

P R A G M A T I C   A N D   R O M A N T I C

I N C O M E R S

A STUDY OF POWER AND INFLUENCE

IN ORKNEY

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Ph D

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

1983



I declare that I alone have  
composed this thesis, and that  
it is based on my own work.

James N Wilson

This thesis was supported by a Social  
Science Research Council Studentship.

## A B S T R A C T   O F   T H E S I S

This thesis offers an anthropological study of the Orkney archipelago. It demonstrates the extent to which outsiders have always sought to influence the life of the islands. In doing this, it draws a distinction between pragmatic and romantic incomers. Pragmatic incomers have always come to Orkney for a purpose, most often to take up the possession of land or office. They have established a tradition of incomer hegemony, which dominates the formal political mechanisms of the islands. In contrast, a recent influx of romantically-minded English middle class incomers has changed this pattern. These people have settled in Orkney as a means of escaping the modern world. Similar individuals are to be found in other parts of the North, but Orkney is unique in having a large concentration of these "white settlers". However, Orkney's romantic incomers have not been accommodated within the established incomer hegemony. Despite this, they have acquired an outstanding degree of local political control through their activities as conservationists. Here, the mechanism of political organization has been the voluntary association. The importance of voluntary association as a social and political device is considered in detail. Thus, the romantics have acquired power through informal means.

The attributes of pragmatic and romantic incomers alike are reviewed. The evolution of the tradition of pragmatic incomer dominance is traced from earliest times. The difference between the romantics and the pragmatists and the success of the romantics in winning power are explored in a general fashion, before being illustrated in four case studies concerned with environmental protests.

Ultimately, the claim that incomers have always exerted influence over local life is substantiated. This is offered as an important insight into the politics of island life. Indeed, it is suggested that the example of incomer influence within Orkney may very well be unique in the context of Scotland as a whole. In this way, the thesis claims to have taken up and to have highlighted a compelling issue.

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Showing plans mentioned in the text and notes, along with an indication of the distribution of romantic incomers. A brief discussion of this latter point is also attached, since the relevant material only became available after the main text was completed.

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

### A: FIRST THOUGHTS

The Orkney archipelago lies off the north coast of Scotland separated from Caithness by the turbulent waters of the Pentland Firth. The narrowest point between the islands and the mainland of Britain measures some 6½ miles. The Orkney group consists of 65 islands, 20 of which are inhabited. The largest and most populous of these is the Mainland, at whose heart lies Kirkwall. This ancient settlement has long been the political, ecclesiastical, educational and commercial centre of Orcadian life. The other islands, consisting of the North and South Isles groups, may be thought of as fixed in place around the Mainland. The present estimated population of Orkney is 19,000 of whom 14,000 live on the Mainland. This figure reflects a slight increase of late years, after a long period of decline. The county is generally regarded as the home of a highly efficient and productive agricultural community. The islanders, insofar as they have any regard for their past, look back to a mixture of Norse ancestry and Scottish blood. Theirs is not a Gaelic culture; some local observers claim an affinity with the north-east of Scotland.

The selection of Orkney as a likely subject of anthropological research was not the result of some eccentric whim. In the early 1970's, when the North Sea oil industry began to develop around the coastline of the north of Scotland, a considerable degree of interest and concern was shown for the likely social, economic and political consequences of this activity on the life of Scotland's more remote rural populations. Some observers looked to the emergence of the North as a "laboratory of social change".<sup>(1)</sup> This idea followed on from the belief that the creation of a North Sea oil industry was the "greatest event in Scotland since the advent of the Industrial Revolution".<sup>(2)</sup> More significantly, a general fear was expressed about the likely fate of what was seen as the immemorial way of life of the North. R. Howard<sup>(3)</sup>

in a paper published in 1973 argued that:

"The speed and sense of urgency is one of the most subtle influences which the new discoveries are exerting in many parts of Scotland, where a more leisurely pace of life has been one of their most attractive characteristics."

(ibid., p.65)

In broad terms, it was felt that the arrival of a North Sea oil-related industry in a remote rural community would bring about the disruption of the indigenous community, a breakdown in local service provision, and the emergence of social conflict between native residents and incoming oil workers.<sup>(4)</sup> This latter group was regarded as a potential source of considerable disorder and misbehaviour. More significantly, fears were expressed that many Highlanders and islanders would be caught up in the materialistic and work-oriented aspects of industrial society, and that divisions would appear within what was seen as the ancient solidarity of traditional life.<sup>(5)</sup> It was hardly surprising, then, that many people predicted the retreat if not the virtual demise of northern society.

In 1977, this expectation of change turned the thoughts of many social scientists to Orkney. The archipelago had become host to an on-shore oil-related development, in the form of an oil terminal on the small island of Flotta. However, it seemed as though Orkney had been somewhat overlooked in the flurry of research activity then taking place, and so it was decided to select the islands as the subject of a study. As things turned out, a preliminary visit to Orkney in May 1977 suggested that the oil-terminal had made very little difference to the local economy and that its demands on local services were not unmanageable. Despite some early problems, its workers were well-ordered and, generally, confined to the island of Flotta. Overall, the general fabric of Orcadian society seemed able to absorb this new arrival to its shores. For most Orcadians, the terminal on Flotta had become a matter of mild interest rather than of compelling concern. Those local men and women benefitting from employment with the construction companies then operating on the island saw their high incomes,

which included much overtime, as a short-term boon, to be spent on building houses, buying cars and the like. Indeed, their patterns of expenditure seemed to be conventional in local terms. Nor did they regard the nature and discipline of their new jobs as especially novel, either because they had experienced industrial routines in their previous local employment, or else because such conditions were largely absent from their working lives on Flotta. In any case, many of these individuals appeared to originate from a group of wage-earners already on the periphery of the dominant agricultural community of the islands.

It became clear that the restricted nature of the direct impact of the oil terminal was associated with the limited scope of the Flotta undertaking, and with its isolation on an island in Scapa Flow. Of course, a study of the island of Flotta itself would perhaps have yielded a more dramatic picture of social change, but there seemed little point in pursuing what could have turned into a rarefied study conducted under claustrophobic conditions. Notwithstanding this, it was felt that the oil revenues flowing into the public purse of Orkney might be regarded as an indirect source of general oil-related change, and so it was decided to make this the focus of a study of political decision-making within the islands.

On commencing full-time fieldwork in July 1977, it soon emerged that the Orkney Islands Council was somewhat equivocal in its approach to the deployment of its oil revenues, and that the whole issue had been pushed into the background of political thought and action. By 1978, the Council's oil income was being used as a means of reducing local rates as a financial expedient.

Meanwhile, another approach to research in Orkney suggested itself. As a means of acquiring general insight into Orcadian life, visits were made to all the inhabited outer islands and to most of the parishes of the Mainland of Orkney. This took place during the summer months of 1977, at the beginning of the fifteen months of fieldwork associated with this thesis. It became clear on the basis of these visits

that one of the interests of local people lay with the sudden influx of romantically-inclined middle class English incomers who had become their neighbours from the early 1970's onwards. In the case of the romantic incomers of the Mainland of Orkney, with its attached islands of Burray and South Ronaldsay, it was clear that many of them were closely involved in the environmental protection movement then developing in the archipelago. This movement had campaigned against the creation of the Flotta oil terminal, and by the summer of 1977, the movement had expanded its concerns to include a protest against uranium mining in and around the town of Stromness.

Since the movement appeared to be, in part at least, a reaction against North Sea oil development, its study seemed to offer the opportunity of remaining true to the original aims of the research. In any case, it became evident that environmentalism was developing into a significant factor within the political equation of island life, and this alone suggested that its study might be of interest. In the light of these considerations, it was decided to adopt incomer environmentalism as the central focus of the research. As things turned out, this led away from any detailed considerations concerning North Sea oil.

As fieldwork progressed, it soon became evident that the political activities of the environmental movement could be seen as the romantic incomers' attempt at making up for their lack of influence over the formal mechanisms of political power. This finding led to a consideration of the place of the non-romantic incomers in the life of the islands. Here, a historical analysis of island life was undertaken. This established the existence of a tradition of incomer hegemony which had reached its height in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It soon became clear that this hegemony had consisted of the resident landowners, the ministers, the schoolmasters and the tenant farmers of the countryside, along with the professional men of Kirkwall and Stromness. But, it was evident that in 1977 this old régime had come to consist of little more than a residual landowning class and the professional men of Kirkwall. Notwithstanding this, further

research established that the arrival of a local government bureaucracy, dating from the reform of local government in 1974, represented a new phase in the evolution of Orkney's tradition of incomer hegemony.

B: AIMS

As the aims of the research broadened out from a narrow focus on oil-related changes to that of the impact of immigration itself, a whole series of interesting questions emerged. How long had incomers been coming to take over the reins of power? What claims did they make upon the inhabitants and how did they impose their will? What were the consequences of the various local government changes that were introduced over the last century? What made these strangers come in the first place?

A conceptual distinction is drawn between pragmatic and romantic incomers. The former is the most typical kind of incomer who simply takes up possession of land or office. The latter are unusual in that their prime purpose is to seek refuge from the modern world - they are also a very recent phenomenon.

One feature of Orcadian life which makes it different from other parts of Scotland is the way that incomers have dominated the political life of Orkney. These people are pragmatic incomers. What were the circumstances that allowed this to happen?

Of late, the question of "white settlers" had become a burning issue in Wales and Scotland as these people buy up property and force up prices to the detriment of the locals. Such people are typically romantic incomers but generally they only come in single spies - not so in Orkney! What makes a special study of them here so interesting is that they have formed the strongest local environmental lobby in the country and have forced Orkney into the limelight of conservation protests. The question is why did this happen in Orkney and how was it achieved?

These two aspects of in-migration are the focus of the thesis that maintains that political pressure groups in Orkney have always been formed by outsiders.

Although the major emphasis will be on the romantic incomer, it should be stressed that little understanding of their political objectives and procedures can be obtained by considering them in isolation. Only by contrasting them with the pragmatic incomers and the native Orcadians can one grasp what really happened in the last decade upon the political scene. The contrast posed by these two types of incomer also throws into relief the aims and objectives of the pragmatic in-migrants and those who became embroiled in the conservation debates.

Thus the thesis hopes to cast light on an obscure corner of rural politics - the effect of co-ordinated pressure groups of incomers upon the local population. One mechanism for such co-ordination is the voluntary association and so this needs to be explored in depth as its psychological and political implications are extremely relevant to the recent waves of protest that have swept over Orkney.

To judge the appositeness of the conceptual framework (pragmatic and romantic incomers and the voluntary association), it is necessary to examine these environmental protests in detail. The varying outcome of these "popular" outcries tells us a lot about both types of incomer, the role of central government in local debates, and the influence of voluntary associations nationwide.

The span of the thesis encompasses then a new look at the evolving political structures of a Scottish island community, the decisive influence of incomers, the phenomenon of "white settlers" and environmentalism, and the role of the voluntary association in the rural context. The demonstration of the thesis is set out in the following chapters, which have been ordered chronologically.

### C: LAYOUT

In the first four chapters of this thesis, this incomer hegemony, in both its past and present forms, will be used as a source of comparison for the romantic incomers. Chapters One, Two and Three will demonstrate that the individual

members of the established incomer hegemony have generally been people used to exercising authority as a consequence of their station in life, and who have gone on doing this from lofty and secure positions within the society of Orkney. In contrast, Chapter Four will show that the romantic incomers, despite their sophistication, ability and experience of leadership in other parts of the country, lack a social station within Orkney. Indeed, it is proposed to demonstrate that the romantic incomers tend to attract local suspicion and opprobrium. However, Chapter Four will also show that the romantics continue to see themselves as middle class people with the right to influence the lives of others, on the basis of their own values and ideals.

In general, these early chapters will show that the established hegemony of today is constrained in its use of political power by the dictates of central government and by its own sense of local responsibility. In contrast, it will be explained that the romantic incomers are dedicated to disrupting centralized political decision-making, and that they are not constrained by any concept of local service.

In Chapter Five, the importance of the voluntary association to the romantic incomers will be established. This will then allow the revival of a neglected body of writing on the subject of voluntary associations. This body of writing subscribes to an unfashionable and discredited view of urban life as both degenerate and chaotic. But, once divested of such considerations, this writing will be shown to be of use in understanding the lives of the romantic incomers. Indeed, its usefulness will be extended by employing it to illuminate the lives of the present-day members of the established hegemony and of the native population of the islands. Not only will this demonstrate the wide applicability of the theory of voluntary association, but it will allow the creation of a number of yardsticks with which to measure the degree to which the voluntary associations of the romantics are of importance in their lives. It will be suggested the certain environmental groups in Orkney have a great appeal to the romantics; the objectives of these groups seem to be in keeping with the sentimental view of Orkney's physical landscape. It will be

shown that whereas these environmental groups are of significance in reinforcing the romantics' friendships with one another, their true importance lies in their use as informal political mechanisms.

Chapter Six will examine the different voluntary associations which go to make up the environmental movement as a whole. Here it will be shown that the movement divides between the radical group of the romantics and the more cautious groups of the established hegemony. It will be argued that the caution of this hegemony is based on the fact that environmental protection tends to attract the disapproval of native society. However, it will be argued that the romantics are irresponsive to native opinion, and pursue their radicalism to its full extent.

The fieldwork period covered the environmentalists' efforts in opposing uranium mining, mink farming and seal culling. The early stages of the North Sea oil controversy were reconstructed from conversations with leading figures and local inhabitants, from council minutes and from back copies of "The Orcadian" weekly newspaper.

These events are presented in the form of case studies in Chapter Seven. Here it will be shown that the radical ecological groups of the romantic incomers were the mainstays of these protests. In addition, it will be argued that in the instances of oil, uranium and seals the romantics employed direct action as a means of disputing the plans of large-scale centralized bodies. However, of more significance from the point of view of the thesis as a whole, it will be suggested that these protests represent the romantic incomers' ability to control specific aspects of Orkney's development, and to impose their ideals on native society, and that this has been achieved despite the unpopularity of both the romantics and their ideals.

Finally, Chapter Seven will argue that the environmentalism of the radicals allows them a way of fulfilling their "needs" as middle class incomers to the islands. However, these needs are met outside the formal structure of Orcadian political life. Furthermore, the satisfaction obtained by the

romantics from their new-found political influence within Orkney is complemented by the power and prestige which they now enjoy on the international stage of environmentalism.

#### D: FIELDWORK

What follows has been written without the benefit of an established tradition of ethnographic study in Orkney. To this extent, a considerable part of the fieldwork effort of this thesis was directed at filling in the background details of the relationship between the romantic incomers and the wider society of Orkney.

Whereas many books have been published about Orkney, these tend to be histories, personal reminiscences, collections of folk tales, travellers' observations and the like. However, as Chapters One, Two and Three will demonstrate, these sources are by no means irrelevant to the anthropologist.

The relatively large size of Orkney's population of romantic incomers is unique within the context of the Highlands and islands. This means that the ethnography of this general area has not been especially useful since the incomer is not often the focus of study. In any case, northern ethnography has a bias towards the Scottish "Gaeltacht", where the cultural inheritance of the people is very different from that of Orcadians.

However, there are some bright spots in all this. Orkney has not been completely ignored by other anthropologists. Diana Forsythe's research<sup>(6)</sup> on the romantically-minded incomers living on one of the North Isles has been an important source of ideas for Chapter Four's discussion of the romantic incomers of the Mainland.

Similarly, Shetland, also lying outside the bounds of Gaelic culture, and sharing common historical roots with Orkney, has been a source of some useful ethnographic material. Of significance in this respect has been the work of R. Byron and G. Macfarlane.<sup>(7)</sup> Their study of oil-related incomers will be quoted frequently in Chapter Four. However, much of the ethnography of Shetland, such as that presented in the writings of Byron<sup>(8)</sup> and of A. Cohen<sup>(10)</sup> is

concerned with native fishing communities. In this way it is removed from the concerns of this thesis.

More generally, the contributors to Integration and Immigration, edited by A. Jackson<sup>(11)</sup> have been a productive source of ideas of use in understanding Orkney's romantic incomers. In addition, the work of social scientists concerned with places in England has been of some interest as a source of illumination. However, this material was employed in the analysis of the Orkney data without necessarily implying more than a limited area of similarity between Orkney and the southern communities concerned. The work of P. Ambrose<sup>(12)</sup> and W.M. Williams<sup>(13)</sup> must be mentioned as well as that of H. Newby.<sup>(14)</sup> Newby's observations concerning incomers, agricultural change and English Arcadianism have been of importance in the writing of many of the following pages.

Most of the works above have not only been of importance in understanding Orkney's romantic incomers. They have also helped in the analysis of groups of non-romantic incomers, and of the native population of the islands.

A period of fieldwork<sup>(15)</sup> undertaken in Tain (Easter Ross) Brora (Sutherland) and Lochcarron (Wester Ross) after the fieldwork associated with this thesis, and concerned with a different topic, proved to be of some significance in approaching the Orkney material. In particular, some of the observations drawn from this second period of fieldwork will be encountered in Chapter One, where an attempt will be made to place Orkney's experience of incomers over the centuries in a wider context. In addition, the example of Tain acted as an "unconscious" source of comparison for understanding the present-day life of Kirkwall. However, an explicit contrast between Tain and Kirkwall would have been out of place in what follows, since Tain, even with Brora and Lochcarron, would not have provided a suitable source of comparison for Orkney's rural hinterland.

Turning now to consider the actual process of fieldwork, it must be said that certain conventional research techniques did not seem appropriate to this study. For one thing, an exploration of kinship along anthropological lines

was deemed unnecessary, since the main subjects of this study, the romantic incomers, display few kinship links either with the native population of the islands or with one another. Furthermore, it was decided not to employ a questionnaire at any stage. The romantic incomers are hostile to anything which smacks of bureaucratic record-keeping. Similarly, native Orcadians are suspicious of forms and schedules in general, associating them with the official returns demanded by the Inland Revenue and by the Ministry of Agriculture.

At the same time, it became evident that certain forms of information were available in Orkney, which are absent in the more exotic fieldwork locations normally chosen by most anthropologists. In particular, Orkney's abundance of written records and published histories demanded investigation, in terms of library research. Thus, it soon became evident that an understanding of Orkney's past offers many insights into contemporary relationships and values. The proof of this lies in the following chapters. More generally, written history is a resource which any anthropologist doing research in Britain must come to terms with, and use to his or her profit.

However, what follows is not without its anthropological imperative, since fieldwork progressed on the basis of personal contact and participant observation. From a base in Deerness, a parish situated in the East Mainland, it was possible to travel throughout the Mainland as a whole and to Burray and South Ronaldsay. In this way, a great many people were encountered, with some of them becoming regular and important informants.

Given the position of incomers as politically active men and women, it was comparatively easy to make contact with them. Thus they were approached in the first instance as public figures, the leading lights of local organizations and the like, before being revealed, in time, as individuals. In addition, it proved useful to exploit their social networks, made up, as they are, of other public figures and of personal friends and acquaintances. In many instances, these political and personal links are identical, and this aided not only the process of making fieldwork contacts, but the whole business

of understanding the social purposes of local organizations. This was especially true in the case of voluntary associations.

However, this does not mean that the exploration of social networks was undertaken in the light of network theory. (16) The drawback to this theoretical approach in terms of judging when to break off the tracing of a network, or of gauging the significance of one link rather than another, raises a great many difficulties. Insofar as the idea of networks was used in the field it was as a "common sense" description of observable relationships between individuals. This same usage is adopted in Chapter Four, where a description of the social networks associated with the romantic incomers will be presented.

As things turned out, it proved simple to become acquainted with the leading figures of the conservation movement. This allowed a detailed understanding of their aims and objectives, and even led to the offer of an important official position in the most prestigious group within the conservation movement. However, this offer of office occurred at the end of the fieldwork period, and the impracticability of taking it up pre-empted any ethical problems which its acceptance might have raised.

This sustained contact with the conservation movement permitted the exploration of the wider milieu of leading officials and members alike. This proved to be especially significant in the case of the romantic incomers, in view of their high level of involvement in this movement. Their organizational and social networks are very closely matched, and in this way it was easy to move from the organizational context to their social and domestic worlds. This led to an understanding of their position within Orkney. In many instances, it was possible to meet their local neighbours through them, or at any rate to contact their neighbours independently as part of a general study of local life. In this way, both sides of the "incomer question" were explored. Indeed, this process of general study proved to be another means of encountering romantic incomers, generally through the recommendation of local people, so reversing the sequence

of events outlined above. This was useful in countering any partiality in concentrating on incomers with an interest in voluntary association, or more specifically in environmental voluntary associations. In the course of this, it became clear that many incomers encountered in a general way did owe allegiance to voluntary associations such as those dedicated to environmental protection.

The study of the conservation movement also gave access to the incomer members of the old régime. In addition, it was possible to make the acquaintance of these incomers in their other public roles as local politicians, professional men and the like. This allowed a clear understanding of their sense of local responsibility and led to many insights into their general attitude to life. These contacts were first initiated as part of the general study of life in Orkney. Such a general brief allowed the exploration of many topics such as conservationism, the romantic incomers and the new bureaucrats of Kirkwall.

An understanding of the purpose and place of the new bureaucrats in the life of Orkney was achieved by the same approach used in both the case of the romantic incomers and that of the incomers of the old régime. Contact was made with these people in their work as local government administrators, initially as a means of acquiring background data. Following on from this, it became increasingly possible to encounter many of them as individuals, and to understand their personal attitudes and expectations.

The compact size of the incomer groups, combined with their high degree of internal solidarity, assisted the process of fieldwork to a very considerable extent. However, when it came to analysing the native population of the Mainland, its size, its heterogeneity, and the fact that only a small and selected proportion of it could be encountered through formal positions and offices, raised many practical and methodological difficulties. It was feared that an element of bias and partiality might be introduced by concentrating on public figures at the expense of the "common man".

However, as things turned out, these public figures had their wider and less illustrious contacts and so, working on the basis of names provided by the leading figures, it proved possible to meet a cross-section of native society. Any bias in the original contacts recommended by this or that public figure were identified and remedied in the field. In addition, Deerness proved to be a useful baseline in this work. A thorough acquaintance with life there allowed the opportunity of judging the generality or uniqueness of sentiments expressed in other areas.

Ultimately, much of the business of fieldwork came to rely on the interest, assistance and goodwill of a dozen or so men and women from many walks of incomer and local life. They were not only a source of insight, commentary and privileged information, but their personal recommendations opened many important doors in local society. Their names are frequently mentioned in the following pages, demonstrating the extent of their help and support.\*

\* See Appendix One for further details of the number of people interviewed during this research.

## C H A P T E R   O N E

### T H E   O L D   R E G I M E

In keeping with the objectives set out in the Introduction, it is necessary to consider the old form of government of Orkney in the years before World War One. This form of government will be referred to as the old régime. However, it must be borne in mind that this concept is by way of a heuristic device. That is to say, it offers a general guide to the form of social, economic and political leadership evident in Orkney from the early part of the eighteenth century until World War One. In essence, the old régime was divided into levels, each level being filled by incomers from the Mainland of Britain. The old régime's power over the native population of the islands was wide-ranging, resting on economic and governmental sanctions. In this way, ambitious and capable incomers hoping to make their mark locally were accommodated within the existing power structure of the islands. These pragmatically-minded individuals came to Orkney for a purpose, as landowners, tenant farmers or professional men, and this system allowed them a considerable degree of influence. Thus their personal ambition for power and, in many cases, their individual enthusiasm and idealism, were fulfilled within a finely-balanced arrangement of social, economic and political relationships.

The establishment of these facts takes up most of this chapter, but the resulting portrait of the old régime provides a useful foil for the consideration of the place of the present-day population of romantic incomers within the life and traditions of Orkney. Thus, an attempt will be made in Chapter Four to outline the contrast between the incomers of past and present times. This contrast is at its most productive when the romantic incomers are considered alongside the resident landlords, the professionals and the large tenant farmers who occupied many leading positions in local society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The decision to confine a consideration of the old form of incomer dominance within Orkney to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is arbitrary, dictated more by the abundance of written evidence and oral tradition for this period than by anything else.<sup>(1)</sup> Of course, this does not imply a complete neglect of earlier times. After all, it must be agreed that the domination of Orkney by outsiders was first established beyond any doubt by the blood-stained activities of the Stuart earls in the sixteenth century. However, the historical record from this starting-point until the late eighteenth century is rather sparse, and it seems more profitable to use it as an occasional source of information for a discussion of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Orkney. In any case, it is important to note the early date of the establishment of an incomer presence in Orkney as a means of underlining some of the unique aspects of Orkney's contact with incomers. Even though it might be argued that the islands are by no means exceptional in their experience of incomer control, the emergence of this control at such an early stage in the history of the islands is perhaps unusual, and it may be that this is responsible for a particularly deferential attitude on the part of native society towards certain types of outsiders.

Turning now to a detailed consideration of the evolution of incomer control within Orkney, it is useful to begin with the family traditions of Mr. William Brough of Scotts' Hall, Rendall. Looking back over his own seventy-two years to his parents' and grandparents' times, Mr. Brough argued that:

"In the old days, a century or so ago, agricultural workers were serfs. The crofter had to do two days' unpaid work for the farmer. The landlords were held in awe. The older people were very deferential. The old ministers were in cahoots with them. The ministers could ban people from the parish. They could do anything they wanted. Certain farmers in my father's generation looked up to the big farmers. There was class distinction in those days."

Similarly, *an elderly* man of Finstown recalled numerous anecdotes concerning the old hierarchy:

"The local estate is Binscarth, although there isn't much of it left these days. In the old days what the estate said was law. Everyone's life was affected. Some of the more well-to-do farmers aped the manners of the big house"

These family recollections relate to the rural districts of Orkney, and it is to the rural aspects of the old régime that attention must be given. The incomer presence in the burghs of Orkney in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was an adjunct to this landward-based structure of power and influence. Indeed, this point should be noted, since the contemporary scene in Orkney demonstrates a reversal of these circumstances.

The memories of these people and those of other present-day Orcadian families may be combined with various written sources<sup>(2)</sup> to bring the old régime into sharper focus. Looking back now, it is possible to identify a series of incomer niches constituting the hegemony of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Here, the proprietors or landowners rested at the top, followed by the ministers of the Church of Scotland, and by the larger tenant farmers at the base of the pyramid. However, the position of other incomers, such as the schoolmasters and the general practitioners of the rural areas, is not so easy to locate within this hierarchy, although their influence was less ambiguous in the burghs. Even so, these individuals were part of the old hegemony, and it can be said that some of them occupied its middle range in conjunction with the clergy. Notwithstanding this, some thought will be given to this problem at a later stage. As for the place of the incomers within Orkney as a whole, they ruled over a native population which was itself divided into levels occupied by small tenant farmers, farmer-fishermen, farm servants, itinerant journeymen and the like.

The emergence of this form of society deserves some explanation, both as a means of offering further proof of its existence, and as a device for achieving a greater understanding of its complexities. In particular, it must be established that the old régime of the period was the outcome of an evolving tradition of incomer domination, and that it, too, was subject to change and development. Indeed, it is important to emphasize the dynamic nature of the incomer tradition before attempting, in Chapters Two and Three, to understand the contemporary scene. From another perspective, a degree of further proof is required because the history of Orkney is dominated by a vision of Norse egalitarianism which is inclined to overshadow other periods of island history. In consequence, any argument concerning the question of hierarchy and domination must take care to demonstrate that Norse influence came to an end at an early period in the history of the islands. In this way, any analysis of the old régime must begin with the Norsemen.

They began the colonization of Orkney in the ninth century, and maintained their rule until 1232, when the Earldom of Orkney passed into the hands of a Scottish family, but it was 236 years before the islands were formally ceded to the Scottish crown. The Norse phase of Orkney's history was dominated by udal (or odal) right. As W.T. Dennison points out in The Orcadian Sketchbook, (1880)<sup>(3)</sup> this was:

"... a land tenure once universal in Orkney, by which the proprietor received his land by right of inheritance, without charter, and owed no feudal service, having no feudal superior. On the death of the proprietor, the land was divided equally among his children, the eldest getting the "bu" or principal house."

(ibid., p.226)

All this conjures up a picture of a society of equals, and Dennison goes on to claim that Norse society in Orkney was well in advance of the mainland of Britain, having attained:

"... a higher point of civilization, both as regards government and local life, than any other country in the three kingdoms."

(ibid., p.xvi)

However, it is important to pay attention to the warning note sounded by J. Storer Clouston, in "The Odal Families of Orkney" (1909)<sup>(4)</sup> in which he questions the egalitarian nature of Norse

society by identifying the presence of an aristocracy within it. In any case, the assumption of Scottish dominion over the islands in the thirteenth century brought with it the feudalism of the mainland, although even before this event:

"... changes in the land tenure system were already creeping in, and the feudal system was beginning to make itself felt."(5)

Feudalism advanced under the Scottish earls and in 1546, when Robert Stuart, the half-brother of Mary, Queen of Scots, assumed the earldom, followed in his turn by his son, Earl Patrick, the systematic destruction of the remaining udaller class in Orkney was undertaken. Within a few decades, the last vestiges of the old Norse system of life and government were torn away, with most udal land becoming feudal property and being distributed to the band of Scottish opportunists who had given their support to the Stuart earls. Even so, some land did remain in native hands, but only in a few cases, and under feudal rather than udal law. In total, this redistribution of land did not lead to peace, and feuds over property remained commonplace throughout the years of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, Scottish control over the islands had been well and truly established.

Some of the families who had arrived with the Stuart earls settled in Kirkwall to form a circle of incomer merchants. These families were not sufficiently important to be granted lard, but their trading activities brought them wealth. In particular, they played an active role in trade between Orkney and Europe<sup>(6)</sup>, and they soon purchased land as both a social and economic investment. In this way, various dynasties of merchant lairds were founded.<sup>(7)</sup>

Indeed, trade began to replace feuding as the major pastime of Orkney's landowners. and by the eighteenth century most of them were involved in some form of commercial activity. The kelp industry was of particular importance in this respect and during its long history, from 1722 to 1832, it proved to be a source of much prosperity.<sup>(8)</sup> The business interests of the landlords expanded, benefitting from the provisions of the Navigation Acts of 1745-1755,<sup>(9)</sup> the activities of the Hudson Bay Company, and from the whaling and fishing industries.<sup>(10)</sup> Not only did all of this benefit existing landed families, but it led to the creation of further dynasties of merchant lairds.

In many ways, this era in the history of Orkney marks a step towards the settled and well-ordered world of the nineteenth century, insofar as the ownership of land in Orkney became divorced from the idea of forceful possession, to emerge as a marketable commodity. Subsequently, entry into the land-owning élite of the islands became open to a wide group of men of some fortune. However, the wealth generated by trading and by kelp-burning led most landowners to neglect the agricultural potential of their estates, and it was only with the decline in trade after the Napoleonic Wars and the demise of the kelp trade in 1832 that the islands began to experience agricultural reform.<sup>(11)</sup> This process of reform is important, since it maintained the commercial marketability of Orkney's estates, and encouraged the introduction of new groups of outsiders to oversee its advancement.

The middle decades of the nineteenth century saw the abandonment of the old township system of agriculture. A certain amount of land clearance was undertaken throughout Orkney, with small tenants and cottars being settled on marginal or unimproved land. This allowed the vacated land to be used in the creation of larger farms. Land reclamation was another improving device, along with the introduction of new methods and superior classes of stock. Needless to say, the outcome of all this was the increased profitability of Orcadian agriculture.<sup>(12)</sup> Even so, the whole process of improvement was a slow-moving one, prompted by a few enlightened landowners.<sup>(13)</sup> By the 1860's although considerable improvements had been made, there was still much to do.<sup>(14)</sup> The turning-point came in 1861 when, after various vicissitudes, a regular steamship service between Orkney and the mainland of Scotland was established. In P. Bailey's (1971) opinion:

"This steamer service, whatever may have been its irregularities and other defects, was the most potent force for change in Orkney."

(*ibid.*, p.122)

With the advent of such an important means of communication and transport, Orkney's agricultural trade improved, providing an incentive to the islands' more lacklustre proprietors to improve their estates. In this way, Orkney was launched on what Bailey has described as a period of "High Farming" (*ibid.*, p.25), which attained complete

maturity in the 1880's.

Most importantly from the point of view of the present argument, an outstanding feature of this period was an increase in the local class of tacksmen, or tenants with security of tenure. Indeed, a new breed of tacksmen was encouraged, recruited from amongst the more enterprising farmers of Aberdeenshire. Their migration into Orkney was brought about by reforming landowners, and although the newcomers were not always successful, their expertise, experience and capital were significant additions to the local economic scene. For the most part, they occupied the home farms of the larger estates, or the larger farms. In other instances, some of them took leases on smaller estates.<sup>(15)</sup> Before long, these model tenants began to acquire the appearance of "gentleman farmers".<sup>(16)</sup>

If the creation of a class of superior tenants was one consequence of agricultural reform, so, too, was the expansion of a middle class within the burghs. The ancient burgh of Kirkwall, the centre of the merchant lairds' trading activities, declined after the Napoleonic Wars when the conduct of trade became less profitable.<sup>(17)</sup> However, Kirkwall remained the ecclesiastical, legal and governmental centre of the islands, with a professional class which grew up with the advance of reformed agricultural practice. Lawyers were required not only for their work in the courts, but as factors. Banks and bankers were needed to participate in the financial implications of the drive towards modern agriculture. Schoolmasters were called upon to meet the growing demand for grammar school education from the better class of tenants. In addition, more people could afford routine medical treatment, with an increase in the number of doctors.<sup>(18)</sup> In this way, middle class society blossomed forth, in Kirkwall and also in Stromness.<sup>(19)</sup>

At its lower levels, burgh society was local, but at the top, many lawyers, bankers, schoolmasters and doctors were recruited from the generality of the professional classes throughout Scotland. Certainly, in some instances, local families produced generations of lawyers, or the occasional minister or schoolmaster, although these people were just as likely to go south in search of an appointment. In terms of relative proportion, it was inevitable that the professional classes of Stromness and Kirkwall were soon dominated by outsiders.

However, any discussion of the nature of burgh society and the place of its participants within the power structure of Orkney must remain secondary to an analysis of the rural characteristics of the old régime. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the burghs of Orkney occupied a junior position to the landward area of the county. It is only in recent times that an expansion of burgh life has taken place in Kirkwall, in both political and demographic terms. Thus, in essence, the old régime was rural in nature, and so it is proposed to devote the bulk of the remainder of this chapter to the parishes rather than to the towns. A consideration of the burghs will be undertaken once the rural survey has been completed. It is necessary to continue the delineation of the personnel of the old régime, looking at the ministers, schoolmasters and general practitioners of the parishes.

In turning to the ministers, it is important to note the close connection between the clergy of Orkney and the other outstanding figures within the landscape of the county. Indeed, the connection first emerged with the exercise of Scottish dominion over the islands. Whereas Orkney remained sheltered from the worst excesses of the religious politics of Scotland,<sup>(20)</sup> it must be assumed that religious appointments were amongst the prizes distributed by the Scottish overlords to their followers. Indeed, this was most certainly the case during the eighteenth century and in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, when the ministers of the Church of Scotland were almost indistinguishable from the proprietors of the islands, being their kinsmen. There were various reasons for this, including the operation of patronage under the Earldom estate, the influence of the landlords as heritors, and the traditions of the church.<sup>(21)</sup> However, the changes which occurred in church life after the Disruption of 1843, in which the Church of Scotland lost large numbers of its adherents in Orkney as well as in many other areas, made the ministry less attractive to the upper echelons of Orcadian society. For the most part, their place was taken by middle class Scotsmen, although the general run of the native population of the islands was capable of producing men of the cloth. These new men retained the prestige of their religious office, perhaps giving it a

greater power because many of them were concerned with religious orthodoxy and with pre-empting the activities of the Secessionists.<sup>(22)</sup>

As for the ministers of the secessionist churches, or more specifically of the dominant such church in Orkney, the United Presbyterian Church, there is a definite lack of documentary evidence relating to its place within local life. It seems that the travellers and observers of former years associated themselves with the established church and its ministers. However, it seems as though the men of the United Presbyterian Church had a charismatic appeal, and a political identity, which attracted the disgruntled tenants of Orkney's less harmonious estates. In addition, the position of these secessionist clergymen must have been especially strong in those parts of Orkney neglected by the established church. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that most United Presbyterian ministers were incomers and that they enjoyed a certain degree of respectability, which gave them standing and authority in the eyes of native society.<sup>(23)</sup>

In order to complete the task of describing the different groups of the old régime, some thought must be given to the schoolmasters and doctors of the rural districts. The schoolmasters who ran the various denominational, charitable and private schools of rural Orkney remained, for the most part, unqualified until 1872. Then, the Education (Scotland) Act reduced the number of schools in each parish, and made provision for teacher training.<sup>(24)</sup> This, then, provided something of a turning point in the standing of the teaching profession locally. Until this time, the parish schoolmaster had not always been highly regarded,<sup>(25)</sup> but even after the reform of the profession, it was the incomer occupant of the schoolhouse who was most likely to command respect. There were many local schoolmasters, but a significant number of outsiders were employed, and it is these individuals who are of most interest in the context of the present line of investigation. This outsider element was perhaps most prominent in Kirkwall Grammar School and in Stromness Academy, where some effort had always been made to employ qualified and capable masters.<sup>(26)</sup> At present, it is sufficient to note the schoolmaster as a figure worthy of further understanding, postponing any detailed analysis of his role in local life until it is

time to discuss the power of the old régime as a whole.

As for the general practitioners of the outer islands and of the rural Mainland, it is necessary to draw attention to them in order to dismiss them. Judging by The Poor Law Magazine<sup>(27)</sup> and The Medical Directory,<sup>(28)</sup> these areas were served by a rapid succession of young newly-qualified doctors en route to more promising practices elsewhere in the country. The more remote areas of Orkney, unlike the burghs, could not have offered much of a living. For their part, the burghs tended to recruit experienced men, sometimes in the later years of their careers. In the case of the young doctors, their presence in the islands must have been, at best, transitory and superficial. However, the older doctors of the burghs seem to have settled down to become part of burgh society.

The first part of this chapter having been devoted to a consideration of the evolution of the old régime of Orkney, now gives way to an analysis of the power of this group. However, it might be profitable to enter a caveat at this stage. It is important to realise that a number of local families were involved in the professional reaches of the old régime, and that some native dynasties were represented amongst both the landowners and the larger tenantry of the county.<sup>(29)</sup> Even so, the emphasis of this chapter, and of the thesis as a whole, remains on the outsider element of Orcadian government and control. This is justified both as a device for reducing the complexity of Orkney's social structure, past and present, to a more manageable level, and in terms of the dominant part played by incomers within the traditions of the islands. In any case, the numerical balance within the government of Orkney has always favoured the outsider, and much might be made of the argument that Orkney's representatives within the leadership of the islands have always been concerned to take on the attitudes of their compeers.

To a certain extent, it must be admitted that similar considerations have already been adopted in a more implicit manner towards the family lines established locally by land-owning and professional incomers. Here, a tendency to think of these families as perpetual outsiders offers a categorical approach to matters, so avoiding the question of when an

outsider becomes a local. However, as the remaining half of this Chapter shows, this question need not be raised at all. The incomer families of the old régime never truly became locals, owing their allegiance and their view of themselves to the cosmopolitan centres of middle class and aristocratic culture in the south.

Stepping out of history for a moment, it is important to establish that these same considerations stand in the case of the present-day successors of the old régime, and that this is the position adopted in Chapters Three and Four, where the story of Orkney's pragmatic incomers is brought up to date.

Having made these qualifications, it is possible to return to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as a means of continuing the analysis of the old régime. From now on, the emphasis will be on the power relations between this group and the native society of its day.

In attempting to understand the power and prestige of the landowning element of the old régime, it must first of all be established that a great many landowning families were not permanent residents in the islands. Indeed, families who had been more or less full-time residents during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries became no more than summer visitors, although they were careful to retain their influence on local life through the appointment of factors. Notwithstanding this, it is possible to suggest that these events did lead to a change in the balance of power within the old régime, favouring the lower levels of the incomer hegemony. In order to achieve some further illumination of these points, it is necessary to contrast the position of the landowning families of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with that of their children and grandchildren. The landowners of the earlier period spent their summers on their estates, occupying their town houses in Kirkwall during the winter months.<sup>(30)</sup> They inter-married and sent their sons to the Burgh School in Kirkwall. In addition, these proprietors had business and trading interests in the town, and enjoyed a degree of social intercourse with the politer reaches of urban society.<sup>(31)</sup>

However, from the 1820's onwards, the representatives of many of these families became absentee landlords. A decline in trading and the collapse of the kelp-burning industry encouraged a number of landowners to turn to the improvement of their estates. These improvements did not require the full-time presence of the landlord, since most of the routine work could be handled by a capable factor.<sup>(32)</sup> Thus, in time, the landlords were tempted to leave Orkney in search of the pleasures of cosmopolitan life in London and Edinburgh. Soon, southern marriages, southern residences, southern estates, southern educations, and southern professions became commonplace.<sup>(33)</sup>

However, some proprietors were more or less full-time residents. Wilson (1867)<sup>(34)</sup> records the presence of Balfour of Balfour and Baikie of Tankerness as resident landlords. Elsewhere, retired military men and former colonial officials bought local estates, and established themselves as permanent figures within the islands.<sup>(35)</sup> Indeed, this latter fact is noteworthy in itself, demonstrating the continued desirability of Orkney estates and the sustained recruitment of outsiders to the old régime, with these new individuals being drawn from many parts of the mainland of Britain. In addition, a number of smaller proprietors continued to live in Orkney,<sup>(36)</sup> and many of these people played an active part in the day-to-day running of their estates.<sup>(37)</sup> Thus, although many landowners withdrew from many aspects of the life of the islands, a small group maintained a visible presence, and continued to exercise power.

In view of this latter conclusion, it is perhaps possible to argue that the resident landowners of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continued a tradition of complete dominance dating from earliest times. However, certain caveats must be entered to this statement. For one thing, in those parishes where the landowners were summer visitors, and the factors were individuals based in Kirkwall, the minister, the schoolmaster and the large tenant farmers had considerable freedom of action, within both the formal and informal politics of local life. Here, the absentee landlords were less able to influence the kirk session of the parish. This institution represented a form of elementary local government based on the

Church of Scotland. It drew its funds from church collections, and from a rate levied on local landowners. It was responsible for poor relief and for local education, and tended to be dominated by the minister and his elders, the latter group quite often being made up of the larger tenant farmers and the schoolmaster. The kirk session had a considerable influence on local life, and must have been an important instrument of social control in the hands of the old régime.<sup>(38)</sup>

This change in the de facto power of the lower levels of the old régime in many parts of Orkney was consolidated by developments within the de jure system of power distribution. These developments occurred through the reform of local government dating from the second half of the nineteenth century. Here, changes originally designed to improve the administration of Britain's new industrial cities and towns had their consequent effect on rural life. In this way, an increasing variety of elected and responsible Boards was set up, to meet on a regular basis, and to take charge of a number of measures. These Boards gradually displaced the kirk sessions, and although this put an end to the automatic right of the old régime to dominate political life, it was not long before the ministers, the schoolmasters and the large farmers set about establishing themselves within the new structure. Once ensconced inside this reformed system of local government, they were relatively unencumbered by any consideration of the rights of the landlords to influence their deliberations. In addition, the new system eroded the power of the Justices of the Peace and the Commissioners of Supply. These officials were landowners, and had responsibility for certain county-wide duties, including rateable assessment, the electoral roll, roads and policing. However, the process of reform transferred many of these responsibilities to various new boards.

In order to describe these changes more fully, a detailed account appears necessary. The rise of this new system within Scotland as a whole may be traced back to 1845, when Boards were established to look after the able-bodied poor of each parish. In 1857, Lunacy Boards were set up, and, in 1872, locally-elected School Boards made their appearance. It was this local government reform which displaced the old kirk sessions. In 1889 a major step was taken when elected County Councils were set up, subsuming some of the functions of the Justices of the Peace and the Commissioners of Supply. Some five years later, in 1894, the elected Parish Council

was introduced, whilst a number of County Boards were set up to take charge of public health and the provision of roads. In all this, the figure of the elected representative loomed larger and larger, and in Orkney this meant the opening up of new avenues of governmental power to the non-landowning sections of the old régime.<sup>(39)</sup> Ironically, much of this points towards Chapter Three, where it is argued that present-day changes in local government have led to a diminution in the power of the old régime in Orkney, whilst setting up a bureaucracy to rival it. However, in the nineteenth century, a right to formal power on the basis of land tenure gave way to a right resting on the idea of election, although the right to vote remained restricted to a certain group of householders and leaseholders. These restrictions were later relaxed, as reforms in the franchise gradually caught up with improvements in local government organization.

The changes outlined above did much to alter the balance of power within the old régime. For one thing, under the new system the elected bodies met on a regular basis, and this made it even more difficult for the absentee landlords to take part in local life. However, it is possible to suggest that a change in attitudes had occurred amongst this group and that this was as significant as any structural developments in placing them on the edge of political considerations. Thus it might be argued that, having developed an interest in southern society, Orkney's landowners had, in general, been encouraged in a feeling of indifference towards the life and work of the islands. In a sense, the proof of this lies in the fact that those landowners who did choose to live in Orkney were able to adapt to the new set of administrative circumstances. These resident landlords continued to influence parish life, and formed an influential coterie on the new County Council.<sup>(40)</sup> Whereas the nature of their part in local government had changed, they were still able to exercise a profound grip on local life. For the most part, this grip was achieved through their traditional control of a wide range of sanctions, and it ensured their continued place at the apex of local society. In essence, they were able to command the deference of both the non-landowning levels of the old régime and of the populace as a whole. For one thing, the resident landowners remained influential within the life of the Church of Scotland, acting as its patrons and

as one of its sources of finance. This meant that the landowning class was sure of the loyalty of the ministers and their congregations.<sup>(41)</sup> Elsewhere, the proprietors' ownership of the land retained its crucial significance in their ability to influence local people and public affairs. Despite certain restrictions in 1886 under the provision of the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act, the landowners' power over the distribution of tenancies, rent levels, and a whole range of conditions relating to their tenants' land and buildings, ensured the deference of large and small farmers alike.<sup>(42)</sup> This, then, was the basis from which the resident landlords were able to scale the heights of the new system of local government, and in this way to limit the political autonomy of the non-landowning elements of the incomer hegemony.

Following on from this consideration of the resident landlords, it is clear that the deference accorded to this group by the native population of the islands and by the non-landowning incomers was also extended, in part, to the absentee proprietors. Despite their own preference for things southern, the absentee landlords remained an important group in the social landscape. Like constitutional monarchs, their potential for power was as much respected as if they had chosen to exercise it, and they attracted the honours once paid to their more omnipotent predecessors. In any case, they were not altogether impotent, intervening in the affairs of their estates and in parish politics from time to time, and, on occasions, resuming the mantle of power as full-time residents. That is to say, although they chose not to make their power felt, they continued to possess the means of doing so if they wished. To this extent, the absentee landowners continued to occupy a place in local life, and to be regarded, and, indeed, to regard themselves, as important figures.

Having considered the basis of the proprietors' influence within Orkney, the same must be attempted in the case of the non-landowning levels of the old régime. Beginning with the ministers of the Church of Scotland, it has already been established that a change in the pattern of recruitment to the ministry took place in the middle of the nineteenth century, with fewer members of the Scottish landed class entering the church and, in the case of Orkney, it is clear that this trend must have been consolidated by the decision of many local

land-owners to give up full-time residence in the islands. This alteration in recruitment, with more members of the middle classes becoming clergymen, must have led to a decline in the position of the manse vis-a-vis the landed oligarchy as a whole, and it may even have compromised the new ministers in the eyes of the populace. Even so, much of the traditional sense of respect surrounding men of the cloth seems to have carried on, encouraging the new breed of minister to make his mark on local life, demanding and receiving the respect of the laity.<sup>(43)</sup> In any case, the ministers of the Church of Scotland had access to the landowners, either directly or through their factors, and this line of influence made the ministers appear highly significant in the eyes of local people, including those of members of the secessionist churches.<sup>(44)</sup> Furthermore, the ministers were often a source of practical advice and, in many cases, medical opinion and aid.<sup>(45)</sup> Thus, a degree of deference and submission might always be expected as the price for such services. Indeed, it is considerations such as these which must be entered in any equation concerning the power of the church in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Orkney. The obsequiousness of the local population allowed the ministers an influential voice in the informal life of their parishes, and a foundation on which to obtain an element of formal power within the newly-emerging system of local government. In any case, the only other aspirants for power within the parishes, apart from resident landowners, were the schoolmasters and the larger farmers, and these people were more often than not the allies of the ministers. Indeed, for much of the period under discussion, one of the most important lines of alliance within the old régime ran between the ministers and the tenant farmers, with the schoolmasters joining at a later date. Bearing this in mind, it now seems logical to explore the position of the large tenant farmers before going on to analyse the role of the schoolmasters.

Today, many local anecdotes recall the big farmers as a superior and exclusive group. *A Birsay man*, looking back to his youth at the turn of the century, remembered:

"..... the larger farmers being very superior. They were looked up to with their gigs and fine-stepping

ponies. They thought themselves a cut above everybody else. Other people were forced to labour for them."

This and other recollections paint a portrait of the big farmers as self-contained outsiders, with a vision of their own merit and status. In addition, it is clear that they dominated the parishes by various means. Thus, in some instances, and at certain times in the late nineteenth century, the larger tenants sublet portions of their land, so obtaining a degree of control over the families who became their sub-tenants, and extracting an amount of labour service as part of the sub-tenant's rent. As well as this, the large farmers employed substantial numbers of farm servants, and they had control of farming implements which were often lent out to the smaller men of the parishes. Under these circumstances, the larger tenant farmers exercised a considerable degree of informal power over the lives of many ordinary Orcadians, and sought the recognition and loyalty of these people. It was the accumulation of this kind of informal power and general authority which allowed many large farmers to occupy positions of influence within the formal structure of administration in the islands.

As for the relationship between the ministers of the Church of Scotland and the larger tenant farmers, it would seem that the farmers turned to the kirk in deference to the opinion of the proprietors, and because of the kirk's committment to the status quo of local life. In any case, church membership offered a confirmation and served to bring the notable figures of each parish together, both socially and politically.<sup>(46)</sup> Nor should the extent to which the larger tenants saw their own success and their own aspirations in religious terms, as an expression of religious feeling and duty, be underestimated. In this sense, their religious committment was real enough, and implied a recognition of the right of the clergy to occupy the superior position in the relationship between the two groups.

The arrival of qualified schoolmasters to the parishes of Orkney introduced an additional character to the cast of the old régime, and attention must now be given to these individuals. The political success of the new schoolmasters was variable, but well in advance of the impact made by their unqualified predecessors. This success was perhaps at its greatest in the case of men with sophisticated southern backgrounds, whose auspicious origins won them the fellow feeling of the ministers, the recognition of the larger farmers and the respect of the populace. Even so, the position of the school-

masters was not easy, since so very much did depend upon their personal attributes, and because they were the employees of the School Boards system on which other members of the old régime sat as elected representatives. Furthermore, the teaching profession was more accessible to local men than most other professions, being more meritocratic in nature and offering a significant number of island posts, but these men sometimes found it difficult to shake off their local origins, especially if they were the first members of their families to enter the professional reaches of society. In consequence of this, native schoolmasters were likely, on occasions, to face the resistance of incomers and locals alike. The public persona of the schoolteacher was even more problematical in the case of the numerous assistant mistresses from local backgrounds, since they faced much prejudice on the grounds of their sex alone. However, in those instances where the schoolmaster was acceptable to the minister and the large farmers, he was taken up, sharing in the power represented by their alliance.<sup>(47)</sup> But his reputation generally lacked something of the omnipotent aspect of his fellow incomers.

It is now time to fulfil the remaining objectives of this chapter by detailing the portrait of the authority of the old régime by giving brief consideration to the form of burgh society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Here it must be concluded that Kirkwall and Stromness were as hierarchical in nature as the parishes of the country districts. In both burghs, the incomer professionals occupied the uppermost levels of a structure which extended downwards from them to include the larger shipowner-merchants, the smaller shopkeepers, the artisans, the general employees, the apprentices and the domestic servants of the two towns. At the topmost levels of urban life, there was a distinct flourishing of middle class culture throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Libraries, music societies, masonic lodges, civic improvements, and an addiction to fashion became noteworthy aspects of the incomer groups of both Kirkwall and Stromness.<sup>(48)</sup>

Within the two towns, the incomer professionals exercised a considerable degree of power over the lower levels of society. As a result of their control over financial, legal and religious offices,

the middle class of the burghs commanded the deference of the leading shipowners and tradesmen. For their part, the leading members of the native burgh population looked to the incomers not only for commercial support, professional advice and religious guidance, but to set the standards of "respectable" behaviour.<sup>(49)</sup> Indeed, much of the deference of the native inhabitants of both Kirkwall and Stromness was based upon a respect for southern manners. Of course, this very same phenomenon has already been identified in the context of rural Orkney at this time, and, as in the case of the landward areas, the leading figures of urban society had more tangible forms of power at their command. In this respect, the ability of the urban middle class to employ local people, to rent out domestic property, and to extend or withhold their valuable custom in patronizing local tradespeople was of very considerable significance. One consequence of the influence exercised by the incomer professionals on the life of the burghs was that many of them found their way into the arena of local government administration.<sup>(50)</sup> In this way, the burgh councils of the two towns accommodated many incomers, who, unlike their fellow incomers in a number of rural districts, enjoyed a high degree of political autonomy, unconstrained, for the most part, by the activities of the resident landlords. However, the burgh representatives on the County Council did face the issue of proprietorial control, in the administration of Orkney as a whole.

Returning to a more general perspective, it is clear that the ministers, bankers, lawyers, doctors and schoolmasters of the burghs were part of the wider order of the old régime. Their formal links with their professional colleagues in the country districts of the islands ensured a considerable degree of social unity and political co-operation within the professional ranks of the incomer hegemony. Indeed, burgh society as a whole occupied a place within the wider structures of island life, acknowledging the rights and privileges of the powerful incomers of the parishes, whilst scorning the common body of country people.<sup>(51)</sup> However, it is to the element of professional unity that attention must be given. Here, it is important to remember that the absentee landlords of Orkney left most of the day-to-day supervision of their estates to factors, who were generally recruited from amongst the bankers and lawyers of the burghs.<sup>(52)</sup> In

this way, certain members of the urban hegemony, and the informal and extensive networks of friendship to which they belonged, were able to exercise an important degree of control over rural life. Even so, it is necessary to remember that the relationships between the proprietors and the burghs had changed. No longer was the landowning group on familiar terms with a circle of equals in Kirkwall, as its forebears had been in the eighteenth century. On the contrary, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the leading citizens of the towns were the professional advisers of the landowners. In this way, the landowners, who were still responsible for making the broader decisions of estate management, retained the upper hand in their dealings with these men.

This attempt at filling in some details of the portrait of the old régime has served to consolidate a number of conclusions so far reached. Thus, it demonstrates that the power of the non-landowning element of the incomer hegemony was not confined to the countryside alone, but that the incomers of the town also commanded a high degree of authority within local life. In addition, it is clear that the disappearance of many members of the proprietorial group from an active role in local life benefitted the professional men of the two burghs, in much the same way as it served to advance the position of the ministers, schoolmasters and tenant farmers in the countryside. Even so, it is also true to say that the residual power of the landowning group was just as effective in obtaining the ultimate acquiescence of the urban incomers as it was in ensuring the essential loyalty of the other members of the old régime.

The usefulness of this expanded portrait of the form, basis and balance of incomer power in Orkney in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries cannot be over-emphasized. Thus, it demonstrates that the structure of incomer leadership provided each newcomer to Orkney with a recognised niche within the society of the islands as a whole. The establishment of such a state of affairs provides a foil for any discussion concerning the romantic incomers of recent years, since these latest incomers lack any accredited place within local life.

It might be argued that, in many respects, the old régime made many controversial changes in local life, most especially in the area of agricultural reform. This, however, tends to obscure the fact that the members of the old régime were not simply concerned with changes which offered some form of personal advantage. Such developments as the introduction of new trends in religious thought and practice, the evolution of education, the promotion of emigration amongst the brightest young people of the islands, and the inculcation of Victorian morality, were undertaken by the members of the old régime in the belief that they were serving the best interests of native society. Further, the old régime provided new standards in terms of leisure time activities, fashion, architecture and the like. From one point of view, the leading figures in much of this were the non-landowning men of both the towns and the parishes, because they were closest to the day-to-day lives of the native inhabitants of the islands. Indeed, the lower levels of the old régime regarded themselves as permanent residents in Orkney, looking to this arena as the place in which to make their mark. In this way, they not only had the means of influencing local society, but the incentive for doing so. Here, they regarded themselves as the natural leaders of their adopted home, and so they set about making themselves at ease within its various aspects.<sup>(53)</sup> It must also, of course, be recorded that similar considerations influenced at least some of Orkney's landowning group, most especially the resident members. These people, consisting of the scions of both long-established and more recent dynasties, were influenced by the concept of noblesse oblige, and believed it to be perfectly natural that the everyday world should be under their political tutelage.<sup>(54)</sup>

Most of the changes sponsored by the old régime occurred in a piecemeal fashion, which was a reflection of the groups' role as the transmitter of slowly-evolving national culture, and was conditioned by circumstances. In this latter respect, it is important to remember that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, before the movement towards local government centralization and the direction of most aspects of life by national government agencies, the formal administration of Orkney was, for the

most part, left to the discretion of its leading citizens. In this way, amateurism often stood in the way of comprehensive change and reform. Furthermore, many of the members of the old régime constituted the major ratepayers of the islanders and, to this extent, their idealism was tempered by a regard for their own pockets. This must be borne in mind in approaching Chapter Four, with its description of the modern manifestation of the old régime, in which the centralization of local government represents a curtailment of the power of island politicians.

Having fulfilled most of the aims set out at the beginning of this chapter, all that remains is to consider the extent to which Orkney may be regarded as unique in the experience of outsiders. On the basis of information obtained in Sutherland, and in both Easter and Wester Ross,<sup>(57)</sup> combined with the evidence of written sources,<sup>(58)</sup> it seems reasonable to argue that educated and sophisticated incomers of the type associated with Orkney's old régime may be discerned within the histories of various other communities in the Highlands and islands.

However, it was not until the late nineteenth century that a noticeable incomer presence was established in the Highlands. It was at this time that the great native-born landowning families of the North of Scotland began to dispose of their patrimonies, either in response to the market represented by the nouveaux riches industrialists of the south, or as a means of settling family debts.<sup>(59)</sup> Whereas the landowning families had become absentee landlords at more or less the same time as Orkney's proprietors, they had at least been in power before then as native dynasties. However, as the history of Orkney's old régime has shown, Orkney had long since adapted itself to the incomer proprietor, a state of affairs consolidated by the fragmentation of island holdings and their distribution as political rewards. This, combined with the destruction of local institutions in the sixteenth century, had made Orcadian society less inclined to resist the outsider. Set against this, the cultural integrity of much of the Highlands must have offered a greater degree of resistance to the new landlords of the nineteenth century,

and provided something of a hurdle for the non-landowning incomer to clear. In contrast, the non-landowning incomer found acceptance in Orkney with few real difficulties.

### S U M M A R Y

This chapter has traced the slow evolution of the system of incomer hegemony in Orkney which reached its apotheosis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This old régime provides a backcloth against which to view the position of today's romantic incomers within the traditions of island life. Carrying on from this, it is now necessary to consider the evolution of the old régime in the modern life of Orkney, tracing certain elements of persistence, as in the case of the landlord class and the traditional professional class of Kirkwall, and following new lines of development such as those represented by the bureaucrats of Orkney Islands Council. This will be undertaken in Chapters Two and Three, as a means of demonstrating the continued validity of the idea of the pragmatic incomer. The idea of the romantic incomer will be considered at length in Chapter Four.

## C H A P T E R   T W O

### T H E   O L D   O R D E R   C H A N G E T H

In Chapter One, a model of Orcadian society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was formed. It was demonstrated that the political and idealistic ambitions of the old régime were accommodated within a firm structure of authority. What now follows in this chapter and in Chapter Three is a consideration of the evolution of the old régime, as a means of considering to what extent the findings of Chapter One hold true in the modern world.

Nowadays, the formal power of the rural areas of Orkney has given way to a system of centralized political control based in Kirkwall, and to this extent it seems proper to devote Chapter Three to a description of Kirkwall and its recent history. In consequence, this present chapter confines itself to the rural aspect of the contemporary life of the régime, whilst giving some attention to the changes in the balance of power between the rural districts and the capital of the islands. Furthermore, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that, from now on, each chapter must be seen as painting a portrait of Orkney in terms of the largest island, known as the Mainland.<sup>(1)</sup> For one thing, it is time to move from the realm of historical sources to the discoveries of field-work, and this change demands a stricter geographical reference. Whereas many of the statements and conclusions of the following pages may be of general relevance to the whole of Orkney, it seems prudent to exclude the outer islands from the focus of the thesis. In this way, it is possible to remain true to the fact that most of the fieldwork on which this thesis is based was conducted on the Mainland, and that it deals with groups of individuals living there. Any other course of action might attract accusations of excessive generality. As it is, there is every incentive for concentrating on the Mainland of Orkney. For one thing

it is where most native Orcadians and many incomers live. Furthermore, it is axiomatic that the Mainland is the centre of power in modern-day Orkney and that what happens there affects everyone. In other words, the Mainland has become Orkney, and so it is legitimate to make it the central concern of this thesis.

Any attempt at encompassing the fate of the rural aspect of the old régime in the period since World War One must devote a considerable amount of energy to an economic history of the parishes of the Mainland during this period. The social implications of this economic experience are the very stuff of the contemporary experiences of the old régime. Thus, the first half of this chapter is concerned with the economic background to the modern life of the Mainland, and focuses upon the break-up of the estate system after World War One, the changing pattern of large-farm ownership after World War Two, the recent emergence of commuter employment in Kirkwall for rural dwellers, the persistence of a tradition of small-scale farming, the gradual increase in the size of the majority of Mainland farms, and the decline in the acquisition of Mainland farms by outsiders. More generally, these occurrences are shown to be part of an underlying current of change made up of agricultural mechanization, farm amalgamation and rural depopulation. The various phenomena are then examined in the light of their social consequences for the present position of the old régime in local life. Of course, some people in Orkney argue that the old order has disappeared, but others are convinced of its survival. In fact, as the second half of this chapter sets out to show, the truth lies in between these two extremes.

Indeed, it is useful to present a sketch of the main findings of this second section, here and now. This is one way of encouraging a finer appreciation of the foci of the economic study which occupies such a significant portion of this chapter. In essence, the argument of the second section is that the present-day manifestation of the old régime in the countryside is now somewhat truncated and has lost some of its former power and prestige. A general decline in the informal economic power of the modern remnants of the old régime, combined with the economic advances experienced by many of Orkney's smaller farmers, and a growth of commuter employment in Kirkwall, has led to an overall decline in the deferential attitude of many men and women. In this

way, the standing of the residual proprietorial families, the ministers, the schoolmasters and the large farmers has been eroded. The position of the clergy in Orkney has also suffered from the personalities and actions of some recent clergymen. In addition rural depopulation must be taken into account as a factor in the loss of influence by both ministers and schoolmasters. More generally, the old régime as a whole has lost much of its influence within local government, and such influence as it does retain is very much limited by the bureaucratic and centralized procedures of modern local authorities. Furthermore, it is possible to identify a decline in deference between the levels of the old régime, most especially in the attitudes of the big farmers towards the remaining proprietorial circle. Even so, old habits die hard, and a certain sense of order continues to characterize the old régime, both internally and in its relations with the common run of society. In particular, many small farmers seem prepared to offer their loyalty to the incomers who now occupy the niches of the old order. This attitude of mind on the part of the smaller men of the countryside has much to do with their sentimental longing for former times when native society was more homogenous.

In this chapter, the case of the larger farmers is raised, in order to be put aside. Even though these individuals remain an aspect of the modern-day structure of the old régime, their recently-acquired native characteristics exclude them from the interests of this thesis. Instead, it is sufficient to note that this particular niche within the old régime is, for the most part, closed to outsiders. Indeed, it is evident that, following this, the main focus is on the county set of the old régime since its other incomer members, the ministers and the schoolmasters, seem disinclined to exploit the political potential of their positions. Against this, the county set has retained an active interest in local life, working within the indigenous system of power. Indeed, it is useful to note that the sense

of duty evinced by the county set, whilst reminiscent of that maintained by the resident proprietors of the past, is now more intense.

Furthermore, it must be recognized, if only in passing, that the economic and social narrative of this chapter, insofar as it relates to the native population of the Mainland as a whole, establishes the existence of a state of disassociation between certain sections of the rural population. This has a particular degree of relevance since it provides part of the foundation for Chapter Five, where an attempt is made to consider the use of local voluntary associations as an antidote to the growing heterogeneity of the local social structure.

In setting out to fulfil the objectives of the economic and social analysis outlined above, the first step must be to embark upon a detailed consideration of the modern economic history of Orkney, and here the demise of the estate system offers a natural starting point. Of course, this raises the question of where to locate the beginning of Orkney's modern era, and when to begin any analysis concerning the dissolution of Orkney's estates. For his part, Bailey (1971)<sup>(2)</sup> suggests the importance of the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886, as the first blow to the estate system and, in consequence, as the herald of the islanders' modern era.

The Crofters' Commission Report of 1884, having identified the requirements of the crofting population of Scotland as a demand for fair rents and as a call for security and heritability of tenure, cleared the way for the Act of 1886. In 1888, the Crofters' Commission visited Orkney to ensure the implementation of the provisions of the Act.<sup>(3)</sup> Subsequently, the fair and fixed rents of the Crofters' Commission and the increased costs and outgoings of estate management provided the vice in which many a proprietor was squeezed and his estate broken up. The proprietor was liable for rates, church dues and, in some cases, for ancient taxes such as skot.<sup>(4)</sup> In addition, there were repairs and,

after World War One, further financial penalties such as inflation, low agricultural prices and new taxes and duties. (5)

Most of Orkney's estates were sold up in the 1920's, before the advent of complete bankruptcy. The only possible purchasers were the sitting tenants and they were, for the most part, enthusiastic buyers, being offered their places for between 20 and 25 times the annual rent which, for some of them, was an insignificant sum. Even so, with an average farm rent of £100, most purchasers had recourse to a mortgage. (6) In 1925 the whole process was accelerated by the break-up of the Earl of Zetland's estate, the largest of all the local proprietorial holdings. (7)

As Bailey points out:

"This change was unique to Orkney, and gives the islands most of their present distinctive character. No comparable development took place in Shetland, for example, where the estates and old crofting system still survive."  
(ibid., p.131)

The dissolution of the large estates marked a change in local attitudes, with a new sense of confidence and pride emerging throughout the islands. For the most part, the old landowning class disappeared, although some representatives of the proprietorial families remained in residence in their large houses, attracting a new group of county notables around them. A discussion of this new group, which has already been referred to as the county set, takes place towards the end of this chapter, and for the moment it is sufficient to note that, whereas the estate system came to an end, something of its social ambience remained. However, it is to the subsequent economic history of the islands that attention must now be given, in order to demonstrate the economic roots of a change in the composition of the population of large farmers, and to the advent of town-based employment amongst the rural populace. At the same time, it is necessary to demonstrate the factor of de-population, as a prerequisite to a discussion of the place

of the manse and of the schoolhouse in modern Orkney.

The economic narrative underlying this begins on a note of challenge. The advent of owner-occupancy occurred during the years of the Great Depression, although some sources suggest that the economic malaise which had settled over most of the world had less of an impact on Orkney. Thus W.S.Hewison (1966)<sup>(8)</sup> suggests the late 1920's and early 1930's were a time of prosperity in Orkney. Others are less sanguine. Bailey (1971) regards the period as a time of "hard struggle" (ibid., p.131), and many older Orcadians have memories of "difficult years when no-one seemed to be making much of it", of "noses to the grindstone", and of "hard times all round."

Needless to say, some Orcadian farmers were better off than others. Interestingly enough, it was the smaller farmers with their low overheads who were able to carry on in a fairly steady way, although an upturn in prices in the late 1930's helped the larger farmers to make ends meet. This period of world economic recession and of local stagnation exacerbated by recently-acquired mortgages, gave way, in its turn, to a new world crisis, but one which benefitted Orkney financially. As Mr.D.Hepburn of Deerness recalled:

"You had to be bad at your job not to do well during the war. There was money to be made and it put an end to the old hand-to-mouth existence. It's a terrible thing to say, but Orkney did well out of the war."

Indeed, it is easy to see why Orkney "did well out of the war." In 1938, Scapa Flow was brought back into service as an anchorage for the Royal Navy in expectation of war with Nazi Germany.<sup>(9)</sup> Many small farmers and local artisans found employment on the construction of various installations associated with the presence of the armed services throughout the archipelago. Thus, four aerodromes, a radio station, radio pylons, military camp sites and the famous Churchill

Barriers all contributed to local employment and to the advantage of native contractors of one sort or another.<sup>(10)</sup>

At its peak, the Orkney garrison reached a total of some 60,000 personnel, about three times the native population of the islands at that time.<sup>(11)</sup> This in turn generated a considerable demand for agricultural products, the garrison's commissariat buying beef, milk, cheese, eggs and vegetables.<sup>(12)</sup> The immediate consequence of this, in conjunction with the rewards of wage labour in the employ of the garrison, was a sudden increase in the amount of money and savings in Orkney.<sup>(13)</sup> This meant that at the end of the Second World War many farmers were able to pay off their mortgages,<sup>(14)</sup> while some smaller farmers were able to buy larger places and a number of farm servants were successful in buying a place of their own.<sup>(15)</sup>

More generally, the accumulated capital from the war years put an end to "just getting by and no more" (Mr. Hepburn, Deerness). Notwithstanding, one of the more unexpected consequences of this economic windfall experienced by Orcadian farmers was the emigration of numerous large farmers to Aberdeenshire. The general pattern of this process of migration is easy enough to trace. The Aberdeenshire men moved south into areas where agriculture was languishing. Orkney's large farmers, following the pioneering example of Mr. Ritch of Hatston, and drawing upon their new reserves of capital, moved to Aberdeenshire. Most of this movement was from the more profitable farms of the Mainland, with the result that the larger farmers of the North Isles saw their chance of moving up the farming ladder by buying up the farms of the departing Mainlanders. At the same time, smaller farmers in the isles seized the opportunity by buying the farms of their larger colleagues, those intent on leaving.<sup>(16)</sup>

Some indication of the extent of population movement within Orkney and out of it may be obtained from the general demographic material contained in Appendix Two. However, this kind of demographic information does not distinguish between different types of migration, for example between the despairing crofter and the ambitious farmer. In consequence, given the general nature of official population statistics, there may well be an argument for turning to local observations of population trends. Thus, Mr. Bremner of St.Ola, whilst describing this whole process of movement, pointed out that his adopted parish of St.Ola, being ideally situated in terms

of profitability and access to Kirkwall, had been the centre of local migration, with the result that its old families had been replaced by farmers from the North Isles. Today, the twelve major farms of St. Ola are occupied by families whose origins lie in these isles. Thus we find:

Number of Farming Families in St. Ola	Place of origin
1	Stronsay
6 (includes Mr. Bremner)	Westray
2	Sanday
1	Eday
1	Rousay
1	Shepinsay

Elsewhere, Mr. Clouston of Firth remembered the arrival of farmers from Eday, "taking a chance on making a Mainland farm pay", whilst the Rev. D.A. Williams of Stenness commented on "the presence of North Isles folk in the parish." Of course, the North Isles farmers were not the only people buying larger farms at the time. A reference has already been made to the proclivity of small Mainland farmers to move up the farming ladder after the war, and it must be said that this had some effect at the upper end of the agricultural scale. Even so, it was the already-prosperous men of the North Isles who were the most noteworthy participants in this "general post." Whatever the details, the significant consequence of this was a change in the composition of the population of the large Mainland farms and a significant decline in its incomer nature. However, any prolonged discussion of the social implications of this change must be postponed, since it is necessary to advance the economic narrative to obtain a more comprehensive view of the post-war experiences of the "common man", that is to say of the farm servants and of the men with small and medium-sized farms.

In many ways, the post-war period was a most remarkable time

in Orkney. As Professor Miller of Stromness observed:

"It is true to say that things were never quite the same again in Orkney after the Second World War. It may sound like something of a cliché, but the war was a watershed. Some people might well argue that 1945 was the point at which the old order gave way to something new."

Agriculture in general displayed definite signs of vigorous activity. The accumulation of capital, the introduction of numerous government grants<sup>(17)</sup> and a general increase in cattle prices<sup>(18)</sup> encouraged an expansion of business and ensured the modernization of local farming. The outstanding example of this was the small Fergusson tractor, which suited most pockets and which began the rapid process of mechanization which continues to characterize Orcadian farming.

However, at the same time as the profitability of local agriculture was increasing, the number of outgoings to be met by each farmer was also growing. Machines, buildings, equipment, fuel, fertilizer, stock and land became increasingly costly, penalizing small and large farmers alike, although the large farmers had the added burdens of the increasing costs of labour and taxation to cope with. An increase in agricultural wages had resulted from the competition offered by the garrison in the local labour market. In addition, the Agricultural Wages (Scotland) Acts of 1937 to 1949, combined with the 1948 Insurance Act, had had their effect in making labour more expensive to hire. Mechanization offered a way out of this expense for the farmer who was reluctant to meet the new wage levels. Although, from another point of view, it might be argued that this substitution of machines for labour would have occurred in the natural course of events, in any case. Nor was the departure of labour an involuntary process. Many people remember the sense of dissatisfaction which Orcadians returning from the wars felt with their former lives. Erstwhile farm servants had "seen enough of other folks' way of doing to make them think twice about returning to their old jobs." (Mr. Bichan, Deerness) This drift of labour from the farms did much to consolidate the process of mechanization, and by the end of the 1950's, the machine had all but displaced the farm horse.<sup>(19)</sup>

As the figures set out in Appendix Two demonstrate, many people left Orkney at this time, and these figures must include a

large number of farm servants. Others found employment in Kirkwall, either moving there to become permanent urban residents or else becoming commuters. The details of this growth of town-based employees are provided in Chapter Three. For their part, the new group of Mainland commuters soon developed a more critical attitude towards the patrician figures of former times, and this point must be borne in mind as the analysis moves towards a discussion of the contemporary relationships within the landward parishes of the Mainland.

The rural experience of depopulation was soon consolidated by the gradual demise of the smaller farmer, the occupant of the smaller enterprise of less than fifty acres or so. Indeed, it is to the fate of the smaller man that attention must now be given. Like the farm servant, he was mesmerized by the delights of his modern world. These delights might strike the observer of today as mundane in the extreme, including as they did mains electricity, a comprehensive water supply and an extensive telephone system, but they had an exotic appeal in the context of post-war Orkney. Admittedly, these services had already been established in an elementary form, but their extension on the Mainland during the period from 1946 to 1950 was welcomed.<sup>(20)</sup> In their turn, the 1960's saw a vast increase in car ownership and the appearance of a plethora of consumer durables. The television set made its debut in local homes from 1958 onwards.<sup>(21)</sup>

The desire for mains electricity and water had been a long-standing one, whilst travel, television, tabloid newspapers and new-style mail order catalogues summoned up more fanciful demands.<sup>(22)</sup> Caught between a desire to improve his style of life and the sheer cost of agricultural modernization, the small farmer experienced a sense of dissatisfaction. Lacking sufficient capital and constrained by a small acreage, he was faced with the prospect of not attaining the attractive new staples of modern life. For a while the small man was sheltered by government grants,<sup>(23)</sup> by the loyalty of family members who were willing to work at home for little more than their board and lodgings and, most spectacularly of all, by the profits to be made from the poultry industry. A decline in cattle prices had encouraged some farmers to feed their grain not to their herds but to their hens. The resulting up-turn in the profits of the poultry industry proved to be a boon to many of the smaller farmers, since the production of eggs did not require heavy capital investment nor

extensive land holdings, whilst offering a quick return to the speculator.<sup>(24)</sup> However, most good things come to an end. For one thing, family labour became more problematical with young people demanding an income to meet their increasing needs and aspirations for a more interesting style of life,<sup>(25)</sup> and for another, the egg industry received various set-backs.

It is probably best to concentrate on this latter aspect of the problem because of the weight given to it in the folklore of Orkney and because it did represent the end of an era in which the small farmer had been shielded from the realities of modern farming. The first difficulties in the egg-producing industry arose when the Great Gale of 1952 destroyed many hen-houses.<sup>(26)</sup> A degree of recovery took place, although some small farmers gave up under their losses. Further and deadlier blows were delivered in the 1960's when there was a change in the basis of the egg subsidy, with a greater reliance on market forces, and when egg-producing factory farms were set up in the south.<sup>(27)</sup>

Coupled with these set-backs to the Orcadian poultry industry which led to its virtual collapse within a matter of a few years, a decline in cattle prices throughout the 1960's, with a low during 1966 - 67, made local agriculture less profitable.<sup>(28)</sup> Adding to the gloom, the chance of temporary labour on road, hydro-electricity and water schemes had ceased to be available, as local government funding became tighter and as certain schemes came to an end.<sup>(29)</sup>

Ultimately, most of these forces came together, causing many smaller farmers to leave the islands. Others found some form of full-time employment in Kirkwall or Stromness, and by dint of long hours struggled to keep on their farms. However, some smaller men found casual employment locally, whilst lobster fishing and commercial knitting were taken up by a number of farming families as a substitute for the income from poultry-keeping. In this way, there remains a group of small farmers, but they are vulnerable to economic ups and downs, to old age and to personal circumstances of one sort or another. The group's offspring seem disinterested in following its traditions and, in the end, it may be no more than a slowly-reducing pool of older men and women. Even so, its members continue

to exercise an influence on rural life, if only because of their sentimental attachment to the past, and their feelings of ambiguity towards their more prosperous farming neighbours. This latter point is of significance, and much of the material in the next stage of the economic narrative offers further insight into its causes. Furthermore, in view of the impending discussion of the present-day structure of authority within the country districts of the Mainland, the importance of this element of estrangement cannot be overemphasized, since it predisposes the smaller man towards the incomer incumbents of the modern manifestation of the old régime. Following on from this, it is time to consider the medium-sized farmer of Orkney, and his place in the post-war world of agricultural enterprise. This in turn involves taking up the matter of farm amalgamations.

Significantly, mechanization, depopulation and amalgamation make up a trinity in most published histories of Orkney, and in the recollections of local farmers.\* To a very large extent, the process of amalgamation must be seen as the logical outcome of some of the issues which have already been discussed. Placed between rising expectations and increasing costs, the occupants of farms around fifty acres and above found a solution to their dilemma in the purchase of more land. This process involved the acquisition of neighbouring farms, being encouraged in the late 1950's by a system of government grants, and by the increasing tendency of small farmers to leave the land. Subsequent government schemes have advanced these amalgamations even further.<sup>(30)</sup>

As the figures in Appendix Four demonstrate, the rate of attrition and amalgamation has been greatest among the smaller ranges of Orkney farms, leading to the disappearance of many farms under 50 acres, and most especially of those under 10 acres. Today, the average Orkney farm falls into the top end of the 50- to 100-acre range, although there is a steady increase of farm sizes up the scale, favouring the 125 - 250, 250 - 500 and over-500 acreages. From a local point of view, 150 acres is the lowest viable size.<sup>(31)</sup>

This process of amalgamation has done much to secure the profitability of the average Orcadian farm, and to consolidate the feeling of buoyancy amongst large stretches of Orkney's farming

\* Appendix Three considers the precise impact of this trinity on Orkney's post-war employment structure, and offers a discussion of the historical context of this recent phase of change.

community. This in turn has had two main social consequences which must be mentioned here, although more time will be devoted to their consideration in the latter half of the chapter. For one thing, the improved position of the average farmer has reinforced his self-confidence as an owner-occupier, making him less inclined towards the adulation of his "betters". However, at the same time, there is now a gulf between these medium farmers and the small men, who feel that they are being left behind by the turn of events and that they are under siege from the expansionism of their neighbours. Ironically, such feelings lie at the root of the smaller man's sentimentality about the past and his adherence to a traditional view of social hierarchy.

In the early 1970's, the farming community's experience of amalgamation was affected by an increase in land prices. The slow advent of national inflation was exacerbated by the arrival of large numbers of romantic incomers. Some of these people settled on the land, willingly paying southern-style prices which the locals thought were absurdly high. Before the arrival of these incomers, land prices in the Mainland of Orkney had fluctuated at about £80 per acre, depending on general agricultural prosperity, but by the late 1970's, at the time of this study, they had reached £500 per acre.<sup>(32)</sup>

This influx of outsiders has helped to slow down the twin processes of amalgamation and depopulation. However, the lack of skill shown by many romantic incomer farmers means that their farms tend to be unsuccessful and to change hands on a regular basis. Some of these unsuccessful farms are bought by new incomers, but many find their way back into local ownership, especially if they are sold in lots. In this way, the process of amalgamation goes on. Owner-occupancy and commercialization mean that local farming families have become firmly entrenched, disinclined to give up their profitable farms and, where these do become available on the open market, there is a ready circle of local buyers

In approaching the question of the social consequences of Orkney's economic experiences since World War One, it is necessary to come to terms with a local division of opinion on the question of the tenor of local life. Here, most reaches

of rural society seem committed to a belief in the egalitarian nature of parish life, but the professional incomers of Kirkwall, the successors of the middle class townsmen of the old régime, argue that a social hierarchy continues to characterize the landward area of the county. This division is established in the following quotations, beginning with those rural residents who propose the existence of a "classless society":

"... in the nineteenth century my family fell prey to various grandiose ideas; steam yachts and large houses. That kind of thing. Yet, oddly enough, they had many poor relations; quite ordinary people. Nowadays things are very different and people here have adopted a more sensible procedure whereby they regard one another as equals."

(Col. Macrae, Lord Lieutenant and a member of an old proprietorial family)

"There's no class division in Orkney. Here it's the person rather than a man's money or property who counts. Orcadians are interested in each other as Orcadians irrespective of background. In a city you'd have professional associates and professional friends, with strangers for neighbours. In Orkney it's a matter of friendship, not background."

(Rev. D.A. Williams, Minister of Stenness and Orphir)

"The big farmer occupied a different position in my father and grandfather's day, but things have changed now. We are all the same - all farmers, all Orcadians."

(A large farmer)

"Before the war there were those who thought of themselves as aristocrats but not now. That generation is dead. Orcadians are not very deferential these days."

(A large farmer)

"There is equality now. The minister and schoolmaster were respected in the past but now they are not looked up to. People are more educated and want to do things for themselves."

(A retired crofter-fisherman,  
The Barony, Birsay)

"Orkney is a classless society. The old land-owning families have died away. Some very old people might still have the big house syndrome, but that's about it."

(Anne Brough, Secretary of the Orkney Labour Party)

In contrast, a somewhat different portrait of rural society is painted by observers in Kirkwall:

"Country people operate a class system. The county set sits at the top, followed by the large farmers and then the 'others'."

(A retired schoolmaster)

A similar point of view was advanced by a town doctor:

"The county families are more or less social ornaments these days, but they continue to command the respect of many Orcadians. But the larger farmers are the ones with real influence. They have a finger in every pie."

The townsman's emphasis on the hierarchy of the countryside is, in part, a reflection of his own experiences within the world of public committees and voluntary organisations. It is here that the county set and the larger farmers are especially active, so giving the urban onlooker a partial but distinct impression of their authority. In addition, the townsman's remarks concerning the landward area must be seen as part of the rivalry between town and countryside, and as a means of implying the superiority of burgh life.

The egalitarian protestations of the countryman have a certain ideal quality, and are coloured by his reluctance to discuss class openly and to make judgements about himself

and his neighbours. The old social divisions of the county have become blurred since the 1920's, but they are still discernible. The following pages establish this, using the comments of the professional men of Kirkwall whenever appropriate, as a form of devil's advocacy.

Turning to the position of the county set, it seems that this group now contains people from four main sources. Firstly, there are the remaining estate owners, most of whom are only occasional visitors to Orkney and who constitute a very small part of the group. Secondly, there are the descendants of the old proprietorial lines who have retired locally, or who have settled in Orkney to pursue some business interest. Thirdly, it is important to include a number of local and traditional, mainly professional, families who have increased their social standing by judicious marriages into "old" family lines, by educating their offspring at public schools, by the purchase of a "big house" and some land, or by a combination of all these. Here it is acknowledged that:

"Money is not sufficient. Mr. X is not invited to cocktail parties even though he is very rich."

Finally, any compatible incomer, quite often someone from the services with local friends in Orkney or else with war-time associations with the islands, is often an acceptable recruit to this circle. In total the county set is made up of some 25 to 30 individuals, of who some two-thirds belong to incomer lines. (34)

Various members of the county set have made some impact on the political life of the islands. Donald Brown, the last Convener of the old Orkney County Council, was an acknowledged member of the county set, along with one of his fellow councillors and committee conveners, Scarth of Skail. Col. Macrae, the Lord Lieutenant of the

County and someone who is a prominent figure in the life of the county set has also served as a local councillor. In addition, other members of this set serve on nominated committees, one well-known example being Brigadier Robertson's long-standing chairmanship of the Health Board and the local branch of the National Savings Committee. Elsewhere, many members of the county set act as figureheads for local youth organisations such as the Scouts and the Boys' Brigade, and for local causes and appeals. In this connection, the county set was closely associated with the St. Magnus Cathedral restoration appeal, and its members appear as the financial patrons of the St. Magnus Festival.

The social exclusivity of this group offers both an attraction and a challenge to those members of burgh society who encounter it during public occasions. From time to time the county set is dismissed in a few clever acronyms such as S.A.A.F.O. (Self-Appointed Aristocrats for Orkney) or SAGs (Self-Appointed Gentry). They are denigrated as:

"..... people who have been able to attach themselves to a piece of land, an old house or an old name..... their accents, which they acquired south, impress the average Orcadian, although he dismisses these people."

(anon.)

Others see them as:

"..... people who sit on nominated committees and who are all-round toadies."

(anon.)

Furthermore it is said that:

"The so-called county people lack any real influence. They are viewed with amused cynicism and there is automatic resistance to them. They are useful for organising church fêtes, the St. Magnus Festival, and so on. No-one would let them away with any airs and graces."

(anon.)

However, this sort of criticism might be judged to be somewhat shrill, and not altogether free of emotions of envy. The Kirkwall élite is never reluctant to turn to the county set for likely patrons for one cause or another, nor is it known to refuse invitations to cocktail

parties in Orkney's large houses. Orkney's county set, redolent with the attributes of the British upper class as a whole, is at one and the same time a source of irritation and attraction for other people.

The members of the county set are recognized as such by their rural neighbours. This recognition takes the form of a degree of deference, insofar as today's gentry have many of the qualities of their predecessors. In this context, lineage, educational background, demeanour and so forth are of considerable significance. Yet, changes in the economic fabric of rural life have led to a decline in the sycophancy which once marked local attitudes towards the occupants of the "big houses". The farmers are no longer under the tutelage of these people, and the commuters of the parishes look to Kirkwall for employment.

This decline in the status of the county set has made its members more circumspect in their political activities. As has already been established, the county set continues to provide candidates for the Council and for various non-elective public bodies, whether of a governmental or cultural nature. However, all but the most ambitious and adroit are inclined to favour the non-elective side of this activity, whilst many prefer to remain detached from political life altogether.

The fact that the county set continues to make some contribution to local life shows that it maintains a belief in noblesse oblige. If anything, this idea of service has been reinforced by the egalitarian spirit of modern Orkney. In a sense, the county set is eager to prove its value and acceptability within the life of the islands. This is by no means an impossible ambition on their part, since the fact that their involvement in public life is tolerated at all, however reluctantly in some quarters, suggests the retention of some of their old authority, although the limits to this are much closer than they were in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The county set's penchant for cultural activities brings it into contact with the traditional middle class élite of Kirkwall. In particular, it favours the Orkney Heritage Society<sup>(35)</sup>, the Arts

Club and the St. Magnus Festival Association. The county set finds the élitist ambience of these groups highly sympathetic. However, whilst enjoying a degree of informal influence within them, the county set does not seek committee membership. Any other state of affairs would be resented by the burgh élite, who prefer to occupy these offices themselves. However, the informal nature of the county set's power in this instance, as in other areas of life, is circumscribed, so offering the counterpart to the decline and contraction of their formal power. The county set's presence within the Heritage Society must be noted, since it is important to an understanding of environmental protest in Orkney, the subject of the latter part of this thesis.

Turning to the other social giants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the ministers of the Church of Scotland, it is clear that their authority and status within Orkney has declined more noticeably than over the rest of Scotland. This matter raises a number of problems, since Orcadians are reluctant to discuss controversial matters concerning the Church. Furthermore, it is difficult to know whether religious decline in Orkney is related to the general spread of secularism throughout the country as a whole, or to more particular local circumstances. The former argument is advanced by some Orcadians:

"In the past the local minister was looked up to as a source of spiritual guidance. Ordinary people had an inferiority complex in those days. They had to rely on the minister for so many things. These days, with education, people are as likely as not to question things."

(Retired farmer, Flotta)

However, it is clear that more specific considerations are also important. For example, it is often said that many Church of Scotland ministers now display a distinct lack of involvement in the life of their parishes. As one parishioner concluded:

"Recent ministers have abdicated their position of superiority and have not insisted upon it. They are reluctant to provide leadership of any sort."

This lack of involvement is said to be associated with the low calibre

of recruits to the ministry in Orkney. One member of the county set advanced this point of view at its most explicit:

"The sad thing about Orkney is that a great many difficult ministers are quite simply dumped upon us. These wretched people are a constant source of trouble and irritation."

This is a complaint which is made throughout most reaches of rural society, most commonly appearing in the form of oblique complaints about the personalities of the ministers concerned. Many ministers in other parts of Scotland recognize Orkney as a place where some of their colleagues are "put out to grass". The use of Orkney in this way is associated with the decline and dispersal of the rural population in the wake of agricultural mechanization and amalgamation. Declining parish rolls have made the islands a much less attractive place for the more vigorous members of the Church of Scotland's clergy. The other aspect of this is that small Orcadian congregations are sometimes under pressure to accept a particular new minister, or else face amalgamation with another congregation.<sup>(36)</sup> As it is, the Mainland of Orkney has experienced a number of congregational amalgamations which have produced unwieldy joint-parishes where the prospects for a closer relationship between the manse and the farmhouse have become even more remote.

In addition to depopulation, the modern parish has witnessed a change in the role of the large farmer. Unlike his predecessors, he has little control over the religious orthodoxy of his smaller neighbours, and little interest in this aspect of their lives, since these people are no longer his employees or his sub-tenants. However, he himself may choose to attend church, if only as a means of winning the political favour of church-goers, and of influencing the remaining lay organizations of the kirk.

More generally, the Church of Scotland's former role as the centre of social and cultural life in the rural parishes has faded. This state of affairs is recognized locally:

"At one time the kirk was the community centre. It was where the lads met their girls. There were the unions and guilds, outings, picnics and suppers. It was something everyone took part in, but not now."

(Mr. Leith, Stenness)

Today the recreational role of the church has been taken over by

Young Farmers' Clubs, football leagues, community centre associations and other forms of voluntary association. This process continues with the growing popularity of commercially-organized leisure in the form of new pubs and discos. These various pursuits are in keeping with the secular outlook of modern life, and with the Orcadian's disenchantment with the church. They represent the expansion of a whole area of local life in which the manse has no authority.

The modern parishioner's disenchantment with the church has been combined with his egalitarian outlook to produce a general lack of interest in active church membership. All this paints a portrait of decline. A similar fate has befallen the parish schoolmaster.

For a brief period the declining stars of the landlord and of the minister were associated with the ascending planet of the schoolmaster. The provisions of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1946 allowed the rural schoolmaster to take the initiative in the social life of the parish. The Act permitted public use of school premises, paving the way for adult education, organized youth activities and a rural cinema scheme. Thus in many cases ambitious and hardworking schoolmasters had a considerable effect on native society.<sup>(37)</sup>

However, by the late 1950's and early 1960's, the progressive ageing of Orkney schools built during the 1870 to 1880 period led to many of them being closed. This occurred against a background of falling rolls. For one thing, rural depopulation was taking its toll and, for another, the introduction of the comprehensive system had deprived many rural schools of their older pupils, by compulsorily transferring them to Stromness Academy or to Kirkwall Grammar School.<sup>(38)</sup> Whilst this process of closure was unpopular locally, many felt that "the authorities knew best" and it was accepted that closures were necessary at a time of depopulation.

Although the primary schools of Orkney continue to be able to recruit schoolteachers of a high calibre from a large pool of both local and national applicants, these people are no longer found at the forefront of parish affairs. In many instances the local school no longer exists, and where it does exist, it often serves a large catchment area. Unable to encompass the life of such heterogenous areas, recent schoolmasters have been discouraged from public service.

In Chapter One it was suggested that the traditional position of the rural schoolmaster was somewhat ambiguous, and it is clear that he has always lacked the patrician aspect of the proprietor or the high status of the minister. Consequently, the egalitarian-minded countryman of today is less inclined to relish his fall from power.

It now remains to consider the large farmers, as a means of completing this stage in the analysis of the present-day position of the old régime. The economic narrative at the beginning of this chapter has already established the virtual cessation of non-Orcadian recruitment to this group. What follows suggests that the large farmers of today are Orcadian in nature, and so it becomes possible to exclude them from the analysis of incomers. However, it is useful to spend some time in considering the extent to which they have been successful in maintaining their traditional authority. This will establish a body of data as a background to Chapter Five and, in particular, to its contrast between the local use of voluntary associations as a form of political placebo, and the romantic incomers' use of certain environmental conservation groups in a similar way.

It has already been established that the composition of the group of large Mainland farmers changed in the post-war period. A number of large farmers from the outer isles settled in the Mainland, many of them with the same sense of superiority and exclusivity as their immediate predecessors. However, this change of personnel "broke the spell" cast by the larger farmers over their neighbours at a time when other people were beginning to experience the self-confidence of owner-occupancy, and an increase in economic standing. In any case, a number of smaller men moved into larger farms. This process, whilst an existing feature of the rural scene, took on more significance, consolidating the impression that the larger farmers were no longer Olympian figures. (39)

Today, the large farmers are less insistent on being given their place. They are on sociable terms with their smaller neighbours, and they have links of marriage and kinship with the rest of local society. In this way, the larger farmer has become "naturalized", and now regards himself as a true Orcadian.

However, the large farmers have not altogether abandoned their political ambitions. The traditional professionals of Kirkwall are most definite about this:

"..... the Mainland is class-conscious. Many councillors are drawn from the upper group of large farmers."

(A retired schoolmaster, Kirkwall)

Other observers make similar comments:

"..... the farmers make up the backbone of the Council ..... the same group of people you'd find running local government anywhere else."

(A leading member of the Orkney Labour Party)

The large farmers continue to display a sense of parish responsibility. This is sufficient to encourage many of them into public life. However, their concept of service is not entirely altruistic, since it is designed, in part, to safeguard their substantial economic stake in the life of the islands. Thus, they are active in running the affairs of the Orkney branch of the National Farmers' Union, and a number of them are prominent in the ranks of the local Conservative Party. In addition, their presence on the Orkney Islands Council allows them to express the needs of the farming community as a whole.

Despite this, the large farmers are forced to accept certain limits to their authority. It is only through a demonstration of ability and conscientiousness that they can be sure of acquiring both the support and the recognition of native society. Here, the parish voluntary associations are significant, as the places where the large farmers can cultivate "grass roots" opinion most effectively. Significantly, an important aspect of this cultivation lies in combining leadership with an egalitarian manner, in such a way as to please modern Orcadian taste. This undertaking requires a certain amount of social skill, especially in the cases of newcomers to the world of the large farmer.

The old régime of the county survives in the modern world in a somewhat truncated and reduced state. The county set and the large farmers continue to hold some sway over the life of the parishes.

A sense of partnership between the two groups remains, but as a shadow of its former self. The larger farmers now regard themselves as the equals of the inhabitants of the big houses. Indeed, in terms of numbers, motivation and commitment, the large farmers are the most active of the two groups.

In a curious way, the old world of Orkney survives tenaciously amongst the ageing small farmers. These individuals are amongst the most loyal adherents of the county set. Their support has developed steadily over the years, and represents part of the small farmer's rejection of the more competitive atmosphere of modern parish life. Set between the egalitarianism of the present and the hierarchy of the past, the small man now favours the latter.<sup>(40)</sup> However, although this is of some comfort to the county set and to the larger farmers, it is the egalitarian ethos which is now dominant within rural life.

The de facto power of the remnant of the old régime is now more circumscribed, and the same may be said about their de jure power. The Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929 abolished the old parish councils, setting up a smaller number of district councils in their place. These district councils were given responsibility for basic services.<sup>(41)</sup> Further inroads were made into rural autonomy when, in 1974, local government reform led to the centralization of local government in Orkney, with the consequent emergence of Orkney Islands Council as a single-tier, all-purpose, authority.

Today, the county set and the large farmers have access to fewer levers of formal power, and such power as these levers do control, far from becoming more concentrated, has been reduced. Modern local authority decision-making is hedged in by the requirements and directives of St. Andrew's House and Whitehall, so leaving little room for local discretion. More generally, the expansion of state intervention into various aspects of social welfare has transferred other strands of control and influence into the hands of bureaucrats in Kirkwall, and ultimately to the centres of political power in the south. In this way, the balance of power has shifted from the local to the national. Alternatively, it might be said that the power of Orkney's traditional rural élite has been taken over by local and national government bureaucrats in Kirkwall. It is proposed to

return to this theme in Chapter Three, but it is sufficient to note it here as a means of establishing the limits of the power of the county set and of the large farmers. The county set and large farmers still consult with one another over questions of local interest, but their ability to manoeuvre within the formal governmental structures of the islands is limited.

### S U M M A R Y

Changes in the ownership of Orkney's farmland since the 1920's, combined with the spread of more egalitarian views, have had their effect on the place of the old régime in the rural areas. Nowadays, this part of the old régime consists of, to all intents and purposes, the county set. These people have lost much of their former power, but they retain a degree of authority within island society. Indeed, there is a sense in which they have become more than ever the servants of native interests, adopting the ideals and ambitions of Orcadians as their own.

The formal power which the county set contrives to wield is increasingly circumscribed by the dictates of government bureaucracy. This bureaucratization has reached its zenith locally in the guise of the Orkney Island Council administration, and it is here that it has its greatest effect on the day-to-day life of the islands.

Looking ahead, Chapter Three will be concerned with describing the contemporary fate of the traditional professional incomers of the old régime. It will be shown that these people now occupy a place similar to that of the county set. Chapter Three will also consider the activities and attitudes of the local government bureaucrats of Kirkwall. In this way, it will be demonstrated that, in terms of authority and of a commitment to improving local life, they represent a development of the tradition of pragmatic incomer hegemony.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE NEW HEGEMONY

Having established the form of present-day society in the rural districts of Orkney, it is now necessary to focus attention on Stromness and Kirkwall, with the same object in view. Once again, it will be found that the outline of life still retains something of the flavour of the past. However, the two burghs have experienced considerable change since the Second World War.

Whereas Kirkwall is more than ever a middle class town, having outstripped Stromness in most respects, its traditional bourgeoisie has lost something of its former status. Furthermore, this established group of professional men and women has now been joined by a somewhat ambiguous set of individuals in the form of local government employees. However, both groups retain a substantially pragmatic outlook on life.

Rural stagnation in the early decades of the nineteenth century had had something of a depressing effect on the economic lives of both burghs. However, as Eric Linklater (1965) points out, Kirkwall was more fortunate than Stromness in displaying:

"... a persistent commerce which somehow thrived on rural poverty and maintained a minority of its citizens in conditions of some comfort when the substance of Orkney, its agriculture, was in tattered decay."

(ibid., p. 115)

Kirkwall continued to maintain its position in the life of the islands, serving such remnants of commerce throughout as there were. During this period of stagnation, it was those residents of Kirkwall involved in supplying essential services to the farmers of the rural hinterland who remained relatively prosperous.

Stromness found itself facing a very different set of conditions. From about 1600 until about 1820, Stromness had benefitted from its peripheral position on the southwest coastline of the Mainland of Orkney, a position which had allowed the Burgh to take part in the trading and commercial activities of the North West Atlantic sea routes. With the demise of much of this maritime endeavour during the course of the nineteenth century, the burgh's fortunes had declined. By the

1900's, Stromness had become little more than an out-of-the-way town serving a small rural hinterland and acting as a port of refuge for fishing boats.<sup>(1)</sup>

Both World Wars gave a fillip to the burghs.<sup>(2)</sup> The real impact of World War II, however, was transmitted in an indirect fashion via the commercialization of local agriculture. Of course, this had less significance for Stromness. After all:

"... the town did not originate because of land occupations and when its raison d'être had declined the business community was not able or not prepared to take part in the servicing of the growing commercial farming in the county." (3)

In contrast:

"The growth of Kirkwall is associated with the development of specialised scientific agriculture." (4)

The commercialization of agriculture influenced the growth of Kirkwall in numerous respects. It stimulated new town-based activities such as the supply and servicing of agricultural machinery, the processing and marketing of dairy products, and the packing and exporting of eggs. In addition, it helped to encourage and to diversify the interests and business prospects of existing concerns, including construction and related works, road haulage and agricultural merchanting. However, the advent of modern agriculture made certain skills, for example, those of the town's wheelwrights, carters and saddlers, entirely redundant. On the credit side, however, opportunities arose in the areas of entertainment and luxury consumption; a cinema and a dance hall appeared, and cafés, bars and other shops also benefitted from these new trends.<sup>(5)</sup>

The growth of Kirkwall in terms of economic activity was underpinned by development in transport dating back to the 1920's.<sup>(6)</sup> Thus road transport, both in terms of haulage and of public services, played a vital role in the process of centralization focused on Kirkwall. The popularization of private cars in the years after World War II represented a further major step in this respect.<sup>(7)</sup>

The postwar period in Kirkwall also witnessed the arrival of local offices associated with the government's growing interest in directing agriculture and in providing social welfare throughout the

nation. Similarly, the North of Scotland Hydro Electricity Board's activities in providing electricity for the Highlands and islands of Scotland led to the erection of a power station in Kirkwall serving the Mainland of Orkney, Burray and South Ronaldsay, and to the opening of a local office in the town.

One crucial aspect of this process of economic stimulation was the diversification of Orkney's employment structure. In 1959, the County Report for Orkney<sup>(8)</sup> pointed out that:

"There are some opportunities for alternative employment including, particularly, work in the burgh of Kirkwall, which can be reached daily by the bus from the East Mainland and from the greatest part of the West Mainland."

The availability of employment opportunities was vital at a time when there was a decline in the number of agricultural jobs available and when many small-scale farmers were beginning to feel disenchanted with their economic and social prospects. Commuting became a feature of Mainland life, as many local people confirm, along with a movement of population into both Stromness and Kirkwall, with Kirkwall taking the bulk of the migrants. These migrants either settled in Kirkwall on a more or less permanent basis or else moved on within the space of a few years to other parts of the United Kingdom or overseas.<sup>(9)</sup> Despite the post-war expansion of certain areas of local employment, the continued contraction of agricultural employment led to an overall surplus of labour which ensured that migration out of Orkney remained a feature of local experience.

Many rural inhabitants chose to move to Kirkwall not simply in pursuit of a job but as a means of acquiring a council house,<sup>(10)</sup> or perhaps from a general desire for an improved standard of living with closer access to services and facilities.<sup>(11)</sup> In this way, the population of Kirkwall increased, becoming more heterogeneous than before.

The importance of Kirkwall was consolidated throughout the 1960's and in the early part of the 1970's as a result of various factors. The demise of travelling shops, partly as a consequence of more people choosing to shop in Kirkwall, but also because of increased costs and the stringent nature of new government legislation governing the use of these vans, merely served to underline Kirkwall's position as a centre for domestic supplies.<sup>(12)</sup> A growing boom in the 1960's



in the acquisition of consumer durables went hand in hand with the arrival of chain stores in Kirkwall and with the setting up of businesses dealing in electrical gadgets of all descriptions.<sup>(13)</sup>

In other respects, the advent of commercial knitting with agencies based in the town,<sup>(14)</sup> the expansion of welfare and medical services,<sup>(15)</sup> the comprehensivization of education<sup>(16)</sup> and the gradual accretion of more lawyers, accountants and insurance agents to deal with the growing business of both the town and the country,<sup>(17)</sup> have all added to the importance of Kirkwall.

From the point of view of Kirkwall, the early 1970's maintained the town's tradition of change and evolution. Indeed, the very appearance of the town altered, with the demise of numerous small shops<sup>(18)</sup> caused by various factors including the competition offered by their chain store neighbours, the matter of labour costs, restrictive government shops legislation, the difficulties of administering V.A.T., the cost of freightage and the complexities of cash flow.<sup>(19)</sup> However, most of the larger retail business survived, perhaps because of their initial size and capital reserves and their ability to rationalize their business activities.<sup>(20)</sup>

At the same time, the 1970's witnessed local government reform. The demand for such reform was based on various aims, some of the most significant being the modernization of boundaries, the creation of professional career structures within local authority departments and the improvement of decision-making. Much of this demand came from local authority officials concerned with playing a more influential part in local government and resolved into an argument for larger authorities with more officials in their employ.<sup>(21)</sup>

Orkney County Council, whilst agreeing with many of the wider aims of local government reform, sought to prevent Orkney becoming part of a Highland regional authority. In arguing against such a development, the County Council emphasized the wide nature of its existing remit and its competence in fulfilling it. Furthermore, the County Council argued that Orkney was in no respect compatible with its Highland neighbours.<sup>(22)</sup> In the event, Orkney became a self-contained single-tier islands authority when local government reform was finally accomplished in 1974. After this, there was a

proliferation of staff,\* with old departments expanding and new departments being created.<sup>(23)</sup>

The arrival of North Sea oil-related activities in Orkney has had an even more significant impact on local economic life.<sup>(24)</sup> The construction phase of the Occidental Group's oil terminal on Flotta brought many well-paid jobs to Orkney, most notably in the construction and service industries. Amongst other things, the existence of oil-related employment slowed down emigration and encouraged immigration, leading to a net gain in population.<sup>(25)</sup> At first, some people were very concerned about the likely impact of this new source of employment, although a fairly sanguine point of view developed in due course:

"Most people realised that changes were going to occur, but there was no sense of bitterness on the part of most local employers. As things turned out, few indigenous industries suffered that badly under the initial impact of Occidental and its sub-contractors."

(H. Graeme Lapsley, Chief Executive of O.I.C.)

Even so, many manual and blue-collar workers left their jobs, attracted by the high wages offered on Flotta. There were other factors involved in this process of sectoral reallocation, including the low wages and poor working conditions of some native companies. In some instances, local employers were obliged to pay higher wages in order to retain their labour forces. Elsewhere, various vacancies within the traditional employment structure were left unfilled, having been associated with over-manning; or else they were occupied by incomers, school-leavers, or other, adult, locals. Not that all sections of the local working population were influenced equally by North Sea oil developments. A great many older men found the type of work available on Flotta rather too demanding, whilst school-leavers were disqualified by dint of their youth. In addition, white-collar workers found few openings for their skills, although the presence of an oil terminal on Flotta generated more work for bankers, accountants, quantity surveyors, architects and the like, leading to a slight increase in this group, much of it made up of newcomers to the islands.<sup>(26)</sup>

\* As Appendix Five shows, this was part of a national trend.

The oil-related employment boom is over. As for the long term:

"Occidental's policy has been to provide priority of employment opportunities to Orcadians, and the response to this has been enthusiastic. Over 100, out of about 150 permanent staff, will be local people or Orcadians 'repatriated' from overseas. However, not all permanent operating staff could be recruited from the Orkney community." (27)

In fact, between 17 and 20 jobs within the permanent oil terminal establishment qualify as executive positions and it seems unlikely that these will ever be filled by local people, given the amount of training and experience required by their incumbents. (28)

All of this has had its greatest permanent effect in Kirkwall, where most of Orkney's unskilled and semi-skilled industrial workers live. Those now employed in connection with "the oil", have less contact with the general life of the town than before, not only because their jobs lie outside the experience of other locals, but because a considerable amount of their time is spent in travelling to and from Flotta. In contrast, the white-collar workers are largely unaffected except by some increases in their numbers, and they retain their involvement in the life of the town.\*

Given a specific interest in the incomer population of Orkney, it is perhaps time to consider the place of incomers in the burgh. It appears that the town's professional sector is in large part incomer in nature. However, this statement is liable to refinement:

"..... although the local professional population is fairly mixed between incomers and locals, outsiders do predominate in certain areas and locals in others. Orkney seems to be good at producing teachers, but not doctors or clergymen. There is something of a balance in other areas such as the accountancy and the law."

(Mr. Towrie, Orkney Council for Social Service)

Nor should one seek to over-emphasize the size of this professional population:

"In terms of industry, Orkney has just about everything apart from the very heavy enterprises. However, we are rather short on the professions, although there has been some change here recently, and we have a

\* See Appendix Three for a long-term view of the changing face of Orkney's employment structure.

small resident middle class. One consequence of this is that there is a weighting towards professional and skilled technical emigration."

(Mr. McLeod, Youth Employment Officer, O.I.C.)

This need for "professional and skilled emigration" is widely recognized. As a local headmaster commented:

"Most of our brightest school-leavers realize that in order to obtain a professional or technical training they have to go south. Returning home after completing their higher education or training is usually out of the question for most people. We have a number of local teachers who were happy enough to return and people with the right qualifications and the right contacts can sometimes return to partnerships in legal or accountancy practices."

(Mr. Thompson, Rector of Kirkwall Grammar School)

As well as a definite degree of incomer domination in medicine, the church, and also banking, the other area in which incomers are seen to dominate is local government. Given that the local population is unable to produce sufficient numbers of well-qualified people to fill the professional occupations of the local employment structure, the recruitment of outsiders is necessary; but what makes these outsiders want to come to Orkney? Traditionally, incomer professionals have been attracted by the prospect of employment alone, all the more so if associated with promotion or with early responsibility. Incomer lawyers and accountants can hope for a partnership at 25. Incomer doctors, if young, are able to acquire a practice of their own more easily than elsewhere, whilst older doctors are able to prolong their working lives in small congenial practices. However, it is also important to remember the "outcast factor", especially in the case of ministers and doctors where Orkney is recognized as an out-of-the-way posting for the incompetent and the unreliable.<sup>(29)</sup> Even so, times are changing and there is a growing trend in which people are taking jobs in Orkney as a means of improving the quality of their lives by moving to an urban community rather than to a post in some southern city or town. As a local headmaster observed:

"Many of our incomer teachers arrived here because of underemployment in other areas or because they married a local man. Others, not an insignificant number,

wanted to escape the rat race of the south. Having got to know the place through their holiday visits here, they decided to apply for a job. The lack of indiscipline in our schools is another factor. Many music teachers find this."

(Mr. McInnes, Kirkwall Primary School)

The advent of local government reform and the arrival of the North Sea oil industry were the watershed which divided the professional incomers from the new men. Unfortunately, it is somewhat difficult to estimate any exact numbers for the two groups, since existing statistical sources, most of them relating to employment categories, do not make this differentiation. Thus it is necessary to rely on local estimates and interpretations.<sup>(30)</sup> On this basis it is possible to suggest that the traditional élite consists of about 55 to 60 people including ministers, doctors, bankers, local government officials, lawyers and accountants, many having lived in Orkney for long periods of time. In addition, their ranks include retired members of the professions and retired expatriate Orcadians of a similar outlook.<sup>(31)</sup> It can be said that three-quarters of this group is probably incomer. As for the incomers associated with local government reform, some 25 to 30 new higher grade positions were created, most especially in the planning and civil engineering professions, as well as in general and financial administration. In the case of professional positions generated by the oil industry in Flotta, a few individuals involved in surveying and construction work come to mind, among others. These figures are likely to be increased by addition of spouses.

As to how many of these people live in Kirkwall, some definite statements can be made. Most teachers live elsewhere, the local ones in their home parishes, the romantic incomers in these self-same parishes. As a consequence of this, teachers have been excluded from these calculations. In general, one can suggest that a significant part of the entire professional group lives in Kirkwall, either by choice or due to the constraints of housing.

Observers in Stromness claim that Kirkwall remains as highly stratified now as it was in the nineteenth century. Thus:

"Kirkwall is a town of ceremony. It has a very visible establishment."

(Mr. McInnes, Rector of Stromness Academy)

"Kirkwall is a more towny set-up. People there have always kept to their own class."

(Ex-Provost Knight of Stromness)

However, the people of Kirkwall are more doubtful:

"The old order has well and truly passed. Some of the old people remember it, but so much has changed, old occupations have gone and new groups have come in. The old order has somehow faded away."

(Brig. Robertson of S. and J.D. Robertson and Co., Ltd., Kirkwall)

"Well, that sort of thing has gone out of fashion. I can remember folks looking up to the top notchers - the bankers, lawyers, excisemen - but who does that now? Very few."

(A distillery worker, Kirkwall)

How can this divergence of opinion be explained? It may be that it owes a great deal to the ancient rivalry between Stromness and Kirkwall and to the highly-developed prejudices of the people of Stromness. In surveying the scene of present-day Kirkwall, it can be seen that the comments made by the Kirkwall respondents are highly instructive. As the economic history of Kirkwall has shown, whole sections of the old occupational and social hierarchy disappeared in the inter-war years. However, new opportunities arose in the areas of entertainment and luxury consumption<sup>(32)</sup>. Furthermore, the servant class was diminished, as alternative forms of employment and higher wages had their effect on servant and master respectively. Many small merchants and retailers closed down. These changes also meant that fewer apprenticeships were available in the town.

At the same time, it is known that various groups expanded or else emerged for the first time. There was the gradual growth of professional and white-collar employment and an expansion of the town's entrepreneurial class with the availability of more constructional and engineering work. Furthermore, a new group of local managers developed to oversee co-operative ventures,<sup>(33)</sup> trading schemes and chain store businesses. Nor should the arrival of agricultural workers to form a reserve of wage labourers with the town be overlooked.

Even so, there were elements of continuity:

"People used to say that the old Kirkwall Town Council was the preserve of the old merchant families and I daresay they were right ..... the Town Council also included professional men as well."

(Retired merchant, Kirkwall)

Others are more uncompromising in their opinions:

"The old council (Kirkwall Town Council) was run by the shopkeepers. They fixed prices, and kept Lipton's out of the town."

(Housewife, Kirkwall)

It seems that old merchant families such as the Bains, Gories, Shearers, Fletts and Taites continued to influence the political life of the burgh right up until local government reorganization and the abolition of the Burgh Council. Their influence seems to have been maintained by a mythology which promulgated their right to sit on the council, a mythology which encouraged them to develop the bearing and reputation of wise and upright men in both public and private life. This notion of right and suitability appears to have been underpinned by a social hegemony which intimidated outsiders who might otherwise have wished to sit on the council. A similar hegemony is said to have protected this group's influence over such organizations as the Kirkwall Chamber of Commerce, the Kirkwall Trade Protection Society and some church and voluntary societies.<sup>(34)</sup>

Willingness on the part of the ruling class to share political power is redolent of pragmatism and strategy to the extent

that the observer might think it only a means of pre-empting some more insistent challenge. However, this willingness seems to have arisen from a sense of deference on the part of the ruling merchants born of their respect for an apparently more sophisticated style of life than their own. The involvement of the professional group gave a certain air of prestige to the activities of the council, and both merchants and professionals felt they had derived a degree of general reassurance from the relationship.<sup>(35)</sup>

Inevitably, certain elements of discontinuity began to effect the status of merchants and professionals alike. For one thing, the altered social composition of the town represented a loss of occupational hierarchy and interdependence. The old order in which people were conscious of belonging to one social level rather than to another gave way to a more egalitarian approach to life. The diversification of employment opportunities, the appearance of council housing, the institution of state welfare provision, and an all-round increase in prosperity freed the bulk of the town's population from its traditional reliance on the merchants and professionals for favours and privileges. Furthermore, the more critical and evaluative approach of the socially mobile, the spread of opportunities for higher education, and the egalitarian emphasis in modern British culture all played their part in undermining the old system of stratification.<sup>(36)</sup>

Even so, the old merchant families maintained their influence over the Burgh Council, but their right to this position was more than ever open to public scrutiny. As for the professional group, they were seen as less elevated. Indeed, new arrivals to this group were only extended a degree of respect after they had proved their merit. That is to say, the new man had to negotiate his way into local life, although this remained comparatively easy.

Further:

"When I arrived in Kirkwall in 1958, people were very curious about my reactions to the place. They wanted to know what I felt about them, and I suppose they wanted to know about me. In those days there were

very few other new people, and somehow one had to pull one's own weight."

(A retired schoolmaster)

The established dynasties of lawyers, doctors, clergymen and the like contrived to call upon the prestige of their inherited past. Elsewhere, the image of the professional, the educated man, the southerner and the well-to-do continued to exercise some hold on the popular imagination. Even so, what was demanded of the newcomer was also required of the group as a whole. Thus, the focus of popular judgements concerning the essential worth of this or that "top-notch" or of the whole professional group came to rest on the question of public service. Indeed this criterion is often invoked by local commentators in comparisons between the former generation of professional incomers and the more romantically-inclined element of today's incomer population:

"For as long as I can remember, say from the 1930's until the late 1960's or so, the only incomers to come here, the ministers, bankers, Customs and Excise people, were incomers with a purpose. They came to live and work here. They did not want to "get away from it all", as so many of today's incomers do. On the contrary, many of them had no desire to come here at all! They made a marked contribution to local life, and they were respected for it."

*(Member of the established professional group, Kirkwall)*

The professional élite continued to be seen as a reservoir of leadership. Native diffidence<sup>(37)</sup> and the uninterrupted deference of the merchant families ensured this state of affairs. However, such leadership had ceased to be an automatic right. Rather, it had been transformed into a testing ground. Here success was measured in terms of proficiency and in a lack of social pretence. This latter quality had become of considerable significance with the growing egalitarianism of the times. In this way, the Burgh Council and, in time, the voluntary associations of the town, became the means whereby those of professional standing gained local respect.

Many members of the professional élite found the bargain less than onerous. For one thing, tours of duty involving doctors and schoolmasters moving around in the more remote islands of the Orkneys had, in any case, created a tradition of local service amongst

these individuals.<sup>(38)</sup> For another, it was not unheard of for professional men to marry into native society, adding a further support to their sense of civic duty.

Nowadays, whilst acknowledging the continued existence of this ideal of participation amongst the older and more established reaches of Kirkwall's professional population, it must be acknowledged that there is a different outlook on the part of the professional immigrants. This is especially true of the large number of men and women who came to Orkney at the time of the local government reorganization. Together, these individuals make up a self-contained group within the life of the burgh. This in turn has attracted many of the surveyors and construction experts who arrived in the town in the wake of North Sea oil, as well as recent newcomers to the more established sections of local employment such as the law, banking, accountancy and teaching. However, some of these occupations still yield recruits to the traditional ethos of community service, with others belonging to the population of romantically-minded incomers. The self-absorbed nature of many new professional incomers has attracted criticism:

"The new middle class incomer to Kirkwall is more insidious than some of the white settlers on the isles. They have their own organizations - the Swimming Club and the Housewives' Register are outstanding examples. They are intent on re-creating urban middle class Scotland in Kirkwall. The town is becoming a Scottish town with council housing estates that lack amenities and with private housing estates."

(anon.)

As we know, most of these incomers, with some notable exceptions, are similar to their predecessors in having arrived in Orkney in order to take up employment. However, they arrived in considerable numbers, a great many young families brought together in the housing developments which have become part of the Orkney Islands Council's planning strategy to make best use of existing domestic services within the town.<sup>(39)</sup>

These circumstances have had certain consequences. For one thing, the newcomers rely upon each other as a source of friendship. In particular, links have grown up between colleagues, neighbours and other newcomers with young families. More often than not, any given friendship encompasses each of the three qualities. Furthermore, the professional newcomers do not feel themselves to be under any social obligation to take part in any local voluntary organizations:

"A lot of people do not have much time to do things. They are too busy concentrating on getting here, building a home, starting a new job, looking after a young family."

(Mr. Mowat, teacher, Kirkwall Grammar School)

Such pursuits as they do follow are either of their own creation or else they are peculiarly suited to their own youthfulness. In many respects, the newcomers divide themselves off from the more established interests of their older colleagues and from the popular concerns of local people. As a recent study suggests:<sup>(40)</sup>

"..... the present-day patterns of (leisure time) activities do not themselves stem directly from the fabric of traditional Orkney society but are the result of more-recently developing interests and activities that reflect the character of those who now live and work in these larger towns (Kirkwall and Stromness, the former especially)."

Thus in the field of sport, squash, rigger, swimming and wind-surfing have become the province of recent incomers.<sup>(41)</sup> Furthermore, certain political parties, the Labour Party and the Scottish National Party, have both have both been regenerated by the involvement of professional incomers of one kind or another, these particular political parties appealing to the younger age group of today's new arrivals. Elsewhere, a number of voluntary and charitable organizations have been set up by some enthusiasts, often as the continuation of an existing personal interest. These organizations have struck root amongst the newcomers as old familiars from their previous lives. Thus the Housewives' Register, Oxfam and the Save The Children Fund flourish:

"..... in fact organizations that you would find anywhere else. These people do not seem to be

interested in Orkney as Orkney."

(Traditional incomer St. Ola) (42)

It must be pointed out that Kirkwall's recent professional incomers do demonstrate a slight involvement with organizations dominated by both the traditional professional group of Kirkwall and the County Set; for example, The Arts Club, the Heritage Society and the St. Magnus Festival Trust. However, in terms of the amount of leisure time which the new professional incomers feel that they have available, together with their own preferences and a vague sense of the exclusive nature of these established organizations, it can be said that they see no incentive for taking part in the activities of those who are often their elders and who may very well enjoy greater professional status. The younger newcomers also display a certain enthusiasm for more general interests such as church membership but even there commitment to the social aspects is limited. (43)

This dichotomy between youth and age must always have been present, but generally the numbers of "young men" was small enough to have little effect. However, with the influx of considerably larger numbers of such younger men, they have become a group on their own, aided no doubt by their view of the traditional group as somewhat patrician. In this respect it might be noted that many incomers fill a range of esoteric occupations of relatively recent origin ranging from community development to town planning. These disciplines lack much of the prestige of the older professions, and they are often associated with people from non-professional backgrounds. In this way, the isolation of the professional incomers might simply reflect their own sense of personal ambiguity concerning their place in the world. It is also clear that some new recruits to the older professions such as the law, banking, teaching and so forth are attracted to this alternative group within the life of the burgh. Here the individuals concerned come from the same sort of backgrounds as the occupants of the newer disciplines. Thus they are inclined to join their fellow meritocrats as a means of assuaging their sense of anomaly.

For its part, the traditional élite continues to recruit from older semi-retired professional incomers and returned expatriates, individuals whose working lives date from the days of more exclusive recruitment to the professions. It also draws new members from the professional families of the burgh, and from those young incomers to the older professions with traditional middle class backgrounds. However, its ability to absorb professional incomers from less prestigious milieux has now been reduced. In part, this is a consequence of the number of professional incomers entering burgh society, but it is also the result of the existence of an alternative social pole in the form of the autonomous group of new meritocrats.

Having identified the new professional group's autonomy within the society of Kirkwall, it might be asked if the members of the group find this autonomy at all stressful.<sup>(44)</sup> There might be less inclination to raise the issue of autonomy and integration in a conventional British mainland urban area where examples of social insularity are taken for granted. However, Kirkwall, with its traditions of social participation, evokes the romantic notion of "community", and from this perspective social insularity must be explained. Significantly, the recent incomers to Kirkwall display the more robust attitude associated with the former point of view. For them, Kirkwall is:

"..... the place where I live and where I do my job. My friends are here, it's a pleasant town. Alright, so I don't know everyone, but so what? Our lives are not very special, you know. Life here has its exotic moments, but is it so very different?"

(Civil Engineer, Kirkwall)

Indeed, most recent professional incomers regard their local experiences as, on the whole, mundane and uncontroversial. Their encounters with local people in the guise of shopkeepers, fellow members of voluntary organizations and political parties, clients, colleagues and neighbours are structured in a fairly amiable and agreeable way. Similarly, their dealings with the established reaches of professional life are pleasant, based on a great many common understandings and experiences. In addition, the members of the traditional professional group are inclined to portray a

highly sympathetic view of local life to the newcomers, so giving them a vicarious insight into local conditions as a background against which to pursue their own ambitions.<sup>(45)</sup>

Even so, there are tensions between the new professional incomers and the rest of the population, both in the burgh and throughout the islands. In Kirkwall, there is a degree of resentment over their failure to participate in local activities. More generally there are complaints about their approach to their jobs. In particular, the newcomers are wedded to the idea of professional expertise. Amongst other things, this means that they are less inclined to modify the rules and guidelines governing their work. This has been most evident within the sphere of local government. Many local people now complain about what is seen as the bureaucratization of Orkney Islands Council. Particular resentment is shown towards the increasing implementation of statutory obligations which were allowed to languish in the days of the old authority structure. Nowadays, planning controls, building standards, urban conservation schemes and urban traffic regulations have been instituted, provoking a great deal of local unrest, directed for the most part at the Council's new officials, who are so closely identified with these measures. Much of this local ill-feeling has been exacerbated by the new officials' mode of handling public inquiries and personal representations. Their formality in their use of secretaries, appointments, and waiting rooms contrasts with the more approachable nature of those local government officials of longer standing.

All of this represents a source of resentment for the old merchant families and the traditional professionals, given the curtailment of their political power since local government reorganization.<sup>(46)</sup> The following comments are by no means unusual:

"..... the officials do not seem to be very competent and many of them are high-handed."

"..... local government officials are underhand and carpet-bagging. They are aware of their reputation and stick to their own circles."

More specifically, many established incomers are cynical about what they see as the inflexibility and impersonality of the new men.

Once more, this is especially true of local government circles:

"We have to bend the rules up here to fit in with local conditions... Some of the newer officials are less inclined to bend the rules, but we are sometimes able to persuade them."

Associated with this is a feeling that many newcomers are inclined to apply British models of society and of action irrespective of local conditions. Some examples of this have already been considered in the area of local government physical planning. Further complaints are made in the instance of social work, where new social workers are said not to understand local tolerance for poor standards of living, especially amongst the old. In addition, the identification of so-called problem groups amongst the young and amongst housewives by community development officers has left other experts bewildered.<sup>(47)</sup> Overall, there is a feeling that many newcomers, whether local government officials or not, are excessively punctilious in their general conduct of business.

In essence, then, the established professional group and the incomers differ in their outlook. The established professionals operate within an ethos of local duty and service. In contrast, the new men are concerned with serving their professions. They are intent on proving their professional competence to themselves and to those other newcomers whom they regard as ideal colleagues in contradistinction to the more established professionals, whom they sometimes dismiss as jaded and out of touch. The new professional incomers are concerned with their careers and with making a reputation for themselves. Furthermore, it has to be acknowledged that age is again a factor with many of the newcomers, since the emphasis in their training has been towards the more bureaucratic and centralized approach of most modern institutions.

Generally speaking, the fact that many new professional incomers pursue relatively esoteric disciplines has led to a questioning of the numbers of them arriving to take up positions of influence within the life of the islands. For the most part, local opinion is unaware of the technical requirements of these occupations and of the necessary training which usually lies behind them. In this way, it is commonly-held belief that these positions might just as easily

be filled by Orcadians.<sup>(48)</sup> Moreover, much of this sense of local disenchantment has become allied with the antagonism generated throughout Orkney by middle class English incomers in search of some rural idyll on the outer isles and in the more remote parts of the Mainland. Even in Kirkwall it is felt that:

"..... the people who in the past would have been accepted here have been caught up in all of this. Some of the resentment has rubbed off on them."

(Mr. Eunson, Convener of O.I.C. since 1973, and Merchant)

Thus it is evident that the traditional professionals of Kirkwall enjoy a remarkably close relationship with the people of the town, having become involved in the egalitarian atmosphere of local life. This state of affairs does not exist in the case of the new professional incomers, and here arises another very important component in the make-up of these people. Their predilection for southern models of perception and action in their work has already been discussed, and it is clear that a similar bias exists within their wider view of the social order. In particular, the new professional incomer has preserved his own vision of social stratification, focused on the idea of rivalry and opposition between the different social classes.

Admittedly, many new professional incomers have accepted the notion of Orcadian equality as a sort of ideal, in so far as it serves to account for Orkney's farming community. In other words, the concept of equality is in keeping with the new professional incomers' sentimental beliefs concerning country life. However, such considerations do not operate in the case of Kirkwall. On the contrary, the town presents an array of conceptual triggers which have activated the incomers' ideology of class relations. The most important of these triggers is council housing.<sup>(49)</sup> Following on from this, many new professional incomers regard the inhabitants of Kirkwall's council housing estates as proletarians. As one incomer put it:

"There are growing divisions within Kirkwall. There is a definite urban feel to the town. You have it all - the insularity of the town's young people, vandalism, problem families, everything. We have

mini-Drumchapels growing up around us."

This sort of outlook provides a background to the professional activities of many of the newcomers in their dealings with townspeople and it has been consolidated by the attitudes and public pronouncements of policemen drawn from other parts of Scotland. Significantly, some of the attitudes of the new professional incomers have been taken up by more established members of the Orkney scene, as the following quotations demonstrate:

"I am afraid our council house building in places such as Kirkwall has led to the creation of a proletariat. At present they continue to identify with their relations in the rural areas and in other parts of the town, but how long this will go on is anyone's guess."

(An Orkney Islands Councillor)

"Kirkwall is becoming more urban, with all the disadvantages that brings. A definite Glaswegian style of speech is creeping into the town, and the housing estates seem full of every kind of social problem."

(A local commentator)

However, the established commentators who have adopted this point of view rarely live in Kirkwall, and for the most part they display little or no commitment to burgh society. In contrast, the old professional group within the town is inclined to dismiss any theory of the formation of a proletariat. They argue that the town's local authority housing estates do not constitute a uniform social group, containing as they do a number of people who might be described as middle class.<sup>(50)</sup> Furthermore, in the opinion of one senior social worker, these estates do not represent problem areas:

"..... we have had relatively few problems, no more than we would normally expect from that number of people. The real trouble is that many people are determined to create problems ... the local Community Associations, certain local authority departments, some councillors ... the sympathies of the police have changed now that we are part of the Northern Constabulary."

Other people dismiss the claim that sections of the town's population have succumbed to a so-called proletarian mode of speech.

"I cannot detect any change in the speech of young people - least of all any trace of Glaswegian."

(Dr. Peace, Kirkwall)

In any case, the residents of Kirkwall's council housing estates do not think of themselves as a group of resentful and defensive workers. For the most part they are inclined to see their housing estates as pleasant places offering good housing and companionship, and not as ghettos.

Of course, there is a sense in which recent changes within Kirkwall's pattern of social deference might be said to represent the growth of contention between the different social strata of the town. However, as has been suggested, a *modus vivendi* appears to operate in such a way as to eschew the possibility. To what extent the perceptions and opinions of the new professional incomers will contribute to any change in this *modus vivendi* and to the emergence of a self-conscious proletariat, must be left to the witness of time. However, what can be said is that the existence of a concept of class rivalry in the minds of the newcomers is at one and the same time an outcome and a cause of their own social autonomy. Since their involvement with the local population is so very limited, they view it in terms of social rivalry, which in turn reassures them of the unexceptional nature of local life. If nothing else, this means that any criticism of their position in local society may be discounted as class antagonism, rather than as the outcome of their own reluctance to accept local sensitivities. This in turn helps to maintain the integrity of their concern with professional expertise.

The newcomers are immune from criticism in other respects. For one thing, many traditional incomers are reluctant to sacrifice working relationships simply because of occasional instances of misunderstanding. Instead they adopt a diplomatic pose which sometimes has the appearance of duplicity, as the following quotation suggests:

"Take the officials of the O.I.C. as an example. They are the dregs, the people who were unable to find jobs elsewhere. Mind you, I do play golf with some of them."

(A member of the established professional group)

Similarly, local people prefer to avoid conflict, especially with southerners in positions of authority, for fear of losing face. Indeed, despite their recent origins, the new professional incomers are regarded as authoritative, the official always knowing best. In this way, the professional newcomers bathe in some of the reflected glory of their predecessors and of their more traditional colleagues. This local resentment is not expressed that openly:

"Well, there are many things we may not like, but if the officials say it is to be, it is to be. What can you do? They are the powers that be."

(Small farmer, Deerness)

More generally, the newcomers do not know and are not known by Orcadians. In this way, many new professional incomers may find it easy to discount local criticism, since the social weight of the critic is, in many instances, irrelevant to the newcomers. Furthermore, criticism can be countered by the professional standards and precepts of the newly-arrived officials. On balance, the following comment might be said to represent incomer opinion in this respect:

"Some people are critical of recent developments in the field of local government, but their criticisms are ill-judged. It is true that lots of people have come in from outside to take up important jobs, but there are no Orcadians to do these jobs. It does get through to you from time to time, but most people understand that you have a job to do, and that it must be done. Anyway, most people are friendly and co-operative."

(Local government employee, Kirkwall)

## S U M M A R Y

Kirkwall's old professional circle operates as an integral part of the society of the burgh, occupying a position of some note within it. In recent years, a new group of professional men and

women has come on to the scene. These people are concerned with their own professional expertise, regarding local society as no more than the object of their occupational proficiency. Thus they believe that they have a right to make pronouncements about local life. However, they are inclined to view the general life of the burgh as somewhat antagonistic, composed of a critical proletariat and the archaic occupants of the more traditional professions. For their part, the newcomers seek their own company as a means of achieving respite from the criticisms of native commentators. From a local point of view, the most contentious members of the new group are local government officials, whose work has implications for the lives of most people in the islands. Notwithstanding this, the day-to-day administrative authority of these officials is accepted locally. However, the right of the new professional group as a whole to determine local policy and in criticising local life is resented, since these people have failed to prove their merit in the public-spirited style of the traditional professionals.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE ROMANTIC INCOMERS : NODES AND NETWORKS

The new professional incomers of Kirkwall have their counterparts in the rural districts of the Mainland of Orkney. However, this rural-dwelling population is only one of the many groups of outsiders now occupying parts of the rural hinterland.

The study of such groups raises a particular problem from the observer's point of view. Although a number of field studies were made of incomers living in particular areas, it would be tedious and repetitive to report each of the studies in full. In addition, this procedure would exclude a great deal of interesting information about the incomers which was accumulated in a less systematic fashion. The solution to these difficulties is to offer a free-ranging analysis of the incomer population of the Mainland as a whole, with what follows standing as a backcloth to the activities of certain incomers within the area of conservationism. In any case, the whole question of incomers in Orkney is recognized by Orcadians and incomers alike as being of common interest throughout the islands.

A further difficulty in approaching this whole topic is presented by the inadequacy of Orkney's official immigration statistics. Such statistics do not, and indeed cannot, offer any real indication of the motives of the migrants involved. Furthermore, they are weak in indicating the distribution of incomers within Orkney. It may be that the most satisfactory approach here is to consider specific types of incomer, giving some indication of their numbers and distribution based on local estimates and on the observations of fieldwork.

Those incomers living outside Kirkwall and its environs who constitute part of the new professional group may be regarded as highly career-minded. They are to be found in the East Mainland district as a whole, in the more accessible parts of the West Mainland parishes and in Burray and parts of South Ronaldsay. In other words, they are to be found within easy commuting distance of Kirkwall. Their numbers are small, between 20 and 25 households at the most. A concentration of this group exists within the parish

of Deerness, involving six individuals and their families.<sup>(1)</sup>

These individuals have settled in Orkney for pragmatic reasons associated with employment. Their choice of a rural area in which to live is often associated with considerations of cheaper property or of finding the right house.<sup>(2)</sup> Even so, one cannot discount an element of sentimental feeling about the countryside as a factor in their rural position.<sup>(3)</sup> Thus it is common to find comments such as this:

"Coming to Orkney was a bit of a mixed decision from the word go. My job was an important consideration. Coming here meant promotion and I was keen to take it up. At the same time, we had always wanted to live in the country. I suppose it is something everyone wants to do and so, all in all, Orkney seemed an ideal place"

(Local Government Officer)

and further:

"When we first came up here we spent a lot of time looking for a house before finding this place. We liked it and we liked the fact that it was in the country but not too far from Kirkwall. We didn't want to be too remote from the town."

(Dept. of Agriculture employee)

Many of these people regard their adopted areas as no more than picturesque landscapes surrounding their houses, and the natives as so much local colour. In practice, many of their social links are with Kirkwall or with other parts of the Mainland. Amongst their closest contacts are incomer and native-born colleagues living in the same neighbourhood, or else other compatible people encountered through their membership of Kirkwall-based voluntary associations. They are concerned with administering Orkney in an objective manner in the light of the professional standards which they brought with them and they are confident in their right to do this as part of the new hegemony which has grown up in the capital of the islands.

However, it must also be recognized that many people arrive in Orkney less intent on pursuing a career than improving the quality of their lives by settling in a rural or village environment. Ironically, it has been possible to identify a tiny group of such people living in Kirkwall. These people have a somewhat romantic perspective on life. Their choice of Kirkwall as a place of residence was more or less forced on many of them by personal circumstances, by the exigencies of the local housing market and by a dislike of the prospect of commuting to work in Kirkwall. Many of them see rural living as an ideal, and would prefer to live in the country. As it is, they tend to occupy the older and more picturesque quarters of the town, shunning Kirkwall's new private housing estates. Thus:

"The real reason for coming here was to escape the hustle and bustle of city life, to get away from the madding crowd. Ideally, we would have liked to have lived somewhere in the country, but this house came up and I didn't like the idea of travelling in to town every day, that was something I wanted to leave behind."

(A schoolteacher, Kirkwall)

These people have links with the new professional elite, but some of their most significant links, quite often built around conservationism, exist with incomers living in the rural hinterland of the Mainland, or across the Barriers (or causeways) in Burray or South Ronaldsay. These areas are noted for their populations of English romantic incomers.

The motivation of this wider group is much the same as that of its urban peers. In deciding to come to Orkney, the members of the wider romantic group were concerned to find a rural environment to act as a setting for their own regeneration as individuals, thrusting off the chains of urban sophistication. This is their motivation. Other priorities, such as buying a house, and making a living, followed in that order. Indeed, finding a job was low on their list of objectives.<sup>(4)</sup> Some applied in advance for local jobs as a means of achieving their desire for a rural home, whilst others found some sort of livelihood on arriving.

This group has a heterogenous appearance. Its occupations are diverse. Many are involved with arts and crafts work, others run

hotels, restaurants and shops, some have their own businesses in the form of road haulage, building and architectural firms, whilst a large number participate in the more conventional reaches of the local employment structure. Thus a number of romantic incomers are to be found in teaching, with others employed in local government, building contracting, short-term oil-related activities and agriculture. In addition, a number of romantic incomers have taken to farming but, as will be seen from our discussion of the recent economic history of the county, this element of incomer activity is on the decline.

In general terms, it is possible to characterize this group as middle class. Indeed, many of its members might still be described in this way, despite the manual nature of their local occupations. However, the use of this middle class label raises a number of issues. For one thing, it implies a somewhat broad category, encompassing individuals from traditional professional and commercial families, as well as professional men and women from other backgrounds. In a sense, the analysis has returned to those considerations first raised in the context of burgh society. Notwithstanding, it may be that this broad usage is adequate in the case of the romantic incomers. After all, the different strands of this group are united in their commitment to the ideology of romanticism. Indeed, it is tempting to argue that these people are middle class because of this commitment. Here, education, the lowest common denominator of middle class life, is the basis of this group's philosophical speculations as well as of their efforts to organize the political advance of their ideas. Certainly, there are uneducated manual workers amongst Orkney's population of romantics, but their numbers are limited. In any case, it might be argued that their incomer status has encouraged them into the middle class fold. Many working class individuals find it easier to adopt the interests of their fellow incomers, especially where these have a romantic emphasis.

Returning to a more mundane note, the distribution of this group throughout the Mainland of Orkney reflects its romantic proclivities. Its members are to be discovered in the more remote spots where picturesque scenery is combined with a supply of small farms and redundant rural properties. In particular, St. Margaret's

Hope, South Ronaldsay, Burray,<sup>(5)</sup> and the more dramatic coastal areas are favoured. However, it must be pointed out that the incomers' choice of these places is not always practical in the light of their subsequent economic activities. Other romantic incomers, those in the hotel business and those who acquired a local job before arriving in the islands, are found close to the main lines of communication.

At a conservative estimate,<sup>(6)</sup> there are about 10 incomer households in St. Margaret's Hope, 20 in South Ronaldsay, with 12 or so in Burray, and about 100 in the remoter areas of the Mainland.

These people share a common rationale:

"I hated the demands of town life. There was never any time to think. In the country you can plan your own life, you have time to think for yourself. You're not crowded in, you're not carried along by the pressures. There's never any need to pretend to be something you're not, to make the correct impression."

(Mrs. Irvine, Stenness)

"We wanted to live a private life, producing our own work. Our main concern was to leave the urban rat race, the smoke and the soot."

(Artist, Puldrite, Rendall)

"I had the chance of teaching here for a year ... leaving the rat race of London behind. I can still remember those crisp, clear mornings during my first winter here. It was so exhilarating to look out over Scapa Flow..... The countryside represents sanity."

(Mrs. Flint, schoolteacher and local conservationist, Orphir)

It is possible to argue that this generally-expressed rationale is informed by the rural romanticism of West European culture; That is to say:

"It is noted in the Arcadian ideal of the identity between nature and civilization, but its pre-condition is, above all, a latent conflict between town and country and an associated critique of contemporary institutions and culture."<sup>(7)</sup>

\* However, see the map for a more detailed analysis of the distribution of romantic incomers, based on Small Area Statistics taken from the 1981 census. Although the map provides an up-to-date set of figures, the picture it paints remains substantially the same as the one uncovered during fieldwork in 1977 - 78.

The romantic incomers' choice of Orkney was, in many instances, somewhat fortuitous, their aim being to move to any rural area.<sup>(8)</sup> Even so, certain factors must be acknowledged. Many people started off looking for a rural home with romantic notions concerning Scotland and the Scottish islands.<sup>(9)</sup> Others first looked to Orkney because of pleasant summer-time holiday memories either of Orkney or of the Highlands and islands of Scotland in general, whilst others again had friends, relations or local contacts already living on the islands of Orkney.

Nor should it be forgotten that certain conditions operated to facilitate this flow of migrants into Orkney, in particular the structure of local farming, with owner-occupancy and rural depopulation as two of its outstanding features. Under these circumstances, incomers found it relatively easy and comparatively cheap, in the first instance, to purchase island properties.<sup>(10)</sup> This purchase of property was in itself simplified by the existence of southern estate agents specialising in croft houses, country cottages and the like. Nor should the part played by newspaper reports and by television and radio broadcasts in identifying Orkney as a suitably romantic retreat for disenchanted urbanites be overlooked.<sup>(11)</sup>

In dealing with incomers on the Mainland and the (southern) attached isles, it is tempting to ask whether or not the people are less romantic than those incomers living on the outer islands. Furthermore, it might also be of some interest to consider to what extent those romantics who have chosen conventional jobs or who have decided to practise their own skills locally are less idealistic than those who have, for example, taken up land work.

Of course, the concept of judging levels of romanticism is fraught with problems, since romanticism is such a subjective notion. The fortuitous and non-rational aspect of much incomer arrival and settlement must be borne in mind. This alone suggests that no distinction can be drawn between the incomers of the more remote north isles and those of the Mainland and south isles, on the basis of their romantic commitment. (A discussion of the differences between the situations of incomers on the islands and on the Mainland appears

later in this chapter.) As for the matter of occupation, and the suggestion that landwork has a greater "moral" value than other forms of employment, it is perhaps best to return to a stricter definition of romantic thought. Rural romanticism in its traditional sense is concerned with a detached appreciation of rural life, rather than with involvement in it. Those people who have taken up agriculture seem to be part of a modern development associated with a concern for natural resources and self-sufficiency.<sup>(12)</sup> In this sense, the non-agriculturists amongst Orkney's rural incomers might well be said to be within the mainstream of rural romanticism.

In attempting to establish the degree of integration between the romantic incomers and their rural neighbours, there is the danger of trespassing on difficult ground. Judgements about what qualifies as integration must always be subjective and they are bound to be contentious. To an extent, the notion of integration has developed hand-in-hand with a growing concern for the quality of life open to individuals displaced and re-located as a consequence of post-war planning decisions.<sup>(13)</sup> Indeed, the engineering of integration may even be said to have a political purpose, as a means of assuaging the critics of such planning schemes. The ideal quality inherent in the concept of integration becomes especially strong when applied to the study of migrants into rural areas. Here, social unity achieves the status of an imperative. Thus even the most sophisticated commentator may show an undue haste in trying to prove that rural solidarity is ever triumphant.<sup>(14)</sup> Others cast doubt on this notion.<sup>(15)</sup> Rather, it might be better to display a degree of cynicism about rural unity.<sup>(16)</sup> Such a critical point of view should encompass the relationship between locals and incomers, and it should also go on to question the strength of the links between local people and between individuals of the incomer population. Even so, the observer must always be ready to describe what the incomers and their hosts feel about one another. It may be that this offers the best means of abandoning misleading ideals concerning rural solidarity.

Before undertaking this descriptive task, it is useful to make one or two general points giving some indication of why the incomers of Orkney have a particular significance for the local population of the rural areas of the Mainland. In the first instance, it

is important to draw a distinction between rural and urban experiences of self-identity. In the country, where the population is quite often stable and inter-connected, everyone within a relevant area is part of ego's social world and to that extent they are important to ego's self-identity. This is different from town life, where a changing, varied and extensive population is viewed by ego in terms of groups of significant individuals, and it is these people who are significant to ego's view of self. From the townsman's point of view, it is not necessary either to know or to be known by the entire urban population.<sup>(17)</sup> In consequence, when the romantic incomers of Orkney first arrived in their adopted parishes and districts in the late 1960's, they were of greater interest to the native populations of these places than the natives were to them, a situation which lingers on even now.<sup>(18)</sup>

The significance for those small and remote populations attempting to keep up with modern developments of the influx of urban outsiders must also be acknowledged. Such considerations are not confined to Orkney alone. It has been written of one of the islands off the west coast of Ireland that:

"... outsiders fulfil a far deeper need in that most of them express admiration for the island and its inhabitants..... they are asked repetitively what it was that pleased them... Reflected here are the profound feelings of inferiority of the folk and their need for constant reassurance of their worth."<sup>(19)</sup>

During the early years of romantic immigration, the same need seems to have been felt strongly by the native community of Orkney and, this need continues to have some force today.

When the first romantic incomers reached Orkney, local hopes were raised high. It was believed that the incomers would become part of the local social world in each of their adopted locations and that they would represent new blood for failing communities. However, disillusionment set in. For one thing, the incomers caused land and property prices to spiral upwards. In some areas of the West Mainland there was competition for housing between incomers and locals. In many areas, the would-be farmers amongst the early influx of outsiders had a tendency to become involved in misunderstandings and quarrels over farming techniques. Not that many of these people

remained in Orkney for long, and there was, in any event, a considerable turnover in the romantic incomer population as a whole.

All of this generated a considerable degree of antagonism locally. On arriving, the incomers had been taken seriously by the native population and their opinions were treated with the sort of respect normally accorded to the pronouncements of neighbours and local residents within established rural societies. In addition, the newcomers were a disappointment as a source of self-assurance for Orcadians, their complaints producing a local sense of betrayal and self-doubt. Today, much of the friction of this earlier period remains:

"The incomers have been responsible for pushing up land prices and for keeping young Orcadians out of farming. There used to be some of them farming in Deerness but they were know-all and their farming was bad. The one that had Quoyslanks went down and he had to sell his place. That place was sold in lots. It was a damned shame. Some young couple might have had that place. I had always known Quoyslanks, some relations of mine had it. It is hard to see something like that disappear, destroyed by an English speculator."

(Small farmer , Deerness)

This early period of immigration produced other sources of friction, particularly when incomers protested against one sort of local development or another. The advent of oil, within a few years of the influx of incomers, was especially contentious:

"For a period, the newspapers seemed to be full of letters from residents of a few years' standing complaining about this and that. I remember endless letters about oil, threatening us all with one sort of disaster or another."

(local politician , Stromness)

On occasions, incomer and local opinion coincided, but even so there was a feeling that incomers were too ready to protest, that their right to comment on local life had not yet been earned, and that such criticism was, in the end, directed at local society itself.

Such considerations remain in force:

"A lot of ill-feeling is stirred up by some incomers who write letters to The Orcadian. This simply adds to the bad reputation of the English."

(Sixth-year pupil, Kirkwall Grammar School)

Today, many incomers have a penchant for complaining about things which have been accepted locally for years. For example, school transport provision, educational standards and medical provision are all favourite targets:

"The incomers want an urban service in a rural setting and this is just impossible to achieve. Local people realise it and accept it, but it is more difficult to persuade a newcomer."

(Health Board official, Kirkwall)

Admittedly, many incomer complaints are justified, but the act of complaining in a voluble and demonstrative way is not valued within a society devoted to the gradual and harmonious resolution of problems or else to outright fatalism and acceptance. (20)

Out of all of this, a definite stereotype of the incomer has emerged. Like other stereotypes formulated between incomers and locals, such as that identified by Elias and Scotson (1965)

"The image of 'outsiders' ... tends to be modelled on 'the minority of the worst'; it inclines towards denigration."

(ibid., p. 7)

In the case of Orkney, it is of the domineering, supercilious and scheming southern Englishman. This does not mean that all incomers are domineering, supercilious and scheming, or indeed southern English. It must be admitted, however, that the English predominate numerically within the romantic incomer category. It may be that the English have a more bucolic view of rural life than, say, the Scots or the Welsh, although there are Scotsmen and Welshmen amongst the rural romantics. However, this can lead into the myths surrounding the notion of national temperament and it would be advisable to seek a more mundane explanation for the English majority amongst the incomers. For one thing, it might be a matter of the relative population sizes

of the different parts of the United Kingdom and for another it is possible to argue that romantically-inclined Scots would probably choose to settle elsewhere because of their local knowledge and perhaps to be within easy reach of the Lowland belt, the greatest concentration of employment, services and population within Scotland. This sort of compromise solution may not be available to the English in the south, given the saturated condition of commuter villages near the major centres of English urban population.

Similarly, it can be said that the English are generally more polemical in their approach to life and it is this that challenges Orcadian pride and susceptibilities, leading to the creation of a negative stereotype. Needless to say, having been formulated, this stereotype now has something of a self-fulfilling action, focusing the observer's attention on the English, perhaps to the extent of exaggerating their interference in local affairs.<sup>(21)</sup> This stereotype is strengthened by reports on the iniquities of the incomers living on the outer islands, these island dwellers being seen as the quintessential type of meddling incomer.

The existence of this stereotype places the English incomer at a disadvantage. Of course, other incomers benefit under these conditions, but even so the stereotype provides a yardstick against which the non-English incomer may be judged. In the course of interaction, the components of the stereotype may be adapted to include him too. After all, as Byron and Macfarlane (1981) argue, any given stereotype is not only cumulative but malleable:

"..... stereotypes, are a part of the social knowledge of the people who hold them, knowledge that is invoked, revised or reinforced in every situation where the social identity of 'incomer' or 'local' comes to the surface of everyday experience and behaviour."

(ibid., p. 40)

Orcadians do hold certain opinions concerning the division between acceptable and unacceptable incomers:-

"If the incomers are friendly, it makes no difference where they come from."

(Mr. Flett, Barony)

"Incomers who take part in local life are accepted."

(Sixth-year pupil, Kirkwall Grammar School)

"The farming community welcomes good-doers, those that stick in and make a success of things, who can take advice and who will listen to it."

(Mr. Bremner, large farmer and leading member of Orkney N. F. U.; St.Ola)

All of this has a certain ideal quality, it is what is supposed to happen. In practice, very few incomers are involved in the mundane aspects of parish life. If anything, the prevailing local attitude towards incomers, English and non-English alike, is one of bemusement. There is little social contact between the locals and the romantic incomers, and no prospect of the locals ever understanding why these romantics have come to Orkney to live. Fantasies about the moral superiority of rural life sound decidedly hollow amidst a population of Orcadians intent on progress and on catching up with the south in terms of style of life, consumption and so forth. In a sense, the locals are receiving the wrong "message" from the incomers. The locals would prefer to hear about how modern Orkney has become, rather than about the immemorial nature of local life and the attractions of the countryside.

As Newby (1979), has sought to show for East Anglia:

"The agricultural population has no monopoly in authentic living, expounds no homespun atavistic philosophy of life and is quite oblivious to the pastoral image imposed upon it."

(ibid., p. 23)

Condry (1981) also suggests that:

"... it can prove uncomfortable to find people who live in the Western Isles who would like more industry."

(ibid., p. 60)

In Orkney, the authenticity of the incomers' protestations is in doubt. As one local commentator has written: (22)

"A number of them (the incomers) have apparently come to 'get away from it all', although what they are trying to get away from is not always too clear. One man told me it was the 'rush and traffic' he couldn't stand in the

south, but he was taken aback when he discovered that Orkney had no colour television at that time (1973), and that the only cinema was in Kirkwall..... But what seems to happen is that, by forming the same sort of societies and social groups as in the suburban south that they have left behind them, they are simply bringing it all here, rather than getting away from it."

Others are equally doubtful:

"... people say that they've come to Orkney to escape the rat race but we find it difficult to understand because we know nothing about the rat race."

(Housewife, Deerness)

"I cannot understand why the incomers come here. My neighbours came from Manchester for the peace and quiet of the country but as soon as they get home from work they close their curtains and watch television. Are they taking any advantage of living in the country?"

(Town worker, Deerness)

Within this range of local opinion, lie self-doubt and cynicism about the value of Orcadian life:

"I don't know why they come here and leave all the amenities of the south behind them."

(Farmer, Deerness)

"I'm always surprised when southerners claim to like Orkney because there is nothing here."

(Town worker, Deerness)

"It's alright if you are brought up to it, but I'm damned if I know why any outsider should want to live here."

(Farmer, Sandwick)

"I don't suppose they (a young incomer couple) will stay. They say they came here to get away from city life but there is nothing to keep them here."

(Farmer's wife, Deerness)

If anything, the local population gives more credence to any practical reasons which the romantic incomers give for coming to Orkney, such as the violence of their former urban neighbourhoods, or the desire to be near a relation and so forth. Any incomer who can claim to have moved

north for employment is especially favoured, but this does not mean that the locals draw any clear line between pragmatic careerists and the romantically-inclined. Of course, it is appreciated if an incomer has a job:

"There is some resentment in parts of Orkney if incomers are unemployed. Luckily most of the incomers in Evie have jobs... The outer isles folk are more resentful, they tend to be more parochial. A lot of incomers have settled in the islands with false expectations and they find themselves without jobs. The incomers on the Mainland can get jobs."

*(Large farmer and local politician)*

The lack of social contact already mentioned exacerbates the failure of local people to distinguish between different types of incomer motivation. Such a state of affairs is made no easier by the fact that many romantic incomers have jobs and that many career-minded incomers with jobs are inclined to sentimentalise about rural life in the hope of attracting local approval. Furthermore, the apparently simple nature of some of the occupations pursued by incomers, for example, community development, agricultural advisory work and so forth, leads to a local feeling that these things might be quite as well done by local people. Nor should it be forgotten that, in the rural areas at any rate, the romantics tend to form the larger part of the incomer population and that they are the source of a stereotype which all too easily dyes any incomer with the same hue.

There is a certain variation in the extent to which negative opinions about the incomers are advanced:

"The older generation has a sense of respect for the incomers. The middle generation has respect for some of them, but distrusts most of them."

*(Farmer, Deerness)*

It seems to be the case that some older people, amongst them smaller farmers, who are betwixt and between the old and the new in local life, do take some comfort from the incomers' admiration of the traditional. This, however, is highly ambiguous because not only are these older people uncertain of the worth of the incomers, but they are also uncertain of the true worth of traditional life and activities.

As for the younger generations, their antipathy towards the incomers is sharpened by a sense of competition, not only for land and jobs but for the right to be seen as influential members of the community.<sup>(23)</sup>

The incomers, career-minded and romantic alike, have a set of precepts concerning relations with local society. It is said to be important not to be over-assertive, not to be discouraged by local diffidence and not to be offended by the inquisitiveness of Orcadian neighbours. At the same time, it is held to be necessary to make the first move in initiating a friendship with a local person, to be honest and open about one's aims in life and to respect local patterns of work and behaviour.

More often than not such precepts are self-serving, disassociating the speaker from the contentious reputation of the incomers as a whole. In any case, they are more honoured in the breach than in the observance and they stand forlornly against the fact that incomers, whether career-minded or romantic, play a very small part in parish activities.

There are various reasons for this disinterest in native society. The younger age-group of the incomers makes them less responsive to parish hall events and organizations which, for the most part, are in the hands of the older reaches of local society.<sup>(24)</sup> There is a limited degree of interaction at the parish level. Some incomer women belong to the local branches of the Scottish Women's Rural Institute. The S.W.R.I. has a certain ambience which appeals to the sentimental view of the countryside evinced by most rural incomers. Furthermore, it relies on the compatibility of local and incomer women in terms of their activities as wives, housewives and mothers. In contrast, local and incomer men seem to lack any compatible interests at all. Certainly incomers, both men and women, attend some of the major events staged by most Parish Hall committees throughout the year, particularly Harvest Suppers and Fêtes. However, such involvement has a somewhat nominal value, implying a sampling of local colour.<sup>(25)</sup> There is clearly a strong vein of indifference on the part of the incomers to local organizations:

"I don't really take part in the more organized local events. I am not a member of the S.W.R.I., we are not Church of Scotland, so we don't take part on that

side of things. The Community Hall is another thing my husband and I rarely involve ourselves in. There is a lot of drinking, which we find offensive."

(*Incomer housewife, West Mainland*)

Very few incomers, whether career-minded or romantic, see any need to know all the native inhabitants of a particular parish or district. They are content to know their immediate neighbours, the service personnel of the district, and, quite typically, one or two older native inhabitants. The inclusion of the latter group of people within the incomers' range of relationships is by no means inexplicable. After all, not only are the elderly accessible, they are also receptive to the incomers, whom they see as the admirers of traditional society. For their part, the old offer the incomers a sort of intimacy with the native population, providing them with a benign impression of local life.

The amiable nature of most mundane exchanges between incomers and local people goes a long way to counter-balance the incomers' perception of local hostility.<sup>(26)</sup> In any case, the limited frequency of local-incomer interaction not only slows the build-up of tensions between the two sides, but it also means that incomers are rarely berated with the incomer stereotype now current within Orcadian society.<sup>(27)</sup> The simple fact should not be forgotten that not everyone within the local scene is important to the incomer. Given this point of view, the incomer may discount much criticism, both locally and, more generally, from the public platforms of Orkney.

On a more general level, it is clear that the romantic incomers in their pursuit of self-understanding, whether intellectually or in terms of their skills or crafts, often have very little in common with their local neighbours. The most significant contacts for the individual romantic incomer tend to be with other, probably also idealistic, incomers. However, the more pragmatic incomers and any incomers occupying a traditional position within local life sometimes feel diffident about associating with the romantic group, because of its largely negative reputation within native society. Such associations may of course occur naturally, often being dictated by geographical proximity. There is a widespread network of incomer friendships.

This is especially true in the case of art and craft workers, who, apart from sharing a common range of talents, often exchange items for sale in each other's studios, and frequently become nodes in this network of contacts.

In some cases, groups of romantic incomers have set up their own voluntary associations, quite often based on these networks. Membership of some of Kirkwall's voluntary associations also offers the romantic incomer a means of encountering others from different parts of the Mainland. This phenomenon of voluntary association is discussed at greater length in Chapter Five.

These, then, are some of the antidotes to the sense of isolation which many romantic incomers feel in their daily lives, especially if they live outside the areas of notable incomer concentration. (See Map.) Obviously, in some cases internal incompatibilities in what are only relatively small groups of incomers encourage some people outwards to seek contacts elsewhere, but the very smallness and, to an extent, the beleaguered insularity of the concentrated group tends to make its members more willing to tolerate one another's eccentricities.

Having traced the evolution of relations between the native population and these incomers, it is now time to consider how Orkney's oil-related workers, employed by Occidental, have been fitted into the pattern. The fact that these people arrived together as part of an organized workforce seemed to suggest that they might differ from earlier influxes.

It is mostly the executive and middle management group who live on the Mainland of Orkney. Many of the company's skilled manual workers live in council housing on Flotta. However, this type of housing offers few attractions to the higher grades amongst the company's workforce, and many of these are further dissuaded by what they see as the lack of amenities and services on the island. (28)

Instead, Occidental's higher-grade employees are to be found, for the most part, within three areas, Finstown, Burray and Kirkwall. Finstown is the location of five company houses for its executives, with half a dozen to so middle management personnel living in and around the village. Some of the people settled in the area after having spent a period of time in nearby holiday accommoda-

tion rented by Occidental on a seasonal basis for new recruits. This same pattern of settlement is also discernible in Burray, where the company has two houses and the use of flatted accommodation. Four or five families seem to be interested in settling locally. In addition, fifteen to twenty Occidental employees have bought houses in Kirkwall. A third of these have responsible positions in the running of the oil terminal. (29)

The professional top management of the company in Orkney have certain links with the new professional group of Kirkwall. The occupants of these higher posts include many people who were reluctant to give up the attractions of overseas company service for a posting to Orkney but who had little real choice in the matter. As a consequence of this, their attitude towards Orkney is tinged with a degree of resentment. This resentment is rarely expressed publicly. In any case, this executive group has few contacts with native society. Its company ethos, its company-organized activities and its circle of company wives are exclusive and self-sustaining, although not entirely without the frustrations and frictions so commonly found within small social worlds of this type.

The middle management of the company contains, to a very large extent, volunteers who were interested in coming to Orkney for promotion, as a home posting or from motives which might be described as romantic. The people falling into this latter category are sometimes to be found in the more picturesque areas. In general, these men evince a desire to participate in local life:

"The majority of oil workers are determined to take part and integrate for their own benefit as much as anybody else's."

(An oil company employee, Finstown)

"Newcomers are prepared to join in locally, but it is up to you to take the initiative."

(Mr. Soloway, Burray)

Such advice is reminiscent of that offered by and to the career-minded and the romantic incomers. Indeed, the actual pattern of social interaction displayed by the oil company employees is also typical of the wider incomer group. That is to say, they look to their

colleagues, close incomer neighbours and other compatible incomers as contacts. Furthermore, the oil workers' view of their adopted settlements as no more than background colour to their own interests and activities is again very much in keeping with established incomer practice.

From the Orcadian point of view, the oil workers, whether of a higher or of a lower grade, have a comprehensible reason for being in Orkney. Even so, there is a degree of local frustration and self-doubt over the oil employees' apparent indifference to local activities adding to the feeling that outsiders in general are negligent of island life. However, it might be argued that there is much less of a sense of tension between the local population and the oil incomers than between the locals and some of the more outlandish groups of romantic incomers.<sup>(30)</sup> Despite the initial possibilities of differences, it is evident that there is basically little distinction between the group of Occidental employees and the other incomers.

Having considered the various groups of incomers within local society and the quality of the relationship between them and the native population of Orkney, the relationships of the incomers with one another must now be considered in greater detail. The group of romantic incomers is decidedly heterogenous and its members tend to associate on the basis of variables including age, background, interests and general outlook on life. Thus there are artistic circles, farming groups, business sets and so forth. Indeed, it can be said that such divisions are recognized by the romantic incomers themselves:

"There are some social incomers we would prefer not to mix with. Some are too energetic, others are morally lax and there are hippy types. Our closest incomer friends are the people we came to Orkney with. They run a hotel. Then there are one or two people in the oil industry, people with fine jobs and good salaries. They saw their jobs as a way of coming to a better environment. We have a lot in common."

*(Incomer housewife, West Mainland)*

This quotation, combined with other observations, suggests that some of the more idealistically inclined oil company employees have started to develop relationships with the established group of romantic incomers. Other oil employees are more sympathetic

towards the career-minded incomers. For their part, these career-minded incomers are homogenous as a group and they have a certain toleration for their romantic neighbours. This toleration is at its greatest in respect of those romantic incomers with conventional jobs. However, it might be best to subsume any consideration of the relationship between romantic and career-minded incomers under an analysis of the most significant relationship of them all, that existing between the romantics and both the traditional and the meritocratic elements of middle class Kirkwall. In this instance, the voice of Kirkwall is unanimous:

"There are two types of incomer. There are those people who have come up to work and there are people with no desire to work at all. This last group lives off social security. They are the "white settlers", found mostly on the islands. Having a job is very closely associated with being accepted."

(Schoolmaster, Kirkwall)

The "white settler" is derided on all counts:

"Orkney has its fair share of south of England urbanites in search of a fantasy. They are soon on social security, and we find them on our doorstep, too. Many of them last a winter and then leave. They contribute nothing and do nothing but demand their rights. They are quite often couples who are not really married or else they have some history of problems of one sort or another. You see, this is the reality behind their protestations about the 'good life'."

(Social worker, Kirkwall)

Here the common or stereotyped view of the romantic incomer is drawn largely from the North Isles. These islands have been a fruitful source of controversy for many of the "caring professions" of Kirkwall. Thus the bankers, lawyers and welfare workers have had to deal with many incomer "casualties" from these islands, providing them with loans, legal advice, social security, welfare aid and other forms of support in their hour of need. Elsewhere, the local government administration of Kirkwall has been involved in many heated arguments with incomers living on the North Isles over numerous issues, most notably over educational provisions in general, and the Kirkwall School hostel in particular. Similarly, the Health Board has had to

deal with many incomer complaints concerning medical services in the North Isles.

A particular stereotype has emerged out of the background of experience, based on "the minority of the worst." It is similar to that employed by Orcadians in general and runs along the lines of the "obstreperous English idealist." However, it has certain extra elements which are lacking in the general stereotype. For one thing, it ascribes somewhat disreputable motives to the romantic incomers, in an attempt to explain their presence locally, and for another, it is concerned with the social origins of these people. Thus :

"They are people who have failed in their personal objectives and have decided to hide out in the rural areas. This is the real truth, rather than any nonsense about the rat race."

*(Education Department official, Kirkwall)*

Of course, the work of many of Kirkwall's professional men and women allows them access to confidential information concerning these people. However, the generally derogatory nature of many professional pronouncements is, in part, a reflection of the nature of their job, but it also has a self-protecting aspect designed to support their own sense of legitimacy. For their part, the traditional professional group is impressed by the fact that a number of romantic incomers come from good backgrounds, whereas the new professional group is prepared to admit that these same people are often well-educated and highly qualified in various respects, but are seen to have betrayed all this. In both cases, these romantics are seen as subverting the group philosophy and as being, therefore, well deserving of anathema.

However, this hostility is by no means implacable. The opinion of Kirkwall's wider professional community is indulgent towards romantically-minded people with conventional jobs, especially in the instance of colleagues. Admittedly, part of this indulgence may well be based on the ignorance of a colleague's motivation, but even where this is known to be romantic, the same sense of indulgence persists. Thus it is recognized that some incomers come to Orkney

to find jobs:

"... in a place that did not have the worst features of middle class suburban life, and they sometimes feel embarrassed when they find themselves associated with a group of people who are trying to re-create the social structure of the places that they left behind them."

(Mr. Howie Firth<sup>(31)</sup>)

In the end, the interchange between the romantics and Kirkwall may be characterized in terms of a conflict of ideology. The romantics are concerned with various goals, including what might be described as the socialization and humanization of local decision-making and the preservation untouched of the physical landscape of Orkney. In other words, they are engaged in resisting modern developments, whether bureaucratic or physical. In contrast, the professional groups of Kirkwall appear to be concerned with bringing the modern world to the islands. The new professionals are devoted to encouraging the rational use of administrative resources, and they are joined by their more traditional fellows in their efforts to bring modern amenities and developments to Orkney. The new professional group views this latter objective as a matter of occupational proficiency, whereas the traditional group regards it as a question of public service.

The stereotypes which the romantics advance to the discredit of Kirkwall reflect the whole controversy. In particular, a great deal of abuse is reserved for the local government officials of the town, the people most often in contact with the romantics. Here the stereotype is of the antipathetic and dogmatic Scottish official, dogmatic because of his attachment to the notion of professional propriety and Scottish because of the large number of Scots employed within the professional population of Kirkwall. Ultimately, the stereotypes and categorizations maintained by both sides are more than forms of mutual denigration, they are equally statements of intent and professions of faith.

The indulgence and friendship shown by the professional élite towards the romantic population in conventional employment is reciprocated by many of these people, especially those not directly concerned about such things as the provision of social services.

However, this unanimity is fractured around the matter of conservationism. This issue, above all others, tends to polarize romantic and pragmatic thought. Indeed, even the most conventionally-employed romantic can become philosophical about this issue, sometimes to the extent of attracting the full wrath of the Kirkwall establishment:

"Time and time again, new developments are attacked almost immediately by a conservation lobby made up of incomers. This always leads to local irritation. These incomers have an idealistic view of the old Orkney taken from the writings of George Mackay Brown and from old songs, but they have no real notion of what life used to be like. They are attempting to preserve something that never existed. The old Orkney was similar to the Western Isles although the people were less extreme. They were Calvinistic and austere, placing little value on amenities. They had a utilitarian outlook, for example providing water first of all to the barn and then to the dwelling house. This outlook demands and values development. The incomers with their romantic revival of the past are out of tune with this."

(Mr. Eunson, Convener of O.I. Council and local merchant, Kirkwall)

#### S U M M A R Y

The romantic incomers of the Mainland of Orkney occupy a peculiar place in the history of Orkney's experience of outsiders. The old régime, in both its town and county guises, accommodated newcomers to the islands by offering them command of the social, economic and political heights of local life. In time, many of these newcomers established their own family lines and accumulated a variety of local connections, but their world remained open to the outside, and a definite gulf existed between them and most of the indigenous population. In this way, the old regime remained something of an alien force within the islands.

The outline of this system can still be traced today, but its occupants can no longer hope for the automatic respect once accorded to their predecessors. However, other traditional aspects of the old regime have disappeared. The County Set no longer own

large estates, and the big farmers of a century ago have become part of the native scene. As owner-occupiers, this latter group now resists the intrusion of further outsiders into its economic hegemony.

It is against this background that the social position of Orkney's most recent groups of incomers, the new professionals of Kirkwall and the romantics of the rural hinterland, must be judged. The professional incomers have some of the power and influence of their predecessors, in so far as they possess expert opinion, and to the extent that many of them act as the officials of local and of national government departments. Indeed, they attract some of the opprobrium once reserved for the more contentious members of the old régime, although they see little of the converse, the obsequiousness awarded to the martinets of old. Local society is now more independent and critical in its outlook. This criticism merely serves to consolidate the professional ethos of this latest group of incomers. It is this ethos, combined with the social homogeneity of the group, which allows its members to feel secure and self-assured, certain of their place in the daily round of island life.

Such a sure sense of purpose is not always within the grasp of the romantic incomers. Local opinion finds it difficult to come to terms with their presence, because they fail to occupy any of the vacant incomer niches within the old system of social order, and since they do not appear to have occupations demanding outside expertize. In practice, a divide exists between these middle class romantics and the Orcadian. However, the individual romantic may remain unaware of the murmurings of local disapproval. His leisure pursuits offer a chance for unity within his group, especially those voluntary associations devoted to environmentalism. It is here that the romantic incomer finds social solace and the strengthening of his romantic ideology.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION :

#### THEORY AND APPLICATION

The environmental interests of the romantic incomers are pursued within a number of voluntary associations, notably The Friends of the Earth, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, and The Dunters.<sup>(1)</sup> In this chapter, it is proposed to consider a number of ideas associated with the study of voluntary associations, and to apply them to the case of the romantic incomers in Orkney. However, before attempting this, it is necessary to disassociate these ideas from certain concepts once current concerning urban anomie. In addition, it is intended to suggest the wider relevance of the body of material to non-romantic incomers, and to the general population of Orkney. In this way, a theoretical advance is suggested by the application of the ideas connected with the voluntary associations to a rural context. Similarly, a yardstick against which to measure the "significance" of the voluntary associations of the romantic incomers is provided.

It will be shown that, in the case of romantic and non-romantic incomers alike, as well as in that of the rest of the population, voluntary associations serve to reinforce existing forms of solidarity and systems of values, although these existing forms may vary in complexity. In addition, it will be demonstrated that in certain cases, for example in those of the traditional élite of Kirkwall, and of the large farmers of the hinterland, many associations are a means of sustaining the status of these people and of maintaining their authority over certain aspects of local life. This is highly suggestive, prefiguring the political aspects of the environmental associations of the romantic incomers. However, the political aspirations of the romantic incomers have a greater intensity, and display more vaulting ambition.

A considerable amount of interest was shown by social scientists in the topic of voluntary associations during the inter-war

period in America. It was at this time that the Chicago school was employed in the ethnography of the city. Here, great concern was shown over what was seen as the demise of rural and small town America, giving way to the urban monolith:

"The text for ..... the Chicago school might well be 'everywhere the old order passeth but the new order is yet to come.' Underlying this is a very Durkheimian view of society that appreciated that the old forms of mechanical solidarity had broken down and that organic solidarity is ever precarious." (2)

This theme was taken up by Louis Wirth in "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1938),<sup>(3)</sup> with its analysis of the growing specialization and compartmentalization of the city dweller's life. He was especially interested in the decline of the large family group as an instrument of economic, social and political organization. He believed that some of the social and political functions of the family group were being taken up by voluntary associations. Wirth's analysis was extended in Redfield's The Folk Culture of Yucatan (1941)<sup>(4)</sup>, where the idea of the folk-urban continuum subsumed a number of Wirth's ideas. More specifically, many American social scientists of the 1940's and 1950's had a practical interest in social reforms and urban development. In consequence, much interest was shown in the voluntary association as an antidote to urban anonymity.

The vision of rural and small town society held by many of these theorists provided a vital undercurrent to their academic activities. Here they identified a traditional form of social organization, focused upon an intensity of social relationships. They argued that the country-dwellers of former times had been surrounded by their kin and by their neighbours, individuals who had also been their fellow workers, their co-religionists, and their companions in leisure. Progressing through childhood, adulthood and old age, these people had grown up together. They had gone to school as a group, they had intermarried, and they had tackled communal problems as a single body. Their relationships had combined mundane utilitarianism with feelings of congeniality and affection. Out of this, each individual had acquired his or her sense of place.

On looking around at the contemporary urban scene, these same observers pointed out a somewhat pessimistic portrait. They suggested that the cities, having become centres of economic specialization and diversity, had separated the individual's place of employment from his place of residence. The kinship group was no longer of any great significance and the neighbourhood represented occupational heterogeneity rather than homogeneity. In addition, geographical mobility meant that both kinship and neighbourhood had been further weakened. Furthermore, religion, in a secular age, was no longer an agent of solidarity. Thus, it was argued that the individual inhabited the whole city. The geographical area surrounding his home no longer had much significance. It had ceased to be the source of communal services and action. The needs of urban dwellers were now met by impersonal agencies and faceless functionaries operating on a city-wide scale. In consequence, the individual's range of affective relations was highly curtailed. Clyde Kluckhohn's Mirror for Man, (1950)<sup>(5)</sup> advanced the analysis in its most concise form:

"Mass economic upheaval following upon unprecedented economic growth, lack of attention to the human problems of an industrial civilization, the impersonality of the social organization of cities, the melting-pot, transitory geographical residence, social mobility, weakening of religious faith - all of these trends have contributed to make Americans feel unanchored, adrift upon a meaningless voyage."

(ibid., p. 227)

The immediate family of the urban dweller was identified as one area of stable and secure relationships. In other respects, many theorists became increasingly convinced of the significance of the voluntary association:

"The proportion of people isolated from opportunities for stably recurring interaction in family, neighbourhood, work group and church has increased. But the demand or need for stable group support and intimate association has not diminished correspondingly. As enduring person-to-person relations become attenuated, isolation and insecurity increase. Group membership in a Rotary club may seem radically different from membership in the American rural neighbourhood of half a century ago, but the loss of the latter has been a tangible factor in the growth of the former."<sup>(6)</sup>

Similarly:

"A great part of our recreational, educational, philanthropic, political, protective and social activities are now carried out not by the family or by the single individual but by participation in a great variety of organized groups such as fraternal societies, civic associations, social clubs, businessmen's organizations, trade unions, athletic clubs, scientific societies, and many other types of organization." (7)

In essence, voluntary associations were seen as purposeful groups, regulated by rules of conduct, a formal pattern of leadership and a timetable of meetings. Their purpose in life was viewed as two-fold, as a means of organizing activities not otherwise provided for by urban services and institutions, and as a source of companionship. Their proliferation was taken to be an aspect of a democratic society in which the different interest groups of the heterogeneous city were able to organize themselves.<sup>(8)</sup> Many commentators believed that urbanization was becoming the dominant theme throughout America, sweeping away the vestiges of rural life. In so far as they outlined the conditions of voluntary association, it was in the context of the city. The rural experience of urbanization was neglected.<sup>(9)</sup>

Others argued for the persistence of traditional forms of social organization amongst the diminished population of the rural areas.<sup>(10)</sup>

Many American theorists believed that their conclusions concerning the voluntary association were valid for many European countries. Their ideas influenced British thought. Ruth Durant's 1939 study of Watling,<sup>(11)</sup> was firm in the advocacy of community associations in new housing developments, as a means of capturing the sense of "belonging" then said to exist in more settled localities. T. Bottomore's "Social Stratification in Voluntary Organizations" (1954)<sup>(12)</sup>, developed the concept of voluntary associations as the new centres of power and prestige within modern society. Elsewhere, R. Frankenberg, in Village on the Border (1957)<sup>(13)</sup>, identified the significance of voluntary associations in the life of a Welsh community where occupational uniformity had disappeared.

However, the notion of urban degeneracy at the core of much of this interest in voluntary associations came under increasing attack. W. F. Whyte's Street Corner Society (1948)<sup>(14)</sup>, raised certain doubts concerning the accuracy of the picture of urban dislocation implicit in the work of his fellow researchers. This sort of criticism became most persuasive with Oscar Lewis and the publication in 1951 of Life in a Mexican Village,<sup>(15)</sup> and with his "Further Observations on the Folk-Urban Continuum and Urbanization, with Special Reference to Mexico City" (1965)<sup>(16)</sup>. Lewis argued that the bleak portrait of urban life advanced by Wirth and by Redfield was contradicted by his own Central American data. Lewis had found strife in Redfield's "folk community" and increased social solidarity in the *vecindades* of Mexico City.

From this point onwards it became more clearly recognized that geographical location and social milieu were not related to one another in any simple and straightforward fashion. One consequence of this was a movement towards studying affective relations within the different aspects of urban life, the family, the neighbourhood, the work place and the informal group.<sup>(17)</sup> In addition, studies of ethnic minorities living in cities were undertaken in an effort to distinguish the persistence of community amidst the urban setting.<sup>(18)</sup> More recently, it has been proposed that the cross-cutting links between the individual's various domains of action within the city should be studied.<sup>(19)</sup>

From this point of view, the change of heart on the part of the observers of the urban scene has led to the neglect of the study of the voluntary association, this form of solidarity having been compromised by its association with the study of urban anomie. However, there are signs of a revival of interest in voluntary association as one means of either creating or else consolidating social solidarity. Of some significance in this respect is the work of N. Dennis. His article of 1961, "Changes in Function and Leadership Renewal"<sup>(20)</sup> provides numerous insights into the present-day world of

the community association. Although primarily concerned with the dynamics of leadership, the author suggests that community associations may serve a purpose in promoting a feeling of sociability amongst strangers. Unlike Ruth Durant (1939), Dennis does not advocate the community association as a panacea for urban ills. Rather, he sees it as a possible phase in the development of more specialized and exclusive voluntary associations, forming distinct centres of action and cohesion within a given population. Elias and Scotson are also of importance. Their work, The Established and The Outsiders, (1965),<sup>(21)</sup> concerns a group of urban-dwellers whose solidarity and whose resistance to a neighbouring group of newcomers are together maintained, in part, by the operation of local voluntary associations. More recently, Ambrose has, in The Quiet Revolution, (1974),<sup>(22)</sup> employed voluntary association membership as a means of measuring social integration in a rural setting. All of this is highly suggestive, pointing to the need to reconsider the subject of the voluntary association.

As a preliminary to the revival of this subject, it is necessary to come to terms with its links with a Wirthian point of view. Wirth's (1938) formulation of urbanization, specialization and the emergence of heterogeneity as inter-connected forces working within the closed limits of a city may well have overlooked the significance of industrialism and capitalism as determinants of these processes. Scepticism is required when considering Wirth's claim that under urban conditions:

"..... contacts ..... may indeed be face to face, but they are nevertheless impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental. The reserve, the indifference, and the blasé outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may thus be regarded as devices for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others."

(ibid., p.12)

Perhaps Wirth was wrong in regarding what he saw as the lessons of Chicago, an industrial and capitalist city of the Western World, as universal aspects of the general urban experience. Other cultures, with their own social, economic and political systems, may encompass different forms of urban life. Notwithstanding:

"If Wirth was not one hundred per cent correct on the character of urban social conditions, he was hardly one hundred per cent wrong either. It would not do to propose that relationships between city dwellers are typically deep and wide, intimate and durable. It is the variability of relations in the city that deserves recognition and some more analytical attention." (23)

Following on from this, one might be inclined to argue that the city displays both traditional and more contemporary forms of social solidarity. Indeed, the interaction of both types suggests a productive line of study. Thus it is necessary to consider the operation of the family or of the neighbourhood in conjunction with voluntary associations.

If it is accepted that voluntary associations have an important function in urban society as one means of achieving social solidarity, it may be that some of the lessons contained within this whole area of study are applicable to the rural scene. In general, there seems to be no reason why the matter of the voluntary association should not be granted a rural dimension. To an extent, it may be argued that this was implicit in the work of the early American commentators on the subject when they argued that the rural society of their day was taking on a more urban character, although they preferred to study the city as the epitome of modern life. More specifically, an interest in rural voluntary associations follows the lead of Lewis's (1951) criticism of Redfield's (1941) folk-urban continuum. This criticism suggests that it is possible to distinguish elements of unity and disunity in both rural and urban contexts. This detachment of social form from geographical location clears the way for an explanation of the role of the voluntary association in rural life.

Turning to the ethnographic record, the body of writing on voluntary associations seems suited to the study of the romantic incomers of Orkney. It is clear that this incomer group obtains a degree of cohesion through the medium of its voluntary associations. Even, so, the presence of contentious newcomers in an area, although documented for some parts of the country, <sup>(24)</sup> might be said to represent the intrusion of a unique set of circumstances into an otherwise

united social scene, so providing a somewhat limited area of relevance for the idea that voluntary associations have certain latent functions within society. However, in order to advance the argument proposing the general relevance of this idea to rural society, and as a means of providing a context for the voluntary associations of the romantic incomers, the perspective must be widened. In doing this, it would perhaps be useful to turn to the professional incomers of Kirkwall, and to the traditional incomers of the burgh élite. Here, the use of the voluntary association as a means of integration within each of these two groups and, in the case of the traditional incomers, as a way of uniting with local society, has already been identified in Chapter Three. However, it is possible that this continues to represent a somewhat limited area of relevance, since the emphasis remains on incomers. But if the native populations of the burgh and country districts of the Mainland are considered, it is found that their lives seem to them to have become amorphous in the wake of recent changes. Having established this, the proliferation of voluntary associations within the local society of the islands must also be noted, and in this way it is clear that many of the ideas discussed at the beginning are of general relevance to Orkney.

Setting the burghs aside, Orkney's rural dwellers offer an important source of comparison with the romantic incomers who have become their neighbours. However, the point must be made that the changes undergone by Orkney's native rural population are by no means unique and it may be that the Orkadian experience of the voluntary association has some relevance for other areas.<sup>(25)</sup>

The example of the early observers of voluntary associations should not, however, be followed in their reluctance to give due emphasis to other foci of social solidarity. Indeed, it is at this point that the need for a balanced approach coincides with the argument concerning the relevance of the concept of community. This coincidence offers a strengthening of purpose. The critics of the traditional approach to community studies argue that the holistic perspective of anthropology discourages field workers from perceiving or analysing the external relations of a given local society.<sup>(26)</sup>

It is also claimed that the romanticism of much research, which favours the rural element of some simplistic rural-urban dichotomy, precludes the identification of disassociation within a rural group. In this way, an idealistic and moralizing tendency is to be found in the use, by many social scientists, of the word "community".<sup>(27)</sup> Indeed, some critics go so far as to suggest that people now live in more general social worlds, unencumbered by any considerations of place of residence.<sup>(28)</sup>

In a sense, Bell and Newby (1971)<sup>(29)</sup> follow on from this, arguing for a more realistic analysis of social solidarity in any given context. They maintain, nevertheless, that it is still possible to trace certain relations between the members of locally-based social groups. As they point out, many locally-based populations are stable, and geographical locations retain a significant number of interesting social relations of their own. They suggest that this is especially true in the case of women. In addition, they claim that no study has yet identified an instance of a complete lack of social relations of one sort or another. Simpson (1965),<sup>(30)</sup> insists that there are social processes associated with geographical propinquity which warrant research. Margaret Stacey (1969),<sup>(31)</sup> in developing her concept of a local social system, is especially vociferous in her belief that most localities display some institutional specificity and elaboration. Elias (1974),<sup>(32)</sup> discussing centralization, takes the loss of local functions to higher levels of integration as the criterion for a developmental sequence of communities, arguing that at the very least local residence may serve a sociable purpose. Ultimately, the outcome of this debate is to generate a consensus in which it is held that a selected location is likely to display both association and disassociation amongst its inhabitants. The full array of society in Orkney can now be approached in this spirit.

In some respects, the romantic incomers of Orkney might qualify as the quintessential example of the socially-isolated portrayed in the work of the early theorists writing about voluntary associations. As in-migrants to the islands, the romantics lack the ties of kinship and they have not yet developed the friendships, acquaintances and shared experiences of a lifetime's residence. Their neighbours amongst the local population display a degree of suspicion towards them, and are not, in any case, a likely source of companionship, since both sides have little in common. In addition, many of the more career-minded incomers of Orkney feel antagonistic towards their romantic fellows and to this extent few lines of friendship are to be observed between these two groups. However, as Chapter Four demonstrated, the romantic incomers' antidote to this sense of isolation has been to seek out society amongst their own group, with the result that extensive networks of romantic incomers have been created. Since these emerge on the basis of the individual's status as a romantic incomer, they are often, unlike the networks of many local people, unbounded by considerations of place. For their part, local people, most especially those living in the rural areas, display sets of relationships confined to particular categories of fellow-natives based on occupation and kinship, which are often contained within limited geographical areas. In contrast, the romantic may turn to any other romantic, irrespective of occupation, kinship status, or place of residence. The peculiar position of these people, as a "beleaguered" element within local life, has encouraged a degree of solidarity within their ranks. In this way, they are no longer the socially-isolated of the Wirthian tradition. Yet, it must also be acknowledged that voluntary associations play a significant role in the life of the romantic incomers, underpinning their existing networks of friendship and helping to sustain and consolidate their idealism. This is especially so in the case of the environmental associations.

It must not be assumed that the romantic incomers are only interested in environmental groups. Some of them have become members of the voluntary associations of Kirkwall, but the self-absorbed and conventional aspect of these organizations is not to everyone's taste and a degree of antipathy towards the romantic population is sometimes

encountered and often suspected. Of more importance are those organizations created by the romantic incomers themselves. These associations act as social centres for significant stretches of the total incomer population. The Odin Club of St. Margaret's Hope, with its emphasis on the arts, is one such example, and to it might be added an active amateur dramatics group known as The Harray Players. Elsewhere, the Orkney Labour Party has become the focus of much romantic incomer interest, negating the local image of the party in the eyes of some observers. The Odin Club and the Harray Players offer intellectual cultivation in a more high-minded and deliberate way than their counterparts in Kirkwall. Similarly, the radicalism of the Orkney Labour Party seems to suggest a crusading approach to life largely absent from Orkney's other political organizations, lodged as they are within the world of enterprising farmers, successful businessmen and ambitious professionals. If the middle class circles of Kirkwall are bound up with occupational advancement or public service, the romantic incomers are concerned with intellectual enlightenment and social regeneration. These ambitions find their purest expression in the conservation groups of Orkney. In this way, associations such as the Orkney branch of The Friends of the Earth, of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds and The Dunters offer their followers an Arcadian philosophy in which the preservation of Nature is associated with the moral growth of Man. This philosophy acts as a powerful beacon to individuals whose reasons for coming to Orkney were concerned with individual redemption in a rural setting.

The Orkney conservation movement is a somewhat contentious element within local life and one with a considerable degree of political potency. This aspect of the movement deserves a detailed examination at a later stage. Meanwhile, the emphasis must remain on what might be described as the latent aspect of voluntary associations.

These conservation associations are, for the most part, based loosely on the incomer networks referred to in Chapter Four. In this way, they act as a means of strengthening and extending the networks of their members. Indeed, there is a sense in which they are nodes in the same way as the individuals so identified in the

passage referred to above. They provide enhanced opportunities for more intense encounters between friends and acquaintances, in which values, and a sense of individual worth, are endowed with greater significance for each individual. It is in such sympathetic and indulgent company that the individual may begin to express his or her own personality and to demonstrate his own idiosyncracies.<sup>(33)</sup> As a member of a voluntary organization, the individual is recognized as "a whole person with virtues and deficiencies."<sup>(34)</sup> As one member of the Orkney branch of The Friends of the Earth remarked:

"What I really like is that sense of belonging to something outside yourself. Knowing people who know you. I always feel as though I can be myself, that I can be frivolous if I want to be, without anyone taking it amiss."

The programmed nature of voluntary association meetings, with their emphasis on topics of common interest, also tends to heighten the shared emotions of the members, taking them outside their mundane experience into more speculative realms of thought.

The voluntary association's meetings may well also offer opportunities for the demonstration of practical personal abilities and skills. In this way, the voluntary association provides a solution to another dilemma of modern life. Tannenbaum's A Philosophy of Labour, (1951)<sup>(35)</sup> first drew attention to the lack of recognition given to the worker. In so far as many of Orkney's romantic incomers have solitary occupations, or else no employment at all, their potential skills and abilities escape public recognition. Even where the romantic incomers have relatively conventional jobs, their talents and proficiency may only be witnessed by a small number of people, and these jobs are often below the qualifications and experience of the individuals involved. Others pursue their occupations, while their interests and gifts lie elsewhere. For these people, the conservation movement offers the opportunity of acquiring a greater sense of involvement. Here the professional talents of many people have given them a new sense of pride in their worth, their skills being put to novel purposes for the benefit of conservationism. Others have developed an unexpected talent for

organization. Moreover, most of the leading lights of the Orkney conservation groups have become experts, either by developing some existing interest, or by pursuing a newly-realised talent. In writing about the members of the anti-polio league in America, D. L. Sills records in The Volunteers (1957) that:

"Although Foundation Volunteers have had for the most part no specialized preparation for their work, and the activities themselves are of such a nature that any intelligent person who "knows his way around" in the community can perform them, the average Volunteer thinks of himself as a quasi-professional..."

(ibid., p. 237)

The tendency to enjoy a degree of esoteric status is identifiable amongst the leadership of the Orkney conservation movement. As one such individual revealed:

"I was always interested in conservation, really since Rachel Carson's Silent Spring. Of course, I teach science, and I have widened my grasp on the whole question of conservation. I suppose I have become something of an expert, and I must say I enjoy taking on the professional experts."

Of course, incomer participation in these voluntary associations is variable. Young couples with families may perforce be more inclined to pursue a home-centred existence, relying on a small number of informal contacts as an external supplement to such domesticity. Even where they do belong to a conservation group, they may not play a very active role in its conduct. However, this observation is by no means unique. Margaret Stacey's Banbury (1960)<sup>(36)</sup> makes a number of similar points. In particular, she notes:

"The great emphasis laid on the individual family and the importance of home-making means that in the early years of marriage and while the children are dependent, men and women find it more difficult to play a regular part in (voluntary associations)."

(ibid., p. 80)

As well as identifying family responsibilities as a brake on the individual's commitment to the world of voluntary association, many writers believe that the voluntary association also takes second place to the obligations of employment. Thus, B. Barber, in his paper "Participation and Mass Apathy in Association" (1950)<sup>(37)</sup> argues that

the social structure defines the voluntary association as "being of less importance than family and job obligations" (ibid., p.486). Many of the romantic incomers are forced by practical and economic considerations to give preference to their often routine and undemanding jobs, but their interests and satisfactions lie rather with the voluntary associations.

The conservation groups have acted as beacons to individuals with a sentimental concern for the fate of the natural environment; they have also given these people a greater sense of righteousness. In unison, the romantic incomers help to consolidate each other's belief in the potency of the natural world, and together they regard themselves as its guardians. For many of the leading conservationists this guardianship role has become their main rationale, and their defence for being in Orkney at all. Under certain circumstances, this has led to strident campaigns for the preservation of Orkney's landscape and wildlife.

This stridency has been opposed by the more utilitarian outlook of the native community in matters concerning the physical landscape. The tension resulting on these occasions tends to open up a gulf between the romantic incomers and the locals, leaving the romantics again in the position of outsiders.

In so far as the new professional incomers of Kirkwall feel distanced from the conventions of burgh life, they, like the romantic incomers, have found social and ideological solace within voluntary associations of their own creation. Thus, in many respects, their case runs parallel with that of the romantics. It has been shown that the new professional incomers tend to be largely self-contained as a group. Although they attract a degree of respect locally, their occupations lack the established weight of the older professions. As "non-traditionalists"<sup>(38)</sup> their status in local eyes is somewhat ambiguous and they do not offer themselves as committee members for the more traditional voluntary associations.

For their part, the new professional incomers have their own voluntary associations, as already identified in Chapter Three. These organisations provide a fresh field of endeavour for those

professional incomers excluded from the upper reaches of the more traditional organizations. At the same time, they bring colleagues together socially, generating professional contacts out of social intercourse, initiating and reinforcing neighbourliness, extending friendships and so forth. As in the case of the romantic incomers, it is within this network of activity that individuals become recognized as distinct personalities apart from their occupations and that the values of the group are consolidated. The new professional incomers' interests are often the interests of the suburban south. Thus, their organisations serve to confirm a view that many professional incomers have of Kirkwall, as yet another Scottish town, in which to pursue a further stage in a career likely to involve a number of other locations.

The voluntary associations of the romantics and of the new professionals both serve to bring like-minded people together, usually within the context of a particular system of values. Such a conclusion is useful in illuminating the position of the traditional burgh élite. After all, the traditional élite occupies a number of voluntary associations which are peculiar to itself. These are, for instance, the Kirkwall Arts Club, the Orkney Heritage Society, the St. Magnus Festival Association, amateur choral societies, and bridge clubs. These groups reinforce the élite's existing relationships which are for the most part based on occupation, status and residence. In addition, they allow the élite to associate itself with many of the conventional values of established middle class life. These organisations are significant buttresses to the self-respect of this group and have the added advantage of countering any suggestion that geographical remoteness may be associated with a lack of sophistication and cultivation.<sup>(39)</sup> As one incomer member of the Arts Club remarked:

"The cultural life of the town is remarkably active. You mustn't imagine we're savages simply because we live in such a remote spot. On the contrary, our interests rival those of any southern town."

At the same time, these organisations have also proved their value as points of entry for new recruits to the traditional élite, offering the incomer a sense of social solidarity. However, whilst the traditional incomers use their own voluntary associations to consolidate their sense of élitism, and to reinforce their social relations,

they also employ voluntary association as a means of achieving a degree of vertical integration with the new professional population of Kirkwall. In this respect, the voluntary association may be seen as the substitute for a more comprehensive system of domination. As Bottomore quite relevantly points out in "Social Stratification in Voluntary Organisations" (1954):

"In so far as voluntary organisations take over important functions which the family, or the community as a whole, no longer performs, they become centres of power and prestige, and the individual's status in the community then comes to depend in a large degree upon membership of such communities."

(ibid., p.352)

However, Bottomore goes on to show that there is a sense in which voluntary association membership amplifies an underlying system of status based upon the criterion of occupation. Here, social deference and a belief in the expertise of the higher occupational groups allow individuals to attain the heights of the world of the voluntary association.

Much of this applies in the case of the traditional élite of Kirkwall, whose domination of church organizations, local sports clubs, youth movements and popular theatrical and musical societies seems to offer a portrait of commitment to voluntary association. As Margaret Stacey (1960)<sup>(40)</sup> argues, traditional status represents the monopolization of influential positions in every area of life, including the voluntary associations of a given locality. However, the burgh élite of Kirkwall has, as was established Chapter Three, experienced an attenuation of its power now that many community-based political and social welfare functions have passed into the hands of local and of national government agencies. Of course, this state of affairs is by no means unique to Orkney. A.H. Birch, in Small Town Politics, (1959)<sup>(41)</sup> records the demise of local welfare associations in another part of the country, noting a sense of nostalgia for the past where:

"..... some people miss the sense of belonging that came from living in a community in which they could look up to a small group of clearly recognized leaders who took the initiative in nearly all spheres of activity."

(ibid., p.183)

It is this sort of sentiment which has helped to keep the traditional élite at the top of the local voluntary associations for so long.

However, changes have occurred and there are now more critical voices amidst the general population of the burgh, but this has simply made the voluntary association all the more attractive to the élite. After all, with the exception of the sphere of occupation, there are very few other areas where the élite can demonstrate its merit and worth in an open way, so as to attract public acclaim and deference. Indeed, the voluntary association is the most likely platform from this point of view. Thus, the traditional status system of Kirkwall has been allied with a more democratic mode of thought, and the idea of service within the voluntary associations of the town has become more than ever a guiding principle of the life of the élite.

Having considered the voluntary associations in the cases of three groups, it becomes necessary, as a means of achieving ethnographic and theoretical verisimilitude, to turn to native society, beginning with Kirkwall.

The general tone of non-professional society in the town has changed over the years. The economic specialization and bureaucratization which was outlined in Chapter Three has loosened the bonds of common experience between individuals. But of greater significance has been the process of rural-urban migration, which has, in a sense, been the catalyst to, and the means of, consolidating many of these broader social changes. Not that the resulting sense of anonymity should be exaggerated. Some people refer to Kirkwall as "a vast transit camp" (Dr. Firth, Rousay), but most townspeople still pursue some functions in common. In this respect, education, religion, provisioning and so forth are obviously important. However, voluntary association offers a means not only of utilitarian purpose, but of recapturing some of the hugger-mugger atmosphere of the "auld toun". It is this vision of "community" which still captivates many townspeople, despite its detachment from its former base of limited occupational diversification and localized decision-making. Viewed from here, voluntary association is the means of providing a new foundation for an old idea.

In this way, it is clear that, as in the case of the three groups of incomers, the voluntary associations of the native inhabitants of Kirkwall serve a social function in so far as they extend the

remaining lines of solidarity within the indigenous life of the burgh. Turning now to the countryside, where most Orcadians live, the balance between traditional forms of solidarity, in terms of occupation and kinship, and a reliance on voluntary association as a source of unity, must be established.

In Chapter Two, it was suggested that agricultural mechanization in the post-war period led to a decline in social cohesion in the rural parishes. It is time to explore this idea more fully, since it is vital to any discussion concerning voluntary associations in the countryside. For one thing, occupational homogeneity declined as more and more people were obliged to find employment in Kirkwall. Many people abandoned the rural areas, leaving those who remained behind more isolated. The advance of mechanization and the exigencies of financial investment and return soon eroded the role of the wider kinship group within the farm economy. In time, the family farm became the concern only of the farmer and his wife, or the farmer and his eldest son. Thus, aged relatives and younger offspring became less significant. Additionally, the process of agricultural mechanization and commercialization made each farm more independent of its neighbours and less committed to reciprocal working relations.

However, of greatest importance is the fact that other observers have identified this period as a time of great activity in the field of voluntary association in the parish halls. H. Marwick, (1951)<sup>(42)</sup> points to the youth clubs, sporting organizations, amateur dramatic societies,<sup>and</sup> Ladies' Lifeboat Guilds, which grew up in these years. Furthermore, the Rural Institutes, Young Farmer's Clubs and parish hall committees set up in the 1930's by enterprising ministers and schoolmasters, and by the more prestigious farming families, enjoyed a new lease of life.<sup>(43)</sup> Today, the voluntary associations of the parish have become one of the few areas of activity held in common by many parishioners. It is one of the peccadillos of the British community study to assume that the question of integration is only of relevance to immigrants of one sort or another. Even Margaret Stacey (1969)<sup>(44)</sup>, that liberal exponent of local area studies, makes the same assumption. However, it must be allowed that, in the case of the present-day Orkney parish, there are some people,

the young, as well as many older commuters, who choose to be detached from the internal life of their native districts. In contrast, there are some others whose whole lives are conducted within the parish; the elderly, the house-bound mothers of young children and the full-time farmers. Not that the two groups are entirely mutually exclusive. Today's young person or commuter could well be tomorrow's farmer or tomorrow's mother. The house-bound young mother of today may be the commuter of a few years hence. In this way, the life cycle of parishioners can be associated with their involvement in parish affairs.

There is a sense in which the Mainland of Orkney has become the natural world of many young people. It is, after all, the area in which they are educated, make and pursue friendships, enjoy their leisure time activities, seek employment and find spouses. This is in addition to their use of the services and government agencies centred on Kirkwall. A similar form of analysis might be applied to the married commuters of the parish. However, the life of the married commuter is naturally somewhat home-centred. This home-centred mode is a trend encouraged by television and by other forms of leisure pursuits. It is also supported by the idea of the family as a self-sufficient unit, a concept consolidated by the government in its welfare schemes and in its general legislation. This home-centred trend is discernible amongst farming as well as amongst commuter families and, as has been suggested in the instance of the romantic incomers, it may be wrong to dismiss it as a sign of social aberration. Many Orcadians seem to find family life entirely satisfactory as a means of self-expression. However, there may be certain differences in the experience of men and of women. The daily round of most married male commuters is enlivened by their occupations. In contrast their wives, like many in similar circumstances elsewhere, tend to see life at home as an onerous duty.

Many of the early studies of voluntary association recognized the isolation and frustration of the housewife as a source of her readiness to participate in voluntary association as a form of relief.<sup>(45)</sup> Subsequent studies have tended to support these early conclusions.<sup>(46)</sup> However, there is also evidence to suggest that

even where a woman joins a voluntary association, she will probably regard it as subsidiary to her role at home. Thus her commitment and application to the aims and objectives of the association may be somewhat limited. Notwithstanding, this may change as her family responsibilities diminish. Indeed, the voluntary association may provide a new rationale for a woman with a grown-up family.<sup>(47)</sup>

Returning to the married male commuter, it is clear that, despite the attractions of his home life and the sociability of his occupation, he is not disinclined to extend his range of social contacts. Similarly, the young unmarried commuter is likely to be intent on looking beyond the confines of the parental home and of the world of work. Here the informal group takes on a greater significance.

Many commuters are men in non-professional occupations, and much of their social life revolves around the increasing number of public houses, where darts teams are formed, and raffles and competitions held, in an atmosphere not dissimilar from the companionship of the parish hall. Furthermore, many young people find friendship in the conviviality of the pub and at the dances which have become such a feature of the social round. These dances are held on a regular basis in two or three of the more populous centres. For both the married male commuters and the younger set, these various gatherings are attractive in so far as they lack the "patrician" aspect of many other activities, where the larger farmers and the elderly tend to predominate.

The significance of the informal gathering has been largely ignored by writers on the subject of the voluntary association, perhaps because of their undue emphasis on what is sometimes taken to be the segmentation and sterility of modern life. Other observers have touched on the matter briefly; Margaret Stacey (1960) draws attention to the thrift clubs and darts teams of Banbury "which to some extent represent the formal association in low status classes". (ibid., p. 81) A similar analysis is offered by A. M. Rose (1967) for America.<sup>(48)</sup> Margaret Stacey's "low status" label may have some relevance to the commuters, who occupy an anomalous position in a

society where prestige and pride are connected with the ownership of land. Thus, as has already been suggested, these commuters may feel somewhat distanced from the conventional voluntary associations of the parishes. Many young people occupy a similar position. Even the potential farmers amongst the young may feel ill-at-ease with their elders at parish hall events, not yet being part of that world.

Returning to more specific matters, it becomes clear that the informal groupings of the pub or of the dance-hall are reminiscent of voluntary associations. This is true not only because the informal gatherings of the commuter "organize" pursuits of one kind or another, but because they offer a number of social rewards. They allow stable and enduring relationships to be made at a time when many people in Orkney have fewer opportunities to encounter one another in an individual and whole-hearted way. However, it must be understood that this group of commuters is a social category rather than a clearly articulated social group. Although these commuters share a similar status as employees, their actual occupations are often highly disparate. In addition, from a geographical point of view, their residences are likely to be dispersed.

However, there is a sense in which these commuters possess an occupational philosophy which acts as a more general charter for their lives. Here, they subscribe to the notion that their work, although mundane, is a virtue in itself, as well as being of some significance to the well-being of the islands. This is a source of self-esteem to a group which feels detached from the status system of the farming community. Indeed, in this respect, yet another group of "non-traditionalists" have thus been identified in the social structure. However, in the absence of other points of cohesion, this "non-traditional" status is the background to particular friendships and links created between commuters, rather than the means of an all-embracing unity between every commuter in Orkney. These particular friendships and links, the fruits of the pub and the dance hall, allow the development of the commuters' ideology of virtue, as well as the more general rewards of sociability, in the form of the expression of personality and the consolidation of the commonplace understandings of daily life.

The fact that the voluntary association is not the only means of countering social segmentation does not disprove its utility as a method of understanding the life of a given population. On the contrary, it is useful to establish the boundaries of its relevance, and to ask why, in the case of certain social categories, informal encounters are preferred to a more organized format? In the case of the commuters, the answer may not be so difficult to find. Orkney is a society which has become suspicious of pretension and self-aggrandizement, and the commuter has one of the most highly-developed critical outlooks of all. Cynical about the "patricians" of the parish, who seek to advance their prestige and their authority under the cover of local voluntary associations, he is unlikely to admit their influence, nor is he willing to follow their example in the creation of his own voluntary associations. The commuters are without leadership, and in the absence of this, they show no tendency towards self-organization.

If commuter circles are noted for their paucity of voluntary associations, there is a positive plethora of such organizations in the rural parishes. It is within these associations that local farmers, young housewives and mothers, and the elderly go about recreating the integrity which most parishes displayed in the years before the Second World War. If the parish encompasses much of their daily lives, the voluntary association is responsible for bringing an extra degree of cohesion into these lives. Thus, the farmer is able to bridge the growing gulf between himself and his neighbours, with whom he no longer shares many common tasks, and to alleviate the solitude of his highly-mechanized working life, by refreshing otherwise neglected relationships of kinship, friendship and neighbourliness at the parish hall. These relationships have a considerable degree of value, not only in terms of personal security, but in the sphere of economic considerations. They become sources of support when machinery co-operatives are set up, when extra labour is required, when land is being leased or sold, when dispenishment<sup>(49)</sup> sales take place, and when help is required during an illness. Naturally, informal interaction is a theme in parish life, but it is underlined, strengthened and regularized by common membership of local voluntary associations.

In any case, the farmer requires an audience to combat his growing sense of isolation. Many authors<sup>(50)</sup> point to the growing anonymity of the worker and to a decline in the appreciation of his skills. From the farmer's point of view, a pool of kinship, friendship and neighbourliness is also an audience. It is in front of this audience that acclaim and self-esteem may be won. In other respects, the voluntary associations of the parish provide an important stage for the demonstration of status, most commonly on the part of the large farmers. Their economic weight allows them the upper hand in exchanges of machinery and labour; and with a decline in the political functions of the parish there are few other platforms for their ambitions. In this way, they are reminiscent of the burgh elite, turning to voluntary association as a means of establishing their standing amongst their fellows.

From the point of view of the housebound wife, whether of the commuter or of the farmer, her membership of groups such as the S.W.R.I., the Church of Scotland Women's Guild, the Ladies' Lifeboat Guild, playgroup associations, and the like, permits the creation of relationships outside the home. Kinship and neighbourliness may also be of significance in this respect, but in the age of the modern independent household, the added animation of a common involvement in voluntary associations serves to reinforce kinship and neighbourliness. For some women, voluntary association membership is a means of acquiring self-esteem, and a way of advancing the reputation and standing of a particular family.

Similar considerations apply to the older residents of the parishes, but they have another interest in voluntary association. With somewhat sentimental memories of former times, they are especially anxious to preserve their parish identity. In part, this is self-serving, as a means of securing the "right" to the companionship of others. Here, as in the case of "the auld toun" of Kirkwall, the image of a community gathered around the peat fires proves to be something of a charter for present-day activities. In this light, the voluntary associations are their substitutes for some ideal past. This sentimental outlook is supported by the smaller, more traditional farmers. Dependent upon their neighbours for economic co-operation,

they turn to the virtues of parish solidarity, identifying its locus in the voluntary groups meeting in the parish hall, as for instance the agricultural associations and the community hall committees. It is against this background that they feel able to summon assistance. In any case, this invocation of times past reduces the idiosyncrasy of their inability or their unwillingness to modernize their agricultural endeavour. Instead, they find some comfort in the idea that the old order persists, in which large and small farmers co-exist in a hierarchy of co-operation. This seems preferable to their suspicion that there is a new order, where farm amalgamations, commercialization and advance are the new rules of play.

In the case of the parishes, voluntary association must be seen as the means of maintaining the old order of occupational, geographical and philosophical solidarity which, despite the vicissitudes of time, retains some contemporary relevance. The ideological keynote of this old order is co-operation, and it is this that offers both a degree of emotional support and a source of practical aid at a time when local life has become more amorphous than ever before. This system of preservation operates in two directions, maintaining both horizontal and vertical integration. This latter form of articulation is more contentious and problematical than the former. The established families of large farmers now face the judgements of a growing group of middle range competitors, as well as the critical eyes of those without any stake in the land-owning hegemony. In this respect, the spouses of the non-professional commuters come to mind. Thus the status of the big farmers can only be advanced with circumspection. However, their authority is accepted because of the leadership and organization they offer. As has been established, this organization has positive rewards in terms of economic co-operation. In any case, many small farmers recognize the predominance of the bigger men, as a means of securing their own place in the order of things. Furthermore, many middle range farmers have the hope of economic advancement, and are willing to preserve a system of status differentiation in which they might yet share. In practice, a number of men who have considerably increased the acreage of their farms have joined the established farming community, although some hold back

from active leadership. Those who hold back do so out of a sense of social ambiguity but, from a lack of numbers, this has not led to the formation of a rival group in the image of the new professionals of Kirkwall. However, many self-made men look to their offspring to advance the status of the family.<sup>(51)</sup> After all, the heir of a non-traditional farmer is well on the way to becoming "traditional" in so far as he stands to inherit a farm. The children of the new professionals may have a longer road to tread, and such a road is likely to take them southwards. In any case, many "non-traditional" large farmers are to be found amongst the membership of the voluntary associations of the parishes, in pursuit of the economic and occupational rewards of such activity.

### S U M M A R Y

The ideas connected with the study of voluntary associations, once detached from the concept of urban anomie, offer a useful means of understanding the inhabitants of rural areas. In the case of Orkney, the voluntary associations of the romantic incomers, most especially their environmental groups, serve to reinforce the networks of relationships which have developed within the romantic population. However, this process of reinforcement is by no means unique to the romantic incomers, and it is clear that the social solidarity of other sections of society, the new professional incomers and the traditional élite of the burgh, as well as many inhabitants of the rural areas, is also consolidated by voluntary associations.

It is possible, at this stage, to suggest a degree of variation between the different groups in the importance of voluntary association in their social relationships. The new professional incomers and the traditional élite of Kirkwall retain important links within their own circles based on occupation. Voluntary association for them is, in consequence, of minor significance as a source of social solidarity. In contrast, the native population of the islands has lost much of its former occupational integrity, and other lines of unity based on kinship and neighbourliness have declined as a result of this. Here voluntary association is significant in sustaining traditional relationships. However, the voluntary association seems

to be of particular importance in the case of the romantics who are united on the basis of their status as aliens in the islands, and in their "Englishness". The romantic incomers cultivate friendship and acquaintance with one another by every means possible, and the format of the voluntary association is of outstanding importance in making this process more certain and enduring.

It is clear that voluntary associations offer each of Orkney's different groups opportunities for self-expression and self-fulfilment. More particularly, a number of associations play a role in maintaining the social and political ambitions of the traditional burgh élite and the large farmers. However, this must not be over-emphasized, nor must it be seen as having the same importance as the romantic incomers' use of the environmental associations as vehicles for political expression. The political aspect of the romantic incomers' voluntary associations is discussed in the remaining chapters of this thesis, but it is sufficient at this point to suggest that a qualitative distinction may be drawn between the political uses of romantic and non-romantic voluntary associations. The involvement of the traditional figures in certain voluntary associations is at one and the same time a way of expressing their existing social and political standing and the means of preserving that standing. In addition, their voluntary associations are concerned with limited areas of social activity, and with influencing and directing the lives of small numbers of people. If these associations do have a political aspect, allowing their committee members a degree of authority over others, they operate at the "parish pump" level. At a higher level, the traditional élite of the burghs and the large farmers have, as Chapters Two and Three have demonstrated, access to the formal levers of political power within the islands. In contrast, the romantic incomers' environmental associations act as substitutes for the formal levers of this higher level, and are directed at achieving influence over the life of the islands as a whole. In other words, the ends of the environmental movement of the romantics are more avowedly political. It is to this "vaulting ambition" that attention must now be given, since it is the romantics' means of obtaining the power which, as Chapter Four has demonstrated, is otherwise denied to them by local opinion, and which they regard as theirs by right.

## CHAPTER SIX

### ENVIRONMENTALISM :

#### CAUTION AND RADICALISM

In Chapter Five, a distinction was made between the "parish pump" politics of many local voluntary associations and the more ambitious concerns of the environmental groups. Viewed from this perspective, the environmental movement is the romantic incomers' response to their lack of authority or influence within the formal power structure of the islands. In this present chapter, it is intended to demonstrate that the romantic incomers' choice of environmentalism is by no means fortuitous, since it resonates so clearly with their own ideals, and that they display a tendency towards the more radical reaches of their cause. In exploring the division of the environmental movement into groups associated with the romantic incomers, and those associated with the county set and the professional élite of Kirkwall, it is hoped to demonstrate that the radicalism of the romantic incomers contrasts with the more pragmatic philosophy of the county and burgh groups. It will be suggested that the romantic incomers have come to serve an idea of Mankind, and that this has encouraged their disinclination, which was discussed in Chapter Four, to curtail their ideals and activities in line with local sentiment. In contrast, it will be shown that the county set and the traditional incomers of Kirkwall, although sympathetic towards the idea of environmental protection, are inclined, according to their tradition of public service, to advise caution in any pursuit of such protection. It will be demonstrated that this point of view is more in keeping with the weight of native opinion, which is against any sentimental view of the physical landscape of the islands. The tendency of the county set and the traditional professionals to circumspection was identified in the early chapters of this thesis.

However, a detailed analysis of environmental protest will be postponed to Chapter Seven, where a series of case studies will provide the opportunity of obtaining an insight into the way in which the considerations outlined above operated in practice.

In order to fulfil the objectives of this chapter, it is necessary to begin by considering the philosophical motivation of the romantic incomers. These people arrived in the islands as a result of various personal circumstances. Their attitudes towards Orkney nevertheless present a degree of uniformity. They see it as the setting for the return to some more natural form of life. The physical beauty of the islands is said to play an important part in this process. As one romantic incomer remembered:

"When I first visited Orkney, I must say the scenery caught my imagination. I felt very happy here. I fell in love with the view of Hoy from the road into Stromness. The other thing I really liked was never being very far from the sea. Of course, since then I have got to know the people, and I've made my own circle of friends. People are more real here, there's never any fear of deception or pretence."

Similar observations are offered by another incomer:

"When I first visited Scotland I was impressed by the scenery. I fell for the grandeur of the Highlands and then for the changing moods and subtleties of the Orcadian landscape. I knew Orkney was somewhere I could get close to myself and somewhere I could work."

(Potter, St. Margaret's Hope)

Many romantic incomers derive much pleasure from being close to the natural world. This sense of well-being may be said to have three sources. For one thing, there is an aesthetic response to the physical characteristics of the islands. For another, it seems to be supported by the notion that man may enter into communion with nature, so drawing upon some spiritual power with the quality of fortifying the human ego. Furthermore, as has already been suggested in Chapter Four, the incomers ascribe different social characteristics to urban and rural settings. In this way they regard the social life of the countryside as superior to that of the towns, as though guaranteed in this because of the countryside's clear proximity to the forces of nature.

Of course, the cynic might point to the fact that, to all intents and purposes, most romantic incomers lead lives indistinguishable from those of other people in less picturesque parts of the kingdom. However, the romantic incomers are convinced of the superiority of their position and of the truth of their arguments. Alternatively the observer must allow that the romantic philosophy of the incomers has the power to determine their perceptions and activities, not least because it is part of an intellectual tradition which, in the course of millenia, has acquired an almost axiomatic status.<sup>(1)</sup>

From the point of view of the present discourse, the strongest line of development of this tradition may be traced through the Romantic Movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To begin with, The Enlightenment freed man from the Will of God, after which the search began for the objective laws of the social and natural worlds. However, philosophers such as Hume began to stress the subjectivity of experience. Thus, emotion, passion, instinct and feeling came to be seen as the most significant facets of the human condition. In addition the natural world was said to be the playground of unfettered and ancient forces, and the life of the rural population was regarded as immemorial and truthful. Indeed, the unsophisticated tenor of rural life was attributed to its closeness to these ancient powers.<sup>(2)</sup> Ultimately, as F. E. Halliday points out, in his Illustrated Cultural History of England (1969),<sup>(3)</sup> the Romantic Movement represented a revolt:

"..... against the rule of reason and the restraints of Classicism, for the glorification of freedom, imagination and emotion, the rediscovery of wonder, a retreat from the town to the country, a medieval romance, the mysterious, irrational and supernatural."

(ibid., p. 221)

The Romantic Movement was taken up and fostered by the autocratic landowners who were highly susceptible to the notion of the countryside as a spiritual reservoir, a philosophy which promised both the ornamentation and the glorification of their position. The countryside was eulogized by writers and poets and represented in watercolours and oils by painters.<sup>(4)</sup> In particular, landscape painting caught the imagination of the times in its efforts to capture and represent

the mysterious forces of the natural world. Ironically, this led to a state of affairs where the countryside was evaluated in terms of its landscape composition, that is to say, judged on the basis of aesthetic criteria derived from art. Thus, as Newby (1979) points out, certain sections of the countryside were regarded as more spiritual than others. In this way:

"The eighteenth century ..... provided a decisive break between ideas about nature and beauty on one hand and a functional countryside on the other - a divergence that has remained to the present day."

(ibid., p.16)

Following on from this, it is possible to say that the eighteenth century created what we today regard as our inherent response to the natural world. In consequence, it is as well to bear in mind that the idea of wilderness is mostly in the mind; an experience in which specific conventions are a key factor.

The aristocratic world of the eighteenth century gave way to the middle class culture of the Victorians, but the Victorian middle class assumed the Romantic mantle. The wealth of this new group allowed it to aspire to the concerns and interests of its predecessors. It, too, had its favourite artists, poets and novelists who continued to praise the mysteries of nature.<sup>(6)</sup> Tastes in architecture, furnishings,<sup>(7)</sup> tourism, hill walking, and country villas,<sup>(8)</sup> were generated by a Romantic conviction.

The advance of industrialization during the period made the natural world an increasingly valuable resource in the eyes of the Victorian middle class. Many of these people developed a possessive attitude towards it, although possessiveness had been implicit in eighteenth century attitudes. But now, the proprietorial air of the middle classes had a greater urgency, born out of the drive to acquire the ornaments of culture and from its fear of the encroaching tide of urbanization. Having been created by industrial society, the middle class wished to spurn its origins. Various early attempts at protecting the natural world were made, perhaps the most well-known

being the foundation in 1865 of the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society.

The aristocrats of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had allowed certain individuals the privilege of visiting their great houses and landscaped parks. This tradition of controlled access continued under the middle class paternalism of the nineteenth century. Utopian and model communities were set up in the countryside by middle class benefactors,<sup>(9)</sup> public parks were provided in the cities and towns<sup>(10)</sup> and urban workers were encouraged to study nature. In this way, industrial workers were allowed to approach nature, but under the watchful eye of the middle class guardians of the natural world.

The active study of nature occupies a significant place within the Romantic tradition. Beginning in the eighteenth century, this aspect of Romantic application developed rapidly thereafter, reaching its zenith in the years of the nineteenth century.<sup>(11)</sup> The pursuit of natural history represented the blending of scientific rationality with Romantic thought. The objective study of animals and plants came to be regarded as the key to understanding the benign forces of Mother Nature.<sup>(12)</sup> The natural history societies which were set up at this time not only stimulated the study of the flora and fauna of the countryside, but they were also concerned to protect that countryside from the advance of industrialization.<sup>(13)</sup>

This rejection of industrial society was more than a reaction against its potential for physical destruction and pollution. The worship of nature, whether through the contemplation of landscape or through "nature study", had another aspect. This suggested a critique of industrial society, a denial of what was seen as its greed, selfishness, exploitation and callousness. As an alternative, individual man was offered an idealized vision of country life.<sup>(14)</sup> However, this implicit commentary on the failings of mankind is an integral part of Romanticism and not simply the creation of the nineteenth century. It was just as evident a hundred years ago and it remains with us today.

Indeed, the twentieth century has maintained the Romantic tradition. After all, modern man is no more impervious to visions of

natural power and to dissatisfactions with his own society than his forefathers. Thus, it is still possible to read sentimental discourses on nature<sup>(15)</sup> and a great deal of energy is spent on what is now referred to as environmental protection.

This interest in environmentalism must qualify as the twentieth century's contribution to the survival of Romantic philosophy. From the mid-1960's onwards, much scientific and intellectual thought focused on man's day-to-day interaction with the natural world, tracing how his social and economic activities modified that world. Out of this grew a belief that man was in danger of disrupting many natural processes.<sup>(16)</sup> These fears became more widely held when certain developments such as industrial pollution, population growth and nuclear energy were publicized as major threats to the environment. In addition, fears about declining resources and consequent energy shortages raised further questions about the relationship between man and his natural setting.<sup>(17)</sup> Most of these issues were aired in the populist writings of concerned scientists.<sup>(18)</sup>

Out of all this grew a philosophy stressing the need for a balance between man and nature. At a superficial level, this philosophy was motivated by self-interest and advanced by objective scientists. However, it drew its strength from an older set of concerns. In effect, it was a call for the maintenance of the sanctity of nature and a condemnation of human sophistication. Whatever the objective merits of the case, its Romantic undertones seem to have been just as significant in carrying it forward.

This train of thought became more radical in the late 1960's and early 1970's, developing into the "new ecology" of today's environmental activists. As J. F. Pilat points out in his book, Ecological Politics : The Rise of the Green Movement (1980)<sup>(19)</sup>:

"The ecologists are radical rebellious children of the traditional conservationists ..... Emerging from the youth movements of the 1960's and early 1970's, the ideology and issues of the ecological movement are affected by their legacy."

(ibid., p. 10)

The intellectual development of ecological beliefs has its classic texts.<sup>(20)</sup> Out of these emerged a demand for the dissolution of traditional patterns of social and economic life as a means of

creating ecological harmony between man and his environment. This demand was directed at the whole world. (21)

The breadth and apparent novelty of this call proved most attractive to the ageing survivors of the youth movements of the late 1960's. Dissatisfied with life and in search of the antidote to this condition, they turned to ecology. (22) However, they brought with them in their intellectual luggage a whole range of New Left theories. Thus, as Pilat (1980) points out:

"Neo-anarchism, non-violence and civil disobedience have been combined with an anti-technological environmental consciousness for ideological activists ..... Implicit in their decision is their desire for decentralized political power and a criticism of capitalism."

(ibid., p.15)

In surveying the scene today, it is clear that these self-appointed guardians of the natural world may be divided into moderate environmentalists and radical ecologists. The former group aims for the gradual and piecemeal improvement of man's relationship with the natural world, whilst the latter group is intent on a far-reaching readjustment of mankind's material goals in order to protect the natural order of the planet. (23) The infusion of a radical imperative into this whole area has had the effect of making certain issues more pressing than others, for moderates and radicals alike. In this way, the question of nuclear energy has become <sup>something</sup> of a cause célèbre. On the surface, the nuclear energy debate is more or less about environmental contamination. However, in so far as it has become one of the favourite topics of the radicals, it is because it offers scope for direct political action against particular nuclear installations, and because it provides an opportunity for diatribes against what is said to be man's delusion that technological advance offers a way out of all difficulties. In addition, it is argued that nuclear developments mean the tightening of government authority at home, in order to maintain the security of the nuclear state. In other words, the nuclear issue resonates with a whole range of radical concerns. (24)

The same is also true of the controversy over whaling. Here, an emotive subject, redolent of anthropomorphism, offers a means of questioning both communist and capitalist state organizations in

the form of Russia and Japan, two of the world's leading whaling nations. It also allows direct action on the part of well-organized conservationist groups such as Greenpeace.<sup>(25)</sup> This fund of concern and activity has now been extended to include the protection of seals.

The evolution of environmental and ecological philosophies has been orchestrated on an international scale. Turning more specifically to the United Kingdom, the emergence of modern environmental concern in the years after the Second World War may be identified. The post-war period witnessed the beginning of an unprecedented flow of migration from the urban centres of the southeast of England to the surrounding rural areas. Much of this migration was middle class in nature and it provoked a degree of disillusionment on the part of the migrants when they realized that they had entered a changing scene. Modern commercial agriculture was coming into its own and, in the eyes of the newcomers to the countryside, it was starting to disrupt the physical and social components of the rural scene. A concern for the fate of the southeast had already induced middle class commentators and pressure groups to petition for what became the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947. This allowed middle class newcomers a degree of control over the development of the countryside. These same people welcomed the rise of environmental theory as a further device in their armoury, an armoury designed to slow down physical and social change, and to restrict access to the countryside. In this way, the middle class of the southeast of England was simply following in the footsteps of its forerunners by playing out its role as the guardian of the mysteries of the natural world. The resulting legislation,<sup>(26)</sup> institutions,<sup>(27)</sup> and atmosphere of concern strengthened the hand of other middle class populations elsewhere. This occurred at a time when many rural areas were being "colonized" by commuters and when more people were taking an interest in the countryside.<sup>(28)</sup>

Within the nation-wide interest in environmental protection, many people, the young and those disenchanted with Britain's economic performance, have been receptive to the radical philosophies of the ecologists, displaying a degree of impatience with their more moderate colleagues. Nowadays, many British ecologists are involved in protesting against nuclear energy although the British experience of

such protests have been much milder than that of other countries.<sup>(29)</sup> Furthermore, this ecological wing has been responsible for the setting up of organizations such as the British branch of The Friends of The Earth in 1971 and the Foundation for Alternatives in 1976.<sup>(30)</sup>

Whereas Britain's radical ecologists are beginning to create an institutional structure not so very different from that of the moderate environmentalists, their entire philosophy stands against the idea of preserving and over-seeing the countryside for the benefit of the middle class alone. Instead, their radical consciousness implies an almost evangelical spirit of crusading reform. Their ultimate goal is not physical and social preservation, but physical and social reconstitution. That is to say:

"..... alternative forms of social and political organization ..... local and community responsibility and good husbandry of the earth's resources." (31)

Continuing on the theme of the particular interest group within the breadth of the environmental movement, it must be said that recent developments and considerations have also influenced that section of the middle class concerned with the study of the natural world. Indeed, these people have been especially responsive to the scientific aspect of most environmental theories. Yet, even here, there is a division between those who are concerned with preserving the natural world for their own enjoyment, and those who wish to see it guaranteed by social, political and economic changes.

In many respects, Orkney's perception of the natural world follows that of Britain as a whole, with a history of aristocratic and middle class Arcadianism. However, Orkney's experience in this instance has been in the area of philosophy. Local farming has always been conducted on a fairly modest scale and, until lately, the islands have been free of large industrial developments. Under these circumstances, the *élite* groups of Orcadian society, the county set and the traditional incomers of Kirkwall, have not developed any tradition of guardianship. It is only of late that they have shown any interest in preserving the larger houses of the islands. However, in the light of recent events, it must be said that their position has been overtaken by the romantic incomers, including a branch of radical ecology.

The appearance of this new element within local life has done much to make environmentalism a matter of public discussion. The traditional élite is by no means antipathetic to the causes espoused by the radical incomers, but they are inclined to suggest caution. This political pragmatism is a reflection of the élite's sense of their public responsibility to Orkney, underlined by a dislike of the vociferous quality of radical protest.

It is now appropriate to turn to a more detailed consideration of these issues. In the nineteenth century, the county and burgh élites were often members of the local Natural History Society, founded in 1837. Later on, their successors added to this interest in the study of Orkney by being amongst the first subscribers to the Viking Club, a nationally-based antiquarian society set up in 1907, and by being active in the creation of a local Antiquarian Society in the early 1920's. The Natural History Society appears always to have been conventional in its outlook, regarding nature as a mysterious thing in its own right. The Viking Club, with its interest in ancient history, archaeology, family genealogies, folk customs and folk tales, was similarly conventional in its sentimental retrospection; and the Antiquarian Society followed on from the Club in the same vein. These organizations drew upon a set of fashionable romantic concepts, one in its exaltation of unspoilt nature, the other two in their celebration of what they saw as the unsophisticated and immemorial tenor of local life.<sup>(32)</sup> Such philosophical considerations were in tune with the political conservatism of Orkney's rulers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nature and society were said to be in harmony, producing social stability and social deference:

"Our visit to the island (North Ronaldsay) was mainly botanical . . . . In traversing part of the island in company with the United Free Church Minister, we were struck with the respectful bearing of the people. Every man saluted the Minister by touching his cap, whilst the women . . . . stopped their work, and made a most graceful curtsy as we passed." (33)

The Natural History Society ceased to exist in the early years of the present century, and the Viking Club and the Antiquarian Society disappeared during the course of the 1930's. It was not until 1959, with the setting up of the Orkney Field Club, that the Arcadianism of Orkney's élite groups found public expression once more.

The Orkney Field Club, with some 360 members, is dominated by

its founder and Secretary, Elaine Bullard. Miss Bullard, an English-woman, is a self-taught botanist who was posted to Orkney in 1950 in her role as a Milk Marketing Board dairy adviser. In the late 1950's, Aberdeen University began a botanical study of the north of Scotland, using volunteers from local natural history organizations. It was under their influence that Miss Bullard was prompted to set up the Field Club. The active membership of today's Club is drawn from the traditional middle class, returned expatriates and local people. Those falling into this latter group tend to be recruited through friendship and other links, as a means of giving the Club some "local colour". Peter Leith, from a local family of savants and antiquarians, and George Wylie, a prominent farmer, are two of the most notable names in this respect.

The Field Club, under the inspiration of its leader, regards the natural world as the source of a certain purity. However, as Miss Bullard argues, the key to understanding this, and to appreciating the interconnecting nature of living things, is regarded as lying in scientific study:

"When I first started my scientific study of plants, I met considerable opposition and prejudice. I was accused of being anti-spiritual by reducing nature to a matter of classification and scientific study. As though a scientific approach could ever endanger the spiritual side of nature."

The Field Club was later joined by the Orkney Heritage Society, which emerged in the late 1960's and early 1970's. During these years, a campaign evolved to prevent the demolition of certain historic buildings in Kirkwall; Tankerness House, Papdale House and The Strynd. Mrs. Grimond, the wife of the local M.P., Dr. and Mrs. Shearer, returned expatriates, Ernest Marwick, a local antiquarian and Peter Leith were amongst the leading figures here. They were joined by such notables as Stanley Cursiter, the Queen's Limner in Scotland,<sup>(34)</sup> and supported by the county set and by the burgh élite.

This campaign carried the day and from it emerged the Heritage Society. The driving force here was Ernest Marwick, who remained a leading light until his death in a road accident in 1977. The Society, ".... set up to keep an eye on old buildings" (the Rev. H.L.Mooney, President of the Society), quickly registered under the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act of 1968 as a civic society, so obtaining a limited right to comment on planning proposals.

The Society's early years must be seen against a rising national interest in the preservation of old buildings. After the Second World War, and in a mood of romantic retrospection, much concern was shown for the fate of Britain's great country houses.<sup>(35)</sup> Institutions such as the National Heritage Fund and the National Trust were set up, with the salvation of these houses in view. Since then, a whole debate has developed around the merits of traditional as against modern architecture. In part, this debate is as much about the relative virtues of different forms of society as about anything else.

The Orcadian Establishment, some of its members having links with organizations such as the National Trust for Scotland and the Saltire Society,<sup>(36)</sup> imported the whole debate into Orkney, where it struck root quickly. Overall, the protest against the demolition of Kirkwall's historic buildings settled around a view of Orkney as a special place, to be protected from the advances of the modern world. More specifically, the protection of these buildings was of particular interest to many members of the county set, for whom it was one way of celebrating their past history, in order to bolster their present-day status. Similar considerations influenced the traditional middle class of Kirkwall when they used the debate as a means of associating themselves with a prestigious group of former times, and as a road into contemporary big house society. In one respect, both groups regarded the historic houses of Kirkwall as symbolic of the acceptability and place of élite groups in the life and traditions of the islands. It was this belief they strove to protect, not wishing to give up such a useful piece of ideology. Today's élite has become reconciled to modern Orcadian egalitarianism, which it sees as a return to the true virtues of the stock. Even so, it still seeks a degree of deference and prefers to interpret egalitarianism as a lack of conflict and contention between the classes, in contrast to what it sees as the class struggle of the urban south. This belief in the tolerance and rationality of the Orcadian is highly prized by the élite, allowing it to pursue its economic privileges and its indulgence in "high culture" without any sense of compunction. Thus, the debate over Orkney's historic buildings helped to identify this belief in a

lack of class conflict as an aspect of the special character of Orkney. The threat of demolition of these buildings took on something of the quality of an attack on the delicate structure of meaning and sentiment emphasized by today's élite in establishing its place in local life. This adoption of an idealized vision of island life for a political end is by no means a new phenomenon, the predecessors of today's élite having indulged in the same strategy. However, the irony is that today's county set and middle class élite praise the unaffected and egalitarian nature of local life, whilst their predecessors looked to its deferential tone.

The Orkney Heritage Society retains its interest in the mansions of the rich, but it has also become involved in the radical ecological politics of the romantic incomers. Thus it might be argued that the élite has adopted a guardianship role. However, it might be more accurate to say that the élite has become part of the moderate group of environmentalists, advising caution on the part of the radicals. To establish this, attention must be focused on 1972, when the contemplative atmosphere surrounding both the Field Club and the Heritage Society was disturbed by the creation of a local branch of The Friends of the Earth. The outstanding personality behind this new association is Mrs. Flint, who was amongst the earliest wave of English romantic incomers. She became active in environmental concerns from 1970 onwards, and represents the introduction of radical ecological theory to Orkney.

Mrs. Flint's own political radicalism, as a member of the Labour Left and as a supporter of C.N.D., lies behind many of her other interests. Her belief in the need for an extensive restructuring of society made her sympathetic towards the philosophy of personal determinism generated by the youth culture of the 1960's. This, in time, led her and her family to come to Orkney. Having a long-standing interest in natural history, she became concerned with environmental protection, soon adopting a radical ecological point of view.

Mrs. Flint's most active supporters within The Friends of The Earth group are recent romantic incomers.

Many of these people may very well be said to be ageing survivors of the youth movements of the 1960's. Their presence in Orkney and their

dedication to environmental radicalism both suggest an essential and continuing disillusionment with modern industrial society.

A less radical addition to the environmental scene occurred in 1973 with the arrival of David Lea as the local representative of the R.S.P.B. His tenure of office lasted for seven years and witnessed the emergence of what have already been described as some of the most significant environmental issues of recent years, that is, North Sea oil developments, the threat of uranium mining, mink farm proposals and seal culling.<sup>(37)</sup>

Mr. Lea, a professional naturalist and an active environmental campaigner in the south, played a part in the campaign against a third London airport and was one of the R.S.P.B.'s Bedfordshire-based Deputy Directors before moving to Orkney. Like Mrs. Flint, he had long since been influenced by ideas of personal self-determination and his move to Orkney was by way of fulfilling these. A dedicated believer in the spiritual quality of nature, and concerned with the need for a balance between man and his environment, his own professional pragmatism and his distaste for extremism precluded any prospect of the local R.S.P.B. group acquiring a radical outlook whilst under his direction. The R.S.P.B. in Orkney has not changed direction under its new representative, Mr. Eric Meek, whose background and interests are similar to those of Mr. Lea. For his own part, Mr. Lea continues to live in Orkney, taking an active interest in local environment issues. The R.S.P.B. has 120 members in Orkney.<sup>(38)</sup> From a social point of view, the R.S.P.B. group is made up of recent incomers, who tend to be amongst its most active members, together with a number of locals and individuals drawn from the county set. This latter group is especially anonymous in the work of the R.S.P.B., rejecting publicity at all costs.

Of more recent origin is the group calling itself The Dunters. This organization, set up in 1979, represents the perpetuation of a group of individuals recruited to co-ordinate the protest against the seal cull of 1978. Its leading figures include Alistair McLeod, the Orkney Islands Council Youth Employment Officer, Margaret Flaws and Frances McKie, both incomer schoolmistresses who have married locally, and Margaret Gardno, an Orcadian hospital auxiliary. This group also draws a considerable degree of support from an extensive circle of

romantic incomers in St. Margaret's Hope and South Ronaldsay. In essence, its social characteristics and philosophical proclivities place it beside The Friends of the Earth as a radical ecological group.

The emergence of an environmental lobby within Orkney is due, by and large, to the activities of the local branch of The Friends of the Earth. This group, detached from the constraints of local opinion, has pursued its own radical philosophy since it first began an active programme in 1972, protesting against the arrival of the North Sea oil industry in Orkney. In 1977, its members played a significant part in opposing uranium mining in Orkney, and in 1978 these same people acted against the proposal to create a mink farm on the island of Westray and against the government-sponsored seal cull. The controversies surrounding uranium mining and seal culling remain active even now. This history of protest has created a specific political deployment between The Friends of the Earth, the Field Club, the Heritage Society, the R.S.P.B., and, more recently, The Dunters. It is to this deployment that attention is now directed.

One significant outcome of all this has been the "radicalization" of the Heritage Society. Moving from a position in which its sole interest lay in the preservation of Orkney's historic houses, it adopted a tentative commitment to environmental issues during the opening rounds of the North Sea oil campaign. This tentative commitment soon developed into a widening of the Society's remit and the adoption of a more forceful line on all likely environmental issues.

The involvement of Mrs. Flint of The Friends of the Earth in the life of the Heritage Society is crucial to any understanding of the Heritage Society's change of policy. Mrs. Flint is a long-standing member of the Heritage Society, having become interested in its planning function and in adopting the Society as a respectable and moderate ally to complement her own more contentious and outspoken Friends of the Earth. Mrs. Flint was sufficiently influential and persuasive in convincing the leadership of the Heritage Society to commit them to environmental campaigning. Indeed, this proved to be relatively straightforward:

"After the Heritage Society had secured the future of Papdale House (finally restored in 1973), it was rather at a loose end and since then has found various

causes to pursue, and has expanded its interests."

(Miss Bullard)

Ernest Marwick who, until his death in 1977, was the Chairman of the Heritage Society, was very much interested in Orkney's historic buildings. He saw these buildings and, in particular, Orkney's big houses as important elements in an idealized visual and social landscape. This free-ranging romanticism proved highly receptive to Mrs. Flint's arguments over questions such as North Sea Oil and uranium mining. Ernest Marwick felt that these things threatened both the physical and the social integrity of island life. On this basis he committed himself and his Society to opposing large-scale industrial developments in Orkney.

On his death, Marjorie Linklater, the widow of the famous writer Eric Linklater, became the Society's Chairman. By this time, Mrs. Flint had been nominated as the Society's Secretary, coming to occupy an influential role in the work of the group. Marjorie Linklater, who had settled permanently in Orkney in 1975, soon revealed herself as the heir to Ernest Marwick's outlook. Her work with the Aberdeen Civic Trust, the Saltire Society and the National Trust for Scotland, combined with her own experiences of the Easter Ross oil platform construction yard at Nigg Bay, within sight of her old house, had consolidated her sentimental interest in the past and her dislike of many aspects of modern-day society. This social conservatism made Mrs. Linklater highly responsive to Mrs. Flint's notions of a new order under which the supposed vulgarities of modern life might melt away. Mrs. Linklater has since become a member of the Orkney Friends of the Earth and also a member of the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace.

The result of all this is that the Heritage Society is more active in environmental issues than ever before, a trend which has brought approval from some sections of the wider membership and ambivalence from others. Returned expatriate members such as Dr. and Mrs. Shearer, with a somewhat indulgent view of the Orcadian countryside and its people, support what they see as the Society's encouraging stand in preserving Orkney's unique character. Others, the traditional élite of the islands, are more cautious. Whilst sympathizing with many environmental concerns, they believe that insufficient weight is given to local needs and susceptibilities. For example, Mrs. Grimond, who

was very influential in founding the Society, is suspicious of the need for a relentless pursuit of environmental ends. She is now content to remain on the periphery of the organization. Significantly, this fund of criticism does act as a brake on the Society's adoption and pursuit of environmental causes, counter-balancing Mrs. Flint's enthusiasms. Even so, Mrs. Flint's own personal reputation and her direction of the Heritage Society's affairs have, in unison, made the Society highly controversial in local eyes.

More generally, the part played by Mrs. Flint and The Friends of the Earth in environmental controversies attracts the suspicion and criticism of other groups. The Field Club, in the person of *a leading member*, is somewhat censorious:

"Friends of the Earth tends to go to extremes on certain issues. It's fairly powerful with its world-wide network of contacts and resources. Very few of its members are Orcadians. The Field Club prefers moderation and we have a large number of Orcadian members. But we have a tacit understanding with Friends of the Earth that if they play the role of extremists, the Field Club will adopt a moderate stand, with us entering any argument as objective outsiders. This is a useful tactic, and it works to everyone's advantage."

The Field Club under Miss Bullard is an organization associated with the traditional incomer philosophy of participation in local life and responsiveness to local feelings and opinions. In addition, its active and semi-professional interest in the natural world relies upon the good will of local people such as landowners, farmers, boatmen and the like. In consequence of this, it is inclined to adopt a moderate approach to environmental questions for fear of disturbing any local feelings. The environmental enthusiasm of the more romantic incomers is not always approved of in Orkney as a whole. The Field Club, in common with the more established sections of the Heritage Society, is aware of this.

Whereas Miss Bullard appreciates the energy and drive of The Friends of the Earth, she is concerned that their radicalism might provoke a local backlash against the Field Club's wildlife conservation schemes, which are necessarily limited by consideration for local views.<sup>(39)</sup> Furthermore, Miss Bullard believes that The Friends of the Earth group is something of a mixed blessing, in that it often identifies significant issues which then become tainted and difficult to pursue because of their involvement.

The Field Club is also antagonistic towards the Heritage Society's new-found radicalism, although Club and Society have always been rivals to some extent. Miss Bullard regards the Society as a newcomer to the Orkney scene. However, a certain sense of social inferiority clings to the Field Club's position:

"The Heritage Society has always been able to attract the big names and the right people. We (the Field Club) used to have an interest in local history, but we lost that side of things to the Heritage Society. I suppose they have the right sort of people for that sort of thing."

*(A leading member of the Club)*

This sense of competition encourages the Club to take part in the environmental issues raised by its rivals in order to maintain its own credibility and self-respect. Yet, at the same time, the Club is too cautious to adopt a crusading policy of its own. Indeed, the fact that the Field Club emphasizes its Orcadian colouring and its moderation, suggests an attempt to make a virtue out of necessity. Held back by its own equivocation, the Field Club feels itself overtaken by events and obliged to justify itself.

During his term of office with the R.S.P.B. from 1973 to 1980, Mr. Lea occupied something of an intermediate position in all this. On one hand, his own political acumen, combined with his organization's need for local co-operation, imposed a degree of moderation on his activities, but, on the other hand, his personal environmental consciousness encouraged action. The result of this was that he advised caution on the part of The Friends of the Earth, whilst encouraging a more aggressive approach in the case of moderate environmental interests such as the Field Club. In addition, he played a significant role in involving all sorts and conditions of organizations, largely through his own persuasiveness. By doing this, he hoped to heal the breach between local opinion and incomer environmentalism.

Despite his resignation from the R.S.P.B., Mr. Lea retains an authoritative place within the local scene. His knowledge, ability and wide-ranging contacts throughout the world of environmental organizations combine to maintain his influence. He continues to ensure the articulation of the environmental lobby in Orkney by his insistence on

a middle-of-the-road policy in all things. Thus, it is said that:

"David Lea is highly respected by everyone. He has that happy knack of bringing people together and enabling them to work together. He also has a talent for restraining his over-enthusiastic colleagues."

(A schoolteacher, Kirkwall)

However, the arrival of The Dunters on to the environmental platform suggests that the tide may be turning in favour of the radicals. The Dunters group seems to be part of a network involving The Friends of the Earth, Mrs. Flint and Mrs. Linklater. Mrs. Flint is a personal friend of many of The Dunters, having been involved with them in their previous existence as Selkie (anti-seal cull co-ordinating body), and she regards them with a maternal eye:

"Many of the Selkie ..... helpers are now firmly in the environmental movement." (40)

Alistair McLeod, the leader of The Dunters, is one of Mrs. Flint's ablest lieutenants in The Friends of the Earth. This network is especially strong on the question of uranium mining, invoking the nuclear issue so beloved of environmental radicals everywhere.

This analysis of the political deployment of Orkney's conservation groups has identified a division between the Orkney Field Club and the remaining conservation groups, as well as between the established members of the Orkney Heritage Society and the new leadership.\* These divisions occur on the basis of environmental radicalism and are associated with some notion of local responsibility. Here, responsibility is, in essence, a commitment to local life resulting in a highly-developed respect for local attitudes to authority and to the physical environment. The romantic incomers' failure or inability to come to terms with these local attitudes has made it difficult for them to advance their environmental arguments within the native population of Orkney. Thus, the time has come to examine these considerations more carefully.

In the first instance, it must be emphasized that Orcadians are disinclined to assume formal positions of leadership and that they tend to be suspicious of those people who do come forward to fill their

\* See Appendix Six for a diagrammatic representation of this deployment.

offices. As a local commentator<sup>(41)</sup> has written:

"The Orcadian's reluctance to push himself forward in his community is part of a general social pattern of non-aggressiveness in which individuals go out of their way to avoid putting pressure on the rest of a group. . . . . Orcadians are reluctant to accept office in societies and community organizations . . . . . you must never be "biggsy" . . . . . adopting artificial manners and attitudes in an attempt to be superior to one's contemporaries."

In a society of co-operating and inter-connected individuals such as Orkney, self-aggrandizement is deprecated for fear of challenging self-esteem and of provoking contention and the disruption of relationships. Those people who venture to acquire public influence need an adroitness of manner to maintain this ascendancy as well as to protect their personal reputations.<sup>(42)</sup>

By and large, most Orcadians prefer an informal and discreet approach to achieving the business of local life. Against this background, the traditional incomers of Orkney are both encouraged and expected to occupy the more formal offices of parish and county organizations. In this way, the traditional incomers may be said to act as local *arbitrators* and as the official representatives of Orkney in the wider world outside the islands.<sup>(43)</sup> However, such positions of authority are not entirely trouble-free:

"Incomers are sometimes accused of mis-representing local feeling, but one is used as a tool on many occasions. Orcadians are complacent and quite happy to see one acting as an ombudsman. Incomers are used to doing more. One expects to have meetings and to sit on committees. It comes naturally. The locals sit back feeling complacent. However, if they feel one is taking on too much, they resent it and can become unpleasant. There is acrimony, but they benefit."

( *An established incomer politician* )

This ambiguity of feeling is typical of many traditional incomers who have links with the local population. Their skills and their position within local life lead to the acquisition of authority, but they are also aware of criticism, to which they are sensitive.<sup>(44)</sup>

As the early chapters of this thesis have indicated, this type of authority, however circumscribed, is denied to the romantic

incomers because they do not occupy recognized niches within local life. From an Orcadian point of view, these people are regarded as rivals, offering a challenge to local values and ambitions. This applies to most romantic incomers, especially those who have formed voluntary organizations of their own or who are vociferous in complaining about local issues:

"In the last few years the local newspaper has quite often been full of letters criticising Orkney. Most of these letters are written by incomers of a few years' residence. Incomers are not a problem when they conform to the local way of doing things. It is when they begin telling the local people what to do that the difficulties really begin."

(*Local politician*, Stromness)

The environmental lobby has attracted much criticism in this respect. Its main difficulty is that its leading members appear to lack any obvious place within native society. To this extent, their attempts at leadership and influence are regarded as both unwarranted and unacceptable. In addition, the philosophical aspect of the environment lobby does not attract widespread support. Local people tend to view their environment as an exploitable resource. Theirs is, by inheritance, a utilitarian and materialistic outlook. This underlies such things as the popular approval of, for instance, the fashion for modern bungalows, the condition of local farmyards, the destruction of archaeological sites, the use of sand from beaches, the consumption of gulls' eggs (including those of protected species), the drainage of ecologically-interesting wetlands and the agricultural reclamation of picturesque hill-scenery; and the strong popular disapproval of Orkney Islands Council's physical planning policy. All these activities suggest an addiction not to the countryside as a charming and immemorial landscape but as the workaday setting for mundane pursuits. This makes Orcadians less than amenable to any attempts at restricting their use of the physical environment. For example, as an Orkney Islands Council planner bemoaned:

"Most Orcadians are against planning controls and are against our housing policy. They have no idea of amenity, no regard for landscape, and have scant interest in problems of drainage and water. The problem is that they are rather too practical in

their outlook and are used to doing as they please."

The environment lobby within Orkney is conscious not only of the problems of achieving authority over local life, but of the difficulty of overcoming local resistance to the idea of "environment". Indeed, the weakness of their authority hangs, as a Sword of Damocles, over the radical environmentalists. In this instance, the established range of moderate environmental opinion is especially responsive to local susceptibilities:

"As soon as an organization is dominated by incomers, it invariably loses its local members and its local people. It really is something of a struggle to maintain local membership, but well worth the effort."

(Miss Bullard)

Even so, the most radical environmentalists, despite being less sensitive to local opinion, are also envious of this whole issue as a constraint on their activities:

"The Heritage Society is 50% local and 50% incomer. The presence of so many incomers is probably a handicap, especially since they tend to be amongst our most active members."

(Mrs. Linklater, Orkney Heritage Society)

Similarly, Mrs. Flint (1981) has written that:

"Orkney society has characteristics that make it unique. Orcadians basically respect authority, if reasonably exercised, and are respectful of it, but resentful of interference by outsiders whether in positions of authority or not. They especially dislike being told what to do by people who are not of themselves. Tolerant to a remarkable degree, they will be quiet and placid for a long time if imposed upon but then something like an immunological reaction takes place - the offending matter can take no hold and is sloughed off."

(ibid., p.149)

Orkney's conservationists are also conscious of local attitudes towards the environment, although moderate opinion within the conservationist movement tends to be more accommodating:

"I am very worried about the conservation problem. Orcadians have something of an inferiority complex

which leads them to undervalue everything they possess. It is all tied up with the business of not being "biggsy." This is a very strong trait in their character. It takes an outsider to appreciate the uniqueness of things, even in the flora and fauna of the islands. It really is up to us to make Orcadians more aware of the value of what they possess."

*(A leading member of the Orkney Field Club)*

Elsewhere, radical opinion takes on a more belligerent aspect:

"We know what has gone wrong in other parts of the country and it is our duty to prevent the despoliation of the landscape here. Local people may not always be on our side, but this does not make our task any less pressing."

(Mrs. Flint)

Another consideration associated with the joint issues of romantic incomer authority and native attitudes towards the environment is that of the ultimate aim of the conservationists. The fact that the conservation movement's most publicized figures are incomers of recent standing encourages, apart from distrust, a suspicion that their principal goal is the prevention of social modernization.

The division between the idealistic aims of the radical environmentalists and the utilitarian standards of local society, together with the local criticism of the environmentalists as social obstructionists, are both played out in an explicit and public manner on the local Islands Council:

"The Council has, on the whole, always had a cynical view of conservation movements, although individual members have sometimes had a personal interest, either generally or in some particular instance. The Council's tendency is always to oppose any expression of enthusiasm on the matter of conservation."

(Mr. Groundwater, retired Islands Councillor, amateur naturalist, and a member of the Field Club)

In the years from 1974 to 1977, at a time when Orkney's environmental lobby was especially active in pursuing controversial topics, the Council was said to be divided into three camps on the subject of conservation. Thus, it was argued that the Council members included active conservationists, committed developers supporting economic advance as an urgent priority, and a middle-of-the-road majority

seeking a balanced approach to these matters.<sup>(45)</sup> Towards the end of the life of this Council, *a leading conservationist claimed that:*

"The environmental movement has always been dogged by ill-educated Councillors. As for trying to work from within the Council, that would be a hit-and-miss affair with such an eccentric body."

However, it may be that this qualifies as unfair criticism of the 1974-1977 Council. In truth, education is not a useful criterion in assessing the activities of this body. The Council's approach to conservationism during this period was the product of a more general division between idealists and pragmatists amongst its members. The same groups operated in contra-distinction under other sets of circumstances involving different issues. The subject of conservationism was simply caught up in this dichotomy. However, it is true to say that the dedicated advancement of a pro- or anti-conservation line was the work of particular individuals within the relevant groups. After 1977, the ranks on both sides of the conservationist line were somewhat depleted although certain major figures remained.

More generally, despite its emphasis on balance, the middle-of-the-road group on the 1974 - 1977 Council was somewhat suspicious of the motives of the conservationists. In 1977, Mr. Eunson, a member of the central group and now the Convener of the current Islands Council, argued that:

"The incomers reject industry. However, Orcadians must have something. We need jobs, otherwise there will be depopulation. We cannot be made to act out some story-book way of life."

At the time, such criticism was not lost on the incomers on the Council, least of all on those traditional incomers involved in conservation.

#### S U M M A R Y

Both the traditional élite and the romantic incomers draw upon a tradition of Arcadianism. If anything, the élite has a keener appreciation of the rural virtues of Orkney, since they employ their sentimental vision of the islands to maintain a conservative view of the social order. For their part, the romantic incomers seem prepared to sacrifice the requirements of local society to some compelling belief in the sanctity of the natural world. This point of view has

become firmly established in the conservationists' scheme of things, in which they seek to serve human society as a whole, rather than some small part of it.

Unlike many romantics, the members of the traditional *élite* do not feel dissatisfied in their daily lives, and possess a keen sense of public duty. Thus they have a predilection for moderation in approaching the topic of environmental protection. They feel that the more radically-minded ecologists are out of touch with local public feeling, an impression that draws some of its strength from their own disapproval of the apparent "aimlessness" of romantic incomer life as a whole. In addition, they are fearful of the political rivalry offered by this group in its pursuit of environmental claims. For their part, the romantic incomers of the conservation movement feel themselves isolated from local life, and impelled to pursue their individualism. Indeed, they have been especially engaged by the questions of uranium extraction and seal culling, two subjects not unconnected to major concerns within the wider theology of the international movement of radical ecology.

Ultimately, the political advancement of environmentalism in Orkney is concerned with the interaction of moderate environmentalists and radical ecologists. However, it is also important to consider the factor of public opinion, which is antipathetic to the political and philosophical pretensions of the romantic radicals. Indeed, the weight of public opprobrium is a major factor in constraining the ambitions of these incomers.

It is now time to add some flesh to the skeleton which has been constructed here. In order to achieve this, the following chapter is devoted to the consideration of actual case-studies, in the form of environmental protests involving the four major controversies; North Sea oil, uranium extraction, mink farming and seal culling. These events represent the forging of the romantic incomers' dedication to environmentalism, despite the criticisms of the *élite*, the resistance of popular opinion and the vicissitudes of circumstances. Having established this, it will then become possible to review the activities of the environmental radicals in the light of the work of the theorists referred to in Chapter Five, and in the context of the thesis as a whole.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### PROTEST AND POWER

This chapter examines the various constraints on the pursuit of environmentalism within Orkney. In particular, the intention is to consider the strength of public opinion and the exigencies of political deployment of Orkney's conservation groups in this respect. The most effective way of achieving this appears to be in the form of four case studies tracing the environmentalists' activities in opposing oil-related developments in Scapa Flow, uranium prospecting in the Stromness area, mink farming on Westray, and seal culling around the shores of the islands. Following this, it becomes possible to establish that the environmentalists only have a limited degree of power to influence events. However, it is possible to demonstrate that in so far as the romantic incomers regard themselves as part of a social movement, they are able to overcome any sense of discouragement which they may encounter. Here, the writings of various authors concerning voluntary association are of considerable significance, and may be discussed in relation to the extent to which Orkney's environmental associations have become truly purposeful and political organizations. Ultimately, the protests of the environmentalists have secured them a degree of influence over local life, but their efforts have also won them the recognition of the wider world of national and international conservation.

#### CASE STUDY ONE: THE ARRIVAL OF THE NORTH SEA OIL INDUSTRY<sup>(1)</sup>

In October 1972, Christiani and Nielsen Ltd., a Croydon-based firm of civil engineers, applied to Orkney County Council for outline planning permission to set up a concrete platform construction yard at Houton, on the northern shores of Scapa Flow.<sup>(2)</sup> This proposal was brought to the attention of Mrs. Flint, whose recently-acquired house was perilously close to the likely site of the yard. Mrs. Flint then mobilized protest, canvassing her neighbours in Orphir, writing to "The Orcadian", distributing leaflets, arranging petitions to the Council and bringing influence to bear on notable personalities in Orphir and elsewhere in Orkney, seeking their support for the

campaign. A groundswell of popular opinion built up in the parish, the local inhabitants becoming alarmed at what they saw as the impending nuisance value of a large-scale construction site in terms of its destruction of property, its traffic and its noise.

Certain members of the county set living in Orphir, Colonel Macrae and Mr. Halcro-Johnston, joined the protest out of a sense of public duty. Their objections to the proposals mirrored those of the parish, the popular nature of the cause overcoming their normal reluctance to enter public controversy. Mrs. Flint, whilst having a personal interest in preventing this large-scale industrial development from endangering her own property, was also motivated by the wider issues of the case. Along with the other members of The Friends of the Earth, she was convinced that the Houton scheme would mean the destruction of part of Orkney's landscape, and that it could only lead to pollution. On this basis, The Friends of the Earth made its opposition to Houton known in a highly vociferous manner, an opposition given a greater edge by the feeling that the Houton plan represented an aspect of man's world-wide despoliation of nature.

Mrs. Flint also encouraged the involvement of the Orkney Field Club and the Orkney Heritage Society, marking the entry of these two organizations into active environmental protest for the first time. The motives of these established groups were mixed. To an extent, their rationale, like that of Colonel Macrae and Mr. Halcro-Johnston, was one of public duty. However, there was also a feeling that what they regarded as Orkney's special character, in both physical and social terms, was under threat from the modern world. Similar considerations led to the participation of the romantic incomers in the campaign against Houton. They were fearful of what they saw as the inevitable arrival of urban greed and competition in the wake of an oil-related development, bringing about the destruction of local values and impinging upon their own experience of the supposed purity of local life. In addition, the romantic incomers feared that their communion with nature would be compromised by the mere presence of such a large-scale development in the islands. These complaints were tolerated by local opinion, normally suspicious of incomer sentimentality, because they formed part of a polemic against the Houton proposals.

Many of these considerations emerged at a public meeting held in Orphir in October, 1972, to protest about the Houton scheme.

As a newspaper report<sup>(3)</sup> of the time records:

"Speaker after speaker spoke out against the project, objecting to it mainly on the effects it would have on the environment and on their way of life."

However, for the most part these speakers were incomers. As a member of the Council at the time recalled:

"Both the locals and the incomers of the area were against the scheme although local opposition was something of an undercurrent compared to that of the incomers."

For their part, the local population of Orphir remained concerned with more practical matters:

"Many local people felt very unhappy about the Houton scheme. They were frightened of losing their houses and their farms. Some people were concerned about where they would live, and others spoke out against the inconvenience of noise, lorries, and the whole problem of large-scale construction works."

(A local clergyman)

It was arguments such as this, not to say the popular dimension of the protest as a whole, which impressed both the Council and the native population of the islands.<sup>(4)</sup> Thus, in December 1972, a General Meeting of the County Council of Orkney deferred a final decision on whether or not to grant outline planning permission to Christiani and Nielsen Ltd., for their Houton yard.<sup>(5)</sup> Subsequently, the unprofessional behaviour of the firm's representative in Orkney,<sup>(6)</sup> combined with a clarification of the County Council's thinking on oil-related developments, resulted in a rejection of short-term activities such as platform construction yards and hardened local opinion against the Houton scheme.<sup>(7)</sup> In any case, it emerged that Houton Bay was not entirely suitable for the type of development<sup>(8)</sup> and it was not long before Christiani and Nielsen abandoned their ill-fated speculative venture.<sup>(9)</sup>

Orkney's subsequent experience of developments within the North Sea oil industry was, in many respects, less contentious. In May of 1973, Occidental of Great Britain, a large oil consortium, expressed an interest in the island of Flotta as a likely site for

an oil terminal to serve its oil fields in the North Sea.<sup>(10)</sup> In the following months, Occidental held public meetings, consulted all shades of public opinion and cultivated the Council in a most assiduous manner, in order to win support for its plans. Indeed, the oil company appeared to offer a range of most attractive proposals, promising a long-term development with the prospect not only of the revitalization of the island of Flotta but of economic rewards for large sections of the Orcadian population in general. In addition, the company announced itself willing to pay attention to its impact on the local economy, on the physical environment and on the social life of the islands.<sup>(11)</sup>

The Council and Orcadians as a whole were disinclined to give much weight to the social implications of any development on Flotta; the isolation of the terminal from the Mainland of Orkney was regarded as sufficient protection in this respect. This approach was consolidated by an underlying resistance to sentimental evaluations of local life. Occidental was not inclined to pursue this matter but the company and the Council did spend a significant amount of time in reaching a mutually satisfactory financial settlement.<sup>(12)</sup> In addition, Occidental was also intent on proving its commitment to environmental protection. This much-publicized goal was, in part, a pragmatic response to the new international climate of environmental opinion,<sup>(13)</sup> although the Council's planning consultants and government agencies such as the Nature Conservancy Council were also insistent on certain environmental concessions from the company.<sup>(14)</sup> At any rate, the company soon gained something of a reputation for its environmental awareness and, in a newspaper article,<sup>(15)</sup> the Chief Executive of the new Islands Council acknowledged that:

"The group as a whole, and Occidental in particular, have proved to be co-operative and the relationship with the Council has been cordial. The group has shown an awareness of ecological problems and they have always been willing to accept practical advice from conservationists."

In general, the company was able to claim that:<sup>(16)</sup>

"The success of the Occidental Consortium's Flotta development is based on continuing dialogue with all interested groups ..... This high level of consultation, linked with an awareness of the social and environmental impact of siting and of

constructing the terminal on Flotta, and a willingness to listen and digest, has been the major factor in the establishment of the good relations and respect which have enabled the terminal to be successfully planned, built and integrated into the fabric of Orkney."

Such assurances were sufficient to mollify the traditional incomers amongst the local conservationists, leading the Orkney Field Club to give its tacit approval to the Flotta scheme. The Orkney Heritage Society was more ambivalent, because of Mrs. Flint's protests against the scheme. However, with moderate opinion within the Society acting against Mrs. Flint, the membership decided to follow the example of the Field Club. Both groups were unwilling to raise more than a few cursory objections, given the positive response of local people to the proposals advanced by Occidental. Thus, in retrospect, it is commonly agreed that:

"The general attitude to oil was favourable. Environmental organizations such as the Field Club and the Heritage Society had their reservations, for example about pollution, but these have given way to approval."

(Mr. Coghill, O.I.C. Development Officer)

However, many romantic incomers remained fearful:

"I was most concerned about oil. I suppose I was frightened that an excess of money would bring selfishness and greed, and that people would forget the finer points of life. Orkney has such a peaceful way of life, and hearing reports from Aberdeen and Shetland depressed me. However, things are not as bad as we expected and many of the oil people are very nice. I'm glad my life here was not shattered."

(Incomer, Orphir)

Such sentiments were expressed by the romantic incomers during the discussions surrounding the Flotta development. However, their insistence on the need to preserve what they saw as the essential morality of local life was resented by many Orcadians, who regarded this as no more than an attempt to deny them the rewards of twentieth century life.

Orkney's radical conservationists made up another element of resistance to the Flotta scheme. Mrs. Flint and The Friends of the Earth maintained an active flow of criticism. Not only were

they concerned with factors such as pollution, but they feared the political domination of the islands by Occidental, and believed that Flotta would become no more than a small cog in a system of international greed and environmental destruction. Mr. Lea of the R.S.P.B. expressed his concern about the possible pollution of Scapa Flow and the likely fate of local bird life. However, he did bow to local opinion, while retaining a cynical view of Occidental's interest in environmental protection.

The campaign mounted by The Friends of the Earth and Mrs. Flint's sustained opposition to Flotta did much to provoke local hostility, with many of the accusations made against the romantic incomers attaching themselves to the radical wing of the conservation movement. Such criticism also coloured local attitudes to conservation in general<sup>(17)</sup> and may be said to have dogged the environmental movement ever since:

"The incomers started to arrive in Orkney in the early 1970's. Many of them objected to Orkney's oil developments, and they seem to have gone on objecting about things ever since. They want Orkney to stay as it was. "The Orcadian" was full of their letters (about Flotta) and people have resented it."

(Farmer , Deerness)

In August 1973, Occidental made its formal application for outline planning permission. Full planning permission was granted in January 1974, the first phase of the new terminal coming into operation in December of that year.

In the case of the Houton Bay protest, the short-term nature and the intense inconvenience of a platform construction yard provoked popular opposition. This in turn led to a suspension of Orcadian reservations concerning the political manoeuvrings and sentimental proclivities of incomers. Thus environmental objections to Houton thrived in a sympathetic atmosphere and were expressed by all sections of the local environmental movement. However, Occidental's Flotta scheme offered long-term benefits which were attractive locally. The environmental movement found itself split over this issue, its radical wing exposed to public criticism because of its opposition to Flotta. The intensity of this criticism was sufficient to prejudice local opinion against all forms of environmental endeavour.

CASE STUDY TWO: THE SEARCH FOR URANIUM<sup>(18)</sup>

In 1970, the Institute of Geological Sciences identified a seam of uranium in and around Stromness. Some time after this, Rio Tinto Zinc, the international mining company, displayed an interest in this seam. On discovering this, Mrs. Flint and Mr. Ernest Marwick began to examine the likely intentions of the company. However, R.T.Z. did not pursue the matter, with the result that Mrs. Flint and Mr. Marwick abandoned their efforts.

A number of years later, in September 1976, the South of Scotland Electricity Board proposed to drill eleven test bore-holes in the Stromness area. This was to evaluate the commercial potential of the uranium in the seam identified by the 1970 geological survey. The S.S.E.B. sought and acquired the permission of local landowners, giving the Board the right to carry out the work. In January 1977, the Board applied to the Islands Council for outline planning permission to conduct its drilling operations.<sup>(19)</sup> The Council was inclined to regard this request as a technical and uncontroversial matter. However, Mr. Lea learned of the Board's plans and, alarmed at the prospect of uranium extraction in Orkney, wrote a letter to "The Orcadian", alerting the public to what was happening.<sup>(20)</sup>

Following Mr. Lea's letter, Mrs. Flint and The Friends of The Earth began an extremely vigorous campaign against the S.S.E.B.'s plans. Mrs. Flint expressed her fear at the pollution potential of uranium extraction and milling. Whilst recognizing that S.S.E.B.'s short-term proposals were concerned with prospecting, she felt the the mining of the Stromness uranium seam was a strong possibility. Underlying her fears, and those of The Friends of The Earth as a whole, was an instinctive opposition to nuclear-based technology. As Mrs. Flint remembered:

"Friends of The Earth was very keen to oppose uranium mining. The "Oxy" (the local familiar term for the Occidental consortium) experience had taught us the large-scale developments do not provide very many longterm jobs and that they simply denude the local labour market. So we could see that uranium offered few benefits and many disadvantages ... there was also the nuclear side of things, which we were all keen to obstruct."

Mrs. Flint turned to the Heritage Society, where her influence had become well-established, and persuaded its Chairman, Mrs. Linklater, to commit the Society to the anti-uranium camp. This was easily accomplished on an issue which appeared to offer the prospect of popular sympathy. From Mrs. Flint's point of view, the Heritage Society represented a useful vehicle for her activities, having, in comparative terms, more local colour and a less controversial reputation than The Friends of the Earth. In this way, Mrs. Flint attempted to accommodate herself to the exigencies of local feeling on the subject of vociferous outsiders, putting into practice a degree of caution learned during the protest against Flotta.

Mr. Lea, however, felt that Mrs. Flint's attempts were insufficient and that Orkney's leading campaigners would be well advised to oversee any anti-uranium campaign from the rear:

"I felt it would be wrong if the protest against the S.S.E.B. was organized by a few well-known people. The whole idea of the campaign was to arouse popular feeling in the widest popular sense.

However, despite his reservations about the nature of the uranium protest movement, Mr. Lea was quite convinced that such a movement was necessary. Indeed, the determination of Orkney's more radical conservationists was guaranteed by an existing sense of disquiet within national conservation circles over issues such as the development of the Torness nuclear plant,<sup>(21)</sup> and the disposal of nuclear waste materials in remote areas.<sup>(22)</sup> In addition, Mrs. Flint, through the national organization of The Friends of the Earth, had access to reports on uranium mining in other parts of the world, some of these reports offering decidedly pessimistic analyses of their subject matter.

Mr. Lea set the tone of the campaign with his diplomatic and cautionary efforts. He encouraged the conservationists to seek the co-operation of local notables and the help of influential local organizations. Thus, Mr. McInnes, the redoubtable Rector of Stromness Academy, a long-standing C.N.D. supporter and a member of the Heritage Society, was recruited by Mrs. Flint and Mr. Lea. His activities, generated by a dislike of nuclear technology and by a determination to safeguard the physical and social structure of Stromness and its hinterland, were extremely important in arousing and co-ordinating

popular feeling in Stromness and in the West Mainland of Orkney as a whole.

In time, as the anti-uranium campaign took on a popular dimension, the Field Club committed itself to supporting its fellow conservationists. Miss Bullard, the Club's guiding force, decided that such a commitment was both necessary and possible in a climate of opinion free of any complaints about "interfering outsiders."

Part of the conservationists' strategy was to popularize their arguments and this technique proved to be extremely useful in rallying local organizational support. In this way, Orkney's two Chambers of Commerce, the local branch of the National Farmers' Union, and local fishing organizations, were won over when it was suggested to them by Mr. Lea and others, that any wind-blown dust from a uranium mine might pollute local produce, leading to a national boycott of any foodstuffs emanating from Orkney. In a similar way, the Orkney Trout Fishing Association and the Orkney Tourist Organization were alerted to the likely effects of uranium mining on their interests. Other bodies, such as the Orkney Area Medical Committee, declared their fears concerning the prospects for local health and safety in the event of S.S.E.B.'s commencing mining operations.<sup>(23)</sup>

All of this had the effect of producing a decidedly heterogeneous campaign, involving the whole of Orkney. Thus:

"There was a tremendous spontaneous reaction. Normally mild people became very agitated. The media stirred things up, the T.V. and the national press. Friends of the Earth and the Heritage Society, with the petition, helped to form local opinion but the overall protest was made up of different groups acting separately."

(Mr. Sinclair, Chairman of Stromness Community Council)

For the most part, local people in Stromness were more concerned with protecting their homes, their jobs and their daily lives than with resisting nuclear technology or with preserving some ideal conception of Orcadian society. The local reaction to uranium, both in Stromness and elsewhere, was decidedly practical:

"I've no idea where we would have gone. We'd have lost our jobs, our house, everything. People would have lost their farms, and then there was the danger

of dust and goodness knows what else."

(Mrs. Cursiter, Stromness)

Elsewhere it is recalled that:

"Uranium was the only thing since the war to get Orcadians going. People were frightened of radiation and vast destruction. The farming community was very alarmed and people were frightened that the tourist industry was going to go down even further."

(Local member of the Orkney Labour Party)

However, the more sentimental musings of various traditional incomers were accepted by local people as politically advantageous. Indeed, this same sense of calculation may well have influenced some members of the Orcadian establishment in their statements about uranium and the local way of life. Mr. Jo Grimond, the Islands' M.P., announced that: (24)

"The threat of uranium mining could be more vital to Orkney than devolution (then being discussed) and a greater threat to the island way of life and landscape than oil."

Such emotional statements were also discernible amongst the romantic incomers, who were quick to support the anti-uranium campaign. Their involvement was, for once, welcomed by many local people in a campaign where weight of numbers was an advantage.

In a sense, the campaign against uranium was obliged to develop into a large and noisy affair. The S.S.E.B. remained intransigent in the face of local protests and was clearly not amenable to quiet arguments and gentle persuasion. The Board's position was a difficult one. Faced with growing restrictions on the international trade in uranium, its increased cost as a result of these restrictions, and a nuclear expansion programme at home, the Board was committed to securing a domestic supply of the fuel. (25)

As the anti-uranium campaign developed, the S.S.E.B. was accused of having acquired its agreements with local landowners in the Stromness area by deceit and undue pressure. This interpretation of events was encouraged by the leading conservationists, and, given the state of public opinion, the landowners in question were all too ready to accede to it. (26)

Faced with complaints about the supposed machinations of an outside body on the local scene, as well as with petitions, circulars and letters, the Islands Council was quick to express its sympathy for the campaign.<sup>(27)</sup> Councillors, and Orcadians in general, were impressed by the local tone of the protest and reassured by what appeared to be the peripheral involvement of well-known conservationists. For its part, the Council was especially concerned with forecasts suggesting the physical destruction and the economic ruin of the islands as likely consequences of uranium extraction.<sup>(28)</sup> In addition, the Council was particularly sensitive to outside agencies becoming involved in local life at a time when it was considering its own position, and what it saw as Orkney's potential vulnerability, under a devolved form of government in Scotland.<sup>(29)</sup>

On the 8th February 1977, the Council's Development, Planning and Control Committee met to consider the S.S.E.B.'s planning application. To the accompaniment of a protest march in the street outside, designed for the benefit of the S.S.E.B. officials at the meeting, the Committee rejected the Board's proposals. This decision was subsequently ratified by a General Meeting of the Council a fortnight later.

In order to consolidate its position in respect of uranium mining, the Islands Council set about promoting a Provisional Order in Parliament as a means of acquiring power over mineral extraction in the county. Furthermore, the Council amended its Structure Plan to include uranium mining as an undesirable industry in the context of Orkney.

However, despite the best endeavours of the Council, and the personal representations by Mrs. Flint to the Parliamentary Committee concerned, the Council's Provisional Order emerged from the legislative process in an emasculated form. Although it allowed the Council powers over mineral extraction, it reserved the right to the Secretary of State for Scotland to be the final arbiter in such matters.<sup>(30)</sup> Similarly, the S.S.E.B. was successful in its appeal against the Council's amendment to its Structure Plan. A Public Examination held in Orkney in March 1979, which was regarded locally as a "trial", re-aroused public passions, but to no avail. Whilst the Council's amendment was permitted to stand, the Secretary of State for Scotland let it be known that he retained the right to waive it in the national

interest.<sup>(31)</sup> Soon after this, the immediate prospect of uranium mining having been warded off, popular interest in the subject faded away. However, groups such as the Heritage Society and, more recently, "The Dunters" remain ever-vigilant.

In the instance of the uranium protest, the environmentalists were most effective at local level in popularizing their arguments through established channels of authority. Their adroitness in organizing and directing local feeling at this time is confirmed by the fact that, today, people look back on this whole episode as a time of Orcadian activity. However, the environmentalists were less successful at a national level, failing to persuade the government, which was intent on maintaining a nuclear power policy, to ban uranium mining in Orkney.

### CASE STUDY THREE: THE WESTRAY MINK

In April 1977, Mr. W. Drever, a Westray man who had spent most of his life in Edinburgh, applied for outline planning permission to construct a mink farm on his native island. When this was discussed at a meeting of the Council's Development, Planning and Control Committee in May, a division appeared between the pro- and anti-conservation interests of the Committee. The opposition to Mr. Drever's scheme came from Mr. Groundwater, supported by Mr. Lea in his role as the R.S.P.B.'s local representative and by Mr. Richardson, the Nature Conservancy Council's northern representative based in Shetland. All three were alarmed at the likelihood of a feral mink population becoming established on an island famed in ornithological circles as an important bird colony, protected in part by the N.C.C. as a Site of Special Scientific Interest, Grade I, and in part by the R.S.P.B. as a Reserve.<sup>(32)</sup> However, the sacrosanct nature of anything to do with the economic development of the North Isles tipped the scales, with the result that Mr. Drever was awarded outline planning permission.

Following this, Mr. Lea and Mr. Richardson allowed the matter to rest, because they had no wish to challenge a small individual developer, and because of what they saw as the potentially contentious nature of any protest against a development on one of the outer isles.

This decision was respected by Orkney's other conservationists. Later, in what developed into a protest against Mr. Drever's proposals, Mr. Lea looked back to his first encounter with the mink question:

"At the time I decided not to pursue the matter. I had no desire to take on an individual. In retrospect, given the interest that is starting to emerge, I may have been wrong."

The interest referred to by Mr. Lea was generated by Dr. Bourne, an English G.P. living in Aberdeen with a long-standing interest in the seabirds of the North Atlantic.<sup>(33)</sup> On learning of the plan to set up a mink farm on Westray, Dr. Bourne mounted an active campaign of protest. He wrote articles and letters for the media throughout the country.<sup>(34)</sup> He used his contacts within Parliament<sup>(35)</sup> and within the academic world<sup>(36)</sup> to publicize his case. He persuaded both the N.C.C. and the R.S.P.B. that their interests in Orkney were at stake, and when they joined his campaign they in turn were able to recruit the Ornithologists' Club, the British Trust for Ornithology and the Scottish Wildlife Trust.<sup>(37)</sup>

Much of this activity had reverberations in Orkney. Mr. Lea came under increasing pressure from Dr. Bourne and from the R.S.P.B. to oppose the mink farm in an active way, whilst the N.C.C. applied similar pressure on Mr. Richardson. Miss Bullard was brought into the controversy through her links with the Scottish Wildlife Trust. Dr. Bourne also involved Ivor Montagu, the President of the Fauna Preservation Society, an acquaintance of his with a holiday home on Rousay. Mr. Montagu wrote a series of articles on the mink farming issue, having them published in "The Orcadian".<sup>(38)</sup> Mr. Montagu also encouraged the involvement of the Heritage Society in his campaign. His request to the Society was taken up by Dr. Shearer, one of its leading members. Dr. Shearer, a returned expatriate living in Kirkwall but a native of Westray, was eager to preserve the picturesque reputation of his old home. The outcome of all this was that the Society took up the anti-mink cause, but not without a degree of resistance from the more moderate committee members.

The participation of these local organizations was more than a matter of personal persuasion and official pressure. Most of Orkney's leading conservationists became increasingly convinced by the anti-mink argument as it progressed around them,

and, in a sense, the exhortations of Dr. Bourne and the other outsiders simply served to give the local conservationists sufficient encouragement to play an active role in the campaign. On becoming involved, the local radical conservationists pursued the anti-mink cause with their usual sense of commitment.

At the national level, the Nature Conservancy Council persuaded the Secretary of State for Scotland to ask the Orkney Islands Council to dismiss Mr. Drever's application.<sup>(39)</sup> The Secretary of State responded sympathetically to this request. At the time, the Scottish Office was involved in reviewing and strengthening the restrictions on Sites of Special Scientific Interest such as the site on Westray. Thus the Scottish Office was eager to bring the Orkney case into line just as the new regulations were about to be published.

The Council's Planning Committee met on the 11th October, 1977 to consider whether or not to grant Mr. Drever full planning permission for his mink farm. The Secretary of State's request that the Council reject Mr. Drever's plans carried a considerable amount of weight with part of the Committee, thus producing something of a deadlock between the more enthusiastic supporters of North Isles development and the more cautious reaches of the Committee. However,

the Committee decision went in favour of Mr. Drever.<sup>(40)</sup> This decision was ratified by that month's General Council Meeting, the spell of the Secretary of State's request having been broken.<sup>(41)</sup>

Following this, the Secretary of State served an injunction on the Council, requiring a Public Inquiry to be held into the matter of Mr. Drever's mink farm. This suspension of the normal procedures governing local authority planning decisions, although allowed for in the relevant planning legislation,<sup>(42)</sup> led to a hardening of the Council's position, its integrity as a planning authority and its autonomy as a local authority being apparently in question.

A three-day Public Inquiry was held in February 1978. The Council argued that not only had they observed the proper planning procedures, applying the necessary restrictions and requirements to Mr. Drever's scheme, they had gone even further by insisting upon extraordinary precautions against the possible escape of mink. Furthermore, the Council argued the Mr. Drever's scheme offered various social and economic advantages to the island of Westray, and that it was possible to exaggerate the

destructive effects of feral mink, even supposing any of Mr. Drever's mink were to escape.

The Nature Conservancy Council, in the form of Mr. Richardson and his colleague Mr. Matthew, along with Dr. Bourne and Mr. Montagu, led the attack on the Council's position, questioning most of the reasons for supporting Mr. Drever. The content of their argument was factual and it was, to an extent, about preserving the official status of Sites of Special Scientific Interest. Certain emotional undercurrents were discernible. Dr. Bourne<sup>(43)</sup> had already expressed his frustration with the Council's refusal to take account of national pressure:

".... expressed in the form of a political request from the Secretary of State for Scotland to conserve their unique environment at a time when it is threatened by an ever-accelerating series of developments of unprecedented magnitude due to the establishment of the North Sea oil industry."

Dr. Bourne maintained the same tone of frustration during the Public Inquiry, directing it at the so-called folly of the Council in refusing to recognize what he saw as the significance of the natural world as a spiritual resource for mankind. Mr. Lea, who, along with a colleague from the R.S.P.B., was committed to protecting his organization's bird reserve on Westray and, by implication, the integrity of their reserves elsewhere, was also concerned with the island as "one of the great wildlife spectacles of Europe."<sup>(44)</sup> In a similar vein, Mr. Leith of the Field Club referred to the Westray bird colony as a "heritage beyond any price."<sup>(45)</sup>

However, for the most part, the local conservationists were content to play a minor role during the course of the three-day Inquiry. Having allowed individuals such as Dr. Bourne and Mr. Montagu to conduct the campaign against the mink, the local conservationists were prepared to allow them the limelight of the public examination. This was not an entirely altruistic decision. Although convinced by the anti-mink argument, the local conservationists were still concerned about local opinion and about taking on a small-scale individual developer.

General opinion in Orkney remained largely disinterested in the mink controversy until the Public Inquiry, when a certain sense of grievance against the number of outsiders participating

in the debate began to emerge. Thus, the local media, in the form of "The Orcadian", "The Press and Journal" and Radio Orkney, emphasized the outsider dimension of the Inquiry, offering their support for Mr. Drever. In this way, the outsiders, Dr. Bourne and Mr. Montagu, drew much of the anti-conservationist anger aroused by the mink issue. When, in August 1978, the Secretary of State decided against Mr. Drever's plans,<sup>(46)</sup> Mr. Eunson, in his role as the Convener of the Islands Council, launched an attack on "powerful outsider pressure groups and influential holiday home owners".<sup>(47)</sup>

The case of the Westray mink placed the conservationists of Orkney in a difficult position. Although convinced of the righteousness of the case against the mink, they had reservations about pursuing their case. However, by allowing the external originators of the protest to retain the leadership of the campaign, they were able to fulfil their role as committed environmentalists whilst avoiding public calumny.

#### CASE STUDY FOUR: THE SEAL CULL

In the late 1970's the British white fish industry expressed its alarm over falling fish stocks.<sup>(48)</sup> As part of an attempt to reverse this trend, the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland consulted the Seals Advisory Committee of the National Environmental Research Council, asking it to consider the part played by an increasing grey seal population on fishing stocks. As a result of this consultation, it was agreed that the increased grey seal population was having a deleterious effect on the fishing industry, and that the existing level of culling was no longer adequate to deal with this problem. Following this, a new grey seal management plan was evolved on the basis of an increased cull aimed at reducing the grey seal population by about 50%.<sup>(49)</sup>

In 1977, the first stage of this cull was carried out in the Western Isles with little or no adverse comment. When, in 1978, it was proposed to carry out the second stage of the cull, this time in Orkney, a remarkably strong campaign grew up in opposition to the plan.

Quite why there was such a difference in the reactions to the two stages of the campaign is not altogether clear. However, in contrast to the Western Isles, most of the seal breeding grounds on Orkney were privately owned, including one set aside as a seal sanctuary by the Ferne Animal Trust.<sup>(50)</sup> Furthermore, other factors useful in illuminating the differences between the two cases might include the presence in Orkney of a well-established conservation movement as well as more mundane considerations such as relatively good communications, accommodation, docking facilities and general supplies. These things came into their own at the height of the anti-cull protest in Orkney.

In February 1978, on realizing the implications of the forthcoming cull on Orkney, due to start in October, the Chairman of the Ferne Animal Trust expressed his fears for the population of grey seals about to breed on the Trust's seal sanctuary on the island of Little Linga. He then approached Mr. and Mrs. Grimond, as Trustees of his organization, who, in turn, directed him towards the moderate wing of the local conservationist movement, putting him in the hands of Miss Bullard and Mr. Lea.

Mr. Lea was eager that any anti-cull campaign should involve new faces and that it should not be excessively co-ordinated. In the light of these considerations, he recruited Andy Alsop, the senior Loganair pilot, an amateur naturalist and the veteran of numerous airborne seal counts, to the campaign. Mr. Alsop soon became one of its leading figures. Paul Happleston, a schoolmaster, erstwhile seal researcher and a member of the Field Club, was also encouraged to participate in the protest. The Ferne Trust, assisted by Mr. Alsop, mounted a publicity campaign both locally and nationally. The local response proved to be favourable, so much so that Miss Bullard and Mr. Lea put caution aside to become actively involved in events.

The sources of local support were various. For one thing, the seals appealed to the anthropomorphism of the farming community.<sup>(51)</sup>

"Local people do not want the cull. They have a sentimental objection to killing seals. They find them too attractive to be slaughtered."

(Mr. Groundwater, ex-Councillor, O.I.C., local naturalist, of Kirkwall)

A local farmer commented in a similar vein:

"I do not know much about this seal business, but they are an appealing animal. I wouldn't like to see them being killed."

In addition, many local inshore fishermen felt that the seals were advantageous in so far as they consumed squid, the natural predator of the lobster. A more surprising source of support for the anti-cull campaign came from crofter-fishermen normally licensed to cull the seals under the old seal management programme. They had been excluded from the new management scheme in favour of professional seal cullers from Norway. Angered by the involvement of outsiders, they were also concerned about their longer-term prospects with a much smaller seal population. Their champion proved to be Cllr. Sandy Annal, a maverick and populist individual, who helped to set the tone of the local reaction. He was also quick to exploit the Orcadian dislike of external bureaucratic interference, presenting the cull in this way.

Encouraged by the popular aspect of the anti-cull protest, a *leading moderate* remained insistent that the movement should not be monopolized by well-known figures from the local environmental lobby:

"My own involvement is peripheral. I have useful contacts. There has been no need to stir things up, it is all self-generating. Friends of the Earth are coming in, but it wouldn't be a good thing if they took over. "

Another observer made the same point more bluntly:

"There is a potential threat if Mrs. Flint and that crowd join in. That would really wreck Alsop's campaign."

*(Teacher*, Kirkwall Grammar School)

However, Mrs. Flint, having been absent from the early stages of the campaign because of her involvement in an archaeological dig, entered the controversy towards the end of the summer. On being persuaded of the utility of preserving the "popular" nature of the protest, she did not seek the close involvement of either The Friends of the Earth or the Heritage Society. However, Mrs. Flint did introduce a degree of co-ordination into the campaign. Along with her lieutenant Mr. McLeod, Mrs. Flint set up "Selkie", a group involving those people at the centre

of the anti-cull movement. Mr. Lea and Mr. Alsop were amongst its members, although the group soon expanded to include Margaret Flaws, Frances McKie, Margaret Cardno and others.<sup>(52)</sup>

The conflict between the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland and the local anti-cull protest reached a new level of intensity at a public meeting held in August to publicize the Department's case. At this meeting, various government scientists argued for the reasonable nature of many of the assumptions behind their conclusions, and for the desirability of a new level of culling. In their turn, the opponents of the cull described the scientists' assumptions and conclusions as entirely unreasonable, questioning the need for a new grey seal management programme at all.<sup>(53)</sup> This meeting was not a success from the Department's point of view. Mr. Grimond expressed his astonishment when one official speaker asked the audience how many of them had ever seen a seal. In a later press interview, Mr. Grimond<sup>(54)</sup> commented that:

"For some office-bound official to come to Orkney and ask that question shows how far out of touch they are!"

Mr. Eunson, the Convener of the Council, left the meeting complaining of the high-handed attitude of southern officialdom.

Underlying the conservationists' arguments aimed at disproving the scientific and statistical basis of the Department's case against the grey seal, was a sense of moral outrage. Indeed, the involvement of the seal as an anthropomorphic representation of nature encouraged the conservationists to talk about their innermost feelings concerning the cull. In one sense, these explicit comments were by way of a philosophical judgement concerning the relationship between man and nature. Thus, Mr. Lea<sup>(55)</sup> referred to:

"..... the passionate belief that a civilized and comparatively prosperous society such as ours has an inescapable moral obligation to safeguard its wild creatures, both for their own sake and for the benefit of our successors. This benefit might be both aesthetic and practical....."

At another level, such reflections offered a moral commentary on man

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himself. Thus, Mrs. Cardno argued:

"..... the seals are so helpless. What harm are they doing to man? They are getting blamed for man's greed."

Mrs. Flint (1979) had similar thoughts, later recalled in print:

" ..... what worries me most is the use of the word 'production' when one really means 'exploitation', meaning capitulation to greed, while the application of the former term makes it sound respectable, even laudable. Thus to increase the country's fish production even at the expense of a decline in fish stocks becomes commendable, and the government welcomes an increase in North Sea oil 'production', though it means a further depletion of reserves."

(Let The Seals Live!, p.152)

Implicit in many of the statements made at this time was a call for Man to reunite with the natural world as a means of acquiring moral salvation, personal redemption and spiritual peace. Thus, Mr. Alsop, in a letter to "The Orcadian"<sup>(56)</sup> asked:

"..... why do reasons for protesting against the cull have to be scientific? I can find nothing wrong with emotional objections ..... Life must surely be measured as much by its quality as by its calorific content. The heathered Hoy Hills, the seals and the countless other things which enrich our way of life in these islands. We must be ever vigilant and be prepared to fight to preserve all that we hold dear."

Whilst indulging in this heart-searching, Orkney's environmentalists were also concerned with more practical matters of strategy and policy. A scheme was evolved to sabotage the cull by stationing volunteers at the seal colonies to chase the seals into the sea at the approach of the cullers, who had announced that they would not kill any seals found in the water. On hearing of this plan, numerous romantic incomers offered their services,<sup>(57)</sup> rallying to the seal as a symbol of what they saw as Orkney's Arcadian and unprofaned character. In addition, the opportunity of direct confrontation with bureaucratic authority was welcomed enthusiastically by the radicals.

Although the local anti-cull campaign had been able to attract a significant degree of national publicity, much of it through the good offices of the Ferne Trust, this aspect of things expanded considerably with the involvement in September of "Greenpeace", the

international direct action conservation group. This was at the instigation of "Selkie", who felt, amongst other things, that their sabotage plan would become more feasible with the involvement of the Greenpeace boat, "Rainbow Warrior".<sup>(58)</sup> For its part, Greenpeace was inclined to view the Orkney cull in the light of another issue current at that time, the Canadian cull of harp seals.<sup>(59)</sup> Motivated by this, and by a powerful mixture of romanticism and professionalism, Greenpeace and the "Rainbow Warrior" arrived in Orkney.

The publicity which followed this encouraged the involvement of other national and international conservation organizations, each outdoing the other to publicize its concern over the Orkney cull.<sup>(60)</sup> The International Fund for Animal Welfare made a financial contribution to the Orkney protest and, just as importantly, mounted a national newspaper advertising campaign exhorting people to put pressure on the government by writing to Downing Street, requesting the abandonment of the cull. This led to 28,000 letters being sent to the Prime Minister, with some one-tenth of this figure reaching the Secretary of State for Scotland.<sup>(61)</sup> Numerous other developments occurred at this time. Various M.P.'s announced their support for the anti-cull movement,<sup>(62)</sup> the European Parliament was aroused,<sup>(63)</sup> and numerous petitions were started throughout the country.<sup>(64)</sup>

In late September, as the cull, set for the second week of October, approached, the sabotage plan was put into operation, and "Selkie" was faced with a positive embarrassment of volunteers from various parts of the country and overseas.<sup>(65)</sup> The resulting success of the sabotage ploy, plus the considerable volume of publicity produced by the media teams which descended upon Orkney, led to the abandonment of the cull by the Secretary of State, followed by a moratorium to give both sides in the dispute an opportunity of reaching some mutually agreeable solution to the whole issue<sup>(66)</sup>.

Since then, any prospect of a large-scale cull appears to have been given up. A number of attempts by outsiders to prevent the local cull which now carries on as before under the old management scheme have proved fruitless, being wrecked on local susceptibilities concerning outsiders impinging upon established aspects of Orcadian activity. Today, The Dunters group, which is, in effect, "Selkie" under a new name, maintains a watching brief over the islands' seal population.

The local conservationists had every right to be jubilant. Their enthusiasm and political acumen had turned the anti-cull movement into a cause célèbre even if, at a local level, their support was founded on a native dislike for the machinations of outsiders. The involvement of Greenpeace and various other external bodies was crucial to bringing the anti-cull campaign to a successful conclusion. However, their success in this final hour was timely indeed, because many local people were beginning to display a decided resistance to the inrush of protesters and media men.<sup>(67)</sup> Thus one observer of the local scene<sup>(68)</sup> recorded his sentiments when he wrote that:

"Even those of us who did not like the idea of bureaucratic-controlled mayhem one bit could do with a rest."

#### THE FOUR CASE STUDIES CONSIDERED

The four case studies outlined above suggest comments concerning the interaction of three variables; the romantic incomers' commitment to environmentalism, the political deployment of the conservation associations, and the demands of public opinion. In a sense, the philosophical position of the incomers and the matter of public opinion acted as independent variables in the array of voluntary organizations, and in the general conduct of events. It is these matters which must now be discussed.

The romantic incomers of The Friends of the Earth and of the R.S.P.B., having decided to oppose the Houton Bay development, were able to involve the moderate Field Club and the whole range of opinion within the Heritage Society in a protest which had taken on many of the qualities of a popular crusade. However, the radical incomers' subsequent experiences during the debate over the Flotta oil terminal taught the romantics some of the realities underlying native opinion, whilst creating a political division between radical ecology and the Field Club, not to mention the more conservative reaches of the Heritage Society. In particular, the radicals realized the intensity of the average Orcadian's devotion to economic modernization, as well as the difficulties inherent in their own position as newcomers without any "right" to an authoritative voice within local life.

Throughout their subsequent efforts, the radicals were careful to put these lessons into practice. In mobilizing against S.S.E.B.'s plans for uranium prospecting and the D.A.F.S.'s insistence on a seal cull, they popularized their arguments and operated through influential people not normally associated with the world of environmental politics. Their insights into local patterns of thought allowed them to portray both the Electricity Board and the Department as interfering outsiders whose plans were inimical to a wide range of local interests. Thus, the radical environmentalists employed native susceptibilities to resist their opponents. Under these circumstances, it was possible to engineer either the involvement or the tacit approval of moderate opinion within the Field Club and the Heritage Society. The radicals' appreciation of the nuances of local thought also permitted them to avoid public opprobrium and to pre-empt internal division within the general ranks of environmentalism during the Westray Mink Inquiry. Instead, they allowed outside conservation groups to attract the bulk of Orkney displeasure.

The very tenacity of the romantic incomers in pursuing these issues offers testimony to their commitment to the philosophy of environmentalism. Indeed, both their tenacity and their commitment are all the more remarkable when one considers the outcome of each of the four case studies described above. Thus, the Houton scheme was abandoned, but Flotta proceeded. Elsewhere, mink farming and seal culling were given up, but uranium mining was merely shelved. Here, the cynic might argue that the conservationists were largely ineffectual, the results of their efforts depending upon national considerations. In other words, the Orkney conservation movement was unsuccessful in those instances where important national political objectives acted against conservation, but successful where these national objectives either favoured that side of the argument or else were largely unengaged by events.

The Houton scheme, which proved to be unworkable in the end, did not attract much national government interest at a time when there seemed to be an adequate supply of platform construction yards in various parts of Scotland. To this extent, the conservationists' campaign against Christiani and Nielsen's proposals did not meet with

opposition at the level of national politics. In contrast, the Flotta oil terminal promised a significant advance in the exploitation of Britain's North Sea oil reserves. Thus, Occidental emphasized North Sea oil as a vital element in "the future well-being of our economy",<sup>(69)</sup> and the company's plans for Flotta received a considerable degree of encouragement from a number of national government departments.<sup>(70)</sup> Against this background, Occidental was unlikely to be thwarted by the conservationists of Orkney, an outcome which became even more remote when the company's plans received the support of many natives.

Somewhat differently, the Electricity Board's proposals had the confidence of the government, despite opposition throughout Orkney. While acknowledging these protests, the Scottish Office allowed the Board's interest in Orkney to stand, although an attempt was made to assuage local sensibilities. In a final letter to the Chief Executive of the Council, the Scottish Office declared:

"There is a national interest in the exploitation of uranium in the U.K. as an indigenous energy source. The Secretary of State knows of no proposal to mine uranium in Orkney and there is at present no basis for a considered decision about whether the national interest should not outweigh the disadvantages for Orkney ....." (71)

Thus, even though the environmentalists were successful in mobilizing local feeling against uranium, this was not enough when set against wider political considerations. The environmental circle, lacking all but a few minor contacts with the political establishment of the country, was obliged to accept that its apparent victory over the Electricity Board was incomplete.

On other occasions, the political balance on the national level favoured the conservationists. This proved to be the case at the time of the Westray Mink Inquiry. Here, the will of the people, as interpreted by Mr. Drever and the Islands Council, declared itself in support of the development. Even so, the Scottish Office, in the pursuit of legislative consistency, overturned the mink farm scheme. As for the episode of the seal cull, its national political implications seemed less obvious. Although responsible for initiating the new management programme, the government was not committed to it in any vital way. Much of the support for the cull originated from an

ailing fishing industry which was, in any case, more interested in the levels of E.E.C. fishing quotas. When this indecisive support was set against a growing volume of public protest against the cull, the political balance favoured the government's withdrawal.

However, the role of Orkney's conservationists cannot be dismissed altogether. They did after all raise three of the four issues, even if their subsequent influence over events was not entirely complete and decisive. The fourth issue, the matter of the Westray mink, was brought up by Dr. Bourne, to the partial discomfort of Orkney's conservationists. Even so, Dr. Bourne's campaign only became effective when it was taken up by the Nature Conservancy Council and the R.S.P.B. The success of these organizations in pursuing this matter, combined with the significance of outsiders in the instance of the seal cull protest, is further proof of the limits to local conservationism. As part of the world of government, the N.C.C. did not feel itself constrained by local opinion in favour of the mink farm, and it found it possible to direct the machinery of government against Mr. Drever's plans for Westray. In the case of the international conservation groups which participated in the anti-seal cull protest, their organizational ability, fund-raising potential, publicity consciousness and general professionalism carried the day. In essence, then, the resources available to both the national and international groups in the pursuit of conservationism were far in advance of anything to be found amongst the local groups involved in the mink and in the seal issues.

Following on from this description of the limits of local power, it might be legitimate to ask what sustained the Orkney conservation movement in its activities. Here attention is quite clearly focused on the motivation of the radical environmentalists, since these individuals represent the dynamic element within the movement. In the case of Orkney, it is likely that the radicals' view of their place in the world is more optimistic than the detached observer might suppose. After all, they do derive a sense of achievement and power in circumscribing local opinion. In any case, the act of protest offers a heightened sense of camaraderie and a greater demand for individual talents, so representing an amplification of the rewards of voluntary association. Such considerations are especially important in the

case of the radical members of the Orkney conservation movement, for whom voluntary association is a source of considerable affective support. In this respect, it must be remembered that, as Dennis (1961) argues:

"..... being sociable is a bonus the group enjoys as a consequence of successful co-operation on some activity other than the production of sociability as such."

(ibid., p.79)

Consequently, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the more compelling and demanding the activity of the group, the greater its sense of camaraderie. Indeed, it is to the advantage of the leadership of a voluntary association to create the conditions for these heightened experiences. Dennis suggests that this is an essential part of the leadership role. It is by providing his membership with rewards that the leader ensures the survival of his association and his own prestige within it. Certainly, this allows the interpretation of the crusading element within Orkney's conservation movement in terms of organizational requirements, but this no more than a partial explanation for the sustained activity of the movement's radicals. After all, it is necessary to explain why the limited results of local effort have not been disincentives to further action in the case of Orkney's conservation groups.

Turning, in the first instance, to the Orkney conservation movement's reliance upon powerful allies, it is clear that although the observer might regard this as a weakness, the radical conservationists have no conception of this and see it as a source of strength and inspiration. In the case of the seal cull, the local protesters received a significant amount of support from external allies from the wider world of conservationism, and from the public at large. Indeed, there is a sense in which the Orkney conservationists are at the centre of an extensive alliance. Their efforts to prevent uranium prospecting and mining in Orkney have brought them into contact with other anti-nuclear groups in Scotland, and the Westray mink Inquiry extended the network when it led to new contacts being made and to old acquaintances being renewed. In addition, many of the leading members of Orkney's conservation associations belong to national environmental

bodies. Here Mrs. Flint and The Friends of the Earth, and Mr. Lea and the R.S.P.B. spring to mind. The two organizations referred to here are "corporate structures"<sup>(72)</sup> in so far as they allow a considerable degree of discretion and latitude to their local representatives but still offer a sense of involvement in a wider field of action.

It is to this concept of a wider purpose that attention must now be given. A.P. Jacoby and N. Babchuk, in their article "Instrumental and Expressive Voluntary Associations",<sup>(73)</sup> draw a distinction between two types of voluntary association:

"Some associations act only to express or satisfy the interests of their members in relation to themselves ..... other associations are directed outward: they wish to achieve some condition or change in some limited segment of society as a whole."

(ibid., p.461 )

The former type of voluntary association is defined as expressive, the latter as instrumental. For the most part, Orkney's voluntary associations are expressive in character, and where instrumental associations exist, as in the case of political parties, Lifeboat Guilds and occupational organizations such as the National Farmers' Union, they are seen as serving local interests. The charitable associations of the new professional class of Kirkwall have a more distinct instrumental purpose. However, it is important to note that the members of these groups lack the sense of purpose of Orkney's radical conservationists.

Indeed, the zeal and sense of purpose of the radical conservationists are their most noteworthy characteristics. This crusading spirit, as was suggested in Chapter Six, is free-ranging, because of the radicals' lack of local concern and interest. However, the basis of this zeal is to be found elsewhere.

So far, reference has been made to the various conservation groups of Orkney as a movement, employing this latter term to denote no more than a series of organizations. However, it is also possible to envisage these environmental groups as a social movement, so recognizing an unusual sense of mission. Here we follow Sills (1957), who believes that the social movement may be seen as involving "activities on the part of organized groups to effect some change in society" (ibid. p.244) where these activities have an emotional and idealistic content which distinguishes them from the work of other special-purpose

associations. In writing about the Volunteers, the members of an American anti-polio foundation, Sills tells us that:

"..... Volunteers who assert that the Foundation has 'ideological' overtones, or is the embodiment of a 'way of life', may be said to derive satisfactions from participation in a social movement."

(ibid., p.240)

Sills also believes that the idealism and morality of a movement is both generated by and approached through action. Thus:

"..... the actual experiences which they undergo provide many Volunteers with the emotionally satisfying experience of participating in a social movement."

(ibid., p.252)

It is not unreasonable to suggest that similar conclusions may be drawn in the case of Orkney's group of radical conservationists. After all, the preceding chapters have established the strength of their attachment to the countryside, the radicalization of this in terms of ecological theory, and the consolidation of this latter point of view within voluntary association. However, had this process of philosophical cultivation gone no further, it would have represented little more than an intellectual exercise. It was only in mounting a series of campaigns against certain developments in Orkney that the radicals felt themselves to be truly moral. In taking up their weapons against the arrival of North Sea oil in Orkney, the radical conservationists began to think of themselves as active participants in a wider movement, dedicated to reforming society in order to establish a balance between Man and his environment. Within this new setting for local activity, the inspirational writings of ecological theorists and the pronouncements of leading ecologists took on a new relevance, encouraging Orkney's conservationists to adopt further causes. In this way, action proved to be both the means of consolidating and of amplifying the Orkney radicals' commitment to environmentalism. In taking up the causes associated with nuclear politics, birds, and sea mammals, the Orkney activists were at one with other organizations dedicated to similar ends. Much of this is summed up in the words of a member of

The Dunters, spoken at the time of the seal cull:

"It is our duty to stop this terrible business. We are not doing it only for ourselves, but for the world. The whole sum of intelligent environmental opinion is against this sort of thing, and we must all work to stop it. The amount of help we are getting from other conservationists is fantastic, and from members of the public. We know we are right, and we are going to stop it."

The radical environmentalists' sense of belonging to some greater fraternity disposes them to view the intervention of outsiders in local environmental affairs as a matter of co-operation, rather than as a form of rivalry. The Orkney radical conservationists encouraged the involvement of outsiders at the time of the anti-seal cull protest, whereupon both sides made a point of describing their activities as an alliance in a common cause. However, viewed from another angle this concept of fraternity is another reason for the radical's continuing adoption of likely causes. In a curious way, this is the price of their membership. Such considerations were especially pressing at the time of the Westray mink protest. Here, the radicals were required to prove their commitment to the ideals of environmentalism as a means of maintaining their place on a wider stage.

In addition, it is also evident that the local conservationists of Orkney feel able to take on large centralized bureaucracies with a particular sense of confidence, because of their view of themselves as members of the environmental movement as a whole. Consequently, incomplete local victories at the hands of large-scale organizations are balanced against successes elsewhere. All of this contributes greatly to the sense of reward and satisfaction achieved in "confounding the knavish tricks" of bureaucracy. These conclusions support the work of Rose (1967) who sees politically-active voluntary associations as social palliatives in an age of growing political centralization:

"As society grows more complex, the average citizen is usually less and less able to understand the devious controls within it, and this creates dissatisfaction. The voluntary association provides him with an avenue for understanding some of the controls, and this provides him with a degree of social satisfaction.

By working in voluntary associations, people also learn exactly what is wrong with the power structure of the society, from the standpoint of their own values, and this gives them something to work towards, rather than leaving them with a vague and delusive feeling that, because 'something is wrong', only a complete revolution can change it."

(ibid., pp. 248 - 249)

Rose's emphasis is on the significance of the individual's own sense of power and influence, rather than on any attempt at measuring the success of political activity on the basis of some objective yardstick. This runs contrary to the work of Dennis (1961), who suggests that "the effectiveness of a locally-based pressure group is likely to be slight" (ibid., p.63). The material presented in the case of Orkney's radical environmentalists implies that Dennis's point of view may be exceedingly cautious. Of equal importance is the fact that Orkney's environmental radicals have a highly-developed sense of their own moral weight and influence. It is this self-righteousness which underlies their determination to advance their cause. In this respect, the case of Orkney's environmentalists favours Rose.

The crusading aspect of local environmentalism has become the dominant note. This is played out in front of a wide audience, which consists of national and international organizations, and world-wide sympathetic opinion. The uranium and the seal causes, insofar as they reverberated with national and international concerns, brought the radicals a great deal of publicity. Indeed, this publicity continues today, since neither issue has been altogether resolved. Although the radicals are diffident about stating their case for public scrutiny in Orkney, they are less reluctant to air their opinions nationally. On occasions, they are sought out by the media as accessible and convenient sources of comment on local environmental issues, and the radicals, for their part, cultivate the media as part of their armoury. Viewed in this light, the radicals have become the guardians par excellence of the physical aspect of Orkney, seeking its preservation, not only for Orcadians, but for mankind as a whole.

Much of this is most relevant for the leading figures of

Orkney's conservation movement, but many ordinary members feel a sense of exhilaration in the knowledge that their organizations have come to play a role on the national stage. In any, case, the individual member is not without influence on the leadership, and in this way he, too, plays a part on that wider stage. Furthermore, it is always possible for individual members to follow the trail laid down by the leadership, and to join them in their activities within the national fraternity of environmentalists.

The radical environmentalism which is pursued by Orkney's romantic incomers provides them with more than the chance of "confounding the knavish tricks" of bureaucracy. At a more immediate level, it gives them the opportunity to achieve control over the native inhabitants of Orkney and to express their idealism within the local society. It was suggested in Chapter One that these twin ambitions have marked the presence of incomers within Orkney from earliest times. However, in the case of the romantic incomers, their lack of an established niche within the structure of local life has prevented them from fulfilling these objectives through the mechanism of the everyday government of the islands. Instead they must be content with the exercise of power within the area of conservationism, bringing this to fruition through the informal mechanism of their own environmental associations.

As this chapter has established, the exercise of such power is only possible when it is advanced by stealth. Here, the romantic incomers, in their guise as radical conservationists, are denied the recognition and acceptance of the native populace of the islands; that is to say, they are not allowed the satisfactions of authority and legitimacy in their activities. However, as was argued in Chapter One, the romantic incomers, like the non-resident landlords of the past, regard themselves as part of the cosmopolitan society of Britain as a whole, although they see Orkney as their immediate political arena. The fact that the romantics receive the approval and support of many of the inhabitants of the wider world, whether fellow conservationists or sympathetic members of the public, allows them to view their

activities in Orkney as both authoritative and legitimate. In this way, their performance on the wider stage complements their exercise of naked power behind the scenes in Orkney itself. This stands in contrast to the present-day remnants of the old régime and to the bureaucrats. As was demonstrated in Chapters Two and Three, these non-romantic incomers regard Orkney as an independent entity in its own right, and derive their sense of position from within its bounds.

#### S U M M A R Y

In pursuing the cause of environmentalism within Orkney, the radical leaders of Orkney's conservation associations are faced with the twin constraints of popular resistance and of a moderate wing of opinion within their own general movement. In addition, their influence is limited in certain ways by national political forces. Yet, because the romantic incomers regard themselves as part of a national or international social movement, their feeling of power remains unblunted. The sense of purpose which motivates the radical environmentalists has given them a place on the wider stage of conservation politics, and the satisfactions drawn from this wider stage complement the exercise of power within Orkney.

## C O N C L U S I O N

At the beginning of this thesis, certain questions were raised concerning the place of incomers in the life of Orkney. How long had incomers been coming to take over the reins of power? What claims did they make upon the inhabitants of the islands? How did they impose their will? What were the consequences of local government reforms? And what made these strangers come to Orkney in the first place?

In order to answer these questions, a historical perspective was adopted reaching back to earliest times. This revealed what was described as an incomer hegemony, made up of individuals who came to the islands to take up the possession of land or office. At the height of its power, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this incomer hegemony, or old régime, directed the social, economic and administrative life of the islands. In this way it impressed the values and customs of southern society on the native population of Orkney. Today, this incomer hegemony continues to exist, but the nature of its power has changed. Alterations to the social and economic patterns of local life have weakened its influence, and local government reforms have limited its local autonomy within the administrative sphere.

The traditions associated with this established hegemony have been contrasted with the position of a more recent influx of incomers, made up for the most part of English middle class urban "refugees". These "white settlers" have arrived locally for ideological rather than pragmatic reasons. They are intent on establishing a new "ecological order" in Orkney, although they have met with the resistance of the old régime and of ordinary native opinion. However, the "white settlers" have achieved a considerable degree of control over island life, through their activities as environmental protestors. Their vehicle of political organization and intellectual assertion in this has been the voluntary association. Thus they have scaled the heights of local life by informal means.

The anomalous and controversial position of these English newcomers, along with the drama and the international implications of their environmental protests, has meant that more pages have been devoted to them than to the pragmatists. However, in analytical terms, the pages given over to the latter, and to contrasting both groups are of equal weight.

In pursuing this, a distinction between the established hegemonists and the "white settlers" was both suggested and sustained in terms of pragmatic and romantic incomers. This distinction was illustrated most graphically by the four case studies presented in Chapter Seven.

However, the true importance of this thesis lies in the identification of a continuing process of incomer dominance, whether achieved by pragmatic incomers operating within the mechanisms of formal power, or by romantic incomers seizing power by informal means and noisy protest.

What has come to light in Orkney may very well be unique in the context of Scotland as a whole. It was suggested in Chapter One that the early establishment of alien overlordship in Orkney marks it out from other areas. The extent of incomer power within Orkney must also be reckoned to be remarkable. The insular and compact aspect of island administration and the lack of native experience makes it easy for outsiders to gain control. Indeed, it is possible for small coteries of outsiders to hold sway over many aspects of local life. This is one of the attractions of the islands for many ambitious and capable outsiders. Such an easy road to power is not often to be found elsewhere.

What began as an interest in one form of local reaction to North Sea oil, albeit the reaction of a vociferous group of English middle class incomers, has in fact yielded an innovative portrait of the evolving structure of island politics. In this way, a concern with the predictable has led to the discovery of the unexpected. It is indeed fortunate that this, the first British thesis to deal with the ethnography of Orkney, should have encountered such an intriguing serendipity.

What remains now is to make capital out of this discovery. The effect of incomers on local decision-making within small insular communities, and the difference between formal and informal methods of control might suggest interesting questions for other areas. More specifically, is Orkney unique in its experience of incomer power? If not, where else do incomers hold the reins of power so tightly and so enduringly? Alternatively, has the example of Orkney placed other groups of incomers in the Highlands and islands, whether pragmatic or romantic, in perspective as comparatively inconsequential?

In other respects, the interest of the thesis in environmentalism is not without a considerable degree of contemporary relevance. It has cast light on the work of national conservation associations, and on the relationships between central government and the grass roots on these occasions. Environmental protest has become part of the nation's political life, and so it is of interest to consider some of the factors which determine its outcome.

The thesis has also helped to dispel some of the sentimentality and retrospection which, as the Introduction has established, still clings in a mawkish fashion to the study of Scottish rural life. Connected with this attempt at replacing the portrait of the horse and the kail-yard with that of the tractor and the silage-pit, has been the revival of a long-neglected body of writing on the subject of the voluntary association. How many other "rural Edens" owe their sense of solidarity as much to the voluntary association as to kinship, shared economic activity or neighbourliness? This is a pertinent question which others may wish to take up.

As for the future of ethnographic research in Orkney, certain problems suggest themselves for further study. The discussions in the thesis concerning the centralization of local government in recent times and the importance of central government in deciding the outcome of local environmental issues testify to the need to take the wider world outside Orkney into account. A detailed consideration of the loss of local autonomy in the matter of administration is one possible line of further research. In addition, the governments'

perspective on the four environmental issues discussed in the case studies might be expanded. At a basic level, these two objectives could be attained by recourse to government documentation and secondary sources of various kinds.

It would also be interesting to consider the political functions of non-environmental associations in Orkney, whether local, pragmatic or incomer in hue. For example, do local and pragmatic voluntary associations play their part in creating a "pecking order" within the uppermost reaches of established society? What is their precise relationship with the formal order of power and influence? As for those romantic voluntary associations which operate outside the orbit of environmental concern, do they offer a form of committee "politicking" which is the substitute for the acquisition of real power in Orkney as a whole? To what extent do they too serve as a means of obtaining control over aspects of local life, from outside the established order of things?

Additionally, it might be useful to discover more about the early local voluntary associations set up in the 1930's, and mentioned briefly in the course of Chapter Five, and the historical and natural history associations of the old régime of the nineteenth century. This would allow a more precise appraisal of their purposes, whilst leading to a strengthening of the ethnographic record.

Questions relating to the similarity and dissimilarity of various organizations lead to a consideration of the main categorical distinctions within this thesis. Are these categories watertight? Can a romantic become a pragmatist? Can a pragmatist become a romantic? To what extent is informal protest the romantic incomer's stepping-stone to formal power within the established hegemony? To what extent is informal power and protest the resource of the frustrated pragmatist? These are issues which now suggest themselves, and which can best be answered in the field. Indeed, now that some years have elapsed since the four protests discussed in this thesis, the former of these two questions has become pressing. That is to say, what are the environmentalists doing today? Mrs. Flint has made an unsuccessful attempt at becoming an Islands Councillor and Mrs. Linklater now

plays a prominent role in a voluntary group concerned to act as a political watchdog over every aspect of local life. What, then, are the implications of these developments?

As for the people of Orkney, do they regard their island lives in a different light as a consequence of their exposure to the activities of the romantic incomers? The four conservation issues discussed here were reported in the media. Orkney is now characterized on television and in the press as an endangered outpost of Mother Nature. Is Orcadian resistance to environmentalism as implacable as it once was? Now that tempers have cooled, this may be the time to raise this issue. It would be ironical if native opinion has been converted to romantic thought!

NOTES

I N T R O D U C T I O N

- (1) Social Science Research Council, The Social Impact of North Sea Oil Development in Scotland, Report of an S.S.R.C. Advisory Group. (London, 1975).
- (2) A.M.Hutcheson and H.D.Smith (eds.), Scotland and Oil. Contributions by members of the Department of Geography, Aberdeen College of Education. Royal Scottish Geographical Society Teachers' Bulletin No.5. (Aberdeen, 1973), p.1.
- (3) R.Howard, "The Onshore Industry: The Impact on the Economy", in Hutcheson and Smith, op. cit., p.65.
- (4) As in J.Francis and N.Swann, Scotland in Turmoil: a social and environmental assessment of the impact on North Sea oil and gas on communities in the North of Scotland. Church of Scotland Social, Religious and Technological Project Publication (Edinburgh, 1973), pp.47 - 50.
- (5) For example. in H.Jones and F.Godwin, The Oil Rush (Quartet Books, London, 1976), p.205.
- (6) See in particular Urban - Rural Migration, Change and Conflict in an Orkney Island Community. Social Science Research Council, North Sea Oil Panel, Occasional Paper No.14 (London, 1982). This work is based on Diana Forsythe's unpublished American Ph.D.
- (7) See Social Change in Dunrossness: a Shetland Study. S.S.R.C., N.S.O.P., Occasional Paper No.1 (London, 1981).
- (8) The relevant bibliographical list may be found in E.Condry's Scottish Ethnography, Association for Scottish Ethnography Monograph No.1 (S.S.R.C., London, 1983), p.162.
- (10) As above, ibid., p.162.
- (11) Way of Life: Integration and immigration, S.S.R.C., N.S.O.P., Occasional Paper No.12 (London, 1981).
- (12) See The Quiet Revolution: Social Change in a Sussex Village, 1871 - 1971(Chatto & Windus, London, 1974).
- (13) See The Sociology of an English Village: Gosforth, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1956).
- (14) See Green and Pleasant Land?: Social Change in Rural England, (Hutchinson, London, 1979).
- (15) Conducted as part of a Social Science Research Council, North Sea Oil Panel-sponsored research project carried out in 1978 - 79. Here, the object was to determine local definitions of "way of life" in areas affected by North Sea oil developments.
- (16) See C.Bell and H.Newby, Community Studies: an introduction to the sociology of the local community, (Allen and Unwin, London, 1971), pp.52 - 53, for a concise description and evaluation of the concept of social networks.

C H A P T E R   O N E

(1) The importance of oral history is of particular significance in this respect. Admittedly, this type of retrospection varies both in its time span and in its subject matter from one individual to another. In addition, oral history is prone to all sorts of vagaries, including prejudice, romanticism, retrospection and forgetfulness. Even so, it has virtues insofar as it provides a starting point for a more rigorous investigation of times past.

(2) These sources are quoted throughout this chapter.

(3) (William Peace and Sons, Kirkwall)

(4) In Old Lore Miscellany of Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and Sutherland, Viking Club Society for Northern Research, vol. II, part 3, (July, 1909), pp. 155 - 181.

(5) Mary A. Scott, "Return to Scotland", in J. Shearer, W. Groundwater and J.D. Mackay (eds.), The New Orkney Book, (Nelson, London and Edinburgh, 1966).

(6) See P. Bailey, Orkney (David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1971), p. 100.

(7) *ibid.*, loc. cit.

(8) *ibid.*, pp. 114 - 115.

(9) *ibid.*, p.99. These Acts required trade between Britain's American colonies and Europe to pass through a British port such as Kirkwall.

(10) See E.W. Marwick, "The Beginnings of Modern Orkney", in Shearer et al., *op cit.*, pp. 31 - 33 for further details of these three industries.

(11) *ibid.*, p.33.

(12) *ibid.*, p.34.

(13) The Rev. J.M. Wilson, The Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland, (Fullarton, Edinburgh, 1867), 2 vols., first published 1854 - 57, p. 373 and p. 709, names some of these individuals.

(14) Some insight into the lack of agricultural improvement in certain parts of Orkney at this time may be obtained from a reading of J. Firth's Reminiscences of an Orkney Parish, first published in 1920 and reissued in a photographed edition (Rendall, Stromness, 1974). In addition, D. Gorrie's Summers and Winters in the Orkneys (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1868), offers evidence for "extensive farms still being in the minority" (*ibid.*, p.24).

(15) Marwick, "The Beginnings of Modern Orkney", *op. cit.*, p. 33 and Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 124, both acknowledge the significance of this influx of outsiders over many years. It is likely that some tenants came from areas other than Aberdeenshire, but it is impossible to comment on this without further exhaustive historical research.

- (16) The pretensions of some of these men are still remembered in local folk-lore.
- (17) Bailey, op. cit., p.101, identifies these events as marking the break between the landowning community and the merchant group of Kirkwall.
- (18) See The London and Provincial Medical Directory (London, 1861 - 69), afterwards The Medical Directory (London and Edinburgh, 1870 - ), passim.
- (19) Bailey, op. cit., p.187, notes the creation of an exclusive residential district in Kirkwall at this time.
- (20) A point made by H.Marwick, Orkney, (Hale, London, 1951), p.100.
- (21) The obituaries, notes and pen-portraits contained in Old Lore Miscellany, vols. II (1909), III (1910), V (1912), VI (1913) and VIII (1915) are especially helpful in tracing the links between the proprietors and ministers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
- (22) A conclusion based on conversations with the Rev.H.L.Mooney, minister of Deerness and St.Andrew's, and a local antiquarian.
- (23) A conclusion based on information supplied by the Rev.H.L.Mooney.
- (24) Firth, op. cit., p.133, describes the consequences of this Act for his parish.
- (25) As suggested by Firth, op. cit., p.131.
- (26) In the case of Kirkwall Grammar School this was a long-established practice. See R.P.Fereday, "Sang School to Burgh School", in W.P.L.Thomson (ed.), Kirkwall Grammar School: from sang school to comprehensive (The Kirkwall Press, 1970), p.11.
- (27) The Poor Law Magazine for Scotland, vols. 1 - 9 (Glasgow, 1859 - 67; New series, vols. 1 - 5 (Glasgow, 1868 - 72; New series. vols. 1 - 37 (Edinburgh, etc., 1873 - 1927. Title varies. Passim.
- (28) See Note (18) above.
- (29) Some of today's native professional practices in Orkney are able to trace their origins back into the nineteenth century. Some evidence for the existence of native proprietorial dynasties follows below in this chapter.
- (30) Gorrie, op. cit., pp.74 - 78, refers to this aspect of life in Kirkwall as it had existed some sixty or seventy years before the publication of his book in 1868.

(31) A list of the most outstanding families during the period is of some interest, especially since it is possible to establish their family origins in the life of the islands:

<u>Family</u>	<u>Origins</u>
Stewarts of Brough	Supporters of the Stuart Earls
Stewarts of Eday and Newark	Supporters of the Stuart Earls
Balfours of Elwick	Scottish adventurers
Balfours of Balfour	Scottish adventurers
Grahams of Grahamshall	Scottish adventurers
Moodies of Melsetter	Local feudalized family
Baikies of Tankerness	Local merchant family
Walls of Breckness	Descendants of the last Episcopalian Bishop
Scarath of Binscarth	Scottish merchant family

Here, shared names indicate a common family line, whilst the merchant families on the list serve to emphasize the enduring links between town and country life at this time. Furthermore, it is important to note the balance between native and incomer lines. Thus, it is possible to identify the central fact of incomer dominance within the landowning aspect of the old regime.

This list and its accompanying observations are based on information derived from Old Lore Miscellany, vol. I (April 1907), p.31, vol. II (July 1908), p.181 and vol. III (April 1909), p.87; and from a general reading of secondary material of all sorts.

(32) As suggested by archive material in the Orkney County Library.

(33) Once more, the obituaries, notes and pen-portraits of Old Lore Miscellany (1907 - 33) provide a rich source of incidental material which is helpful in illuminating the new southern loyalties and interests of the proprietorial group.

(34) As demonstrated by information contained in Old Lore Miscellany, passim.

(35) As above.

(36) For example, the Miss Baikie Stewart referred to by Firth, op. cit., p.5.

(37) As demonstrated by a case of litigation reported in The Poor Law Magazine, vol. XII, New Series (1902), p.307.

(38) J.D.Mackie, "Before the Period of Reform", in J.D.Mackie and G.S.Pryde, Local Government in Scotland (The Journal Printing Press, Dunfermline - no date), pp.9 - 11, traces the history of the Kirk Session and points to its power.

- (39) T.Byrne's Local Government in Britain: Everyone's Guide to How is All Works (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1981), pp.38 - 40, offers an outline history of the development of Scottish local government in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See also J.P.Day. Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. (University of London Press, 1918), pp.53 - 59, for a discussion of the decisive role played by ministers, schoolmasters and other notables in the administration of northern parish life in the nineteenth century.
- (40) Ideas based on information supplied by E.W.Marwick, local historian.
- (41) An analysis based on the anecdotes of many older Orcadians.
- (42) The memory of these controls is firmly established within the oral history of the islands.
- (43) Indeed, the new ministers seem to have been especially concerned with the propriety of their position. J.T.Leask, in his book, A Peculiar People and other Orkney Tales (The Kirkwall Press, Kirkwall, 1931), which is, in effect, a folk history of Orkney, suggests that "some of the old ministers ... believed in comfort at the expense of etiquette" (ibid., p.168) and contrasts this with the sobriety of their successors (ibid., p.61 and pp.162 - 163).
- (44) The power of the ministers of the Church of Scotland is attested to by many local stories of bygone days.
- (45) Information supplied by the Rev. H.L.Mooney.
- (46) Ideas suggested by conversations with many older informants, most especially Mr.Brough of Rendall, Mrs. Groat of Stronsay and Mr. Wylie of Dounby.
- (47) An idea suggested by the family stories and anecdotes of many older Orcadians.
- (48) See Gorrie, op. cit., pp. 71 - 74 and 78 - 79, for an interesting and perceptive view of Kirkwall at the beginning of the period referred to here. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 269 - 270 and p.769, offers a view of both Kirkwall and Stromness at this time.
- (49) These ideas were suggested by many of the stories and anecdotes associated with Orkney's old commercial families.
- (50) Information supplied by Mr. E.W.Marwick, local historian.
- (51) As evinced by the traditions of both Kirkwall and Stromness, and the country districts.
- (52) Information supplied by Mr. Robertson, solicitor and member of an old Stromness commercial family.
- (53) However, this process of "naturalization" must not obscure the fact that they retained many links with middle class life and culture in the south, and that they themselves represented a self-contained group. In this way, their incomer status was maintained. This caveat refers back to certain points raised at the beginning of this Chapter.

(54) Ideas based on discussions with Col. Macrae, Lord Lieutenant of Orkney, the Rev. H.L. Mooney and others.

(55) The Viking Club is discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis.

(56) This will be considered at greater length in Chapter Six.

(57) On the basis of the personal research already referred to in the Introduction.

(58) In this respect, see the contributors to A. Jackson's (ed.) Way of Life: Integration and immigration, S.S.R.C., N.S.O.P. Occasional Paper No.12 (1981).

(59) This is of particular relevance in the case of Sutherland.

C H A P T E R   T W O

- (1) Here the Mainland is understood to include Burray and South Ronaldsay, since all three are now connected by the Churchill Barriers, a series of concrete causeways which carry a road. To this extent, all three areas demonstrate a significant degree of social unity.
- (2) See P. Bailey, Orkney (David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1971), pp. 124 - 127 in particular.
- (3) These included the cancellation of rent arrears and the establishment of the landlords' obligations in respect of repairs and maintenance of property, as well as the reduction of rents and the introduction of more equitable forms of tenure. See Bailey, loc. cit.
- (4) See Hewison, "Twentieth Century Orkney" in Shearer et al (eds.), The New Orkney Book (Nelson, London and Edinburgh, 1966), p. 40, for a discussion concerning these financial obligations.
- (5) See Bailey, op. cit., p.131, for the source of this information.
- (6) Bailey, loc. cit., and Hewison, op. cit., p.36, discuss this.
- (7) Information supplied by Mr. Wylie of Dounby, a large farmer and an ex-President of the Orkney N.F.U.
- (8) See Hewison, op. cit., p.42.
- (9) Scapa Flow was first used for this purpose during the Napoleonic Wars, and again during the First World War. See Hewison, op. cit., pp. 37 - 40, for further details.
- (10) Information supplied by Mr. Annal, erstwhile foreman on the Churchill Barriers.
- (11) Bailey, op. cit., p.131.
- (12) Information supplied by numerous farmers.
- (13) The Royal Navy's presence in Orkney during the First World War had not had a similar impact on local life. The limited size of this presence and its largely seaborne nature had limited its consequences for Orkney.
- (14) Bailey, op. cit., p.135.
- (15) Information supplied by many local farmers.
- (16) Information supplied by Mr. Wylie, and by Mr. Bremner, who, like Mr. Wylie, is a larger farmer. Mr. Bremner is also the President of the Orkney N.F.U.
- (17) In particular, the Agricultural Acts of 1947, 1948 and 1967 were important, instituting in turn guaranteed prices and markets, land and building grants, and a new meat marketing scheme. The Agriculture (Ploughing Grants) Act 1952, the Agriculture (Silo Subsidies) Act 1956 and the Agriculture (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1963 were also of importance at this time.

- (18) Information supplied by Mr. Wylie of Dounby.
- (19) See W.H. Senior and W.B. Swann, Survey of Agriculture in Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, a Highlands and Islands Development Board Publication, Special Report, 1974, p.54. In addition, it should also be noted that the process of mechanization was assisted by the Agriculture (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Scotland) Act of 1950, which offered, among other things, grants for petrol-driven agricultural machines.
- (20) See Bailey, op. cit., pp. 142 - 146 for further details.
- (21) Information obtained from G. Meyer's "Appendix - Facts and Figures" in Shearer et al (eds.), The New Orkney Book (1966), p.177.
- (22) These desires and demands were remembered by many farmers' wives.
- (23) A point made by many local farmers.
- (24) Information supplied by Mr. Wylie of Dounby.
- (25) Mrs. Scott of Deerness remembered working on her parents' small farm for little more than her board and lodgings and some pocket money in return. This was hardly adequate to meet the cost of going to dances, the cinema, etc., in Kirkwall. As she said, "The young ones of today wouldn't do it now. Maybe I was daft to do it."
- (26) Meyer, loc. cit., confirms the date given here.
- (27) Mr. Wylie of Dounby described the emergence of grant-aided factory farms in the Central Belt of Scotland, and identified Eastwoods of Glenrothes as one of the most significant of these.
- (28) Information supplied by Mr. Wylie of Dounby, Mr. Bremner of St. Ola, and others. One reason for the low in 1966 - 67 was the importing of cheap Argentinian beef.
- (29) Information supplied by Mr. A. Foubister, Deerness.
- (30) Senior and Swann, op. cit., p.92; and the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland Advisory Panel on the Highlands and Islands, in Land Use in the Highlands and Islands (H.M.S.O., Edinburgh, 1964), p.20, provide the official argument for amalgamations in the Highlands and islands, by extolling the virtues of creating medium-sized farms out of small units. In terms of official legislation, the Agriculture Act of 1957 allowed certain basic grants towards the cost of amalgamation, whilst the Agriculture Act of 1961 offered positive inducements.
- (31) An opinion advanced by Mr. Bichan of Deerness and others.

- (32) Information supplied by Mr. Wylie of Dounby, and by Mr. Robertson, the local solicitor in Stromness.
- (33) As suggested by discussions with Mr. Bremner of St. Ola and by Mr. J. Foubister of Deerness.
- (34) Figures based on information supplied by Mr. Robertson, Stromness.
- (35) A general purpose voluntary association with interests in the preservation of historic buildings, the conservation of Orkney's natural world and the history and archaeology of the islands. A fuller description of this group will be presented in Chapter Six.
- (36) Information supplied by Mrs. Grimond, Islands Councillor.
- (37) This statement is based on discussions with Mr. Marshall, the Depute Director of Education, and with many local people. For further details concerning the social consequences of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1946, see S.L.Hunter, The Scottish Educational System (Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1968), pp. 201 - 206.
- (38) The details of this process of contraction and centralization were provided by Mr. Marshall.
- (39) A conclusion based on discussions with Mr. Wylie of Dounby, the Rev. H.L.Mooney of Deerness, Mr. Brough of Rendall, and others.
- (40) An analysis suggested by conversations with many older small farmers, including, most particularly, Mr. Foulis and Mr. Bichan of Deerness. The Rev. H.L. Mooney also provided a number of useful thoughts in this respect.
- (41) For the details of these changes, see T. Byrne, Local Government in Britain, (1981), p.39.

C H A P T E R   T H R E E

- (1) See J.A.Troup and F. Eunson, Stromness: 150 years a burgh, 1817 - 1967, (Rendall, Stromness, 1967), pp. 26 - 30, for a fuller description of the burgh's decline into obscurity. Also Stromness Museum, Harvest of Silver: The Herring Fishing in Orkney (Rendall, Stromness, 1976), for an explanation of why even the herring fishing was of minor importance to the people of Stromness.
- (2) See R. Miller, "Place and People", in J. Shearer et al (eds.), The New Orkney Book (Nelson, London and Edinburgh, 1966), p.84.
- (3) Troup and Eunson, op. cit., p.30.
- (4) See Miller, loc. cit.
- (5) See Miller, loc. cit. Brigadier Robertson, a businessman, Mr. Gorie, a retired merchant, and Dr. Peace, all of Kirkwall, provided much of the information here. Mrs. Scott of Deerness and Mrs. Heddle of Finstown confirmed the growing popularity of Kirkwall as an entertainment centre during the '40s and '50s, testifying to the increased income and new expectations of the rural population.
- (6) For example, Mr. Flett of Birsay remembered the start of a bus service between the West Mainland and Kirkwall in 1919. Mr. Foubister of Deerness recalled the setting up of a similar East Mainland to Kirkwall service in 1920. Other such reminiscences abound.
- (7) In this respect, see Miller, op. cit., p.85.
- (8) (Orkney County Council), "Summary and Conclusions".
- (9) According to local and national government sources in Kirkwall, the use of the town as a "stopping off" point for many southbound migrants continues to be a feature of island life.
- (10) Both burghs first constructed council houses in the 1920's, continuing the process in the post-war period. In contrast, the County Council showed no interest in providing rural local authority housing, with the result that anyone hoping to improve their housing conditions had to make their way to the towns.
- (11) The County Report for Orkney, loc. cit., identifies this desire for an improved standard of living as an important reason in influencing population movements.
- (12) Information supplied by Mr. Sinclair, Sinclair's Supply Stores, Stromness.
- (13) See Bailey, Orkney, (1971), p.194.
- (14) Information supplied by Miss Eunson, Deerness.
- (15) Information supplied by Dr. Cromarty, Medical Officer of Health.
- (16) Information supplied by Mr. Marshall, Depute Director of Education.
- (17) Information supplied by Mr. Scholes, accountant, Kirkwall.

(18) Mr. Gorie recalled the closure of three bakers' shops, two butchers' shops and several small to medium grocers' shops.

(19) Information supplied by Mr. Eunson of Nicol Spence and Son, Ltd., Kirkwall.

(20) In this way, some of the old family businesses of the burgh, such as Bains, Shearer, Flett and Sons, and J. and W. Tait, survived.

(21) See Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland, Written Evidence, 1-26 (H.M.S.O., Edinburgh, 1967), passim.

(22) See Written Evidence, 17, "Memorandum by Orkney County Council", pp. 3-11.

(23) Detailed confirmation of which was given by Mr. Steer, ex-Burgh Clerk and Burgh Chamberlain, Stromness.

(24) Any timetable of events concerned with the arrival of North Sea oil in Orkney would include the following:-

- 1960's The search for North Sea oil begins.
- 1969 The discovery of oil beneath the central part of the North Sea.
- 1971 Various oil companies begin to show an interest in Orkney as a possible on-shore development site.
- 1972 Occidental Petroleum acquires 6 prospecting blocks in the North Sea. Orkney County Council begins investigating the possibility of promoting private legislation as a means of acquiring a greater degree of control over likely events.
- 1973 Occidental discovers the Piper oilfield 100 miles east of Wick and begins its search for an oil terminal site.
- 1974 Discovery of Claymore field. Choice of Flotta as the site for an oil terminal. Orkney Islands Council grants outline planning permission. Council's private legislation reaches the statute book.

(25) As confirmed by the Department of Physical Planning of the Orkney Islands Council in its report, The Effects of Transport Cost on Orkney (1978). Amongst other things, this traces the economic experiences of Orkney during the period 1971 to 1976. The report notes an increase in male employment of 19%, with an increase in female employment of 24%. Most of the increase in male employment having occurred in the construction industry with the advent of 859 new jobs. The report attributes the rise in female employment over this period to an expansion of the service sector, especially in catering and related services. These trends are attributed to the presence of the Flotta development. An Occidental employment report for 1977 records the presence of local male involvement in 35% of oil-related construction jobs, with local female involvement running at 85% of all oil-related catering jobs. However, these figures relate to the construction phases of the oil terminal. Since then, employment on Flotta has declined, with the completion of this construction phase.

(26) Information supplied by Mr. Coghill, Development Officer, O.I.C., Mr. McLeod, Youth Employment Officer, O.I.C., Mr. Farquhar, Department of Employment, and Mr. Towrie, Orkney Council for Social Service:

- (27) The Occidental North Sea Oil Group, The Flotta Story: The Development of an Oil-Handling Terminal (The Westerham Press, 1976), p.13.
- (28) Occidental document.
- (29) A point made by Mr. Towrie, Mr. Marshall and Dr. Cromarty.
- (30) Including information supplied by the Youth Employment Office.
- (31) It is possible that this analysis neglects other types of urban incomers such as businessmen, but their numbers are miniscule and it can perhaps be assumed that their lives conform with those of the professional groupings.
- (32) Information supplied by Mr. Gorie.
- (33) For example, local egg packing moved into corporate hands and agricultural supplies and marketing co-operatives evolved.
- (34) These ideas were suggested during conversations with Mr. Gorie and Dr. Peace.
- (35) The work of N. Elias and J.L. Scotson in The Established and the Outsiders (Frank Cass, London, 1965) and of A.P. Cohen in The Management of Myths: The politics of legitimation in a Newfoundland community, Newfoundland Social Economic Studies, 14, 1975, is of interest here. The merchant families of Kirkwall bear a striking resemblance to the old families of Elias and Scotson's Winstor Parva, whose monopolization of key positions in local life and whose ability to hold them against interlopers had secured their status and charisma - their right to power. On the other hand, Cohen's People's Party found its status and its right to rule compromised by newcomers able to create key positions of their own in the organizational vacuum of Focaltown. The leadership provided by the People's Party had become uncertain in the face of this challenge. No such challenge was offered to the old merchant families of Kirkwall during the lifetime of the old burgh. Such challenges as there were could be accommodated on the merchants' own terms.
- (36) Information supplied by Mr. Eunson and Dr. Peace.
- (37) A feature of many introverted local societies where people are concerned with maintaining social equanimity. See Diana Forsythe, Urban - rural migration, change and conflict in an Orkney island community, S.S.R.C. N.S.O.P. Occasional Paper No.1 (1981), pp. 108 - 109, and P. Ambrose, The Quiet Revolution: Social Change in a Sussex Village (Sussex University Press, 1974), p.115.
- (38) A conclusion based on conversations with Dr. Peace and other members of the burgh élite.
- (39) The Council's Planning Department readily admits that its planning schemes are determined more by the need to make the best use of existing services than by anything else.

(40) University of Edinburgh Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, Research study into provision for recreation in the Highlands and Islands, Research Report 22 (2 vols.), vol.B, "Area studies and recommendations", (1976 - 77), p.58.

(41) Information supplied by Mr. Towrie.

(42) Miss Bullard was posted to Orkney in 1950 as a dairy advisory worker. She has an excellent knowledge of the islands, and a significant involvement in local organizations. Her role as the mainstay of the Orkney Field Club is of particular importance, and this will be discussed in Chapter Six.

(43) Miss Clark, Church of Scotland worker, Kirkwall.

(44) In raising this question of stress, there is the danger of what Elias and Scotson, op. cit., see as a romantic retreat into a mythical past (ibid., pp. 159 - 161), in the assumption that unless a given location displays complete integration and harmony it must be seen as exceptional, so requiring explanation. C. Bell and H. Newby, in The Sociology of Community (Frank Cass, London, 1974), p.19, pp. 24 - 25, pp. 48 - 49 and pp. 51 - 53, criticize this type of romanticism, which they see as having compromised the notion of community. E. Condry, "You're not a Sassenach if you live the way we do": Cultural assimilation: an example from the Western Isles", in A. Jackson (ed.) Way of Life: Integration and immigration, S.S.R.C. N.S.O.P. Occasional Paper No.12 (1981), pp. 65 - 67, argues that it is more likely to be the academic theorist who agonises over integration than the people he is observing. Condry maintains that as long as people succeed in carrying out the mundane aspects of life without too much friction, any so-called divisions within local society may go unobserved. When friction does occur, it is more likely to be attributed to personalities and to momentary circumstances. Condry argues that ideas about cultural barriers, integration and so forth "are not necessarily continually apparent or relevant to local people" (ibid., p.67). Striking a more pessimistic note, Elias and Scotson, op. cit., pp. 159 - 161, believe that division and friction may be an inevitable part of relations in many areas and that harmony is not necessarily a "natural" condition. It would seem that it is best to see integration as something of an ideal. Indeed, Byron and Macfarlane, op. cit., pp.42 - 43, and A. Jackson (ed.) Way of life: Dominant ideologies and local communities, S.S.R.C., N.S.O.P. Occasional Paper No.11 (1981), p.9, suggest that it may often be associated with a political philosophy. More specifically, it would seem that the material discussed in this thesis supports Condry.

(45) These ideas are based on conversations with Mr. Sloan, chartered surveyor, Mr. Clark, building site supervisor, Mr. Gill, planner, Mr. Mowat, Schoolteacher, and their wives.

(46) The old political élite which dominated Kirkwall Burgh Council suffered a loss of power with local government re-organization. For one thing, their orientation towards the burgh made membership of the Orkney Islands Council seem less significant than membership of the old Burgh Council. In any case, they were faced with the insurmountable problem of dominating a new structure constituted from the old County Council over which they had had little influence. At the same time, the younger members of the merchant families, accountable to the more egalitarian ethos of the age and less self-assured than their elders, were disinclined to pursue the matter. Today, Kirkwall's representatives on the Islands Council continue to reflect some of the old rules of political power and balance, although the field is now more open,

allowing some traditional professionals and middle class expatriates greater licence to pursue political influence in the Islands Council.

(47) A conclusion based on conversations with Mr. Coghill, Dr. Cromarty, Mr. McKinnon, Director of Social Work, and Mr. McGillivray, Senior Social Worker.

(48) The existence of this commonly-held opinion was suggested by Mr. and Mrs. Wylie, of Finstown, Mr. J. Foubister, of Deerness, and many others.

(49) See P. Ambrose, The Quiet Revolution, (Sussex University Press, 1974), p. 171 and pp. 201-217 for a discussion concerning the connection between housing and the perception of social class.

(50) A point of view advanced by Mrs. Grimond, Mr. Clark, and others.

CHAPTER FOUR

(1) Deerness is a parish of small farms where amalgamations and depopulation have produced surplus properties of a picturesque nature within commuting distance of Kirkwall.

(2) P. Ambrose, The Quiet Revolution, (Sussex University Press, 1974), p.112, discovered a similar set of priorities amongst commuters in a Sussex village. The incomers there were influenced by the cost advantage of rural property, a particular house and the prospect of rural amenities and community spirit in that order.

(3) By no means a <sup>new</sup> element in urban romanticism about the countryside. In part it owes its inception to the eighteenth century ideal of the aristocratic park. See H. Newby, Green and Pleasant Land?: Social Change in Rural England (Hutchinson, London, 1979), pp.15 - 18, for a fuller account of this.

(4) See the discussion chapter in A. Jackson (ed.), Way of Life: Integration and immigration S.S.R.C. N.S.O.P. Occasional Paper No.12 (1981). Here it is suggested that housing is more often than not the key factor "for certain individuals who are only seeking self-development" (ibid., p.79). However, the point is that it is rural housing.

(5) As established in Chapter Two, these places are connected with the Mainland by the Churchill Barriers.

(6) As supplied in 1977 by various local observers, including Miss White of St. Margaret's Hope (incomer) and Mrs. Mainland of Burray (local).

(7) Newby, op. cit., pp.18-24, traces the development of urban-rural migration in East Anglia, beginning with the commuter exodus in the south of England in the 1950's, which Newby argues was borne along by the excessive romanticism of the more liberal sections of the English middle class. Newby believes that the 1960's and 1970's saw the popularization of this philosophy which, along with increased prosperity and mobility, encouraged the migration of larger and more diverse groups of townspeople. It does not seem too fanciful to suggest that part of this wider movement made its way to Orkney.

(8) Diana Forsythe, Urban-rural migration, S.S.R.C., N.S.O.P., Occasional Paper No.14 (1982), p.33, found a similar state of affairs amongst some of the urban incomers of "Stromay".

(9) According to E. Condry, "'You're not a Sassenach if you live the way we do.'", in A. Jackson (ed.) Integration and immigration, op. cit., p.60, this same set of romantic notions has led some people to the Western Isles.

(10) This contrasts with the problems faced by incomers trying to acquire crofting tenures in the Western Isles. Here, as Condry, ibid., p.61, points out, various difficulties, including the implicit desire of the Crofters' Commission to maintain what it sees as the cultural integrity of the islands against incursions by incomers, turns out to be a formidable barrier. Such considerations do not operate in the case of Orkney.

(11) There have been various newspaper articles about Orkney, most of them featuring the experiences of romantic incomers. See, for example, "Isles with a knack for life", Glasgow Herald, 10.III.1979, p.9. The "underground press" also shows an interest in romantic incomer ventures in Orkney. See Ruth Wheeler, "Up North", Under-currents (no date), pp. 21-23.

(12) See Newby, op. cit., p.19 and P.L.Berger, P.Berger and H.Kellner, The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1977), p.183 (first published in hardback, 1973), for some further ideas on this theme. Thus, Newby regards self-sufficiency as an up-dating of English romanticism in the light of modern economic circumstances. Berger et al see it as an aspect of the de-modernizing impetus of the young.

(13) An idea suggested by Jackson (ed.) in the introduction to Integration and immigration, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

(14) This is perhaps discernible in Ambrose, op. cit., and in Rosemary Lumb's "Integration and Immigration: Some demographic aspects of Highland communities", in Jackson's (ed.) Integration and immigration, op. cit., passim.

(15) See the discussion chapter in Jackson (ed.), Integration and immigration, op. cit., passim.

(16) In the style of C. Bell and H. Newby (eds.), The Sociology of Community (Frank Cass, London, 1974), pp. 41-44.

(17) This distinction is taken from the discussion chapter in Jackson (ed.), Integration and immigration, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

(18) Ideas suggested by many local informants, both incomer and native, in their descriptions of the incomer question.

(19) J.C. Messinger, Inis Beag: Isle of Ireland, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1969), p.53.

(20) A state of affairs identified by Dr. Cromarty, Mr. McInnes of Stromness Academy and other members of Orkney's professional classes.

(21) N. Elias and J.L. Scotson, The Established and the Outsiders, (Frank Cass, London, 1965), p. 80 and p.103, provide a discussion on the self-fulfilling aspects of stereotypes.

(22) Mr. Howie Firth, "Orkney", Scotia Review, No.18, (Winter, 1977/78), p.7.

(23) See R. Byron and G. Macfarlane, Social Change in Dunrossness: a Shetland Study, S.S.R.C. N.S.O.P. Occasional Paper No.1 (1981), p.63, for a similar set of circumstances operating in the case of Shetland.

(24) This is confirmed by the University of Edinburgh's Tourism and Recreation Research Unit's Research study into provision for recreation in the Highlands and Islands, Research Report 22, (1966 - 1977), 2 vols., vol.B, "Area Studies and Recommendations", p.54.

(25) It is interesting to note that this stands in contrast to the incoming power station workers of R. Turner's study, "The invasion of the power station workers", in Jackson, Integration and immigration, op. cit. Here, local society was not conceived of as a stage peopled by "characters". Instead, it was seen as a legitimate arena for participation occupied by comparable if, at first, distant locals.

(26) As Newby, op. cit., has recorded for East Anglia, the "civilities of politeness and social etiquette may ensure that the local's resentment is voiced only in their own social circle" (ibid., p.171).

(27) The creation and transmission of a given stereotype appears to rely on the frequency of interaction between groups. Diana Forsythe, op. cit., p.61, seems to offer some proof of this. The fact that the incomers on the island of "Stromay" are obliged to share its services, resources and amenities with the local population allows many opportunities for misunderstandings and recriminations. In addition, Newby, op. cit., pp. 170 - 171, points to communities where the sheer size of the incoming population has led to a local sense of disinheritance. However, the physical separation of the populations of incomers and locals studied by Newby, and their lack of social and economic interdependence, prevents the transmission of local grievances. Newby's observations seem to parallel the case of the Mainland of Orkney.

(28) Mr. Soloway, Occidental employee, Burray.

(29) Unfortunately, Occidental's figures concerning the distribution of its employees do not distinguish between locals and incomers. In addition, they tend to be inflated by the presence of short-stay personnel. Consequently, the numbers given here must be regarded as estimates.

(30) This makes an interesting contrast with Byron and Macfarlane, op. cit., passim. In Shetland, oil incomers are seen as the representatives of extensive change. A special planning policy operates to encourage their dispersal. This has led to a degree of friction between oil-related newcomers and locals. The incomers feel that they are being forced to live in "ghettos", whilst the locals object to resources being devoted to incomer housing. The loss of agricultural land to incomer housing has become a highly emotive issue. In addition, a sense of relative deprivation between oil-related incomers and locals has led to the growing adoption of a British urban class model to describe modern social relationships within Shetland. This has added another source of antagonism to existing tensions.

In Orkney, oil-related employees are not seen as the harbingers of change. Although a special planning policy was formulated to cope with their arrival, its actual evolution and presentation has been in terms of local authority economies at a time of government spending cuts. Thus, while planning has proved controversial, it has been conducted in terms of an exchange between local people and O.I.C. officials. In this respect, Orkney's oil-related employees do not regard themselves as the particular victims of planning policies. As for the introduction of urban class models, it is possible to argue that this process is absent from the landward areas of Orkney, although it may have some relevance in Kirkwall, where such a model has already been adopted by some people.

Elsewhere, considering incomers as a whole, there is no marked degree of relative deprivation between them and the locals, and the oil-related incomers do not seem to have disturbed this pattern. It should be remembered that Orkney is a prosperous county. Some of the Occidental company houses are ostentatious, but their inhabitants lead such remote lives and constitute such a small part of the population that their impact on local life is slight. These visible signs of affluence are regarded locally as the rewards of modern living rather than as aspects of class activity.

(31) Howie Firth, *op. cit.*, p.8.

CHAPTER FIVE

- (1) To dunt is to knock.
- (2) C. Bell and H. Newby (eds.), The Sociology of Community (Frank Cass, London, 1974), p.146.
- (3) In the American Journal of Sociology, vol.44, pp.1-24.
- (4) (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois).
- (5) Mirror for Man: The Relation of Modern Anthropology to Urban Life, (Harrap, London).
- (6) R.M. Williams, American Society: A Sociological Interpretation, (Knopff, New York, 1951), p.470.
- (7) H. Goldhamer, "Voluntary Associations in the United States", (of 1951), in P.K. Hatt and A.J.Reiss (eds.), Cities and Society: The Revised Reader in Urban Sociology (The Free Press, Illinois, 1957), p.592.
- (8) See B. Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy in Association", in A.W. Gouldner (ed.), Studies in Leadership (Harper, New York, 1950), p. 479 and p.486, for a description of the organizing role of voluntary associations. F.A.Bushee, "Social Organizations in a Small City", American Journal of Sociology, vol. 51 (1945), p.220, is one of many who point to the companionable function of voluntary associations. R.H.Williams, op. cit., identified voluntary association as an aspect of democratic life, see p.469 in particular.
- (9) However, see Bushee, op. cit., p.219 and p.220, for a description of an early American study of rural voluntary associations, by two researchers whose work it has not been possible to obtain in the original.
- (10) As in Goldhamer, op. cit., p.10.
- (11) Watling: A Survey of Social Life on a New Housing Estate (King and Son, London).
- (12) The reference here is to Bottomore's article of 1954, as it is reprinted in D.V. Glass (ed.), Social Mobility in Britain (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963).
- (13) Village on the Border: A Social Study of Religion, Politics and Football in a North Wales Community (Cohen and West, London).
- (14) Street Corner Society: The Social Structures of an Italian Slum (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois).
- (15) Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán restudied (University of Illinois Press).
- (16) In P.H. Hauser and L.F. Schnore (eds.), The Study of Urbanization (Wiley and Sons, New York, 1965).
- (17) See U. Hannerz, Exploring the City: Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology (Columbia University Press, 1980), for further details of this trend.

- (18) Hannerz, *ibid.*, p.3 ff., offers a critical evaluation of this interest in ethnic enclaves.
- (19) Hannerz's own work qualifies in this respect; *ibid.*, p.244 ff. and p.261 ff.
- (20) "Changes in Function and Leadership Renewal: A study of the community association movement and the problems of voluntary small groups in the urban locality", Sociological Review. vol. 10, part 2, pp.55 - 84.
- (21) See Chapter 5 of their work in particular.
- (22) pp.131 - 135.
- (23) Hannerz, *op. cit.*, p.72.
- (24) For example in the work of H. Newby, Green and Pleasant Land? (Hutchinson, London, 1974), pp.164 - 172, and of the contributors to A. Jackson (ed.), Way of Life: Integration and immigration, S.S.R.C., N.S.O.P., Occasional Paper No.12 (1981), *passim*.
- (25) Newby, *op. cit.*, pp.122 - 132 and pp.156 - 164, provides a number of general thoughts on change in rural areas in other parts of the country.
- (26) See C. Bell and H. Newby, The Sociology of Community, (Frank Cass, London, 1974), pp.41 - 44, and R.L.Simpson's article, "Sociology of the Community: Current Status and Prospects", in Rural Sociology, vol.30, part 2, (1965), pp.127 - 149.
- (27) A point made by Bell and Newby (1974), *op. cit.*, p.xliv, and N. Elias, "Foreword: Towards a Theory of Communitas", in Bell and Newby, pp.xiv - xv.
- (28) See H. McLuhan, Understanding Media (Sphere Books, London, 1967) and M.H. Webber, "Order in Diversity: Community without Proximity", in L. Wingo (ed.), Cities and Space (John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1963).
- (29) Community Studies (Allen and Unwin, London), p.18.
- (30) *op. cit.*
- (31) "The Myth of Community Studies", British Journal of Sociology, vol.xx (June), p.134 - 147.
- (32) *op. cit.*, pp.x - xxxviii.
- (33) The early writers on the subject of the voluntary association argued that the growth of more amorphous relations between individuals induced a state of psychological insecurity. Bushee, *op. cit.*, p.220, is of some interest here. Others, such as D. Sills, The Volunteers: Means and Ends in a National Organization(The Free Press, Illinois, 1957), p.234, suggested that an accompanying feature of this was the suppression of personality. Despite the somewhat pessimistic tone of these ideas, they do appear to offer a number of useful insights into the experiences of modern society.

(34) Sills, loc.cit.

(35) For a useful summary of this work, see A.M. Rose, The Power Structure: Political Process in American Society (O.U.P., New York), p.231.

(36) Tradition and Change: A study of Banbury (O.U.P.)

(37) In A.W. Gouldner (ed.), Studies in Leadership: Leadership and Democratic Action (Harper, New York, 1950), p.486. Furthermore, Sills, op. cit., pp.35 - 36 and A.M. Rose, op. cit., p.227, follow Barber in this respect.

(38) See Stacey, 1960, op. cit., p.11, for the origin of this term.

(39) The use of voluntary associations as banners of élitism is by no means unique. See R.S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown: A Study in American Culture (Constable, London, 1929), ch.xix, for an American example of this.

(40) See pp.144 - 158. This idea is elaborated in D.E.G. Plowman, W.E.G. Minchinton and Margaret Stacey, "Local Social Status in England and Wales", Sociological Review, vol.10, part 2, (1962), pp.161 - 202.

(41) Small Town Politics: A Study of political Life in Glossop (O.U.P., 1959).

(42) See p.249 for the location of this information.

(43) As J.T. Firth's Harray: Orkney's Inland Parish (Rendall, Stromness, 1975), pp.61 - 64 implies, many of these organizations were set up at a time of poverty and hardship, as a means of improving life.

(44) See Stacey's (1969) op. cit., "proposition 1c", p.141, for confirmation of her belief in the firm existence of social relations between the members of established native communities.

(45) In this instance, see Lynd and Lynd, op. cit., pp.286 - 287 and Durant, op. cit., p.60.

(46) For example, Elias, op. cit., p.xxvii, Stacey et al., 1975, op. cit., p.50, Bushee, op. cit., p.220.

(47) This is one of the main conclusions of Joan. W. Moore's "Patterns of Women's Participation in Voluntary Associations", in American Journal of Sociology, vol.66 (May 1961), pp. 592 - 598.

(48) The Power Structure: Political Process in American Society (O.U.P., New York)

(49) Displenishment sales occur prior to the surrender of a farm tenancy or the actual sale of the farmland, when stock, machinery, etc., are auctioned.

(50) The work of Tannenbaum, op. cit., is of relevance here, as well as that of Kluckhohn, op. cit., p.229, Williams, op. cit., p. 465 and Sills, op. cit., p.234.

(51) Whilst it is not possible to portray the cut and thrust of status negotiation in this work, some relevant material may be found in J.N.Wilson's "Some negative aspects of life in an Orkney parish", in A. Jackson (ed.), Way of Life: Negative aspects of community, S.S.R.C., N S O P Occasional Paper No.8 (1980).

C H A P T E R   S I X

- (1) See H. Newby, Green and Pleasant Land? (Hutchinson, London, 1979), p.15, for a fuller explanation of this idea.
- (2) This historical perspective is based on A. Cobban's In Search of Humanity, (Jonathan Cape, London, 1960).
- (3) An Illustrated Cultural History of England (Book Club Associates, London, 1969 edition)
- (4) *ibid.*, p.221. Here Halliday identifies "..... the Nature poetry of Thomson and Cowper, the landscapes of Gainsborough, rustic scenes of George Morland and the architectural cult of The Picturesque ....." as the first waves in a subsequent deluge of artistic endeavour and achievement.
- (5) As confirmed by R.C.Lucas, "Wilderness perception and use: the example of the Boundary Waters canoe area", Natural Resources Journal 3 (1964), pp.394 - 411.
- (6) See Halliday, *op.cit.*, chs. 12 and 13 on this.
- (7) See R.F. Jordan, Victorian Architecture, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1966), p.188.
- (8) See. P.B. Stone, Did We Save the Earth at Stockholm? (Earth Island, London, 1973), p. 12.
- (9) *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
- (10) Isabella M. Holmes, "Green and Grey London", in The Sunday Magazine (1888), pp. 268 - 271, provides a description of the work of the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association.
- (11) Gilbert White's The Natural History of Selborne (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1941), first published in 1788, represents a significant starting point in all of this.
- (12) Something of this approach is evident in the Rev. Prof. G.Henslow's The Story of Wild Flowers (Newnes, London, 1901), p.15, where it is suggested that:  

"In looking at any nosegay of wild flowers, the eye rests upon a great variety of forms and colours in the blossoms, and it might be thought what a difficult thing it must be to reduce the mass of beauty one sees in nature to anything like a simple system of classification. Yet, so it is....."
- (13) The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (1889) provides a noteworthy example of a nineteenth century organization set up for the express purpose of protecting at least one aspect of the natural world.

(14) Richard Jeffries' Wild Life in a Southern County (Nelson, London and Edinburgh, no date), p.vii, offers some flavour of this:

"If we go a few hours' journey only ..... and glance into the hedgerow, the copse or stream, there are natures' children ... unrestrained in their wild, free life.....So, too, in some degree with the tillers of the soil: old manners and customs linger, and there seems an echo of the past in the breadth of their pronunciation."

(15) Here it is interesting to note that, as recently as 1964, Stella Gibbons was able to parody an entire genre of Romantic literature in Cold Comfort Farm (Longmans, London, 1964), with an attack directed at:

"records of intense spiritual struggles... ageless and elemental beings, tossed like straws on the seas of passion ..... Nature at her rawest, in man and in landscapes." (ibid., Foreword)

(16) I.C. Simmons, "Conservation", in J.A. Dawson and J.C. Doomkamp (eds.), Evaluating the Human Environment (Arnold, New York and London, 1979), pp.250 - 258, traces the growth of this new awareness.

(17) J.A. Loraine, Global Signposts to the 21st Century (Peter Owen, London, 1979), ch.1 for an examination of this process.

(18) A. Manning, in his "Introduction", in A. Scott and J. Loraine (eds.), Here today ..... (E.U.S.P.B., Edinburgh, 1980), p.10, identifies Rachel Carson's Silent Spring (Hamish Hamilton, London, 1963) (first published in America in 1962), as seminal in this respect.

(19) The Washington Papers, vol.8, no. 77 (Sage Publications, Beverley Hills and London).

(20) Manning, op. cit., p.8, identifies the following publications as amongst some of the most significant in this respect:

D.H.Meadows, D.L. Meadows, et al The Limits to Growth (Universe Books, for Potomac Associates U.S.A., London, 1972);

F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful (Blond and Briggs, London, 1973).

In addition, Manning points to the importance of The Ecologist set up in 1970 by Edward Goldsmith, and to Goldsmith's publication of "A Blueprint for Survival" as the January 1972 edition of the journal.

(21) See J. Ridgeway, The Politics of Ecology (Dutton and Co., New York, 1970), p.13, for further information on this point.

(22) See P.L. Berger, B. Berger and H. Kellner The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1977), first published in 1973, chapter 9. They argue that changes in Western child-rearing in the 1950's and 1960's, combined with such things as expanded and extended educational experiences, produced a

generation intent on pursuing personal autonomy and self-indulgence. Berger et al believe that this generation, as a result of its antipathy towards the more anonymous and regimented aspects of industrial society, embarked upon the de-modernization of society via the youth movements of the 1960's. Since then, this generation and their successors have pursued any cause offering the dismemberment of contemporary society. It is clear from the argument presented by Berger et al, and from the analysis in this thesis, that ecology is one such cause.

(23) This distinction is supported by the work of J. Ridgeway, op. cit., p.13; Simmons, op. cit., pp.258 - 265; and Stone, op. cit., pp.13 - 16.

(24) These ideas are drawn from the work of J.A. Loraine, op. cit., pp.1 - 29, and J.F. Pilat, op. cit., p.11.

(25) See Stone, op. cit., p.80 and D.A. Munro, "Preface" in R. Allen, How to Save the World (Kogan Page, London, 1980), passim, in this respect.

(26) The Countryside Act of 1949, and the designation of National Nature Reserves soon followed on, representing the advent of a plethora of environmental legislation. See Newby, op. cit., pp.227 - 250, for further details.

(27) The Civic Trust and the National Trust became active at an early period. The 1960's saw the emergence of the Council for Environmental Education (1968), the Committee for Environmental Conservation (1969), etc. However, see the National Council for Voluntary Organizations' regular publication Voluntary Organizations (Bedford Square Press, London) for the histories of many conservation and wild life organizations.

(28) Newby, op. cit., pp.18 - 24 and pp. 204 - 259, offers a more expansive discourse along these lines.

(29) See Pilat, op. cit., pp.70 - 71, for the reasons behind this.

(30) D. White in "Friends or FOE" in New Society. 16.vi.1977, p.553, describes the work and aims of Friends of the Earth. It seems to be the case that the organization, although pragmatic in its activities, acts on the basis of a radical philosophy. Some insight into the Foundation for Alternatives may be obtained in the National Council for Voluntary Organizations, op. cit., 1980 - 81 edition, p.59.

(31) The Foundation for Alternatives quoted in the National Council for Voluntary Organizations, loc. cit.

(32) "Foreword: Towards a Theory of Communitas", in C. Bell and H. Newby (eds.), The Sociology of Community (Frank Cass, London, 1974)

(33) M. Spence, "The Past in the Present: North Ronaldsay Sheep", Old Lore Miscellany, vol.iii (Jan., 1910), p.27.

(34) Stanley Cursiter was a notable Scottish painter of local origin, who lived in Edinburgh but who had a house in Stromness. He died in April, 1976.

- (35) Evelyn Waugh's Brideshead Revisited (Chapman and Hall, London, 1945), was by way of a panegyric on the passing of the great house. However, in the Preface to the 1959 (Penguin) edition, Waugh admitted his astonishment at "the present cult of the English country house."
- (36) The Saltire Society, founded in 1936, is dedicated to the cultivation of Scottish arts and crafts, and to the conservation of old buildings.
- (37) Mr. Lea resigned in 1980 to run a co-operative movement on Papa Westray. However, unable to sell his house on the Mainland, he gave this up shortly afterwards. He has since returned to the Mainland, where he organizes natural history tours.
- (38) According to Mr. Lea, this represents 1 in 140 of the population of the islands, in contrast to the R.S.P.B.'s national membership of 1 in 240.
- (39) The Field Club is involved in setting up a wetlands nature reserve at Muirfield, and it has certain proposals for parts of Hoy.
- (40) Mrs. S. Flint, Let the Seals Live! (The Thule Press, Shetland, 1979), p.151.
- (41) Howie Firth, "Orkney", in Scotia Review, No.18 (Winter 1977-78), pp. 9-10.
- (42) See Diana Forsythe, Urban-Rural Migration, S.S.R.C., N.S.O.P. Occasional Paper No.14 (1982), for confirmation of this in relation to one of the North Isles of Orkney. She argues that the native inhabitants of this island prefer to avoid asserting themselves over others, they eschew conflict and seek decision-making on the basis of an informal consensus. In contrast, the incomers on the island are dedicated to a more assertive approach to life and to decision-making by formal means. This has led to numerous misunderstandings and to a degree of ill-feeling on both sides of the local-incomer divide.

As for the whole question of the actual form of politics; J.N. Wilson, "Some negative aspects of life in an Orkney parish", in A. Jackson (ed., Way of Life: Negative Aspects of Community, S.S.R.C., N.S.O.P., Occasional Paper No.2 (1980), pp.24-36, deals with some of the problems faced by local people in pursuit both of an informal consensus, and of formal positions of authority. Here one of the main difficulties is in reconciling such aims with the egalitarian ethos of local society. R. Byron and G. Macfarlane, Social Change in Dunrossness, S.S.R.C., N.S.O.P. Occasional Paper No.1 (1981), deal with the question of local involvement in official decision-making. Thus, they record that:

"We were told that only those with outgoing personalities and enough self-assurance would attempt to seek local office, and for this reason people who had wider experience than most in dealing with others, such as school teachers, merchants and farmers tended to dominate."

(ibid., p.109)

Since "ordinary" Shetlanders find these people intimidating, they are even less inclined to seek office.

(43) See E. Condry, "You're not a Sassenach if you live the way we do", in A. Jackson (ed.) Way of Life: Integration and immigration S.S.R.C., N.S.O.P., Occasional Paper No.12 (1981), who seems to suggest that the same system operates in the Western Isles.

(44) This seems to be the fate of many incomers in other areas. See the "Discussion" in Jackson (ed.), Integration and immigration, op. cit., p.75.

(45) This argument was advanced in its most explicit form by Mr. Eunson. More specifically, on the basis of information supplied by Mr. Eunson and by Mrs. Flint, it is possible to identify the personalities involved in this division of opinion over conservationism:

Conservationists

i	Laura Grimond	wife of Orkney's M.P.	incomer
ii	Sybil Roebuck	wife of Episcopalian vicar	incomer
iii	Christine Muir	widow of North Isles doctor	incomer
iv	Ronald Hancock	insurance broker	incomer
v	William Groundwater	local amateur naturalist and ex-Rector of Stromness Academy	local
vi	Sandy Annal	maverick and anti- establishment figure	local

Developers

i	George Marwick	Convener of OIC and a commercial farmer	local associations
ii	George Stevenson	Vice-Convener of OIC and a big farmer	local
iii	Olaf Work	retired engineer	returned expatriate
iv	William Firth	small farmer	local

It is interesting to note that the pro-conservationist group at this time (6 out of a Council total of 23), consisted largely of members of the present-day old régime, so substantiating the argument advanced in previous chapters that this section of society retains a degree of authority over local life. Furthermore, it is important to realize that the conservationists on the Council at this time were moderate in their outlook, suggesting a limit to the extent of their involvement with radical protest, and a reluctance to become the tools of the radicals. That is to say, they were not prepared to operate the formal levers of local power on behalf of the radicals.

C H A P T E R   S E V E N

- (1) The two controversies examined under this heading occurred before the period of fieldwork associated with this thesis. However, a reconstruction of events along the lines described in the Introduction proved to be possible. North Sea oil was by no means a dead and forgotten issue when fieldwork began. In any case, the two events had produced many newspaper reports and other published documents, which proved to be of considerable help.
- (2) These details were obtained from "Oil platform builders choose Orkney site", The Scotsman, 20.x.1972, p.8.
- (3) "Local people object to Scapa Flow scheme", The Scotsman, 21.x.1972, p.6.
- (4) A state of affairs suggested by Mr. Stevenson, Vice-Convener of O.I.C.
- (5) Minutes of the General Meeting of the Orkney County Council, 19th December, 1972, min. no.4.
- (6) Mrs. Flint uncovered some of these with the help of Tam Dalyell, M.P., one of her Labour Party contacts.
- (7) Pressure from the Scottish Development Department on the Council to update its County Plan to take account of North Sea oil led the Council to give specific thought to its policies. The Council's use of planning consultants encouraged this process. Out of this period of debate, during which advice was sought from national agencies, came the decision to reject short-term developments offering few local benefits. See the Minutes of the General Meeting of the O.C.C., 19th December, 1972, min.no.5, and the Minutes of the Environment and Services Committee of the O.C.C., 7th June 1973, min. no.3, for confirmation of this.
- (8) Information supplied by the O.I.C. Planning Department.
- (9) Even so, it was not until January 1974 that Christiani and Nielsen Ltd. finally withdrew its planning application. See the Minutes of the Meeting of the Finance and Policy Committee of the O.I.C., 15th January 1974, min. no.30, for the formal declaration of withdrawal.
- (10) For the background to this, see "Piper on Stream", a special supplement to The Scotsman, 15.xii.1976.
- (11) As evinced by The Occidental North Sea Group's publicity handout, The Flotta Story (1977), pp.11-19.
- (12) For some insight into this, see the Minutes of the Finance and Policy Committee of O.I.C., 25th April 1975, min. no.2.
- (13) See W.J.Cairns, "How visual impact on environment has been minimized", in "Piper on Stream", op. cit., p.vii. Cairns, the environmental consultant to Occidental, acknowledges the importance

of international environmentalism and episodes such as the Drumbuie debate in creating a sense of caution on the part of oil companies.

(14) The N.C.C. suggested an environmental monitoring programme for Scapa Flow. See Minutes of the Environment and Services Committee of O.I.C., 5th February 1976, min.no.5.

(15) H.A.Graeme Lapsley, "Orkney Way of Life left largely undisturbed", in "Piper on Stream", op. cit., p.vi.

(16) Occidental, The Flotta Story, p.19

(17) A point made by Miss Bullard, Mr. Lea, the Rev. D.A. Williams and Mr. Hewison of The Orcadian.

(18) The opening and closing sequences of the uranium controversy fell outside the fieldwork period. A historical reconstruction of the early stages of the controversy proved to be possible. The final stages were followed through the relevant media coverage and with the help of personal contacts.

(19) See the Minutes of the General Meeting of O.I.C., 28th September, 1976, min.no.8, and of the Development, Planning and Control Committee, 18th January, 1977.

(20) Information supplied by Mr. Lea.

(21) For example, see M. Flood, Torness: Keep it Clean, Friends of the Earth Energy Report No.1 (1978).

(22) As reported in "Identification of 5 possible sites for storage of nuclear waste", The Scotsman, 27.vi.1977, p.1.

(23) This description of the involvement of local organizations is based on information supplied by Mr. Lea. For further details, see C. Mullinger, "S.S.E.B. move on Orkney rights to uranium", The Scotsman, 2.ii.1977, p.9 and "Protests grow over uranium mining", 7.ii.1977, p.1. Also R. Faux, "Doctors oppose uranium survey in Orkney", The Times, 9.ii.1977, p.4.

(24) Quoted in The Times, 8.ii.1977, p.3.

(25) A state of affairs revealed by newspaper reports. For example, "E.E.C. move to ensure uranium supplies", The Scotsman, 18.ii.1977, p.6, and "S.S.E.B. look to nuclear energy", 22.xi.1979, p.9. This argument was advanced by the S.S.E.B. in its consultations with the O.I.C. See the Minutes of the Development, Planning and Control Committee, 8th February, 1977, p.567.

(26) Some landowners signed willingly, with no real notion of what they were signing. See Mullinger, "N.F.U. against Orkney uranium deals", The Scotsman, 22.ii.1977, p.9. Mrs. Flint and Mr. Lea believe that some other landowners signed in the hope of a financial reward.

(27) Information supplied by Mr. Sinclair, Chairman of Stromness Community Council.

- (28) See the Minutes of the General Meeting of O.I.C., 22nd February, 1977, min.no.4.
- (29) *ibid.*, min.no.6.
- (30) See Mullinger, "Orkney loses battle for control of uranium", The Scotsman, 30.v.1978, p.1.
- (31) As reported by J. Page in "Orcadians' silent protest", The Press and Journal, 22.iii.1979, p.13, and by D. Scott in "Criticism after Younger leaves way open", The Scotsman, 29.xi.1979, p.9. The S.S.E.B.'s view of this may be found in its Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31st March 1979, p.20.
- (32) Information supplied by Mr. Lea.
- (33) As Chairman of the Sea Birds Group, a veteran of numerous North Atlantic bird counts, a conservationist campaigner of long standing and a semi-professional researcher, Dr. Bourne felt very strongly about the mink issue.
- (34) See "Mink as a threat to bird life", The Times letters page, 13.vii.1979; The Times letters page, 22.x.1977, and the New Scientist Comment page, 28.viii.1977.
- (35) See Parliamentary Debates: House of Commons Official Report, 5th Series, vol.933, Written Answers, 13.vi.1977, "Scotland and Mink", Mr. Hugh Brown's question; and House of Lords Official Report, 5th Series, vol.936, Written Answers, 27.vii.1977, "Orkney Islands Proposed Mink Farm", the Earl of Kimberley's question. These questions were asked in response to Dr. Bourne's lobbying activities.
- (36) For example, Sir Christopher Lever, "Mink threat to wild life", The Times letters page, 25.vii.1977.
- (37) The existence of this alliance is confirmed in the Nature Conservancy Council's Fourth Report, 1977/78, p.60, and "Westray Mink Inquiry: Scottish Secretary will have last word", The Orcadian, 23.ii.1978, p.1.
- (38) "The Nature of the Beast", 15.ix.1977, p.4 and "The Mink at Large", 29.ix.1977, p.4.
- (39) See the Earl of Kimberley's parliamentary Question, *loc. cit.*
- (40) Information supplied by Miss Bullard. See also the Minutes of the Development, Planning and Control Committee, 11.x.1977.
- (41) Minutes of the General Meeting, 25.x.1977, min.no.11.
- (42) In this case, Article 4 of the Town and Country Planning (General Development) (Scotland) Order, 1975 and the Discontinuance Order, Section 260 of the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act, 1972.
- (43) Dr. Bourne, The Times letters page, 22.x.1977.

- (44) In a statement made at the Public Local Inquiry.
- (45) In a statement made at the Public Local Inquiry.
- (46) As reported in "Birds given preference over mink", The Scotsman, 18.viii.1978.
- (47) Quoted in "Mink project abandoned", The Press and Journal, 19.viii.1978.
- (48) See J. Lister-Kaye, Seal Cull: The Grey Seal Controversy, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1979), pp.75 - 77, for a fuller explanation of this.
- (49) Information provided by the Earl of Cranbrook, the Chairman of the Seals Advisory Committee, in a statement at a Public Meeting in Kirkwall on the 29th August 1978..
- (50) The Ferne Trust was set up by the Duchess of Hamilton during World War II to care for soldiers' pets.
- (51) Lister-Kaye, op. cit., p.103, sees this as a feature of all agricultural communities.
- (52) Mrs. Flaws and Mrs. McKie were incomer teachers who had married locally, whilst retaining certain romantic preconceptions. Mrs. Cardno was cultivated by the environmentalists as a "token" local.
- (53) Lister-Kaye, op. cit., pp.60 - 72, summarizes both arguments.
- (54) As reported in "Seal cull protesters are promised international support", The Orcadian, 21.ix.1978, p.3.
- (55) In a letter to The Orcadian, 15.vi.1978.
- (56) Letters to the Editor, 20.vii.1978.
- (57) A particularly large group was recruited from South Ronaldsay, with others from the North Isles. For further details, see Mrs. Flint, op. cit., p.131.
- (58) Information supplied by Mrs. Flint.
- (59) This argument is advanced by Lister-Kaye, op. cit., pp.112 - 116.
- (60) The organizations in question being the Fauna Preservation Society, the Society for the Promotion of Nature Conservation, the World Wildlife Fund, the Scottish World Wildlife Trust, the International Fund for Animal Welfare, the General Assembly of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature; and others.
- (61) As revealed in "Seal cull plan may cost up to £25,000", The Orcadian, 16.xi.1978, p.1, and the House of Lords Official Report, 5th Series, vol.936, Written Answers, 21.xi.1978, "Seal Cull: Communications", Lord Houghton of Sowerby's question.

(62) See Tam Dalyell, "Westminster Scene: Action on Seals", New Scientist, 2.xi.1978, p.379.

(63) *ibid.*, loc. cit.

(64) The most significant was the Ferne Trust petition, with 28,000 signatures, 6,500 of them from Orkney (about 1/3 of the islands' population.)

(65) See Mrs. Flint, *op. cit.*, p.53 and pp.89-90. A certain degree of caution had to be exercised in the acceptance of these people, some of whom were "professional protesters".

(66) As reported extensively in The Orcadian, 19.x.1978.

(67) This was especially true in the instance of extremist groups such as The Hunt Saboteurs Association. See "Hunt Saboteurs get 'cold shoulder' and retreat", The Orcadian, 26.x.1978, p.1.

(68) "Foo", "Observation Post", The Orcadian, 30.xi.1978, p.5.

(69) The Occidental North Sea Group, The Search for North Sea Oil, (1976), p.1.

(70) Thus Occidental received advice and assistance from The Scottish Office, the Department of Energy, and the H.I.D.B. In addition, the state-owned British National Oil Corporation obtained a share in the consortium's activities. See "Company Structures", in the special supplement, "Piper on Stream", *op. cit.*, p.iii.

(71) Dated 26.xi.1979.

(72) See D. Sills, The Volunteers: Means and Ends in a National Organization (The Free Press, Illinois, 1957), pp.9-10 for the distinction between corporate and federated forms of association.

(73) Sociology and Social Research 47 (July 1953), pp.451-471.

## A P P E N D I C E S

- (1) Further Details Concerning Informants
- (2) Population of Orkney, 1901 - 1981
- (3) The Changing Face of Orkney's Employment Structure,  
1901 - 1981
- (4) Farm Sizes, 1940 - 1980
- (5) Numbers Employed in Scottish Local Government, 1968 - 1978
- (6) The Political Deployment of Local Environmental Groups

A P P E N D I X O N E

FURTHER DETAILS CONCERNING INFORMANTS

Out of 300 or more individuals who provided information, opinions and ideas during the course of fieldwork, the following men and women are quoted in the text and notes of this thesis:

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| * Miss Ambrose of Orphir     | Incomer  |
| Mr. Bichan of Deerness       | Small farmer and lobster-fisherman                                     |
| Mr. Bremner of St. Ola       | Large farmer and President of the Orkney N.F.U.                        |
| Mr. Brough of Rendall        | Returned expatriate, retired bus-driver                                |
| Miss Brough of Rendall       | Nurse and leading member of Orkney's Labour Party                      |
| * Miss Bullard of St. Ola    | Leading conservationist  |
| Mrs. Cardno of Kirkwall      | Hospital auxiliary and conservationist                                 |
| * Mr. Clark of Kirkwall      | Building site supervisor   |
| * Mr. Coghill of Kirkwall    | Orkney Islands Council Development Officer                             |
| Dr. Cromarty of Stromness    | Medical Officer of Health  |
| Mrs. Cursiter of Stromness   | Housewife  |
| Mr. Drever of Westray        | Would-be mink farmer   |
| Miss Eunson of Deerness      | Fund of local information  |
| Mr. Eunson of Kirkwall       | Merchant, and Convener of Orkney Islands Council                       |
| * Mr. Farquhar               | Manager of the local Department of Employment office                   |
| Dr. Firth of Rousay          | Retired G.P.   |
| Mr. Howie Firth of Stromness | Local radio presenter  |
| Mr. Flett of The Barony      | Retired crofter-fisherman  |
| * Mrs. Flint of Orphir       | Leading conservationist  |
| Mr. A. Foubister of Deerness | Retired small farmer and joiner  |
| Mr. J. Foubister of Deerness | Part-time small farmer and mart employee                               |
| Mr. R. Foubister of Sandwick | Part-time farmer and G.P.O. employee                                   |
| Mr. Foulis of Deerness       | Small farmer   |
| Mrs. Foulis of Deerness      | Farmer's wife  |
| * Mr. Gill of Kirkwall       | Planning assistant with Orkney Islands Council                         |
| Mr. Gorie of Kirkwall        | Retired merchant   |
| * Mrs. Grimond               | Islands Councillor   |
| Mrs. Groat of Stronsay       | Farmer's wife and schoolmistress                                       |
| Mr. Groundwater of Kirkwall  | Retired Rector of Stromness Academy, Islands Councillor and naturalist |
| Mrs. Heddle of Finstown      | Housewife  |
| Mr. Hepburn of Deerness      | Farmer and ex-County Councillor  |
| Mr. Hewison of Kirkwall      | Journalist on "The Orcadian"   |
| * Mrs. Irvine of Stenness    | Housewife  |
| Mr. Knight of Stromness      | Ex-Provost of Stromness, and an Islands Councillor                     |
| * First-generation incomer   |  |

- \* Mr. Lea of Kirkwall and Papa Westray      Leading conservationist
- Mr. Leith of Stenness      Farmer and local savant
- \* Mrs. Linklater of Kirkwall      Leading conservationist
- Mr. McGillivray of Kirkwall      Senior social worker with Orkney Islands Council
- \* Mr. D.J.McInnes of Kirkwall      Headmaster of Kirkwall Primary School
- Mr. I. McInnes of Stromness      Rector of Stromness Academy
- \* Mr. McKinnon of Kirkwall      Director of Social Work, Orkney Islands Council
- \* Mr. McLeod of Kirkwall      Youth Employment Officer, Orkney Islands Council, and conservationist
- Col. Macrae of Orphir      Lord Lieutenant of Orkney
- Mrs. Mainland of Burray      Housewife
- \* Mr. Marshall of Evie      Depute Director of Education, Orkney Islands Council
- Mr. E.W. Marwick of Orphir      Local historian and conservationist
- Prof. Miller of Stromness      Retired expatriate Professor of Geography
- Rev. H.L. Mooney      Minister of Deerness and St.Andrew's, and a local antiquarian
- \* Mr. Mowat of Kirkwall      Schoolmaster, and leading member of the Orkney S.N.P.
- Dr. Peace of Kirkwall      Local G.P.
- \* Mrs. B. Robertson of Stromness      Islands Councillor
- Mr. J. Robertson of Stromness      Solicitor
- Brig. S. Robertson of Kirkwall      Businessman
- Mr. Robson of Kirkwall      Education Office clerk, Orkney Islands Council
- \* Mr. Rose of Kirkwall      Retired schoolmaster, and leading member of the Orkney Conservative Party
- \* Mr. Scholes of Kirkwall      Accountant
- Mr. Scott of Deerness      Farmer
- Mrs. Scott of Deerness      Farmer's wife
- Dr. Shearer of Kirkwall      Returned expatriate G.P.
- Mr. Simpson of The Barony      Retired crofter-fisherman
- Mr. J. Sinclair of Kirkwall      Distillery worker
- Mrs. J. Sinclair of Kirkwall      Housewife
- Mr. W. Sinclair of Stromness      Merchant, and Chairman of Stromness Community Council
  
- \* First-generation incomer

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| * Mr. Soloway of Burray                | Occidental engineer                                   |
| * Mr. Steer of Stromness               | Ex-Burgh Clerk and Burgh<br>Chamberlain of Stromness  |
| Mr. Stevenson of Evie                  | Large Farmer and Islands Council<br>Vice-Convener     |
| Mr. Sutherland of Flotta               | Retired farmer  |
| * Miss Thompson of Orphir              | Schoolmistress and conservationist                    |
| * Mr. Thompson of Kirkwall             | Rector of Kirkwall Grammar School                     |
| Mr. Towrie of Kirkwall                 | Orkney Council for Social Service                     |
| * Mr. Troup of Stromness               | History master at Stromness Academy                   |
| * Miss White of<br>St. Margaret's Hope | Retired civil servant                                 |
| * Rev. D.A. Williams                   | Minister of Stenness and Orphir                       |
| Mr. C. Wylie of Deerness               | Part-time farmer and dock worker                      |
| Mr. G. Wylie of Dounby                 | Large farmer and ex-President of the<br>Orkney N.F.U. |

Of outstanding assistance were:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| * Miss Bullard of St. Ola                 | * Mrs. Linklater of Kirkwall                    |
| * Mr. Clark of Kirkwall                   | Mr. I. McInnes of Stromness                     |
| * Mrs. Flint of Orphir                    | * Mr. McLeod of Kirkwall                        |
| Mr. A. Foubister of Deerness              | Col. Macrae of Orphir                           |
| Mr. J. Foubister of Deerness              | * Mr. Mowat of Kirkwall                         |
| Mr. Hepburn of Deerness                   | * Mrs. B. Robertson of Stromness                |
| * Mrs. Irvine of Stenness                 | Mr. J. Robertson of Stromness                   |
| * Mr. Lea of Kirkwall and<br>Papa Westray | Mr. Scott of Deerness<br>Mr. G. Wylie of Dounby |

Although not quoted directly in the text, the following were also a source of assistance and comment:

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Capt. Alsop of St. Ola                | Air pilot and conservationist   |
| Mr. and Mrs. D. Eunson of<br>Deerness | Small farmers   |
| Mr. J. Robertson of<br>Sandwick       | Returned colonial expatriate,<br>ex-Provost of Stromness, and<br>an Islands Councillor. |

Further biographical details are provided, where necessary, throughout the text and notes.

- \* First-generation incomers.

A P P E N D I X T W O

POPULATION OF ORKNEY, 1901 - 1981

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941*	1951	1961	1971	1981
Kirkwall and St. Ola	4,522	4,595	4,524	4,398	*	5,519	5,694	5,720	6,826
Stromness	3,180	2,348	2,264	2,116	*	2,068	1,998	2,050	2,222
Other Mainland Parishes	8,603	7,824	7,350	6,892	*	6,626	5,814	4,998	5,251
North Isles	7,845	7,095	6,376	5,590	*	4,255	3,303	2,787	2,712
South Isles	4,549	4,035	3,597	3,081	*	2,787	1,938	1,522	2,029
Total	28,699	25,897	24,111	22,077	*	21,255	18,747	17,077	19,040

\* No census was taken during World War II.

Source: Registrar-General  
Decennial Censuses

These figures demonstrate a general decline in Orkney's population over many years, despite a post-war "baby boom" and a pause for reconstruction. The people who left the islands in the 1950's and 1960's were following a long-established trend, involving the movement of rural dwellers to the urban-industrial centres. However, the overall loss of population in the post-war period has had more dramatic economic and social implications for those remaining behind than previously. This is discussed in Chapter Two.

The relative good fortune of the Mainland parishes in recent times has been associated with the immigration of people from the North Isles, and with the employment opportunities offered to rural commuters by Kirkwall. For its part, Kirkwall has increased its population, by acting as host to displaced or disgruntled country dwellers. In this way, the town increasingly displays a high degree of vigour.

The upturn in population, dating from 1973, is due to the arrival of romantic incomers to the shores of Orkney, and to the expansion of local government employment and oil-related activities involving pragmatic incomers.

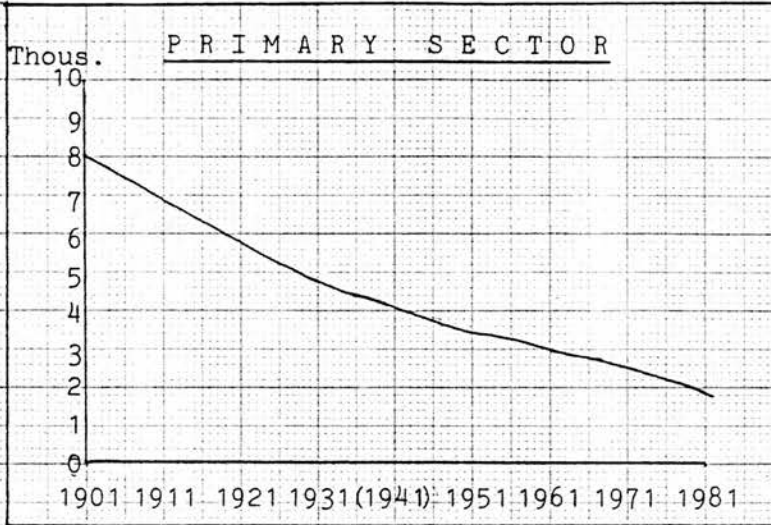
A P P E N D I X T H R E E

THE CHANGING FACE OF ORKNEY'S EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE

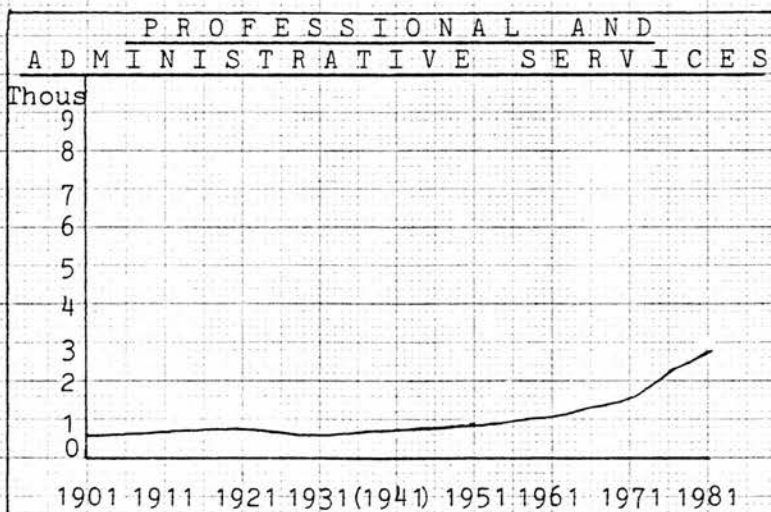
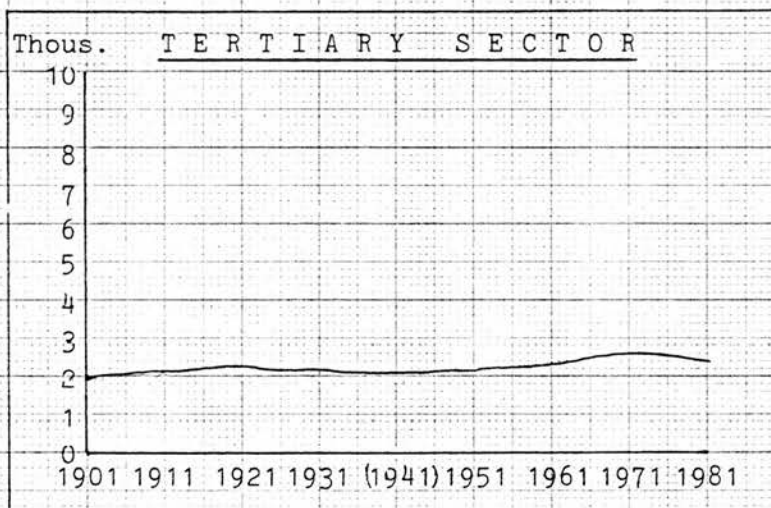
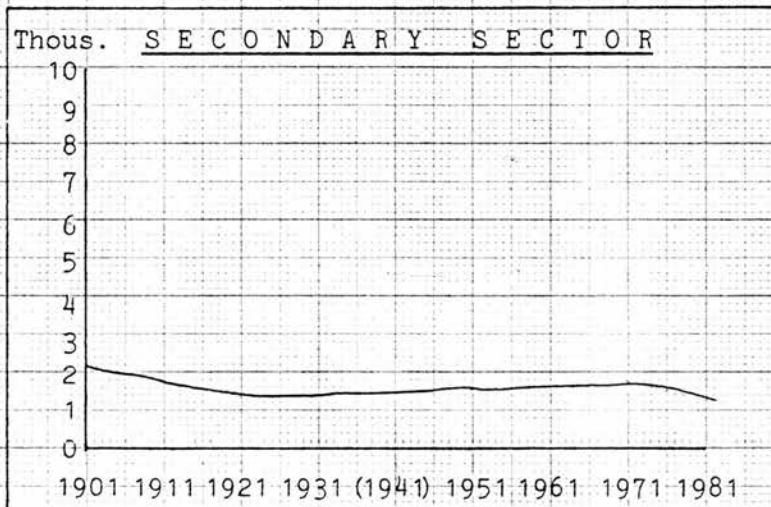
Despite the local belief that the years after the Second World War demonstrate a dramatic decline in the agricultural workforce, it is clear that the "drift from the land" is of long standing. This has already been suggested in Appendix Two. As the decades have passed, more and more people have escaped the hardships of small-scale farming, leaving greater opportunities for those left behind. From this point of view, the demographic consequences of post-war mechanization and amalgamation are new passages in an old theme.

However, the local emphasis on the post-war world is by no means entirely misguided. Indeed, it is based on a shrewd understanding of the nature of this latest phase of agricultural and demographic change. This same emphasis has been adopted in Chapter Two. Mechanization and amalgamation have introduced a more insistent note. They have helped to make life much easier for those who have stayed on, and they have made farming families less dependant upon one another. In addition, many rural areas have lost their sense of self-sufficiency as a result of this latest phase in the movement out of the primary sector.

Returning to the long term perspective, which takes in the years before the Second World War, it is clear that the secondary and tertiary sectors have become relatively more important with the overall decline in population. In real terms, the tertiary sector displays periods of limited growth in the years after the war. Another post-war development is in the significant increase in white-collar employment. This has been consolidated recently by the reform of local government and by the creation of permanent oil-related positions. The secondary and tertiary sectors, along with administration, have become centred in Kirkwall. The day of the parish-based home industry is over. Depopulation and economic rationalization have made them redundant.



A P P E N D I X  
T H R E E  
E M P L O Y M E N T  
S T R U C T U R E



Source:  
Registrar-General  
Decennial  
Censuses

A P P E N D I X F O U R

FARM SIZES (CATEGORIES BASED ON ACRE INTERVALS) AND NUMBER OF FARMS, 1940 - 1980

	<u>1/5</u>	<u>5/15</u>	<u>15/30</u>	<u>30/50</u>	<u>50/75</u>	<u>75/100</u>	<u>100/150</u>	<u>150/300</u>	<u>300+</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1940	368	820	896	579	263	106	79	60	21	3,192
1950	427	813	859	597	263	99	77	58	23	3,216
1960	316	505	585	541	308	143	102	66	27	2,593
	<u>&lt; 5</u>	<u>5/10</u>	<u>10/50</u>	<u>50/125</u>	<u>125/250</u>	<u>250/500</u>	<u>500/1,250</u>	<u>1,250/5,000</u>	<u>5,000+</u>	
1970 *	18	43	613	656	219	86	31	9	2	1,677
	<u>&lt; 2½</u>	<u>2½/5</u>	<u>5/12</u>	<u>50/125</u>	<u>125/250</u>	<u>250/500</u>	<u>500/1,250</u>	<u>1,250/5,000</u>	<u>5,000+</u>	
1980 ø	19	8	43	223	467	93	29	7	1	1,199

Despite various difficulties of comparison, it seems reasonable to suggest that farm numbers have dropped dramatically, and that larger farms are now more common.

\* A number of enterprises falling below 26 standard man-days per annum were omitted from this census, on the basis of their actual and statistical insignificance in term of Scottish Agriculture.

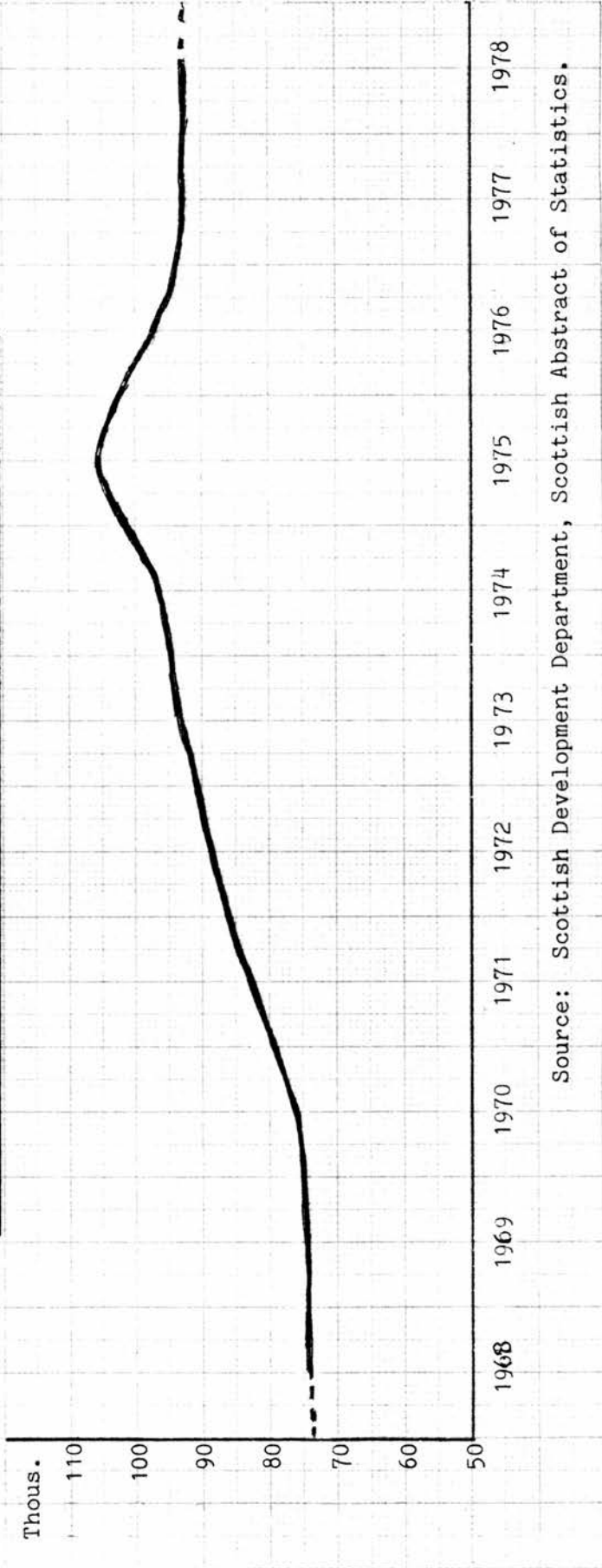
ø These new categories have been converted from their original hectares into acres, and rounded up very slightly in order to make this table more consistent.

Source of figures:  
D.A.F.S.

APPENDIX  
FOUR :  
FARM SIZES

A P P E N D I X F I V E

NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN SCOTTISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE, 1968 - 1978

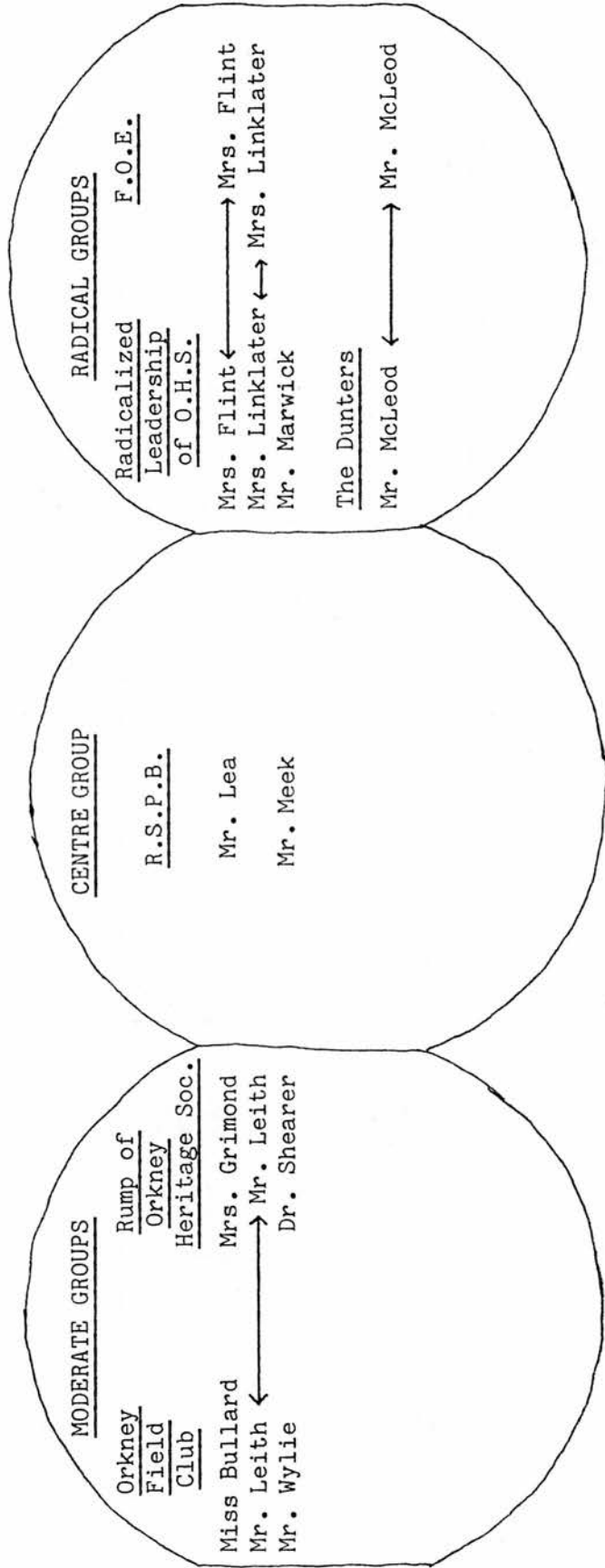


This graph demonstrates a steady increase in the size of local government administration throughout Scotland in the years before local government reform in 1974. A high point was reached in 1975, since when there has been a decline in the number of administrators. However, even now numbers remain high. The experience of Orkney in this matter reflects the national trend.

A P P E N D I X S I X

THE POLITICAL DEPLOYMENT OF LOCAL ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS

This diagram illustrates the political deployment of Orkney's conservation movement. Similar groups are placed together. In addition, the diagram focuses on a small number of significant individuals within each group, and highlights those individuals who are present in more than one group. Further details of conservation group membership are given throughout Chapter Seven.



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THE DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH-BORN RESIDENTS OF ORKNEY

## THE DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH-BORN RESIDENTS OF ORKNEY.

As the attached table of census figures demonstrates, Orkney has, since the late 'sixties and early 'seventies, played host to a large population of English-born incomers. Whereas it is not possible to argue that all of these people are romantic incomers, it is reasonable to suggest that many of them do fall into this category. In more specific terms the 1981 Census reveals that 402 English-born people live in the rural districts of the Mainland, with 155 in Burray and South Ronaldsay. In addition, 378 English-born individuals live in the outer isles. These figures are compatible with the estimates made during the fieldwork period associated with this thesis. However, the different methods used in collecting these two sets of figures prevent any accurate comparison between them.

The percentages and areas delineated in the accompanying map are based on enumeration district data obtained from the 1981 Census.<sup>(1)</sup> It is also clear from the 1981 census that 6% of the population of Scotland were born in England. This figure has been adopted as the baseline for evaluating the significance of English populations throughout Orkney.

In general terms it can be said that the English incomers live in areas of long-standing native depopulation. This is especially true in the case of the less prosperous North Isles, where transport difficulties, as well as economic and social hardships, have taken their toll. Yet, there are exceptions to this. Westray and Papa Westray have small percentages of English residents. These two islands are noted for their suspicious attitudes towards strangers of any hue. North Ronaldsay is also without a substantial percentage of English residents. This island consists of a single privately-owned estate, and its landholdings are subject to crofting regulations. Thus, it is very difficult for strangers to buy island property.

It is also true to say that the Mainland, along with its dependant islands of South Ronaldsay and Burray, displays percentages of English residents which are inversely associated with local rates of depopulation. South Ronaldsay and Burray are prime examples of this. Their dwindling native populations have now been supplemented by English incomers. The same is also particularly true of the Mainland parishes of Orphir, Evie, Rendall and Deerness.<sup>(2)</sup>

In these less fortunate areas, local depopulation has created many vacant properties and various openings for outsiders. In the early years of the English incomer influx, the price of property in these remote spots was

attractively low, and there were sometimes shops and public houses for sale. Also, these areas offer the sense of isolation sought by many romantics. It is here that they seek communion with Nature. Indeed, these remote spots provide numerous aesthetic experiences. They are the parts of Orkney which visitors seek out. This is significant, since many of today's romantic residents first came to the islands as tourists.

In other parts of the Mainland the economic and social opportunities offered by Kirkwall have helped to maintain local population levels. This is demonstrated most clearly along the Mainland's major communications artery, which runs from Kirkwall to Stromness. Similarly, the parishes of Holm and St Andrew's have been fortunate in their proximity to Kirkwall. The parish of Sandwick is another area where native depopulation has been less severe. A tradition of large farming as well as the nearby presence of both Stromness and Dounby have all had a part to play in the demographic history of this parish.

Notwithstanding, a degree of depopulation is evident in these areas. This, combined with extensive ranges of attractive scenery, has encouraged a number of romantic incomers to buy or build houses locally. The Loch of Stenness and the west coast of the parish of Stenness are favourite locations, whilst Firth, Harray, Holm and St Andrew's all have their above average percentages of English residents.

Indeed, it must be acknowledged that the central aspect of these places, with their ease of access to the centres of the Mainland, is a factor in their popularity with some incomers. Most of these areas contain pragmatic incomers, but these people are not entirely responsible for the significant percentages of English residents to be found locally. In fact, a number of romantics have settled in these parts in order to combine rural living with proximity to important services.

Generally speaking, there are clear limits to the English incomer commitment to rural isolation. Thus, the upland character of Birsay has discouraged English settlement, and the same may be said for parts of Stenness and Orphir. Furthermore, it can, even in the remoter spots of the Mainland, be said that isolation is often in the eye of the romantic beholder. In these areas journey times to Kirkwall and to the other centres of the Mainland appear, from an urban point of view, not to be arduous.

Turning now to Kirkwall, it is clear that its population of English-born residents falls slightly short of the Scottish mean. However, very high percentages of English people are to be found in some of the areas of new private housing in and around the town. This is where the town's new

professional incomers live.<sup>(3)</sup>

Stromness is another centre of pragmatic incomer activity, and, in the case of its English incomers, it lies a few percent above the Scottish mean. It plays host to a number of long-stay English oil workers, and it is not without its attractions for the romantically-minded. The same is true of Burray, where oil workers and romantic incomers are to be found as neighbours. In the case of Flotta, its incomer "profile" is associated with the island's oil terminal. In addition, the oil terminal has done much to regenerate the native community in South Walls.

- (1) As available from the Small Area Statistics service.
- (2) Deerness lies at the top of the above average category, and so it is associated here with the parishes in the high category.
- (3) For technical reasons, these places are not shown in the map.

POPULATION OF ORKNEY: COUNTRY OF BIRTH

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941 <sup>1</sup>	1951	1961	1971	1980 <sup>2</sup>
England	286 (1.00%)*	209 (0.81%)	307 (1.27%)	251 (1.14%)	-	447 (2.10%)	332 (1.77%)	485 (2.84%)	1,456 (7.90%)
Wales	8	2	4	6	-	23	10	20	46
Scotland	28,215	25,527	23,627	21,669	-	20,548	18,197	16,345	16,638
N Ireland	)	)	)	7	-	27	18	15	55
Irish Republic	) 38	40	32	25	-	13	6	10	23
Channel Islands and Isle of Man	16	8	5	3	-	3	3	-	1
Outside the UK	136	111	132	114	-	194	170	185	206
Birthplace not stated in detail	-	-	4	2	-	-	11	17	-
TOTAL	28,699	25,897	24,111	22,077	-	21,255	18,747	17,077	18,425 <sup>2</sup>

\* Expressed as a percentage of the total population.

<sup>1</sup> No census was taken during World War Two.

<sup>2</sup> The 1981 Census excludes non-residents in its presentation of these figures.

Source: Registrar General  
Decennial Censuses