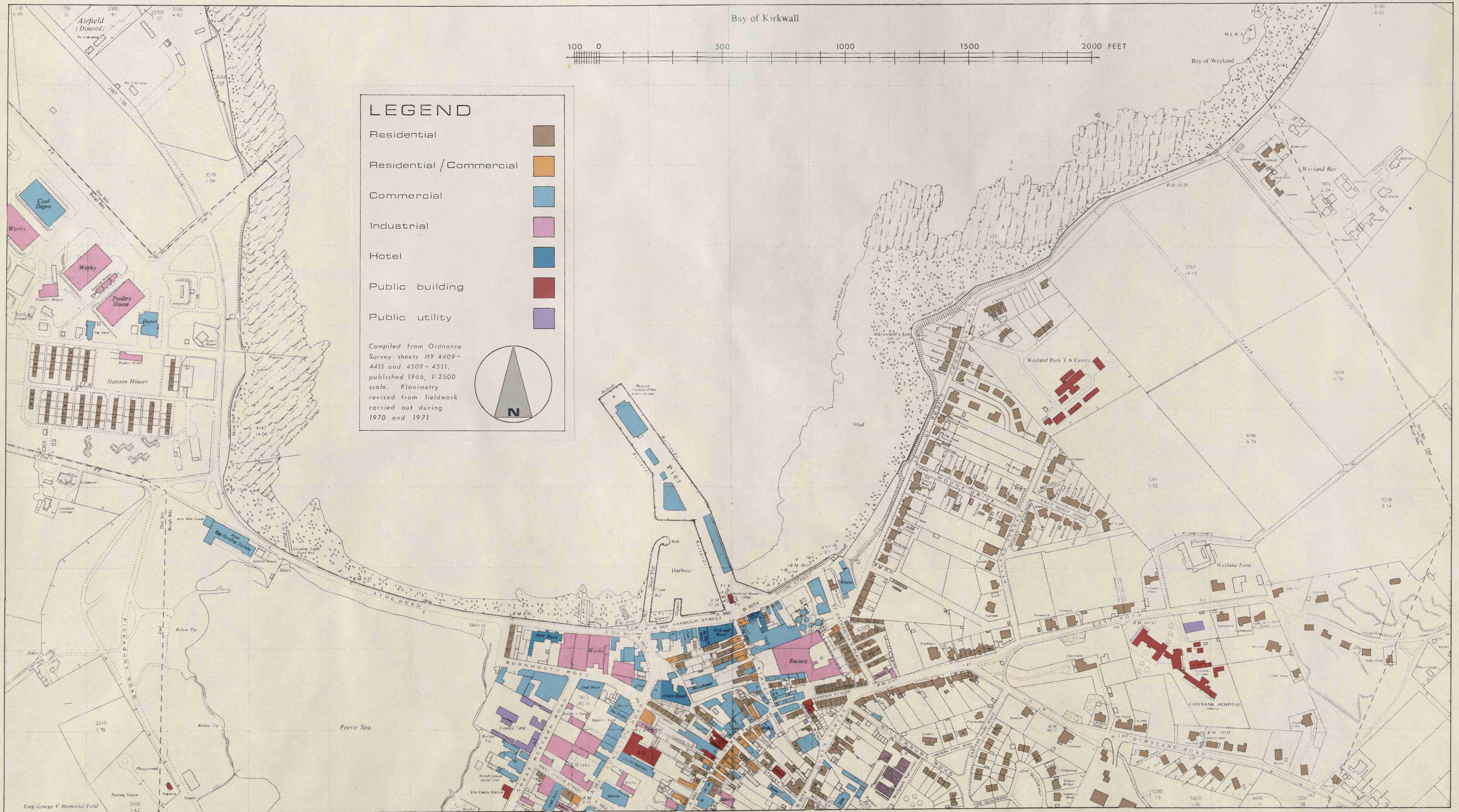


LEGEND

- Pre 1700
- 1700 - 1880
- 1880 - 1900
- 1900 - 1940
- Post 1940

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets HY 4409-4411 and 4509-4511, published 1966, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from fieldwork carried out during 1970 and 1971.





KIRKWALL: BUILDING FUNCTION

MAP 3 A



KIRKWALL BURGH

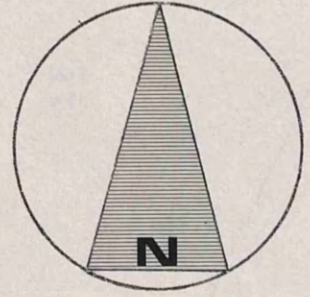
KIRKWALL AND ST OLA PH

BALFOUR HOSPITAL
(General)

LEGEND

- Residential
- Residential / Commercial
- Commercial
- Industrial
- Hotel
- Public building
- Public utility

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets HY 4409-4411 and 4509-4511, published 1966, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from fieldwork carried out during 1970 and 1971

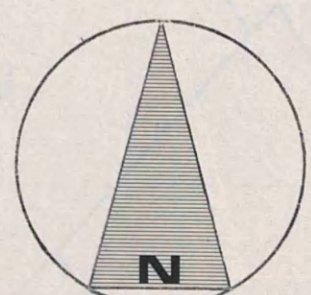




LEGEND

- Residential
- Residential / Commercial
- Commercial
- Industrial
- Hotel
- Public building
- Public utility

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets HY 4409 - 4411 and 4509 - 4511, published 1966, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from fieldwork carried out during 1970 and 1971



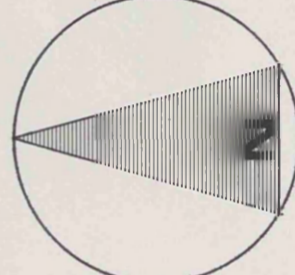
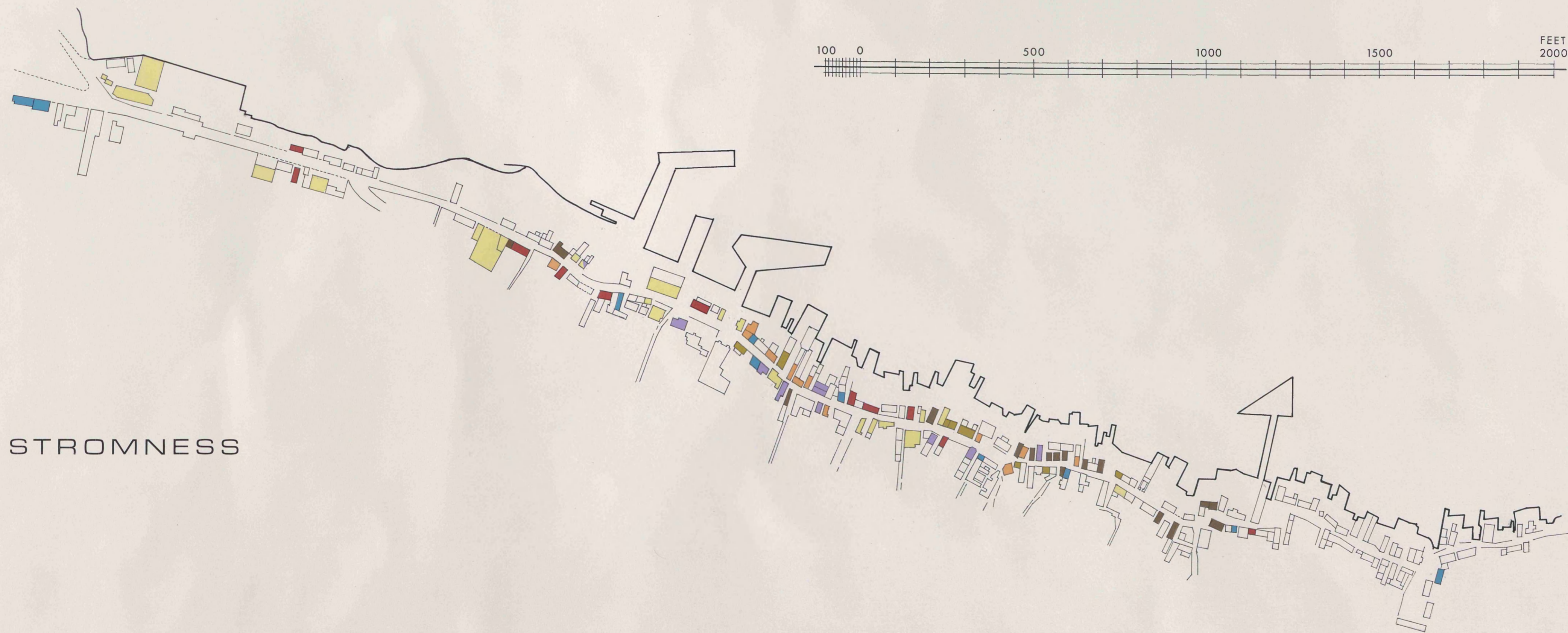
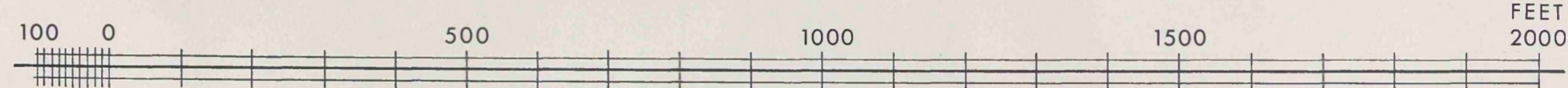


KIRKWALL

LEGEND

- Food and drink
- Clothing and soft goods
- General merchant
- Household goods
- Business and service
- Miscellaneous
- Empty or former shop

Compiled from Ordnance Survey 1:2500 scale sheets. Planimetry revised from aerial photography and from fieldwork carried out between 1969 and 1971.

STROMNESS



KIRKWALL BURGH

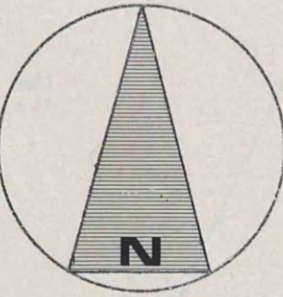
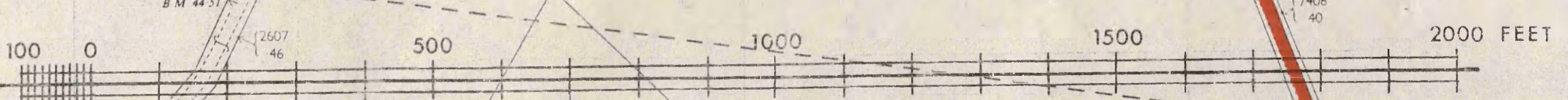
KIRKWALL AND ST OLA PH

BALFOUR HOSPITAL
(General)

LEGEND

- Main road
- Minor road
- Pedestrian lane
- Public open space
- Private open space

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets HY 4409-4411 and 4509-4511, published 1966, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from fieldwork carried out during 1970 and 1971.

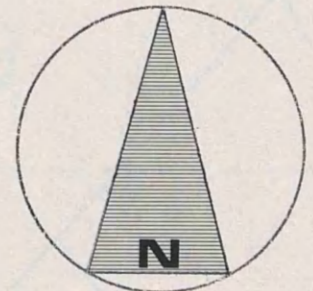



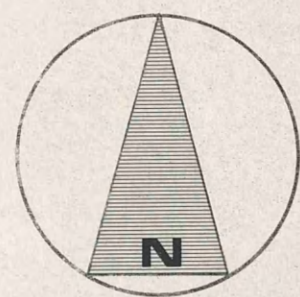
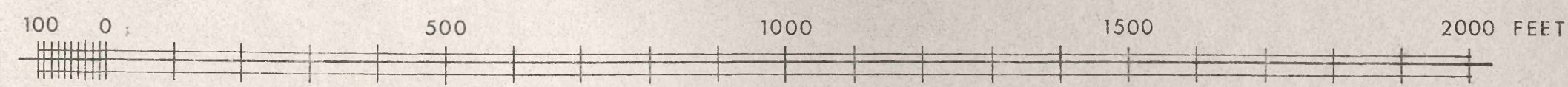


LEGEND






- Main road
- Minor road
- Pedestrian lane
- Public open space
- Private open space

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets HY 4409-4411 and 4509-4511, published 1966, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from fieldwork carried out during 1970 and 1971.



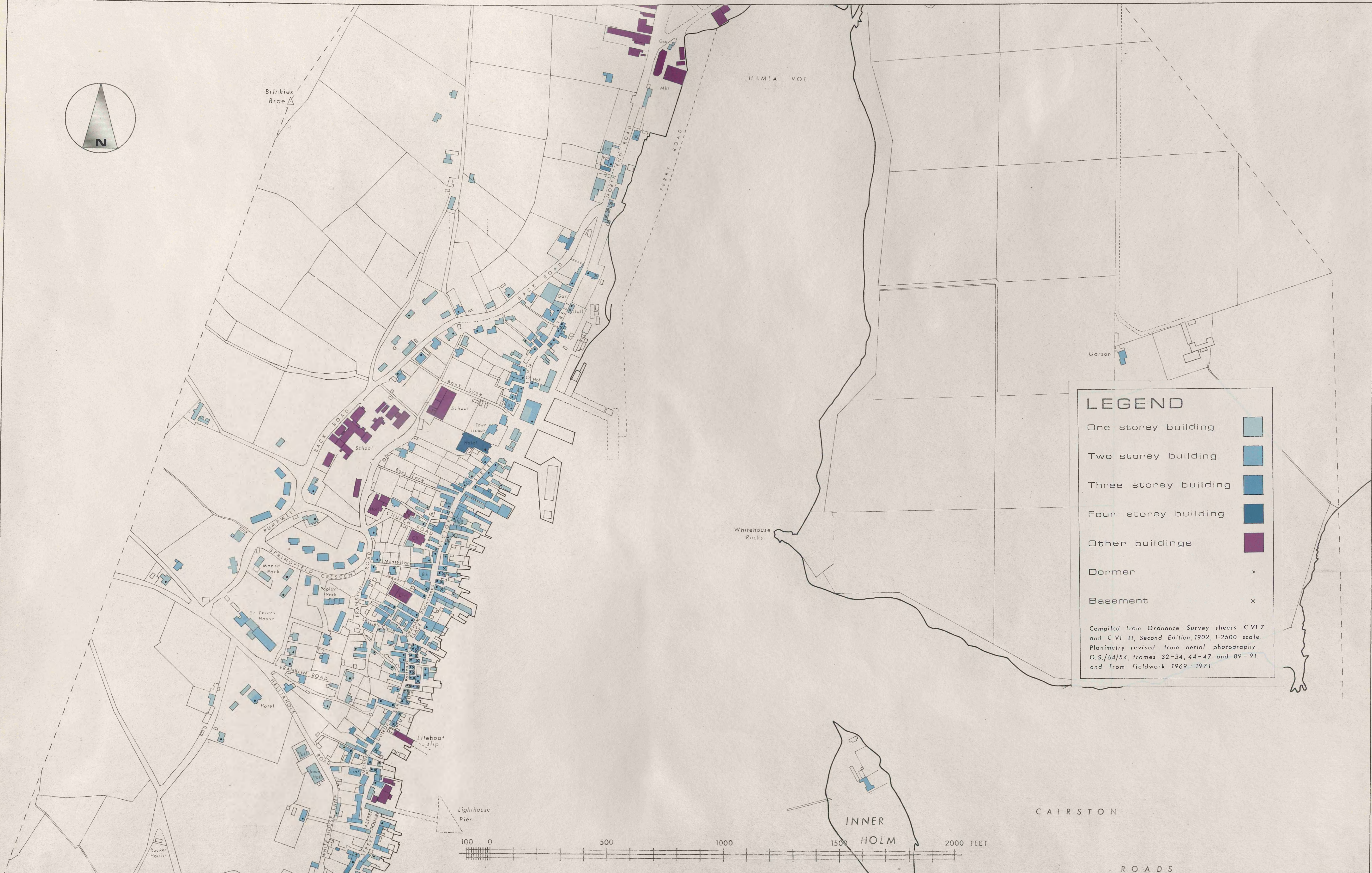
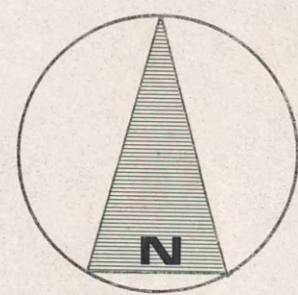


LEGEND

One storey building	
Two storey building	
Three storey building	
Four storey building	
Other buildings	
Dormer	•
Basement	x

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets C VI 7 and C VI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.





LEGEND

One storey building	
Two storey building	
Three storey building	
Four storey building	
Other buildings	
Dormer	•
Basement	x

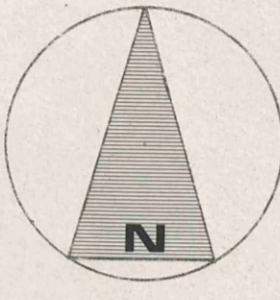
Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets CVI 7 and CVI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.

STROMNESS

HARBOUR

OUTER
HOLM

THE
NESS



Ministry
of
Defence

GOLF
COURSE

Club
house

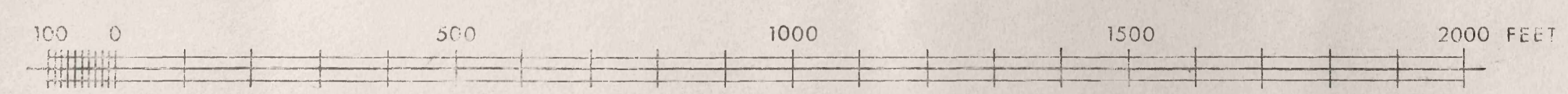
Steiniger

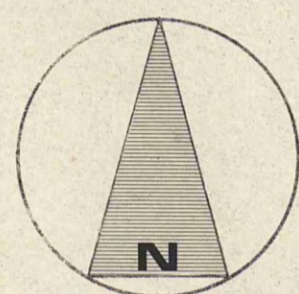
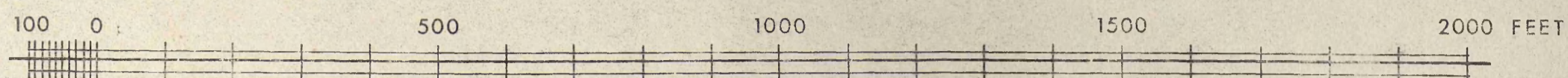
Boat
Yard

LEGEND

One storey building	
Two storey building	
Three storey building	
Four storey building	
Other buildings	
Dormer	.
Basement	x

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets C VI 7 and C VI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.



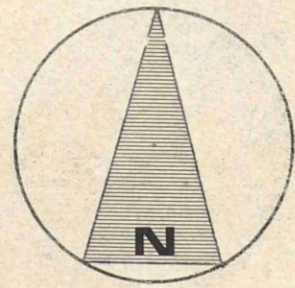


LEGEND

- Pre 1700
- 1700 - 1880
- 1880 - 1900
- 1900 - 1940
- Post 1940

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets C VI 7 and C VI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.





Brinkies
Broe

HAMLA VOE

Gurson

LEGEND

- Pre 1700
- 1700 - 1880
- 1880 - 1900
- 1900 - 1940
- Post 1940

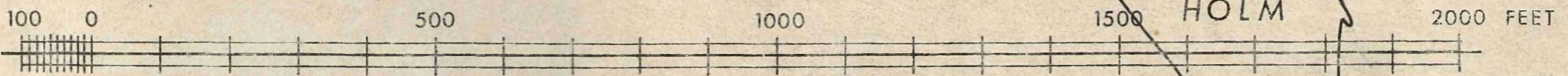


Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets C VI 7
and C VI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale.
Planimetry revised from aerial photography
O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91,
and from fieldwork 1969-1971.

Whitehouse
Rocks

CAIRSTON

INNER
HOLM



ROADS

Pocket
House

Lighthouse
Pier

Lifeboat
slip

Hotel

St Peters
house

Manse
Park

Manse
Park

Manse
Park

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Manse
Park

STROMNESS

HARBOUR

OUTER
HOLM

THE
NESS

Ministry
of
Defence

GOLF
COURSE

Club
house

Stenigar

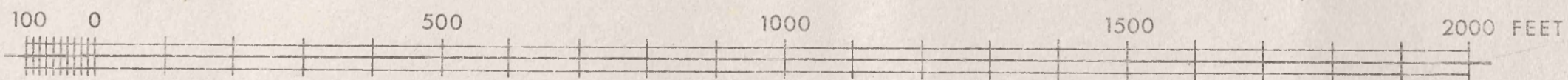
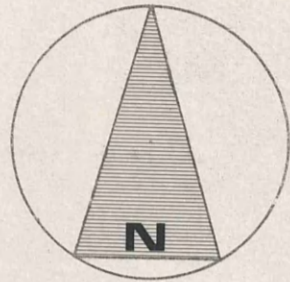
Boat
Yard

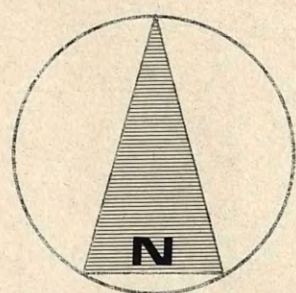
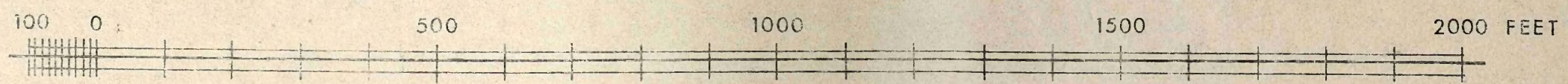
LEGEND

- Pre 1700
- 1700 - 1880
- 1880 - 1900
- 1900 - 1940
- Post 1940



Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets C VI 7 and C VI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.

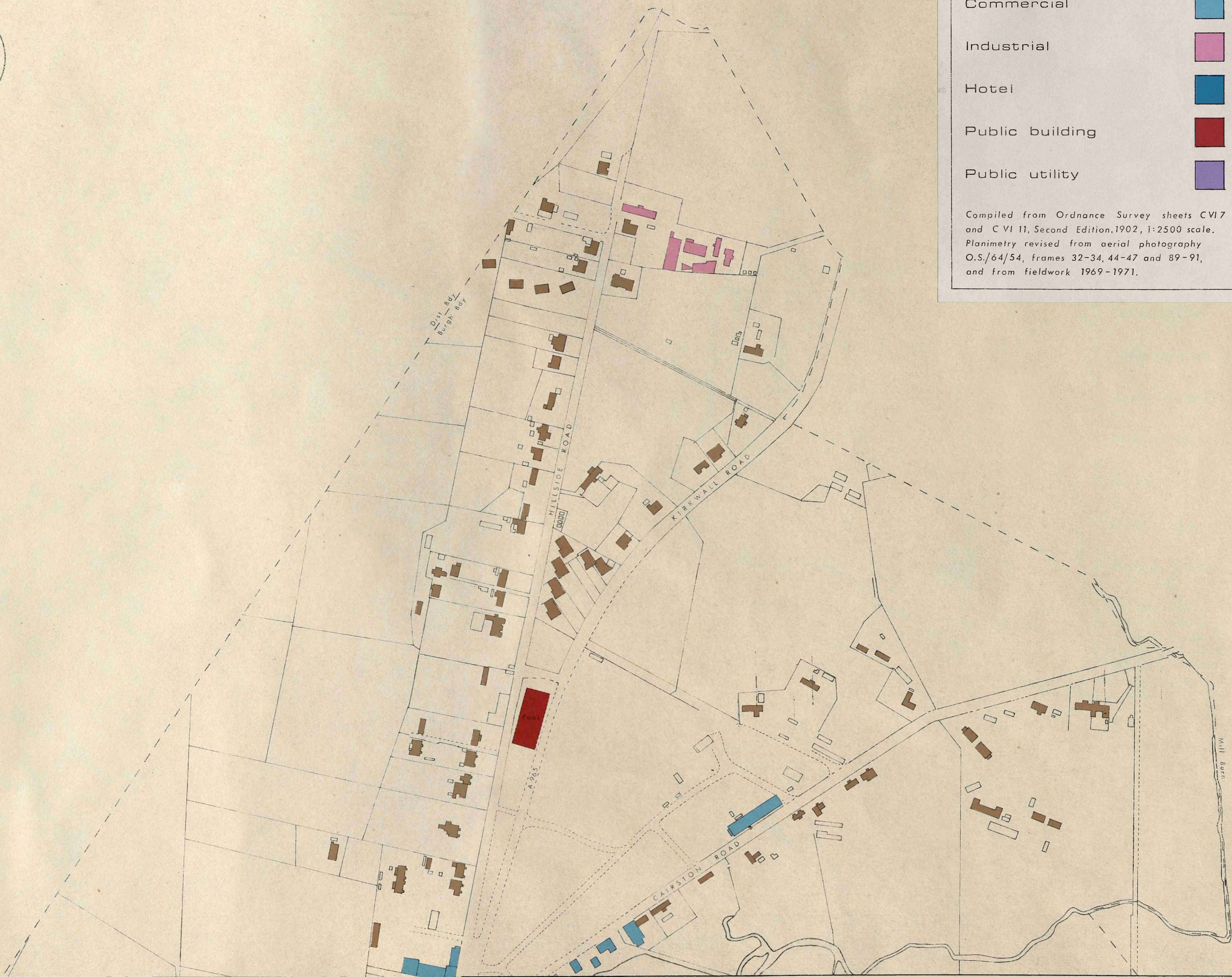


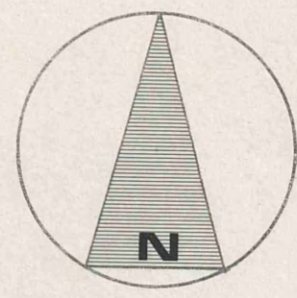


LEGEND

Residential	
Residential / Commercial	
Commercial	
Industrial	
Hotel	
Public building	
Public utility	

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets CVI 7 and C VI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.












Brinkies
Brae

HAMLA VOE

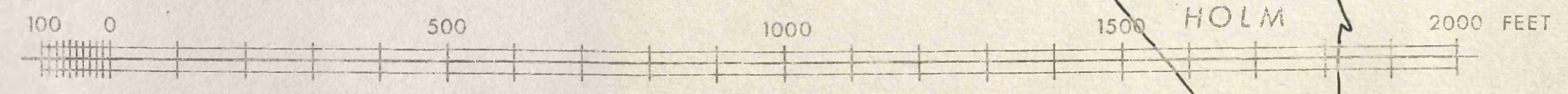
LEGEND

Residential	
Residential / Commercial	
Commercial	
Industrial	
Hotel	
Public building	
Public utility	

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets CVI 7 and CVI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.

Garson

Whitehouse
Rocks



CAIRSTON

INNER
HOLM

ROADS

STROMNESS

HARBOUR

OUTER
HOLM

THE
NESS

Ministry
of
Defence

GOLF
COURSE

Club
house

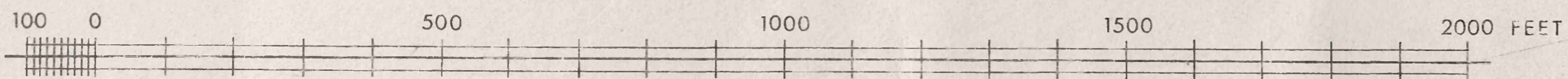
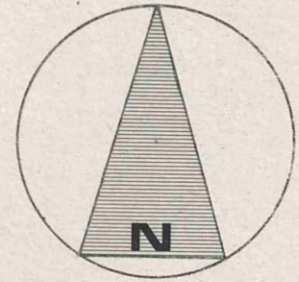
Stenigar

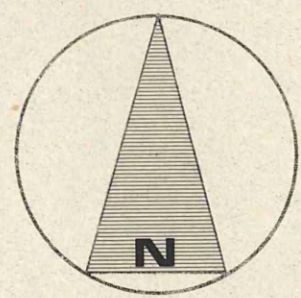
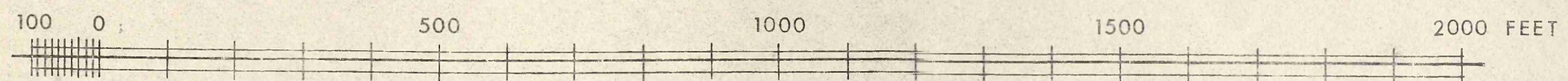
Boat
Yard

LEGEND






- Residential
- Residential / Commercial
- Commercial
- Industrial
- Hotel
- Public building
- Public utility

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets CVI 7 and CVI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.

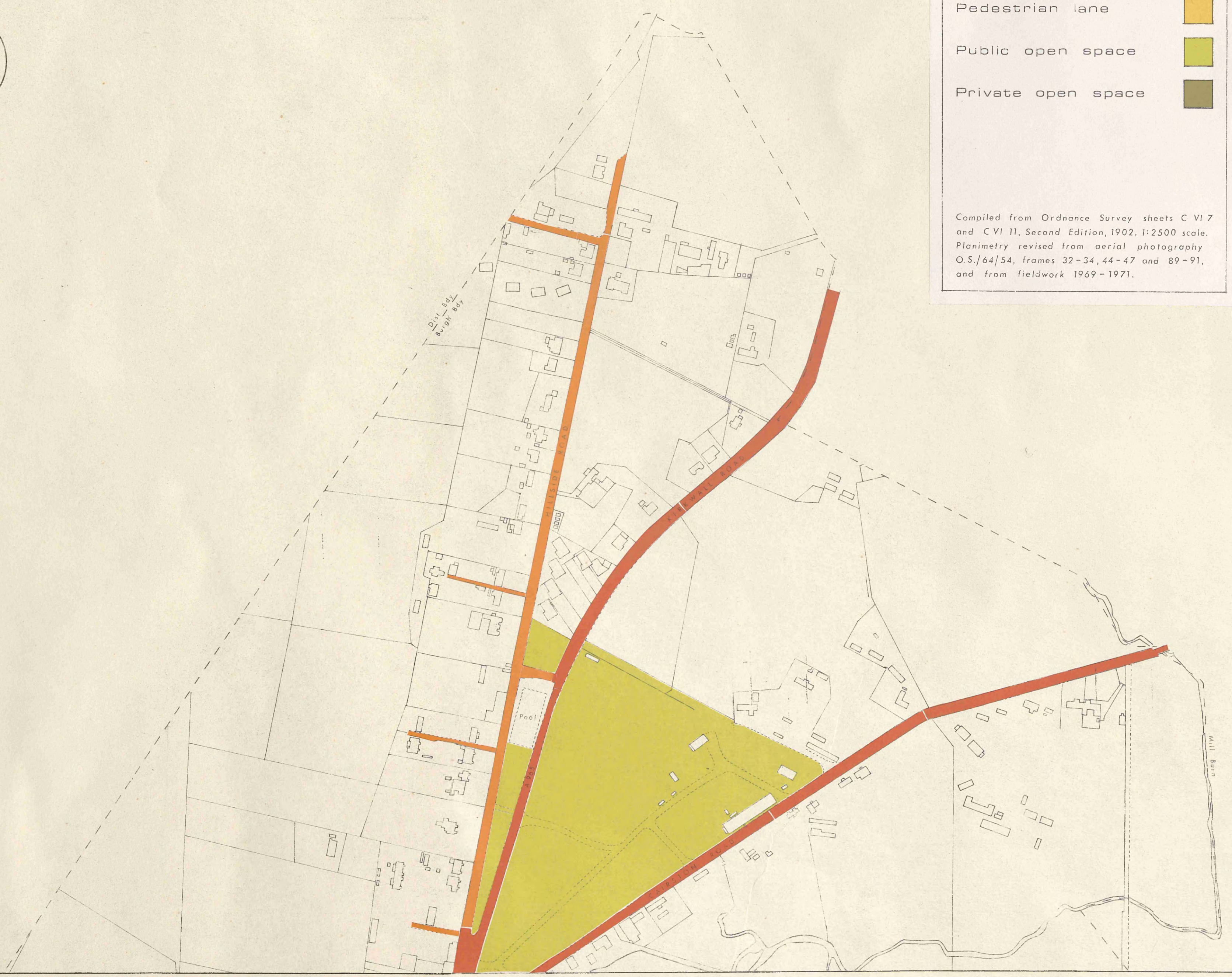


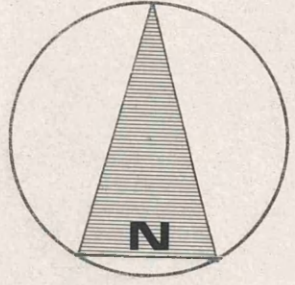


LEGEND

Main road	
Minor road	
Pedestrian lane	
Public open space	
Private open space	

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets C VI 7 and C VI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.





Brinkies Brae






HAMLA VOE

FERRY ROAD

Garsion

Whitehouse Rocks

LEGEND

Main road	
Minor road	
Pedestrian lane	
Public open space	
Private open space	

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets C VI 7 and C VI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.

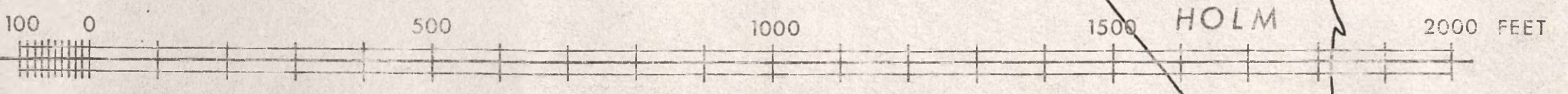
Manse Park

St Peter's House

Hotel

Lighthouse Pier

Rockel House



INNER HOLM

CAIRSTON

ROADS

STROMNESS

HARBOUR

OUTER
HOLM

THE
NESS

Ministry
of
Defence

GOLF
COURSE

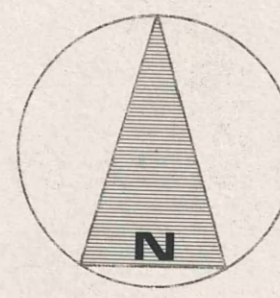
Boat
Yard

Stenigar

Club
House

PARAVEL

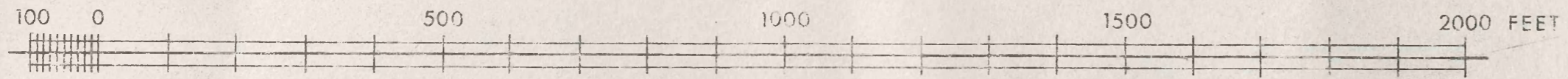
LA
FERRIERE
QUARTERS



LEGEND

- Main road
- Minor road
- Pedestrian lane
- Public open space
- Private open space

Compiled from Ordnance Survey sheets C VI 7 and C VI 11, Second Edition, 1902, 1:2500 scale. Planimetry revised from aerial photography O.S./64/54, frames 32-34, 44-47 and 89-91, and from fieldwork 1969-1971.





3



2



1

PHOTOSCAPE

1



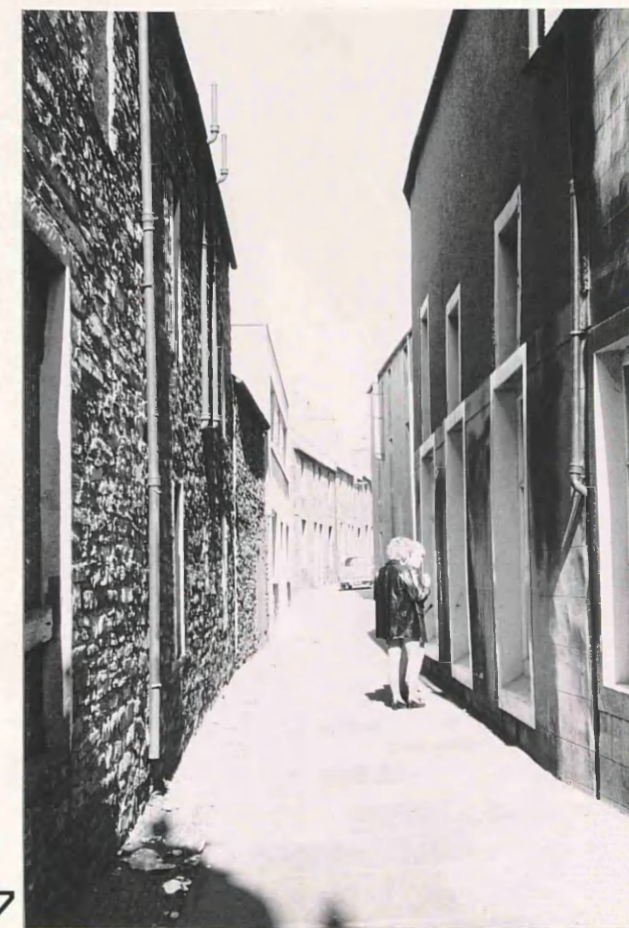
4



5



6



7



1



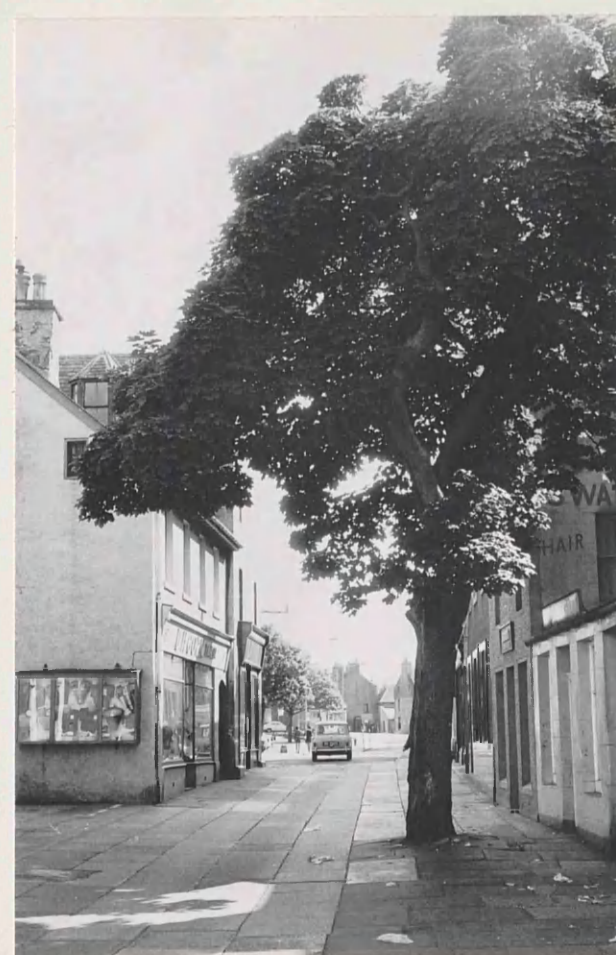
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2

PHOTOSCAPE

2



5



4



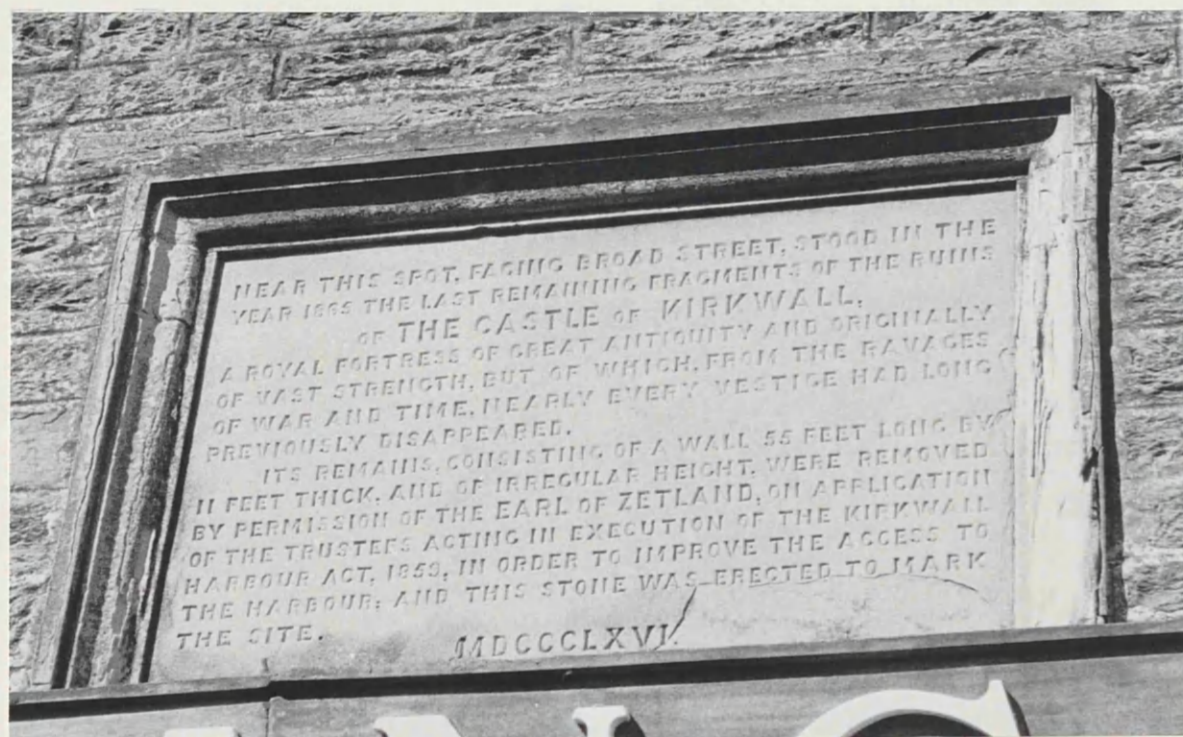
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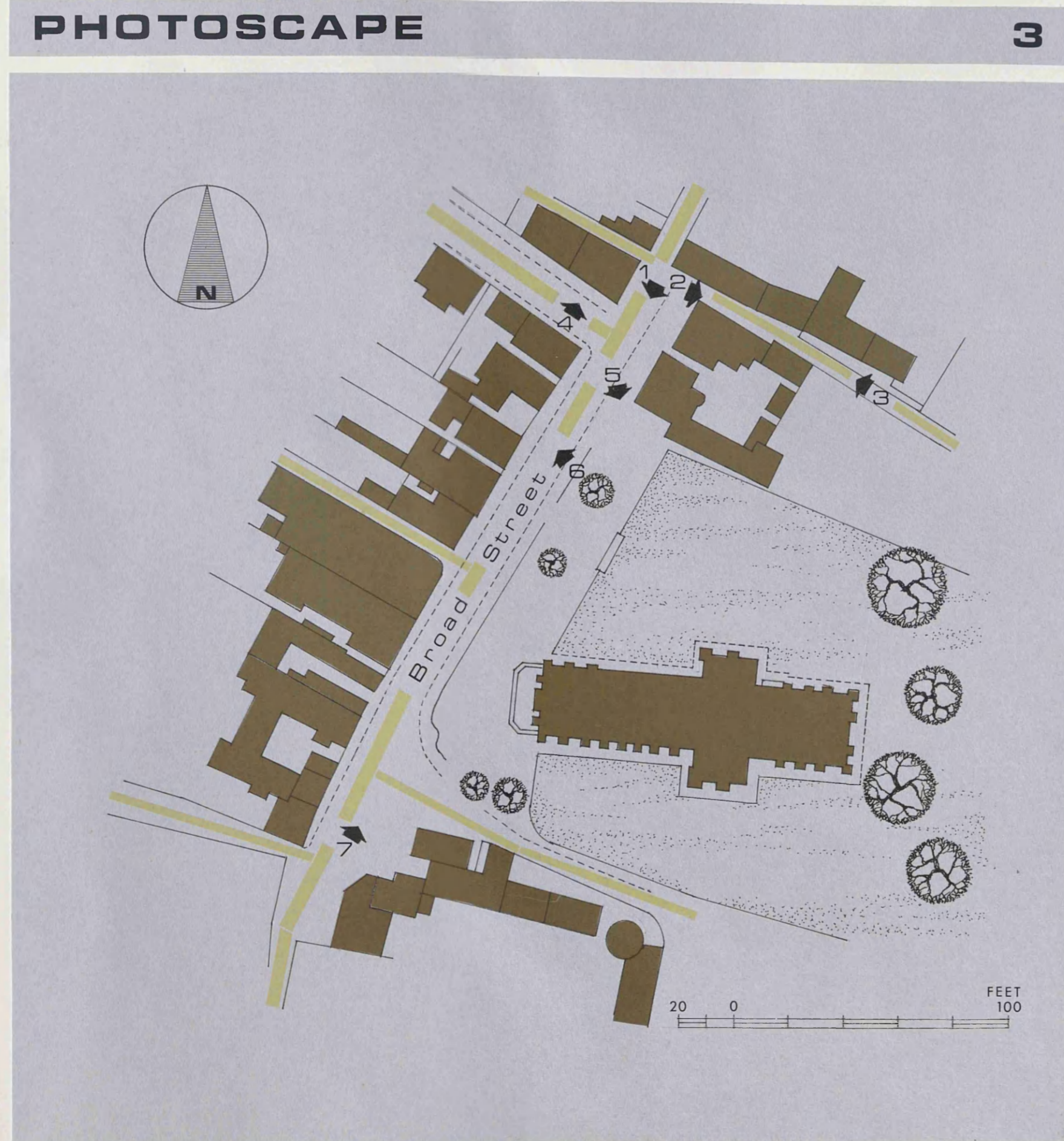
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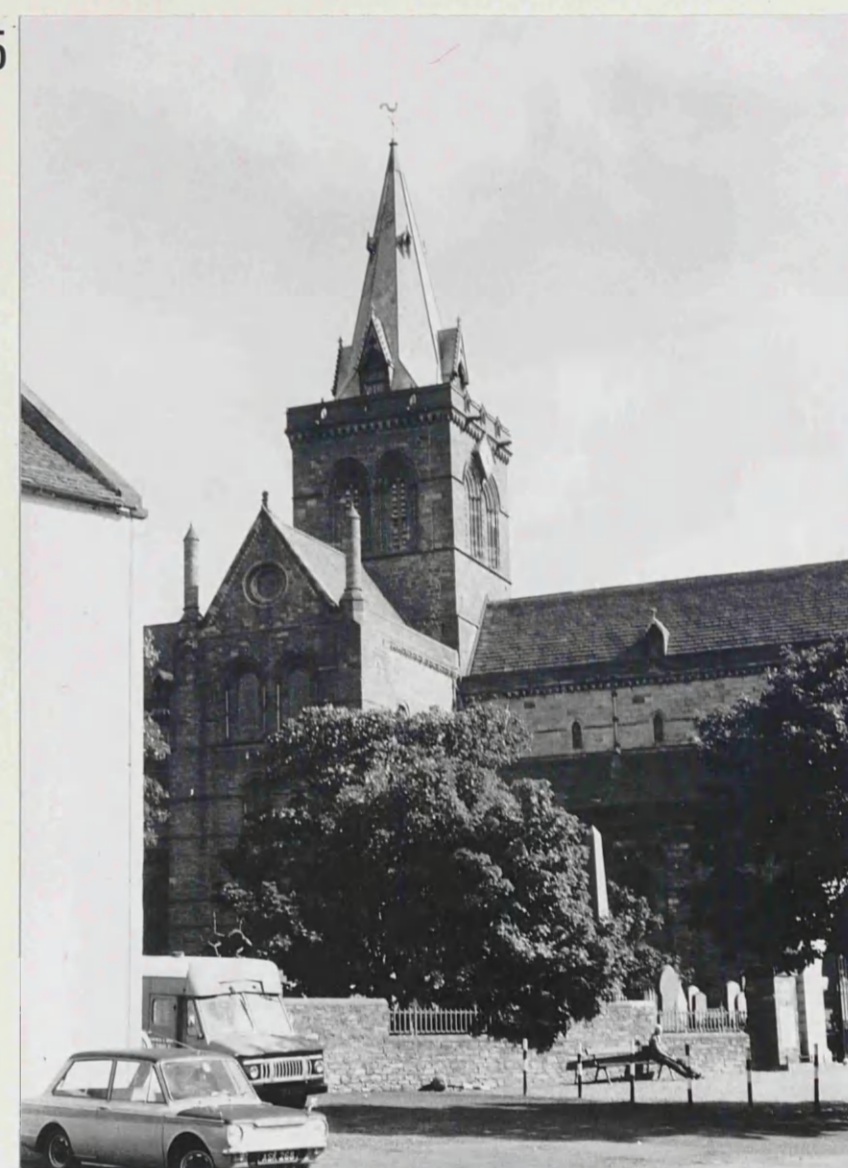
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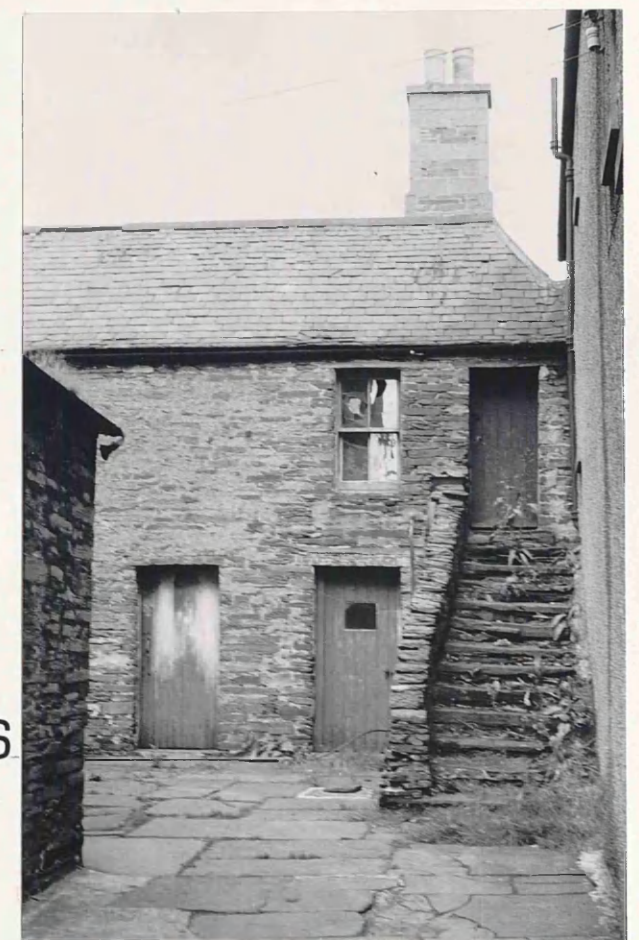
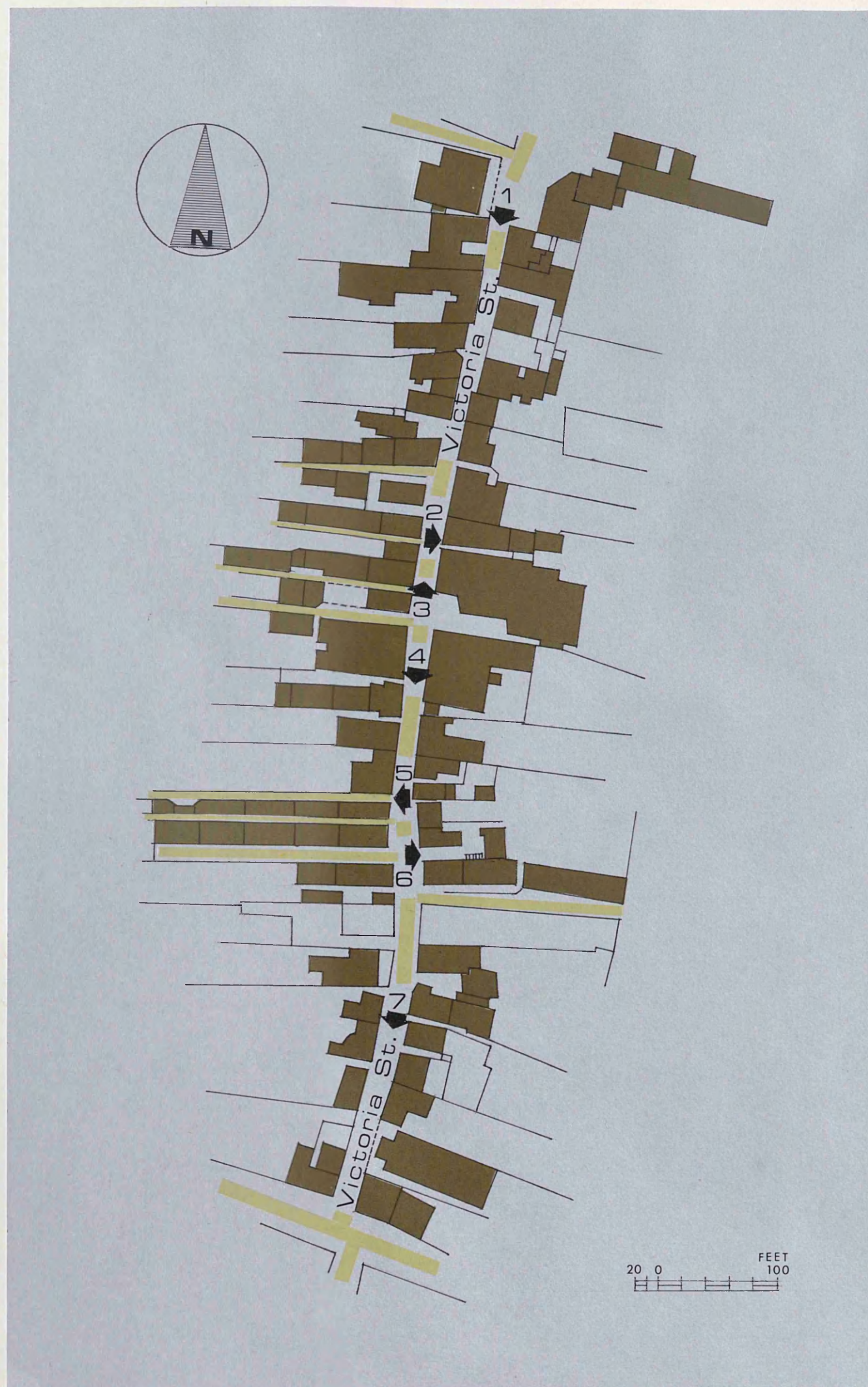
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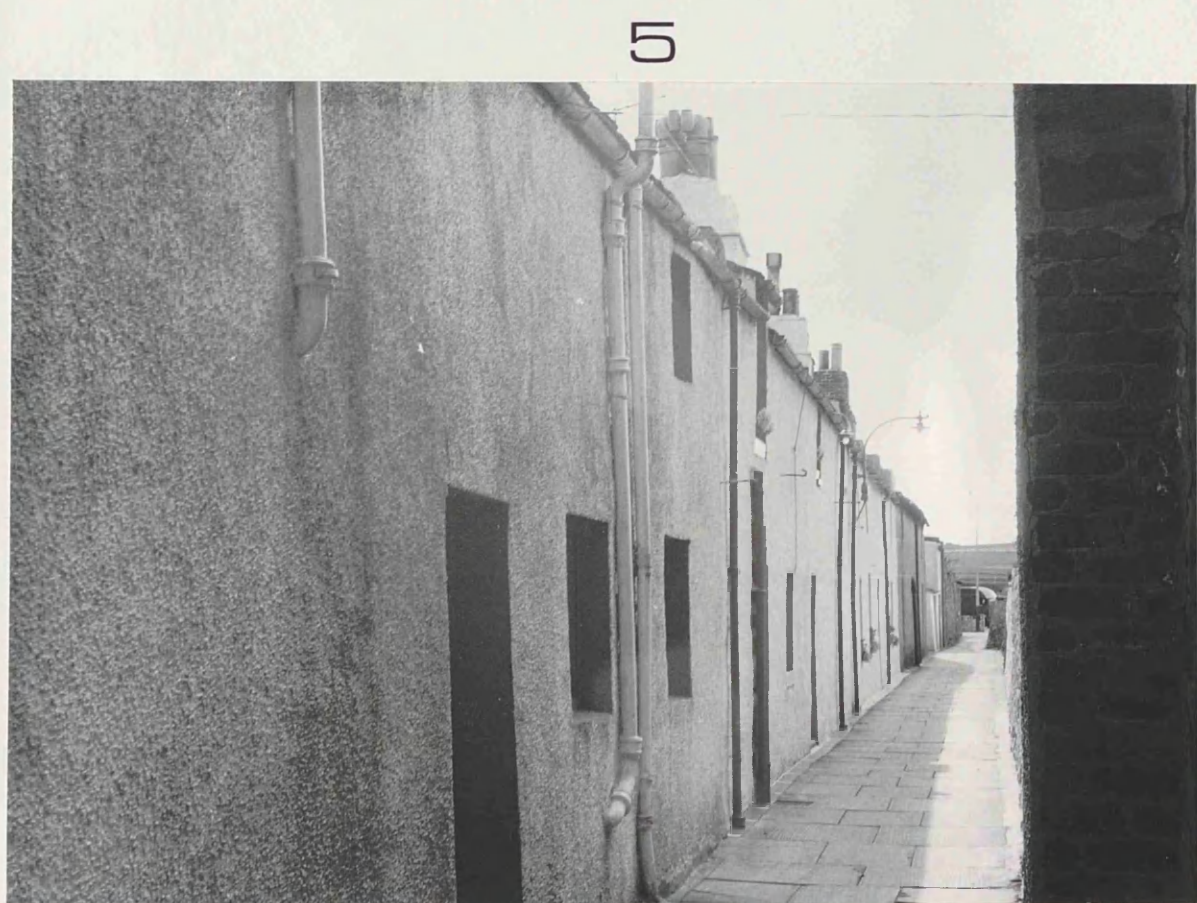
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PHOTOSCAPE

4



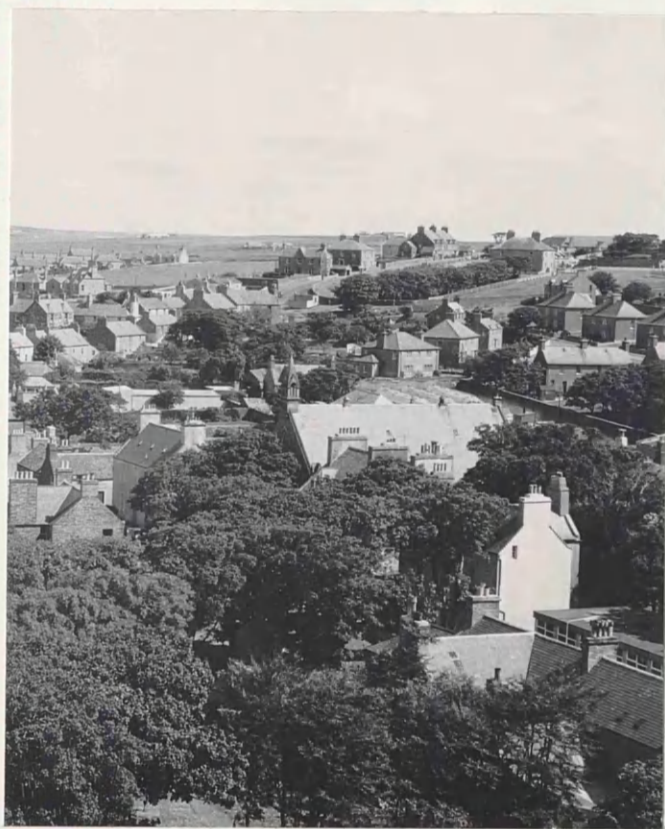
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5

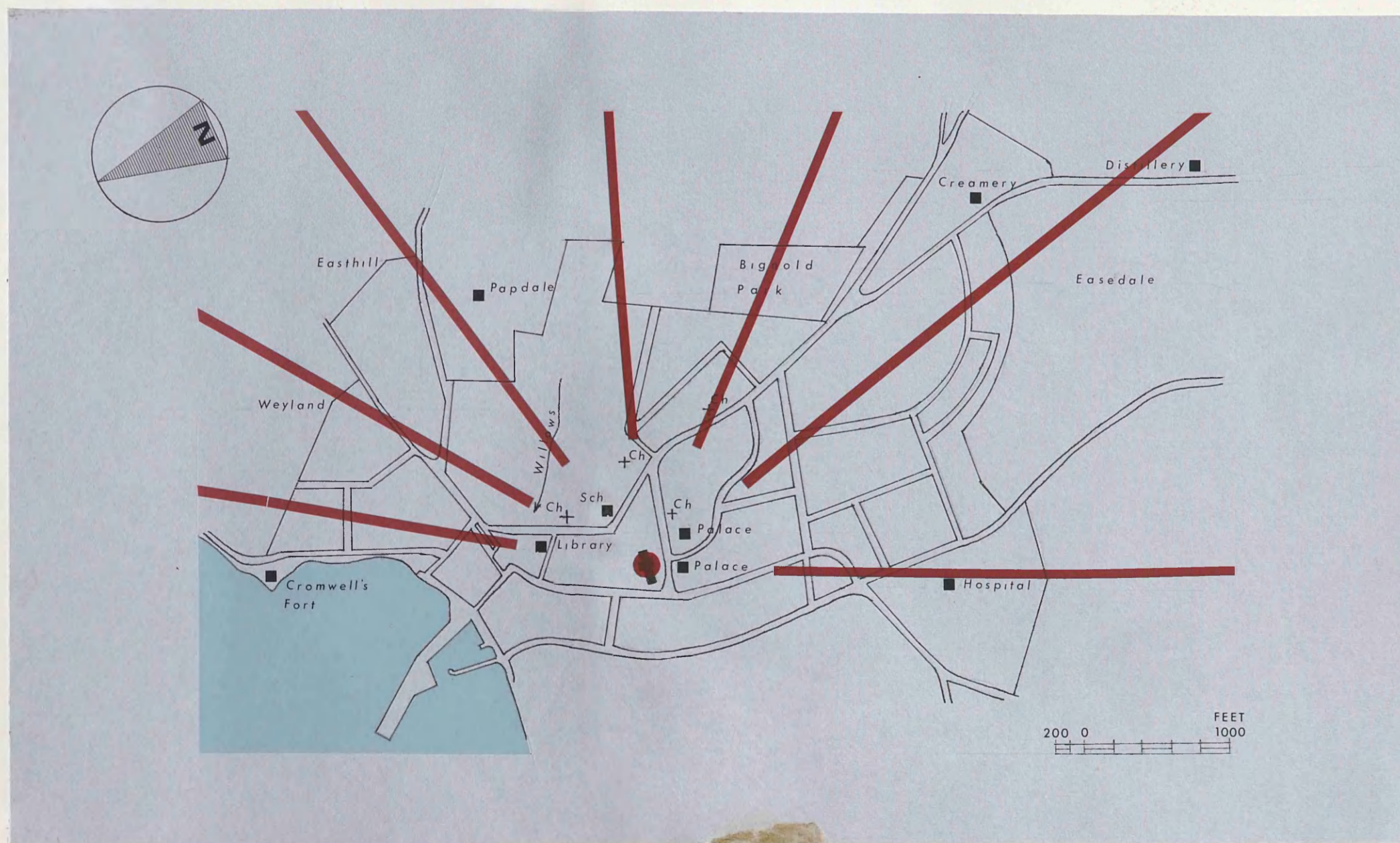


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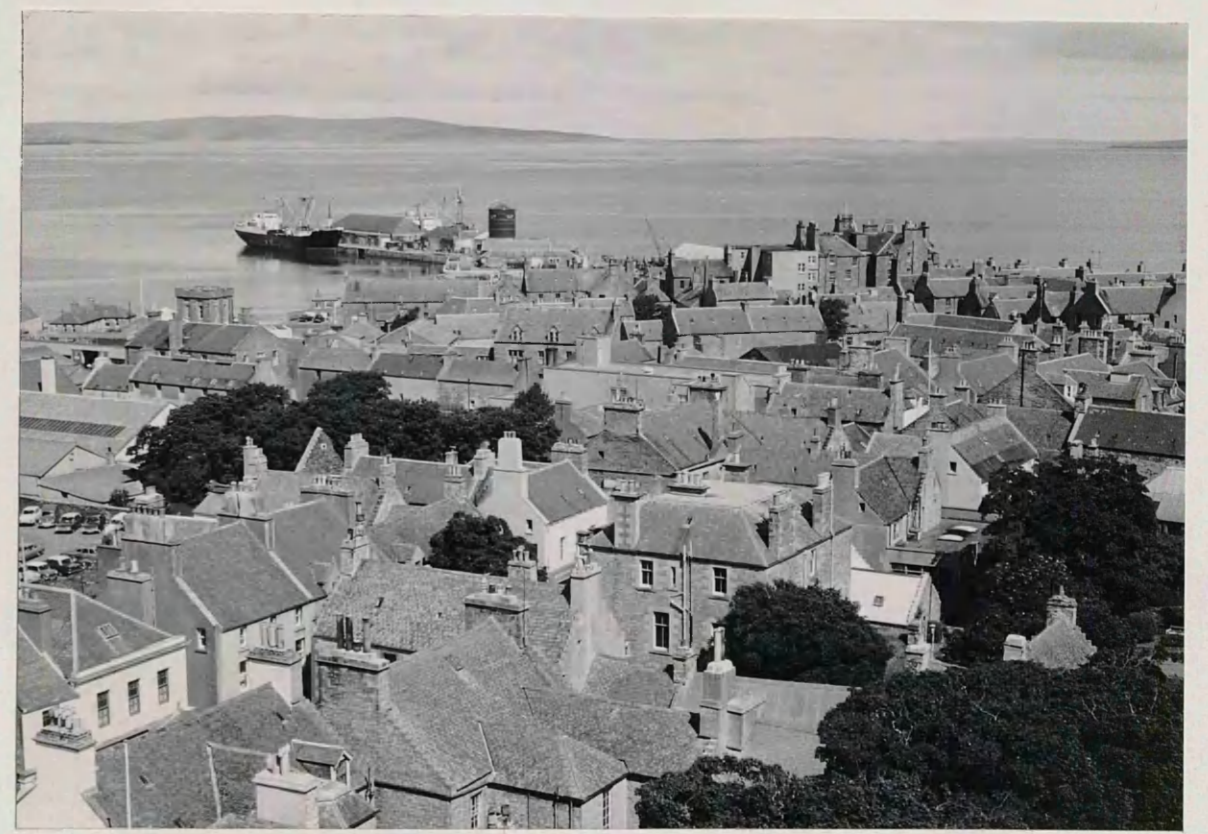
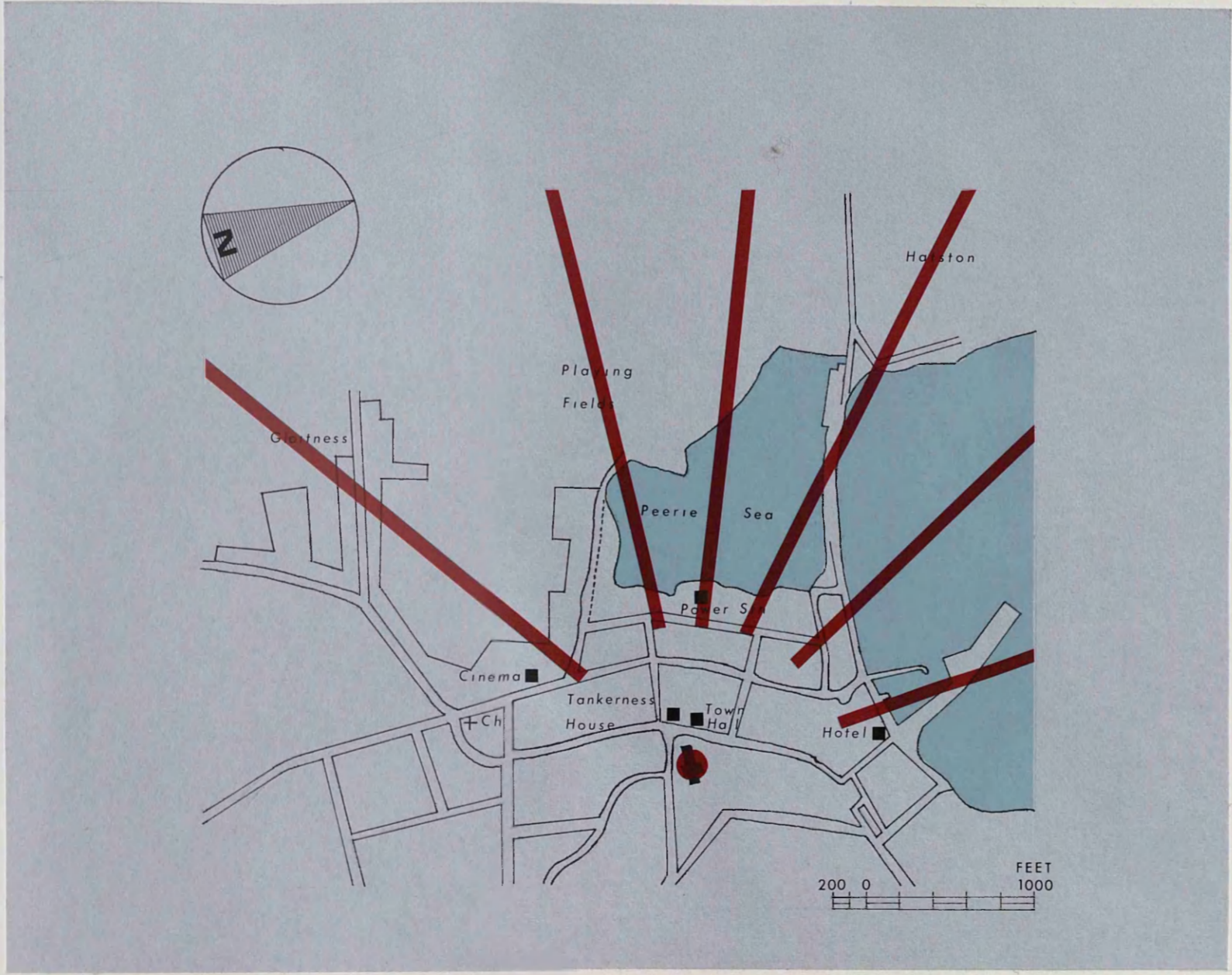
PHOTOSCAPE

5





PHOTOSCAPE 6





5



6



4

PHOTOSCAPE

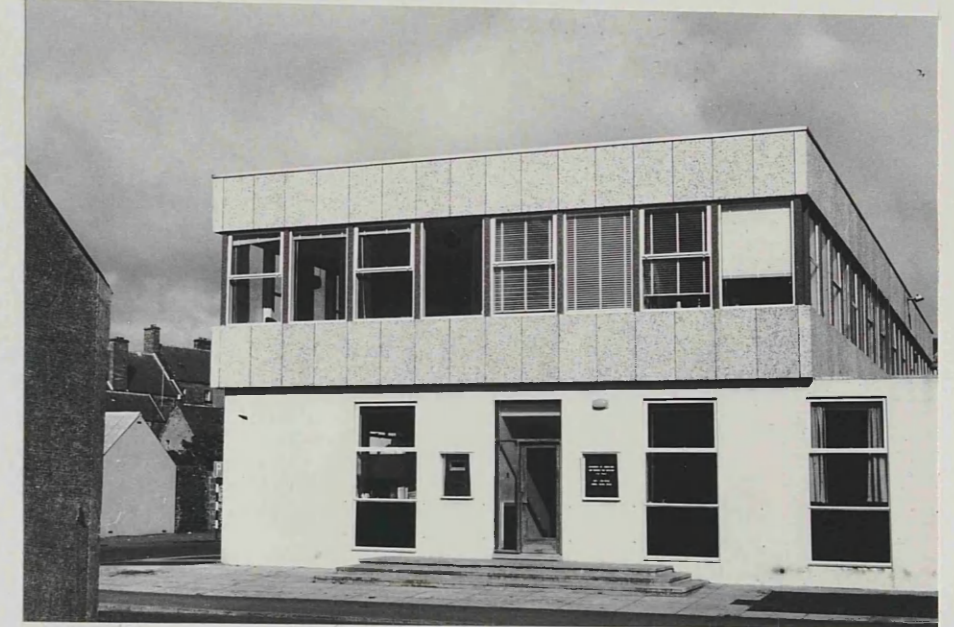
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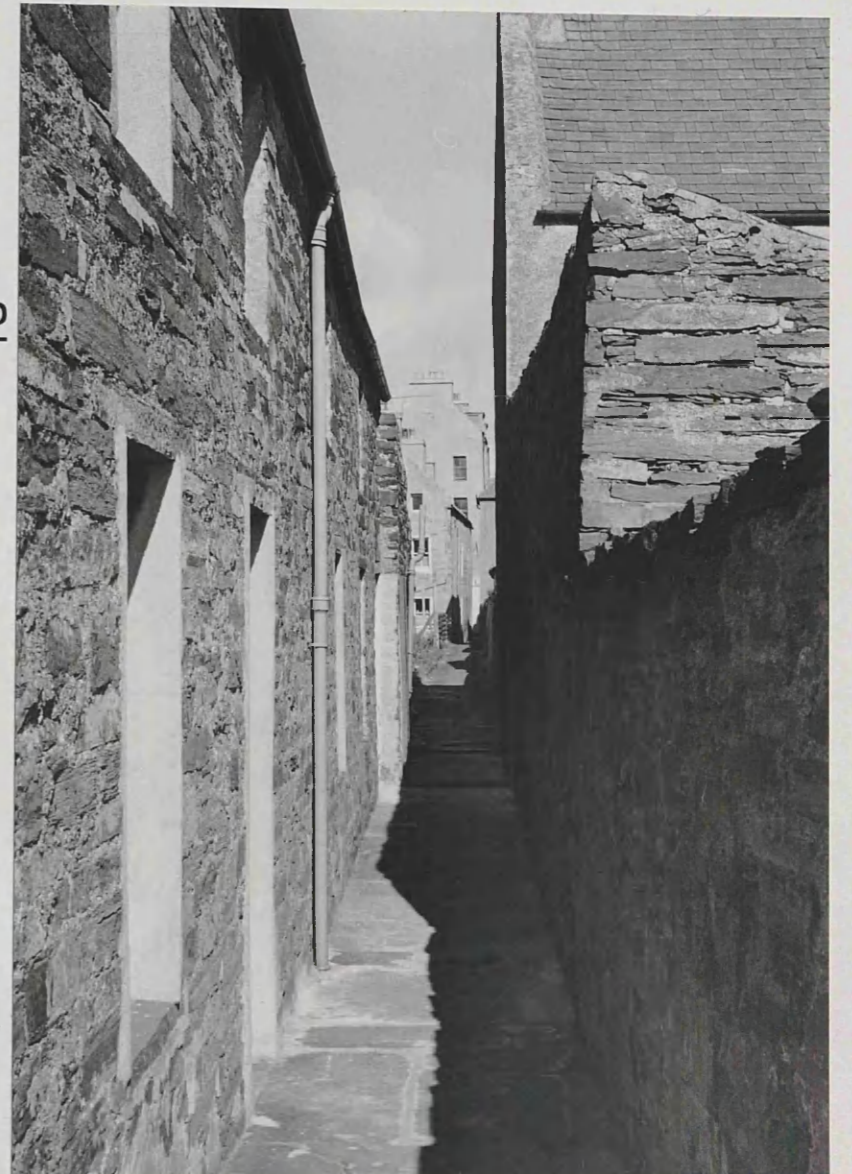
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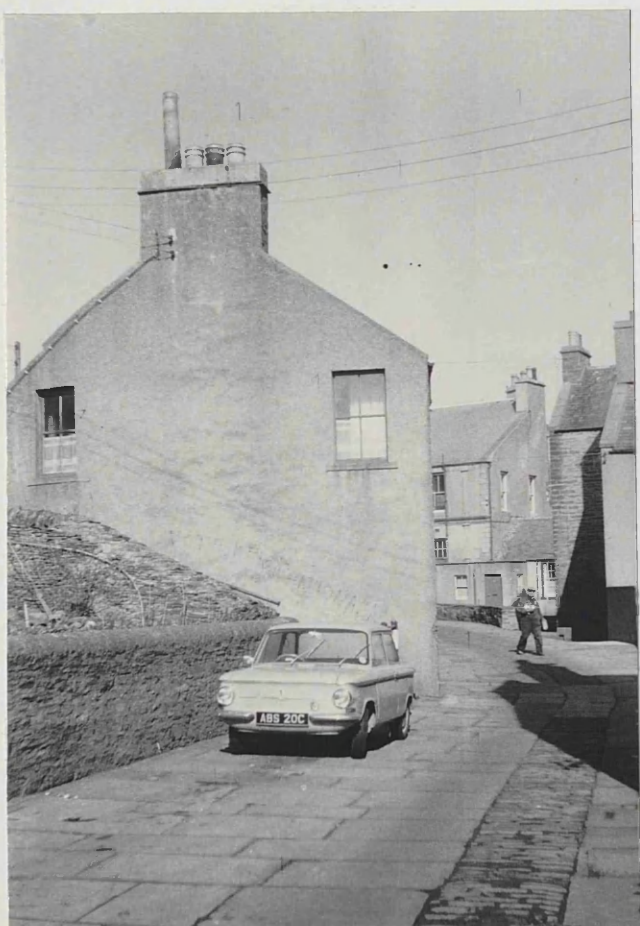
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PHOTOSCAPE

8



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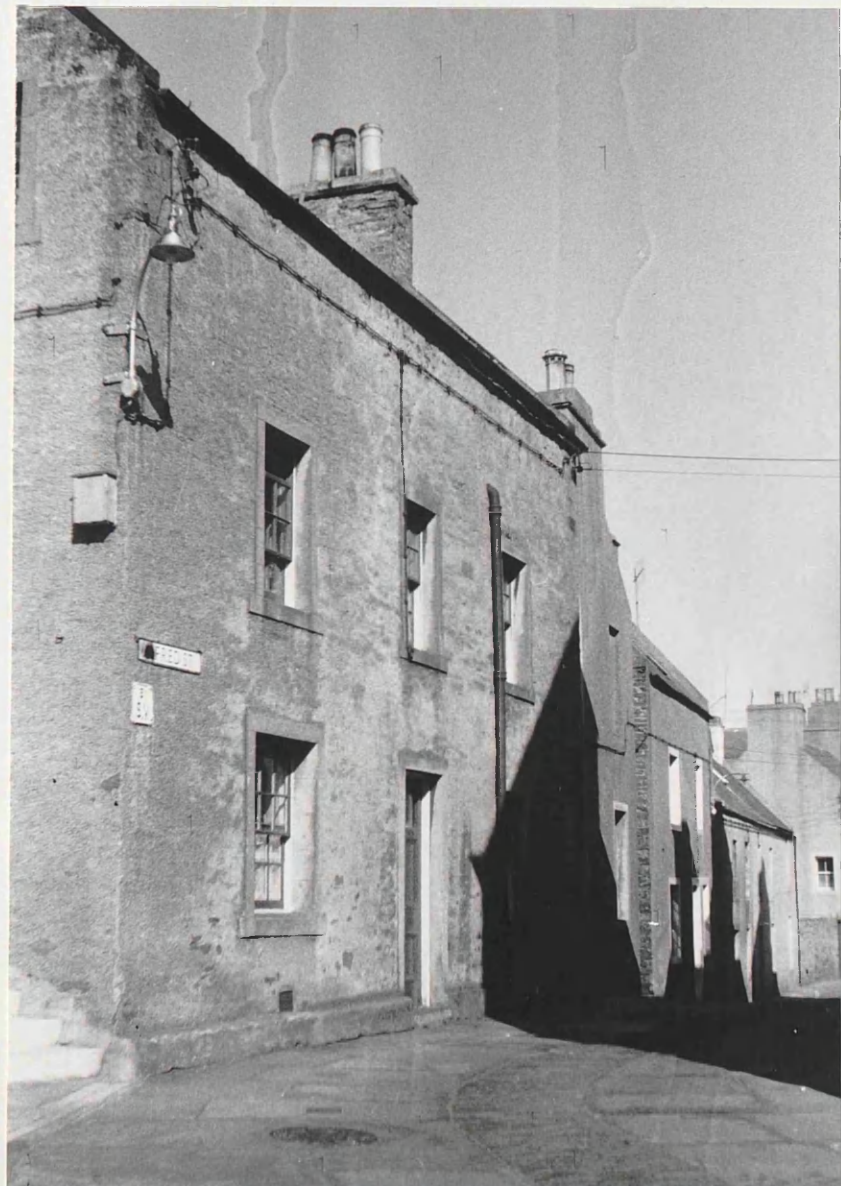
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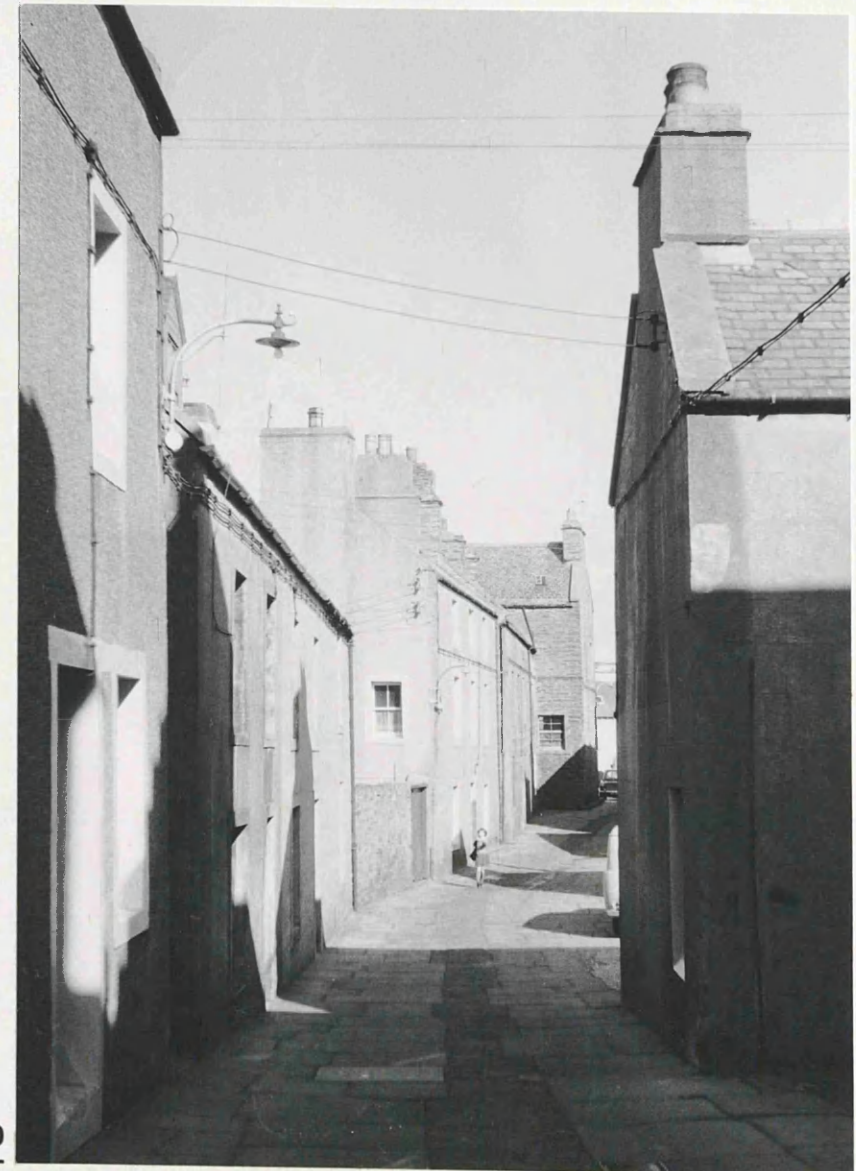
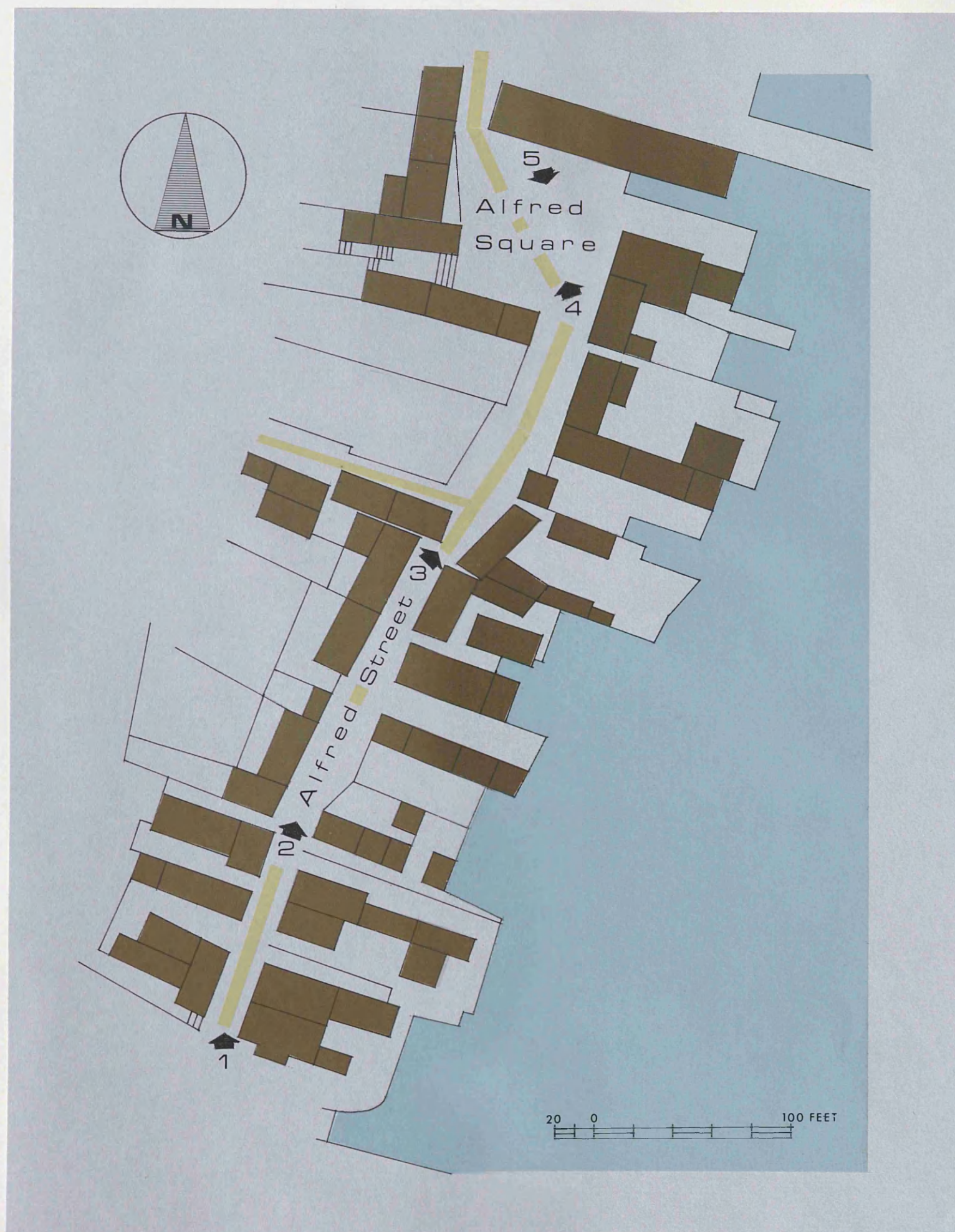
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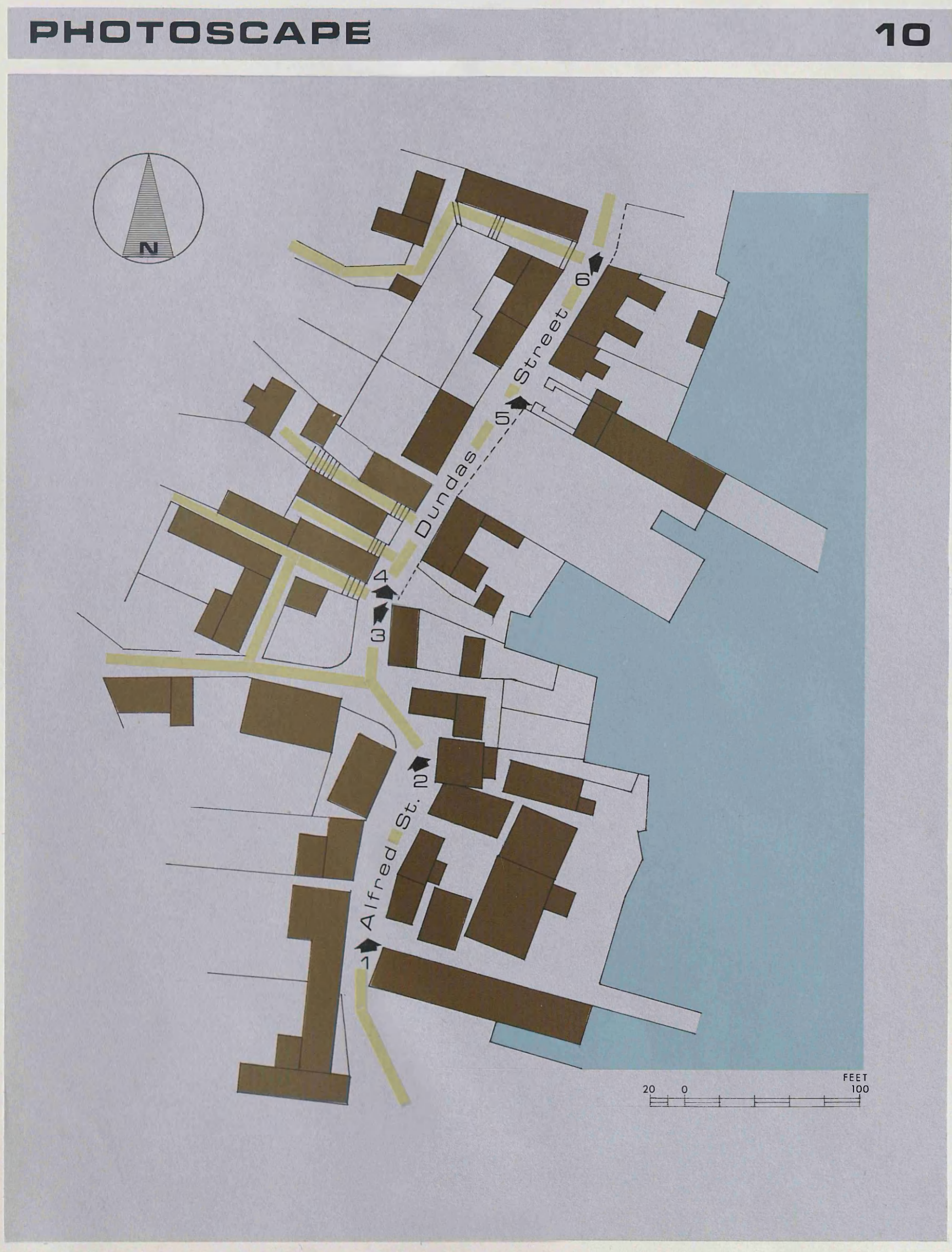
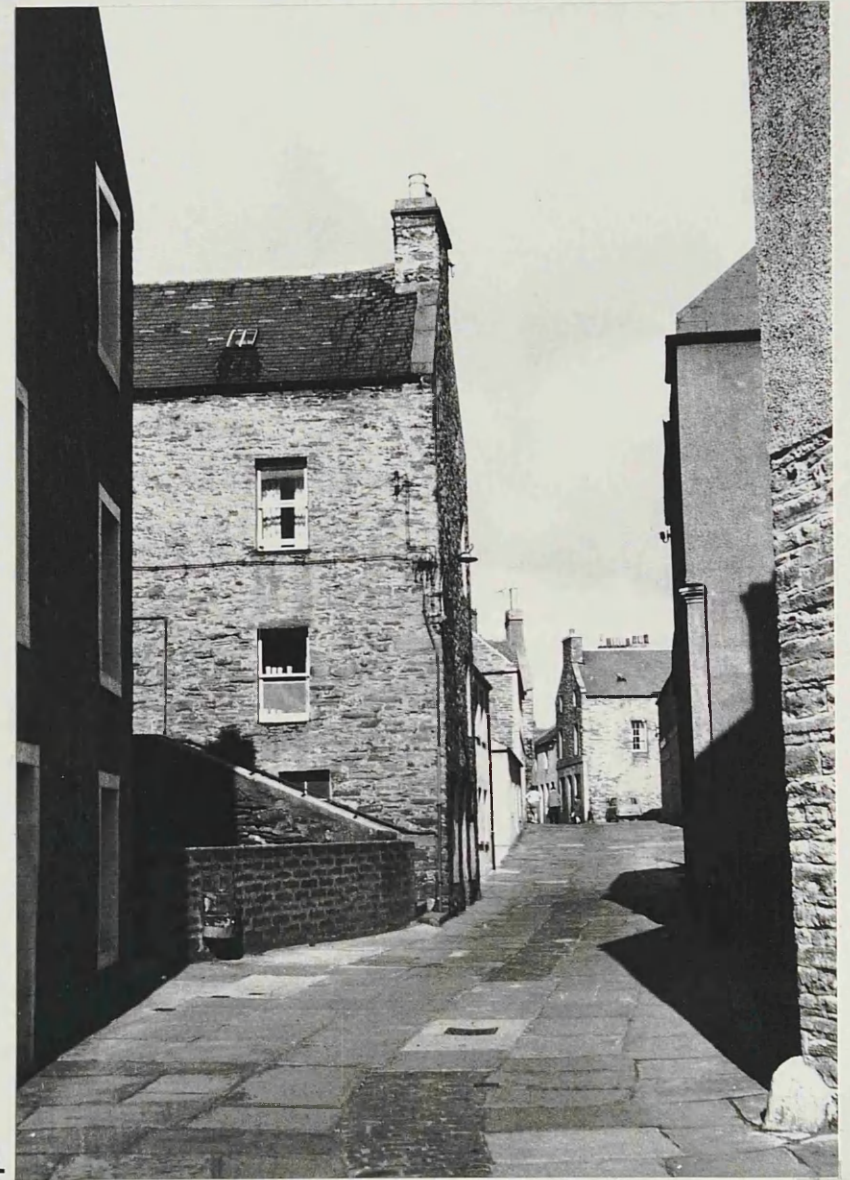
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PHOTOSCAPE

9



2

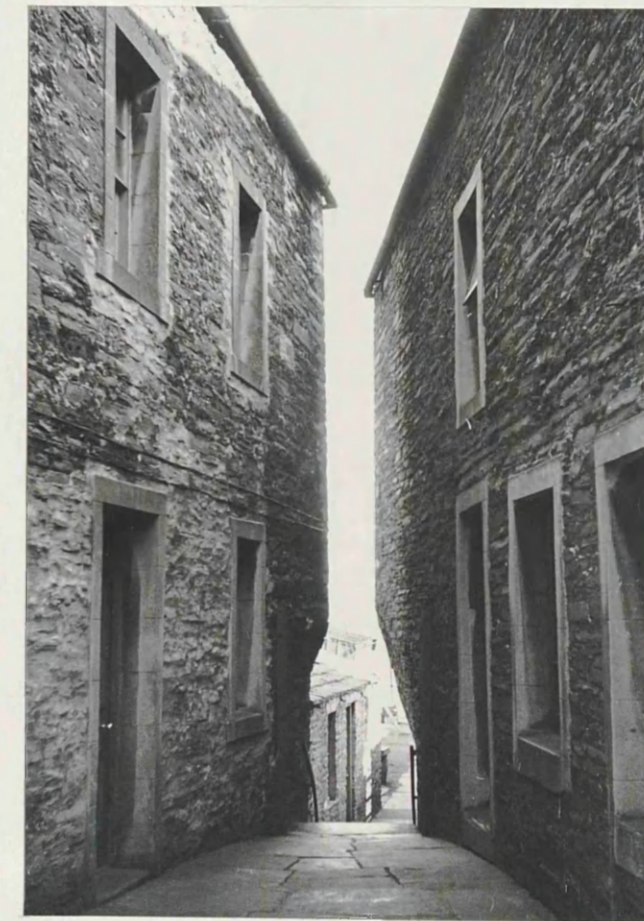




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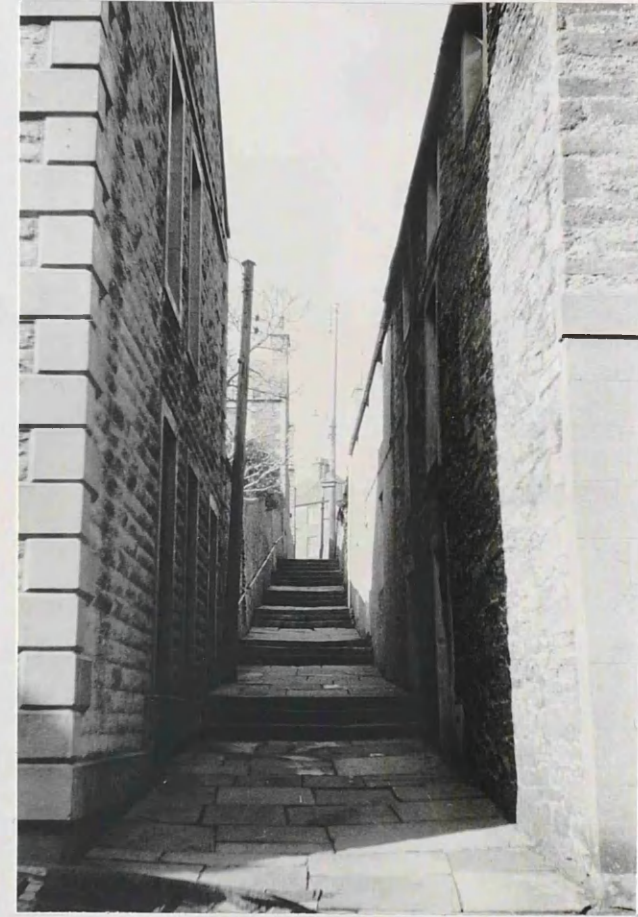
PHOTOSCAPE

11



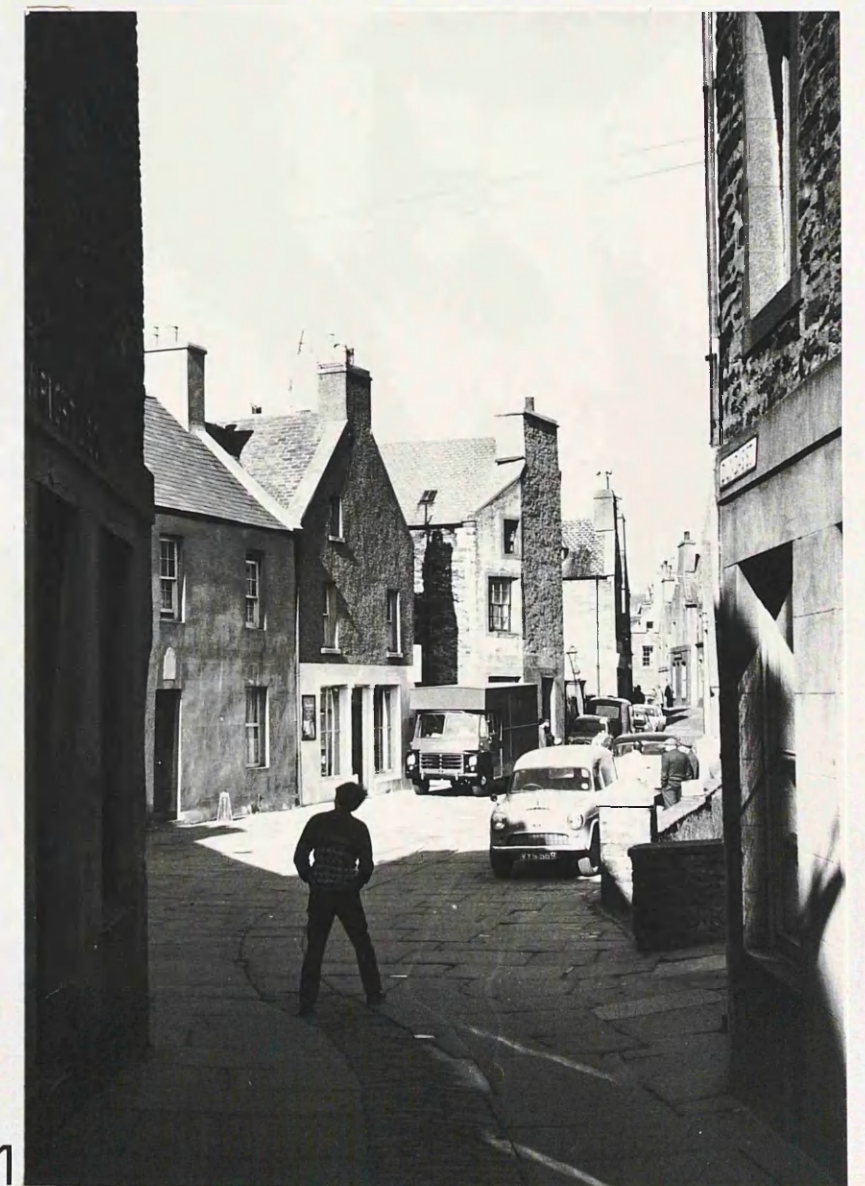
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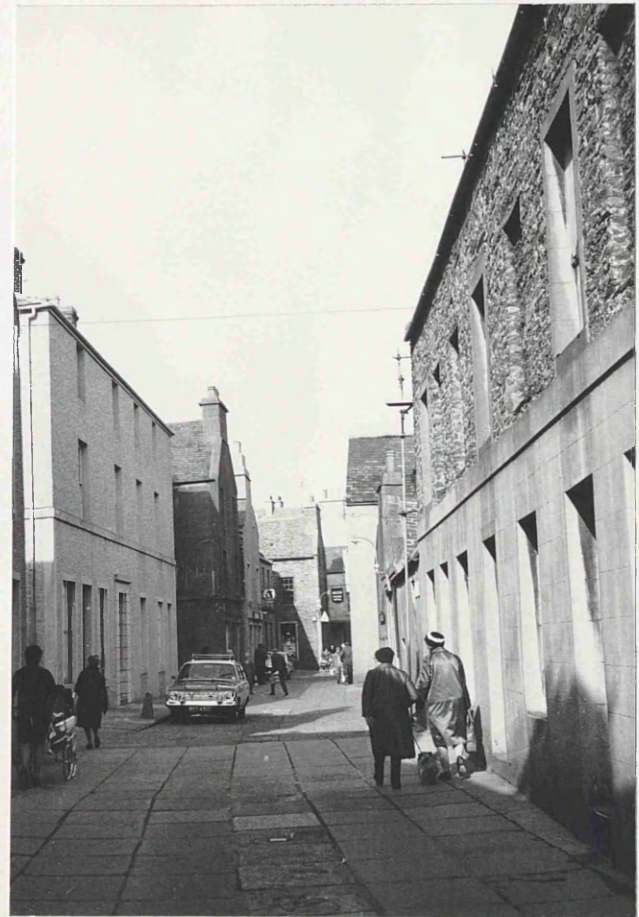




PHOTOSCAPE

12





3



4



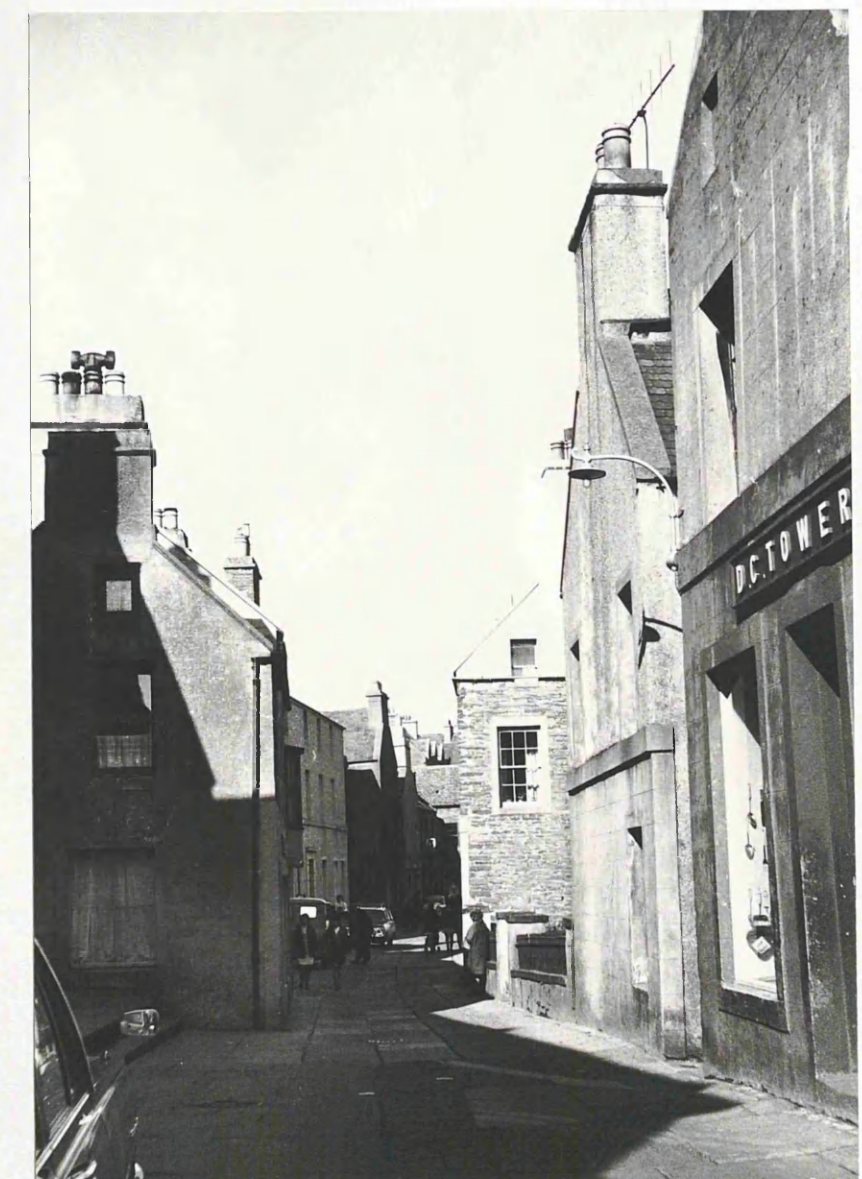
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PHOTOSCAPE

13



2



1



5



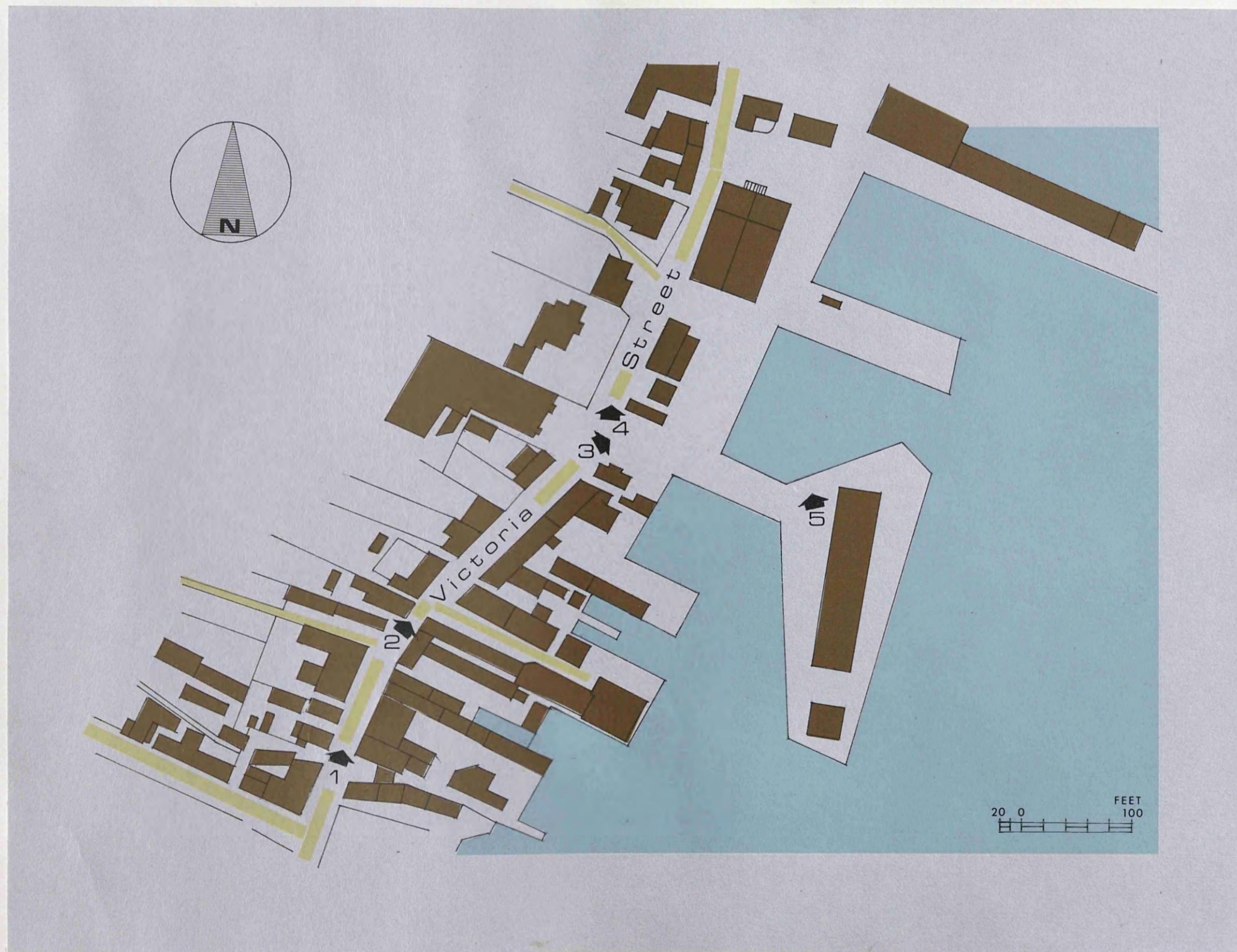
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3

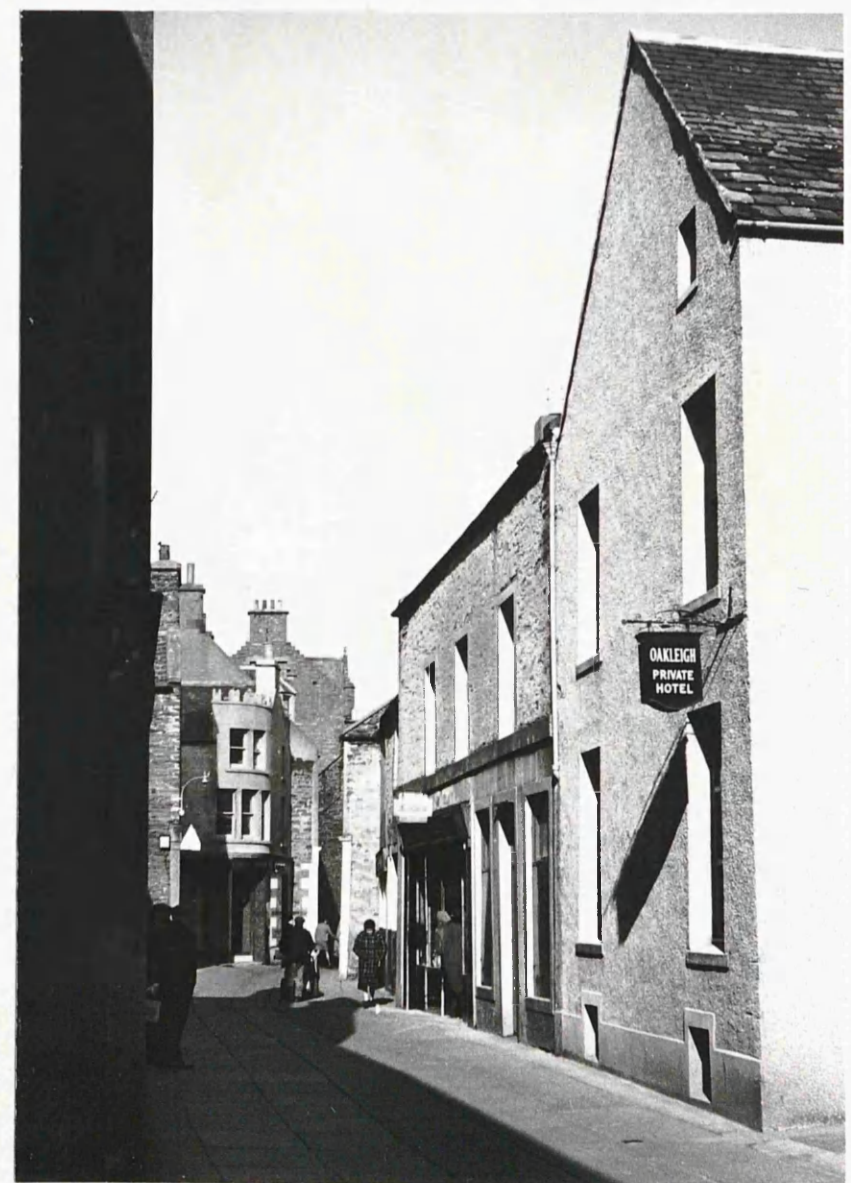
PHOTOSCAPE

14



2

1





6



5



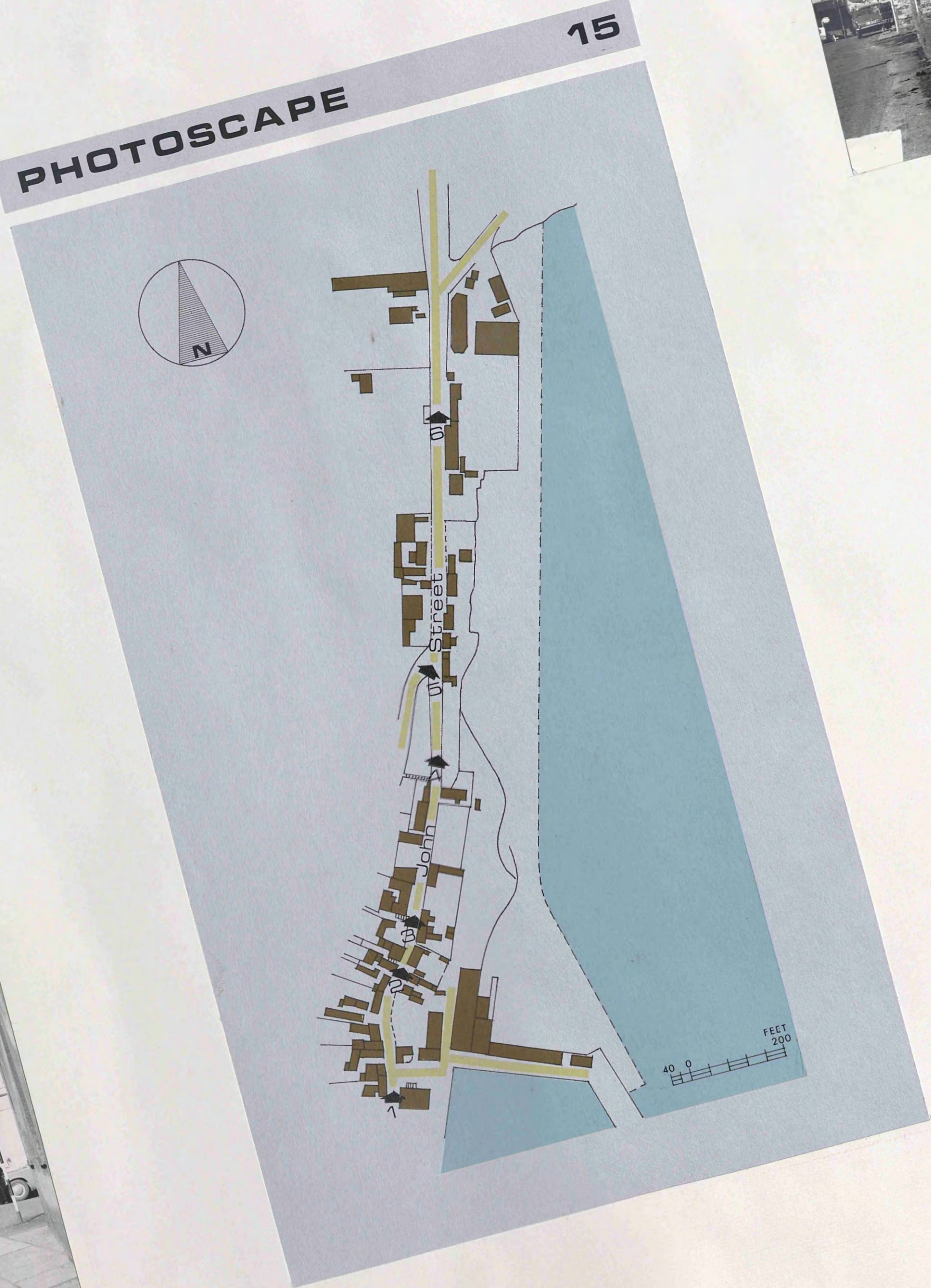
4



3



1



2



5



6



3



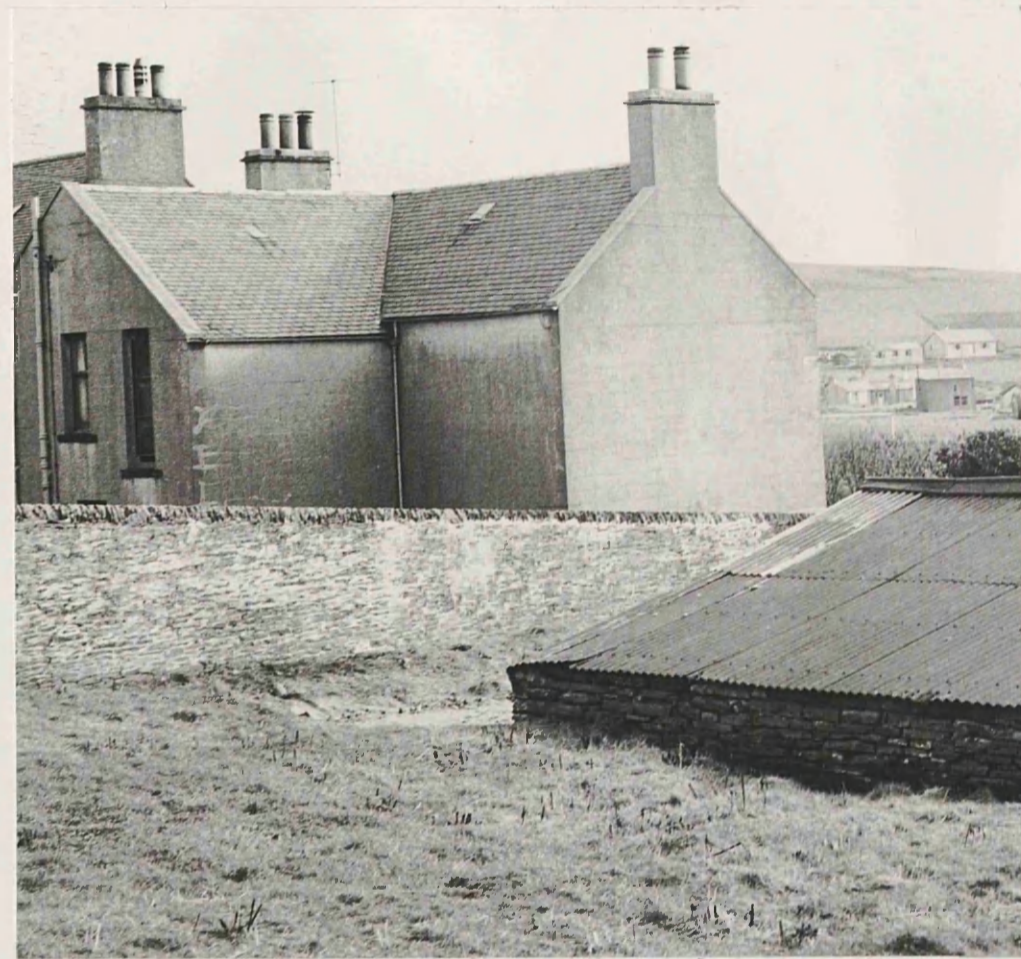
1



4



2



PHOTOSCAPE

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